

**School Leaders and the Challenge of the
*Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 1960-1968***

by

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Dedication

*For Mom and Dad –
This is your achievement as much as it is mine.
I love you both very much.*

And to Ari – All my love, always.

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List of Abbreviations

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)
Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD)
Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO)
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW)
Division of Program Operations (DPO)
Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (EOA)
Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA)
English as a Second Language (ESL)
Local Education Authorities (LEAs)
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
National Defense Education Act of 1958 (NDEA)
National Education Association (NEA)
State Education Authorities (SEAs)
United States Office of Education (USOE)

ABSTRACT

School Leaders and the Challenge of the
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Chair: Jeffrey E. Mirel

The 1965 passage of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* (ESEA) changed the landscape of American public education. For the first time in history the federal government made a massive foray into education, and did so in a way that emphasized the needs of disadvantaged children. Extant literature has discussed the enactment process, implementation and evaluation of ESEA but does not talk about school administrators, who played a vital role in the planning, implementation and evaluation of ESEA school initiatives. Despite their importance, studies of ESEA have paid very little attention to administrators' role in ESEA. This dissertation focuses on the impact that ESEA had on school administrators. The main research questions are:

- When ESEA was initially enacted, and in subsequent reauthorizations, what were legislators' intentions for administrator practice in the execution of ESEA?
- How did ESEA impact school administrators? What changes in the work of school administrators came about as a result of the passage of this massive federal aid-to-education legislation?

Using articles and advertisements from two major education journals aimed at school administrators, *Educational Leadership* and *School Management Magazine*, this study examines the kinds of information editors of those journals provided to administrators about ESEA, and how that information changed over time.

Findings were three-fold. First, in a very short time period, federal aid-to-education legislation went from being hotly contested to something that was accepted and expected by legislators and school administrators. Second, although in 1965 legislators specifically refrained from specifying how federally provided funding should be spent, by 1967 legislators began to provide specifics, including priority lists that school administrators had to follow. Finally, ESEA's passage brought about a major change in the way education was viewed in the United States. This was particularly true in terms of justifying the federal government's role of working with school leaders in trying to rectify the discrepancies caused by poverty and the resultant disadvantages suffered by poor children. After the passage of ESEA, administrators and other educators paid increasing attention to the needs of these children.

Introduction: School Leaders and the Challenge of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 1960-1968*

In the late 1950's and early 1960's, the issues of inequality and race exploded onto the national scene. Politicians looking for remedies to these problems turned to the schools, focusing on education as a mechanism for change. "[T]he answer for all our national problems," said President Johnson, "comes down to a single word: education."¹ Although there had already been some instances of federal funding for education, primarily through the *National Defense Education Act of 1958* (NDEA), such funding was limited, providing money to improve teaching in the sciences, foreign languages and mathematics. In addition, as its name implies, NDEA was couched in terms of catching up with and exceeding the Soviet Union in the Cold War race for military superiority.

It wasn't until 1965 that the federal government made a major commitment to public school funding, this time with the intention of promoting a more equal society, one in which every American's quality of life would improve. As part of President Johnson's Great Society legislation package, Congress passed the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965* (ESEA), an act that provided federal funds to augment and enhance the education of poor and minority children. The various titles of this act provided funding that its authors felt would improve educational quality: general basic aid for "Educationally Deprived Children;" grants for textbooks and other instructional materials; supplementary services which would create "vitaly needed" educational

¹ Cited in Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1976), 19.

initiatives not otherwise available in quality or quantity and to establish model school programs”; grants for educational research and training; and grants to assist states in strengthening their departments of education.²

Many of the previous studies of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* have focused on the difficulties faced by its enactors. Although the federal government has had at least some involvement in education since the founding of the United States, opposition to general federal aid for education was strong, especially in the House of Representatives, and the enactment of ESEA was slow going.³ A number of studies detail the path from strong opposition to the ultimate passage of ESEA, telling the story of the creation of the law from a political viewpoint. Others tell about the programs that were implemented in schools and school districts, and how those programs were evaluated. Still others supply information on changes that occurred in the United States Office of Education and/or the State Departments of Education. None of these studies, however, tell how the legislators expected that school administrators would spend this money to reach the goal of better achievement for poor and disadvantaged children. Nor do they explain how the role of school administrators changed in response to ESEA.

Administrators are in a unique position when it comes to their ability to affect the success or failure of school reform programs, as they are the people who make the decisions about program selection, as well as strongly influencing the ways in which those programs are implemented. In fact, some researchers have found that school administrators are one of the key factors necessary for successful school reform; without

² “Floor Action: House Passes Elementary-Secondary Education Bill” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 23, No. 14 (1965): 575.

³ Eugene Eidenberg and Roy D. Morey. *An Act of Congress; The Legislative Process and the Making of Education Policy* (New York: Norton & Company, 1969), 6.

their full participation and cooperation improvement cannot be made.⁴ Therefore, school administrators' experiences with ESEA had, and continue to have a large impact on the effectiveness of that program. The decentralized nature of American schooling, which puts control at the local level, means that administrators are vital to the success of any reform. Nevertheless, research on ESEA, one of the largest and longest-standing reform efforts, pays little, if any, attention to these administrators. This study seeks to fill the hole in the data by providing a historical analysis of the role of school administration in ESEA's initial implementation during the Johnson years.

In order to shed light on the relationship between administrators and ESEA, I will do a historical analysis the role of ESEA in changing the school administration and the ways in which school administrators practice their craft. In order to accomplish this goal, I will answer two main research questions that focus on the ways in which ESEA impacted school administrators:

- When ESEA was initially enacted, and in subsequent reauthorizations, what were the legislators' intentions for administrator practice in the execution of the law's provisions?
- How did ESEA impact school administrators? What changes in the work of school administrators came about as a result of the passage of this massive federal aid-to-education legislation?

ESEA was couched in terms of providing additional funding for schools to improve the education of children living in poverty. But how did legislators intend for it to be implemented? And, how did such implementation actually occur? In this study I examine such questions by examining the school administrators' role in the process. To that end, I began with a discussion of the legislative process of initial enactment,

⁴ William B. Brookover, Laurence Beamer, Helen Efthim, Douglas Hathaway, Lawrence Lezotte, Stephen Miller, et al. *Creating Effective Schools. An Inservice Program for Enhancing School Learning Climate and Achievement.* (Holmos Beach, FL: Learning Publications, Inc., 1982), 3-5.

implementation, evaluation and reenactment, looking for evidence of legislative intent in terms of what school administrators were supposed to do with the funding provided by Congress. This examination provides information about the context in which the administrators were working, including the federal and state regulations and guidelines, the application process for funding, the types of projects they could implement and requirements for evaluation, as well as how those requirements changed with each new reenactment of the legislation.

The second section of the dissertation explores the impact that ESEA had on administrators' practice by examining changes in two publications aimed at those administrators. The two journals provide a look, albeit an indirect one, into administrators' responses to their new and rapidly changing environment. The purpose of the journals was to give readers useful information that would aid them in their role as school administrators; therefore changes in their articles, editorials and even advertisements from the period prior to the enactment of ESEA to the period after the enactment of ESEA offer insight into the information that the journals' editors felt that school administrators would need and want to know, and thus about how ESEA changed the editors' views on administrators and their routines in this early period in federal aid-to-education legislative history.

The two journals are quite different from each other. *Educational Leadership* focused on curriculum and pedagogy, and provided readers with the information they would need to be better instructional leaders. *School Management Magazine*, on the other hand, was more attuned to the logistical and "practical" matters of administration, including matters of budget, construction, staffing and other aspects of the business end

of schooling. Taken together, they provide a more complete picture of administrative practice than either might have separately.

This study focuses on administrators at the school level. Although there are a variety of positions that fall under school administration, including state superintendents, local (district) superintendents, principals, assistant principals, department heads, curriculum supervisors and others, this dissertation concentrates primarily on the work done by school principals, with occasional references to local and state superintendents.

This study is organized into two main sections. The first, comprising chapters one and two, tells the legislative history of ESEA, with a focus on legislative intent in terms of school administrators and how they would be expected to implement the legislation in their schools and school districts. The second section, comprising chapters three, four and five, examines the two journals for evidence of school administrators' response to ESEA. This section is organized chronologically; chapter three provides a baseline for each journal from the period just prior to the enactment of ESEA (1960-1964), chapter four describes the changes that came to both journals with that enactment (1965-1966), and chapter five describes what happened just a few short years later, when ESEA had become an accepted and expected part of the educational landscape (1967-1968).

Chapter 1: The Elementary and Secondary Education Act: Enactment, Implementation & Evaluation in the First Year

In 1965, the federal government made its first major foray into public school funding. Instead of previous attempts at providing general school aid, this time the legislation was designed with the intention of promoting a more equal society, one in which every American's quality of life would improve. As part of President Johnson's Great Society legislation package, Congress passed the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965* (ESEA), an act that provided federal funds to augment and enhance the education of poor and minority children. The various titles of this act provided funding that its authors felt would improve educational quality: general basic aid for "Educationally Deprived Children;" grants for textbooks and other instructional materials; supplementary services which would create "vitaly needed" educational initiatives not otherwise available in quality or quantity and to establish model school programs"; grants for educational research and training; and grants to assist states in strengthening their departments of education.⁵

Many of the previous studies of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* have focused on the difficulties faced by its enactors. Although the federal government

⁵ "Floor Action: House Passes Elementary-Secondary Education Bill" *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 23, No. 14 (1965): 575; In fact, prior to sending the bill to Congress, the Johnson Administration had debated whether state education agencies would be competent to oversee the implementation of Title I. Then-Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel pushed for the responsibility to be given to the states. The funding provided by Title V enabled state departments of education to double the size of their professional staffs, enabling the supervision of Title I. See Maris Vinovskis, "Gubernatorial Leadership and Education Reform" in *A Legacy of Innovation Governors and Public Policy* ed. Ethan G. Sribnick (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

has had at least some involvement in education since the founding of the United States, opposition to general federal aid for education was strong, especially in the House of Representatives, and the enactment of ESEA was slow going.⁶ A number of studies detail the path from strong opposition to the ultimate passage of ESEA, telling the story of the creation of the law from a political viewpoint. They do not, however, tell how the legislators expected that school administrators would spend this money to reach the goal of better achievement for poor and disadvantaged children. Some other studies do report on ESEA's implementation and/or evaluation, focusing on the interaction between the United States Office of Education (USOE) and the states, for example, but, with few exceptions, they do not focus on school administrators' responses to ESEA and/or actions resulting from ESEA.

This chapter, therefore, seeks to fill the historiographic gap by drawing on testimony and debates in both the House and Senate to shed light on the question of how Congress and President Johnson expected school administrators to use the monies provided to them through ESEA. Although ESEA was publicized as aid for disadvantaged children, it actually reached children in approximately 95 percent of school districts in the country.⁷ The law did not, however, tell local and state educators what it was that they were supposed to do with this new flood of money. In fact, Title VII of the law explicitly stated that the United States government would not control or supervise curricula, administration, personnel or selection of any instructional materials, including library resources or textbooks. Although the federal government would be

⁶ Eidenberg Morey, *An Act of Congress*, 6.

⁷ "Primary Education Bill Clears Congress, Becomes Law" *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 23 (1965): 665.

providing funds for the improvement of education of poor and minority children, local control over the substance of education would continue.⁸

Despite the lack of specificity regarding implementation, the legislators who enacted this law intended that it result in an improvement in the quality of education of poor and minority children. Therefore, they must have intended that some changes be made. In the draft bill that President Johnson sent to Congress that served as the nucleus of ESEA, he said that “The three R’s of our school system must be supported by the three T’s – teachers who are superior, techniques of instruction that are modern, and thinking about education which places it first in all our plans and hopes,” implying that *someone* would have to ensure that these things would occur. Although the president’s statement did not address either who would be responsible for the three T’s nor how educators would reach those goals, the onus clearly rested on local school administrators, both principals at the school level and superintendents at the district level.⁹

In this chapter, I first provide a brief review of federal involvement in education prior to ESEA, including President Kennedy’s attempts to provide for federal aid to education. The bulk of the chapter, however, concentrates on the initial implementation and evaluation of ESEA, beginning with the enactment process, including the Johnson Administration’s requests, and the debate in both the House of Representatives and the Senate, noting especially the degree to which these deliberations focused (or failed to focus) on the role of school administrators in the enactment and projected implementation. The third section describes the initial implementation of ESEA in 1965, focusing on the complicated interplay between the United States Office of Education,

⁸ *Ibid*, 575.

⁹ “President’s Message on Education” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 23, No. 2 (1965): 76.

state and local educational authorities, and Congress in that first year of ESEA, concentrating specifically on the implementation of Title I. This section includes the reorganization of the USOE necessitated by the large changes brought on by ESEA, as well as USOE's development of regulations and guidelines for the execution of the act. I then discuss the implementation of Title I by the states in that first year of ESEA. Because of the restrictions on federal control of curricula, administration, personnel and instructional materials, each state was able to implement Title I in different ways.¹⁰ Therefore, after providing a general overview of national implementation, I provide an example of how this implementation occurred using the implementation of Title I in the state of Michigan. Like the previous sections, this one also notes how the implementation on both the local and federal level impacted school administrators. Finally, I discuss state and federal evaluations of Title I and ESEA in the first year, again relating those evaluations to school administrators.

¹⁰ U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education., *School Programs for Educationally Deprived Children: Basic Facts for School Administrators*. (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), 2.

The Federal Government and Education

The federal government's role in education predates the Constitution: the Congress of Confederation's *Survey Ordinance of 1785* provided land for the establishment of schools. However, the federal government has had a department or bureau of education of some sort since 1867 when it was created as a non-cabinet level department. It was reduced to bureau status in 1868, and later reorganized as the United States Office of Education (USOE).¹¹ For the most part, the USOE's role was restricted to the compilation and publication of educational statistics.¹² Federal involvement in education, with some exceptions, most notably the *Morrill Act of 1862* which provided each state with federal land to use for an agricultural and industrial college and the *Smith-Hughes Act of 1917*, which provided funds for agricultural and vocational education, remained minimal until World War II. At that time, a general bill, boosting teachers' salaries in order to dissuade them from entering higher paid defense industries, and the Lanham Act of 1940, providing emergency aid for communities affected by the relocation of military and defense workers, were passed.¹³ In 1944, the Servicemen's

¹¹ Americo D. Lapati, *Education and the Federal Government: A Historical Record*. (New York: Mason/Charter Publishers, Inc., 1975), 14.

¹² David Tyack. *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), 242.

¹³ The Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 supported courses and teacher training in agriculture, home economics, and trades and industry. R. Freeman Butts, *Public Education in the United States: From Revolution to Reform* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978). Other federal funding for education in this time period included school construction assistance provided by the Public Works Administration and funding for adult education and nursery school programs provided by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, both during the Depression. Maris Vinovskis, *The Birth of Head Start: Preschool Education Policies in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 8-9.

Readjustment Act (GI Bill) provided a large amount of federal funding for continuing education and job training for returning veterans.¹⁴

Concerns about high illiteracy rates among World War I and II servicemen, as well as fears that poorly-educated Americans might turn to Communism, led to calls for aid for schools in states with less-than-adequate resources, and in 1948, both party platforms endorsed federal aid to education.¹⁵ There was a modest increase in federal aid to education during the Truman administration, but only seven percent of this money went to elementary and secondary schools, and almost two-thirds of this seven percent went to the National School Lunch Program. Although proposals for general education aid did pass in the Senate several times during this period, they did not pass in the House.¹⁶ In 1954, the Office of Education was transferred to the newly created Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), and, although total spending went down during most of the Eisenhower years, forays by the federal government into education expanded into different areas: providing milk to students, the Cooperative Research Program, and an expansion to the aid program for areas impacted by military and other federal installations.¹⁷

The October 1957 launch of the Russian satellite Sputnik shocked the nation, and led to Congressional hearings which concluded that the nation needed better-trained teachers, a more rigorous curriculum and adequate funding for research, teaching institutes, and scholarships for able students.¹⁸ The result of these hearings was the

¹⁴ Eidenberg and Morey, 17-18; Vinovskis, *The Birth of Head Start*, 13; Lapati, *Education and the Federal Government*, 20-21.

¹⁵ Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Education for Children of the Poor: A Study of the Origins and Implementation of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1978), 4-5.

¹⁶ Vinovskis, *The Birth of Head Start*, 13-14.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 13; Eidenberg and Moray, *An Act of Congress*, 18.

¹⁸ Jeffrey, *Education for Children of the Poor*, 6.

National Defense Education Act of 1958, which attempted to enhance American knowledge and skills in the sciences, mathematics and foreign language in order to increase the ability of the nation to defend itself.¹⁹

By the early 1960's, the focus had changed from keeping pace with Russian technology to solving the problems of failing urban schools. Black children scored below their white counterparts on assessments, sixty percent of nonwhites dropped out before completing the twelfth grade, and there were declining job prospects for dropouts. City officials feared that the consequences of a large uneducated and unemployed population would be urban disorder and social disintegration, and that "slum-dwellers" would be unable to resist the "red menace" of communism. At the same time, civil rights activists insisted that schools erase the differences in achievement for black and white children.²⁰

In 1961, President Kennedy tried to pass a general school aid bill, which earmarked funds for public school teachers' salaries and classroom construction, giving special attention to impoverished states and urban areas.²¹ After debate about funding for segregated schools, modification of the state equalization formula, tax rebates in lieu of direct aid, and the ramifications of the expansion of the role of federal government in education, the Senate passed the bill. In the House, however, the bill, which was voted out of the Education and Labor Committee, was held up in the Rules Committee as members became embroiled in disputes over Kennedy's stance against aid for private and parochial schools.²² Publicly, the president was adamant that government funds could not be used for private or parochial education: "[T]here isn't any room for debate on that

¹⁹ Vinovskis, *The Birth of Head Start*, 15

²⁰ Jeffrey, *Education for Children of the Poor*, 8-9.

²¹ Vinovskis, *The Birth of Head Start*, 19.

²² *Ibid*, 20.

subject,” he said, “It is prohibited by the Constitution, and the Supreme Court has made that very clear. And therefore there would be no possibility of our recommending it.”²³ Privately, however, President Kennedy indicated his willingness to do just that. For example, he had HEW Secretary Abraham Ribicoff and domestic advisor and speechwriter Theodore Sorensen clandestinely negotiate a compromise with Bishop Hannon and Monsignors Tanner and Hurley of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. The core element of the compromise was that the public school aid bill would fund only public schools, but then-current provisions in the NDEA allowing loans to private and parochial schools for limited uses related to defense would be expanded to cover virtually any school construction with the exception of buildings intended for religious use.²⁴ The public-school aid bill was passed by the Senate, and the House Education and Labor Committee reported out a similar bill. However, before the House bill could proceed to the floor for debate, it needed to be approved by the Rules Committee. Once again, on July 18, 1961, the Committee rejected the bill as well as NDEA revisions including the parochial school loan provisions and a bill for higher education aid. In the wake of this legislative defeat, the House and Senate instead passed a two year extension of the *National Defense Education Act*.²⁵

Kennedy’s next attempt to gain support for general federal aid to education occurred in 1963. In his State of the Union address on January 14, 1963, Kennedy said that

First, we need to strengthen our Nation by investing in our youth. The future of any country which is dependent upon the will and wisdom of its citizens is

²³ Press conference, 3/1/1961, cited in Hugh Davis Graham, *The Uncertain Triumph: Federal Education Policy in the Kennedy and Johnson Years* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 20.

²⁴ Graham, *The Uncertain Triumph*, 21.

²⁵ Vinovskis, *The Birth of Head Start*, 21; Graham, *The Uncertain Triumph*, 22-25.

damaged, and irreparably damaged, whenever any of its children are not educated to the full extent of their talents, from grade school through graduate school. Today, an estimated four out of every ten students in the fifth grade will never finish high school – and that is a waste that we cannot afford.²⁶

Federal funding for education, then, had a new purpose. In this speech, JFK weakened the link between education and defense, and instead tied educational success to a better quality of life. Later that month, Kennedy sent the *National Education Improvement Act of 1963*, an omnibus education bill, to the House. Like previous attempts, this bill included aid for public – but not private or parochial – schools. The portion of the bill applicable to elementary and secondary schools could be used for increasing teacher salaries, classroom construction, or initiating pilot, experimental or demonstration projects. This bill was designed to provide temporary aid for struggling localities, stimulating and supporting local action; funding would be phased out over four years.²⁷

Once again, however, the bill did not pass in the House. As in previous efforts, this bill foundered on three issues: church-state conflict, the propriety of federal involvement in education, and desegregation. These issues dominated all discussion; therefore, it is difficult to determine whether legislators had expectations for how programs funded by the bill might have worked. The church-state issue is perhaps the most well known – many Protestants and others were vehemently opposed to the use of federal funds for parochial schools (particularly for Catholic schools), while Catholics were equally passionate in their contentions that it was unfair in the extreme that they not receive aid for secular subjects. President Kennedy’s bill provided funds only to public schools. Monsignor Frederick G. Hochwalt, the National Catholic Welfare Conference’s

²⁶ “President Kennedy’s Third State of the Union Message” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 21 (1963): 60.

²⁷ “Elementary and Secondary Education” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 21 (1963): 113.

education director, and Rabbi Morris Sherer, representing Jewish parochial schools, for example, argued for the inclusion of private and parochial schools in the bill, while Dr. Gerald E. Knoff of the National Council of Churches, a Protestant group, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, and C. Emanuel Carlson of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs opposed parochial school aid as contrary to the Constitution and American system.²⁸

The second stumbling block, that of federal encroachment into matters previously left to the states, came from both Republican and Democratic conservatives. These Congressmen worried that financial assistance to local schools would lead to federal control of education. Two historians of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act*, Eugene Eidenberg and Roy Morey, note that “The more adamant spokesmen for this view describe federal aid as a sinister plot hatched in the half-baked minds of the power hungry Washington bureaucrats to ‘bribe local officials into transferring their authority to the national Office of Education.’” These legislators felt that the local education authorities had successfully coped with the changes resulting from the post-World War II baby boom, and would be able to continue to educate their communities without federal involvement. If more money was needed, revenue could be collected and spent at a local level, avoiding waste and red tape.²⁹

Finally, although the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision had been handed down almost a decade prior to the proposal of this bill, opposition to desegregation continued to be rampant in the South. Liberal Northern Democrats and Republicans insisted that desegregation requirements be attached to federal funding for education,

²⁸ House Committee on Education and Labor, *National Education Improvement Act*, 88th Cong., 1st Sess., 1963.

²⁹ Eidenberg and Moray, *An Act of Congress*, 11-12.

while Southern Democrats refused to vote for funding that included mandates for desegregation.³⁰ When Kennedy realized that his omnibus bill was not going to pass in the House, he agreed to separate it into smaller bills. Congress subsequently passed laws on college construction, vocational education, teacher training programs, and programs for handicapped children. Congress did not, however, pass a general aid bill, although it again renewed NDEA for another year.³¹

On November 22, 1963, John F. Kennedy was assassinated, and Lyndon Johnson was sworn in as president. He promised to work to implement Kennedy's programs, calling their pursuit the best eulogy he and Congress could give to the fallen president.³²

Enactment of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act

By the time Johnson introduced the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965*, a number of factors had changed to make the passage of this general aid to education bill possible. While these changes improved the chances for passage, however, it was far from guaranteed. First, the enactment of the *Civil Rights Act of 1964* removed the legal basis for Southern Democrats' opposition to general federal aid to education. Title VI of the *Civil Rights Act* enabled the Commissioner of Education to discontinue federal aid to segregated schools, removing the rationale for (a) civil rights proponents to include prohibitions against the use of federal dollars in segregated schools or (b)

³⁰ Vinovskis, *The Birth of Head Start*, 15

³¹ *Ibid*, 25; Graham, *The Uncertain Triumph*, 47.

³² "Johnson Urges Congress to Act, Emphasizes Civil Rights" *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 21 (1963): 2067.

Southern Congressmen from voting against aid bills that would do just that – the prohibition was already in place.³³

Second, on August 20, 1964, Johnson had signed the *Economic Opportunity Act* into law. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare had initially envisioned this bill to be centered around education, proposing an allotment of \$140 million for the specific needs of impoverished families, and recommending the formation of programs to improve the educational attainment of impoverished children by improving preschool readiness, providing funds for transportation to cultural programs and to clinics or remedial education centers, and providing mobile reading centers with librarians and reading specialists. The final bill, however, looked quite different, merging educational sections with community activities and job training, thus lessening their impact.³⁴ On the other hand, although the *Economic Opportunity Act* had less of an impact on education than leaders at HEW originally wanted, its passage eased the subsequent passage of the *ESEA*, as it heralded the emphasis on the special needs of economically disadvantaged children.³⁵

Like Kennedy, Johnson connected education to quality of life, but he made the connections between education and economy much more explicit. In remarks to the Committee for Economic Development in Washington, D.C., on November 19, 1964, Johnson declared that

A child with a grammar school education will earn during his lifetime an average of \$152,000. A child who goes through high school earns not \$150,000 but \$272,000. A child who will go through college and beyond in his lifetime will

³³ Eidenberg and Moray, *An Act of Congress*, 24; Jeffrey, *Education for Children of the Poor*, 67; Vinovskis, *The Birth of Head Start*, 79.

³⁴ Eidenberg and Moray, 41-44.

³⁵ Stephen K. Bailey and Edith Mosher, *ESEA: The Office of Education Administers a Law* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1968), 33.

average \$452,000. So, in plain, hard figures, it means that a college-trained person earns \$300,000 more than one who has not had elementary, secondary or college education. When Uncle Sam will get, say, 52 percent of that extra \$300,000, we get a pretty good return on the investment we made in training that person.³⁶

To Johnson, education was a solution to the pernicious problem of poverty. Lack of jobs and money were a symptom of poverty; lack of education was the cause.³⁷ Education aid, therefore, was the natural continuation of the already-passed poverty legislation.

In addition, attitudes were changing as far as federal aid to private and parochial schools were concerned. In 1961, polls showed that only 31 percent felt that private schools should get federal funding. In 1963, that number was at 44 percent, and by 1965, 51 percent supported federal funding of private schools.³⁸

Perhaps the most important change, however, occurred with the elections in November of 1964. Johnson won in a landslide with 61 percent of the popular vote. In the Senate, the Democrats increased their majority by two seats, and the House Democrats won an additional 38 seats. The House Subcommittee on Education and Labor added five Democrats and one Republican.³⁹ Congress's Democratic majority was so strong in fact, that they were able to pass most of Johnson's programs without requiring the help of liberal Republicans.⁴⁰

The beginnings of ESEA came when Johnson created a task force on education, chaired by John Gardner (later the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare) to suggest proposals for a bill for general federal aid to education. This task force met four

³⁶ "President Johnson Outlines His Fiscal Principles to CED" *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 22 (1964): 2754 (excerpted transcript of Johnson's remarks to Committee for Economic Development on 11/19/64).

³⁷ Jeffrey, *Education for Children of the Poor*, 3.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 76.

³⁹ *Ibid*, 79; Vinovskis, *The Birth of Head Start*, 79.

⁴⁰ Eidenberg and Moray, *An Act of Congress*, 35.

times, and, on November 18, 1964, delivered an 83 page report to the White House, with eight major recommendations:

- Educational access and aid to low-income children: the task force favored general aid, but noted that if such aid would prove untenable that other avenues should be explored, including amending the program to aid areas impacted by military and other federal installations to provide formula grants to low-income areas.
- Creation of university-based community extension programs.
- Development of supplementary educational centers to develop and promote innovative programs to link schools with universities, museums, artists, musical organizations and industry.
- National educational laboratories for research and development to support the supplemental educational centers and aid in demonstration and dissemination of their work.
- Expansion of current programs, such as work-study programs, student loans and aid to the handicapped.
- Strengthening of state Departments of Education.
- Provision of aid to developing colleges.
- Two possible solutions for changes to the United States Office of Education:
 - The favored solution: Establish an independent Office of Education at the presidential level with the authority to coordinate federal agency programs, carry out new programs and develop national educational policy.
 - Second solution: Create a new cabinet level Department of Education, reformulating it rather than merely separating it from the rest of HEW.⁴¹

The Gardner task force, therefore, approached the issue as an educational problem rather than as a political one. This approach, while sound from an educator's point of view, limited the task force's use to the Administration (indeed, one official in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare called it "politically sterile and naïve"). Nevertheless, some of the task force's recommendations did make it into legislation: the provision to strengthen state departments of education became Title V of *ESEA* and the aid to developing colleges was included in Title III of the *Higher Education Act of 1965*.⁴² The most important result of the task force's deliberations, however, came directly from the

⁴¹ Graham, *The Uncertain Triumph*, 66-68.

⁴² *Ibid*, 68.

first recommendation to expand aid to impoverished children. Instead of providing funding to *schools*, the new program would provide money for impoverished *students*, irrespective of attendance at public, private or parochial schools, enabling the Administration to sidestep the difficult church-state issue.⁴³

This compromise was an key turning point in the quest for federal education aid. In fact, according to Francis Keppel, then-United States Commissioner of Education, all of the major players in this discussion – President Johnson and members of his Administration, public school supporters, private and parochial supporters, and legislators – took ownership of this compromise. Keppel said in a 1969 interview that

Since it worked [politically] there are a lot of fathers to this bill. The NEA [National Education Association] says they thought it up, and the Catholics think they thought it up, and I think I thought it up, and everybody thinks they thought it up. I don't know. It just got put together. Probably the best thing. In any case, the President, I guess, saw that there was a chance of its working—he's obviously a very bright man on these matters. He didn't particularly play any part in putting it together, but once he decided it would work he sure pushed it.⁴⁴

President Johnson first publicly introduced his education proposals in his 1965 State of the Union address. His key point was that education would improve both the quality of individual American's lives and the general quality of life in the nation: "We begin with learning. Every child must have the best education this nation can provide. Thomas Jefferson said no nation can be both ignorant and free. Today no nation can be both ignorant and great."⁴⁵ Johnson said that the authorizations for this new program would total \$1.5 billion in the first year, and that it would "help at every stage along the

⁴³ Eidenberg and Moray, *An Act of Congress*, 78-79.

⁴⁴ Francis Keppel, Oral History Interview, April 21, 1969, as cited in Edward J. Miech, *The Necessary Gentleman: Francis Keppel's Leadership in Getting Education's Act Together*, PhD diss., Harvard University, 2000, 280.

⁴⁵ "Text of President Johnson's State of the Union Message" *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 23 (1965): 37.

road to learning,” including funding for needy pre-school children to encourage a love of learning, aid for primary and secondary schools that serve low-income families, college scholarships for needy and promising high school students as well as low interest loans for all students, and the establishment of new laboratories and centers to help schools raise new standards, expand pedagogy and provide additional training.⁴⁶

On January 12, 1965, President Johnson sent a message to Congress with a draft of the ESEA. In it, he declared that school systems across the nation must be supported by superior teachers and modern techniques of instruction. He named four major tasks:

- to bring better education to millions of disadvantaged youth who need it most;
- to put the best educational equipment and ideas and innovations within reach of all students;
- to advance the technology of teaching and the training of teachers;
- to provide incentives for those who wish to learn at every stage along the road to learning⁴⁷

Although the president did not mention school administrators by name, it is clear that he intended for *someone* to facilitate these programs, translating the goals and dollars that the government could provide into the results that he was looking for. Johnson did not say *how* educators were to accomplish this task, but he demonstrated an awareness that someone had to take it on.

The bill was fast-tracked in the House. The president and ranking Democratic members felt that pushing the bill through as quickly as possible, without amendments, and passing an identical bill in the Senate, was the most likely way to assure its passage. Hearings in the House Subcommittee on Education and Labor were limited to two weeks. Advocates for the bill supported the administration’s contention that the bill was both

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 37.

⁴⁷ “Complete Text of President Johnson’s Jan. 12 Education Message” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 23 (1965): 76.

necessary and an expedient means of reaching the poverty-reduction goals. Representative Charles Goodell (R-NY) was the main spokesperson for the opposition. He first accused public school superintendents of wanting federal money with no regard to the dangers of the federal control that would follow federal dollars. In addition to his worries over federal control, he expressed concerns about how the money would be spent, notably in his objection to the lack of money for preschool programs when there was educational research that showed that intervention the early years was more likely to be successful.⁴⁸ Other witnesses made this same point. The administration replied that the bill as it stood did not forbid using money for preschool programs and that there was already federal money set aside for preschoolers under the *Economic Opportunity Act*.⁴⁹

In addition to the questions raised by Republican leaders, Representative John Brademas (D-IN) asked a series of tough questions about the feasibility of using education to break the poverty cycle. Would there be enough trained teachers? How could Congress be sure that spending money would actually lead to improved quality of education? How much was really known about education programs for the poor? Was there evidence to support the bill's approach? Brademas got conflicting responses to his questions. Dr. George Bloom, an early childhood education authority from the University of Chicago, responded to Brademas that "we do not know everything [about educating the poor], but we do know enough actually to implement a great deal of educational practice in this area." On the other hand, Arthur Singer of the Carnegie Corporation said there hadn't been much advancement in research on good education for

⁴⁸ Goodell's advocacy for preschool funding to fight poverty dated back to the hearings surrounding the enactment of the *Economic Opportunity Act of 1964*, where Cornell University professor Urie Bronfenbrenner testified to the research base tying the lack of stimulation in the early years common to poverty to a lack of progress in later academic years. See Vinovskis, *The Birth of Head Start*, 46.

⁴⁹ Jeffrey, *Education for Children of the Poor*, 82. Vinovskis, *The Birth of Head Start*, 83.

the poor. Brademas concluded that money might be better spent on such research than as the bill's framers intended.⁵⁰

The concerns that these two representatives expressed about the bill indicate that they were considering issues beyond simply providing funding for the education of disadvantaged students. Instead, in their discussions of what knowledge there was about educating poor children, they were attempting to parse effective ways to use the money that they would be provided to impact on students' learning. Indirectly, therefore, they were discussing the best course of action for those who would be implementing that bill, as those administrators and other educators would be responsible for using that money to improve education.

Such questions encouraged resistance to the bill. In addition, the questions were raised by other Democrats who did not feel that the law would benefit their constituencies. These factions worried the Administration, which feared there might be too many defections thus threatening the passage of the bill. Johnson then stepped in, telling congressmen that he understood their concerns, but that they would only be able to be addressed if Congress actually voted out an aid bill. Historians Eugene Eidenberg and Roy Morey cite a member of Congress who summed up Johnson's position, saying that "we just had to make the hard choice and face the reality that in 1965 the issue was not good education policy versus bad. The question Congress had to settle in 1965 was whether there was ever to be federal aid to the elementary and secondary schools of this nation."⁵¹ Johnson's legislative strategy, then, was to purposefully refuse to consider all

⁵⁰ Jeffrey, *Education for Children of the Poor*, 82-83.

⁵¹ Eidenberg and Moray, *An Act of Congress*, 93.

amendments, including those that would pinpoint how to spend the money effectively to improve education, in order to assure that money be allocated at all.

When the bill was reported to the House committee, debate was again limited. Representative Edith Green (D-OR) allied with Republicans Charles Goodell (R-NY) and Albert Quie (R-MN), although sources are unclear as to whether this alliance was formal or informal, to question the provisions of the bill. Green proposed that the bill be amended to support judicial review of the equality of the allocation process, and that the formula be amended to distribute funds directly to the local education authorities. The Administration responded to this critique by requesting that Chairman Adam Clayton Powell (D-NY) limit time for consideration of Green's amendments, thus limiting her impact on other potentially wavering Democrats and moderate Republicans. The bill was voted out of the committee with only one amendment attached which added children on welfare to those eligible for support under the law.⁵²

When the bill was under consideration by the entire House, Republicans again sought to revise it by introducing an amendment that would replace Title I. Instead, they supported providing \$300 million in direct grants to states for preschool for three to seven year olds whose family had incomes less than \$3000 per year. Their plan would also provide a tax credit of up to \$100 based on the amount paid in school taxes. Although this amendment indicated some thought as to when and how to best reach children – in the early years – it was not accepted.⁵³

Over the next few days, fifty amendments were introduced, most involving various aspects of the funding formula, although Congressman James Martin (R-AL)

⁵² *Ibid*, 109.

⁵³ *Ibid*, 112.

introduced a motion to report the bill back to the House with instructions to delete the enacting clause (without which the bill would mean nothing). The majority of these amendments, and the debate that surrounded them, were centered on the financial aspects of that bill, not on how that money was to be used.⁵⁴ All amendments save one were rejected; the one amendment that was passed created an advisory council to aid the commissioner of education in carrying out his functions under the bill.⁵⁵

Although the issues that had stymied previous bills – separation of church and state, desegregation and federal intrusion into local and state government – still existed, Johnson’s bill was able to avoid the pitfalls of each. The prior passage of the *Civil Rights Act of 1964*, with its Title VI mandate that federal funds not be used in segregated institutions precluded the divisive issue of race from entering the debate at all. In respect to Federal encroachment into state and local educational policy, the large Democratic majority in Congress simply overwhelmed conservative opposition to extensive federal involvement into local and state education issues.

As for aid to private and parochial schools, support both among the public and in Congress was higher than it had been in previous years, helped in part by an increase in the number of Roman Catholics in Congress from 97 to 107 in the 1964 elections.⁵⁶ Although some groups that had opposed aid to private and parochial schools were less than sanguine about the idea, many were more willing to accept Johnson’s bill than others in the past. Arthur S. Fleming, for example, the first vice president of the National Council of Churches and former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare under Eisenhower (1958-1961), supported the compromise of allotting funding to children

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 135

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 142.

⁵⁶ “Education Bill Skirts Church-State Conflict” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 23 (1965): 201.

rather than schools, saying on January 28, 1965 that the bill could become “an instrument of reconciliation” for proponents and opponents of federal aid to private and parochial schools, although he did say that he opposed direct grants to non-public schools, preferring that the books and materials be loaned and not given to them.

This is not to say that all opposition on church-state grounds disappeared. Groups such as Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State continued to oppose the aid to private and parochial schools as “violat[ing] the spirit if not the letter of our laws separating state and church.”⁵⁷ Others who opposed the provision for school aid were more resigned to the likelihood of its inclusion, such as Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Conferences, who said that the bill offered “just enough aid to parochial schools to push away the veto of the Roman Catholic Church but not enough to drive away the support of the National Education Association.”⁵⁸ Ultimately, Rabbi Eisendrath was proven correct, and church-state funding issues did not stand in the way of the bill’s passage. The bill was put to a vote, and passed 263-153.⁵⁹

As in the House, the majority of debate in the Senate bypassed the issue of how state and local education authorities would use the new federal funds, with the exception of questioning of Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel and Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Anthony Celebrezze by Senator Robert Kennedy. Kennedy supported the bill, but questioned the rationale for solely providing funding. He argued that federal funds would not instigate change by themselves, and that the school

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 204.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 204.

⁵⁹ “House Passes Elementary-Secondary Education Bill” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 23 (1965): 574.

systems themselves were the probable cause of at least some of the problems, and would need to change. The following exchange shows the extent of his concerns:

Senator Kennedy: Would you not agree, Commissioner and Secretary, that one of the really great problems we have in the country, being blunt about it, is the school boards of some of these communities, in some of the states, and the commissioners of education in some of the states, that they are just not going to take the necessary steps to deal with the problem?

Secretary Celebrezze: That is the price of democracy. If you want to keep your education on a local level without concentrating it in the Federal government.

Senator Kennedy: It may be the price of democracy but we don't have to accept it.⁶⁰

Kennedy's objections revealed an awareness of the need for plans for action on the part of administrators and other school authorities. But even he did not have a clear plan to facilitate such change. Celebrezze's response, moreover, indicates his awareness that states' rights issues were still quite important; his statement made it clear that the federal government would not infringe upon the freedom of states to organize education as they saw fit. Despite Kennedy's doubts about the wisdom of simply providing money to states and localities, his questioning led only to the stiffening of evaluation requirements rather than changing the substance of the bill.⁶¹

The third day of Senate Subcommittee testimony was related to church-state issues, and followed the House pattern of testimony on the same issue: spokesmen for groups such as the Protestants and Other Americans for Separation of Church and State, the Council of Chief State School Officers and the National School Board Association opposed assistance for parochial school students, but such opposition was not enough to

⁶⁰ Testimony before the Senate Labor and Public Welfare, Education Subcommittee, cited in Eidenberg and Moray, *An Act of Congress*, 152.

⁶¹ Jeffrey, *Education for Children of the Poor*, 85.

derail the compromise of providing aid to students regardless of which school they might attend.⁶²

The week after the House bill passed, the Senate subcommittee decided to work with the House version of the bill, rather than their own, and the bill was voted out of the subcommittee 10-0, with no amendments. The bill was also reported out of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee with no amendments. Although there were some reservations, Senator Wayne Morse (D-OR), the chairman of the committee, pushed the bill through, saying that previous education legislation had fallen apart in conference, and that the bill should be passed “without running legislative risks of scuttling it We ought to get this much on the books.”⁶³ Morse indicated that revision of the bill would be possible later in the current session or in the next, once this version had been passed.⁶⁴

After three days of debate on the Senate floor, in which eleven proposed amendments were rejected, the Senate passed the House version of the bill (73-18). This passage of an identical bill served the planned purpose of avoiding a House-Senate conference, enabling President Johnson to sign it into law on April 11, 1965, outside of the one room schoolhouse he had attended as a child. The bill, representing the federal government’s first foray into general education aid, and was the first directed primarily at children living in poverty (although it authorized grants to school districts in approximately ninety-five percent of the counties in the United States). The emphasis on poverty and the purposeful lack of direction for those who would implement it enabled the bill to get past the various issues that had bogged it down in the past thus beginning a

⁶² “Education Subcommittee” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 23 (1965): 235.

⁶³ Hunter, Marjorie. “President Scored On School Aid Bill; Senate Republicans Attack His ‘No Change’ Demand” *The New York Times*. April 8, 1965.

⁶⁴ Hunter, Marjorie. “Committee is Unanimous; School Bill Goes to Senate Floor” *The New York Times*. April 7, 1965.

new era in which the federal government played a growing part in education.⁶⁵ But, as the bill's critics noted, this was legislation without a clear plan of action.

The Initial Implementation of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act

In theory, enactment of ESEA would change the educational opportunities for poor and disadvantaged children by providing a mechanism for them to escape the poverty of their parents. The reality, however, was much more complicated. School districts, states and the federal government all had a role in the implementation of ESEA, but the unprecedented nature of the law meant that they would have to work out what these roles would be, as well as the ways in which players at each of the three levels would interact with each other. The federal government, acting through the United States Office of Education, drafted the regulations and guidelines that would guide state and local education authorities in the selection and implementation of programs to be funded by ESEA monies. Local and state education authorities, on the other hand, had to determine the requirements of each locality, and act to meet their specific needs. Further complicating the situation, at the same time as these major players were beginning to map out how to implement ESEA, Congress was already thinking about issues of evaluation and reauthorization the following year.

Although it might have been logical to follow these steps sequentially, with the USOE formulating regulations and guidelines that would have then been implemented by state and local educational authorities, followed by evaluation and reauthorization, the incredibly short time frame led to a process that was much more iterative and provoked a

⁶⁵ "Primary Education Bill Clears Congress, Becomes Law" *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 23 (1965): 665.

good deal of confusion. USOE's development of regulations and guidelines, for example, was heavily dependent on the inputs and critiques from the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO), the group formed by the fifty State Superintendents of Education. Conversely, although the decisions made by local educational authorities (LEAs) and state educational authorities (SEAs) about how to spend ESEA monies were supposed to be based on USOE's regulations and guidelines, these decisions were, in some cases, made before the regulations and guidelines had been released, and influenced how those regulations and guidelines were written by USOE. The following three sections of this chapter depict this difficult period in which the USOE, the SEAs and LEAs developed and began to execute the implementation plan for ESEA.

The United States Office of Education and ESEA

The United States Office of Education, then a division of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, was responsible for administering ESEA, an education program of unprecedented scope. Included in the USOE's responsibilities under the act were:

- approval of state-submitted applications for participation in ESEA,
- making money available to the state education authorities,
- development and dissemination of regulations, guidelines and materials regarding program administration,
- provision of consulting services to states,
- review and assessment of programs and progress under Title I,
- compilation of fiscal, statistical and program reports for Congress and the public from state-submitted reports.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare/Office of Education, *History of Title I ESEA*, (Sacramento, CA, 1969), 2.

By devising guidelines and regulations, the USOE tried to clarify the ways in which local and state education authorities could use the funds provided by ESEA.⁶⁷

The problem with this plan was that the Office of Education was not set up to support such a vast undertaking, and therefore required massive expansion and overhaul.⁶⁸ Historian Julie Jeffrey describes the pre-ESEA USOE as “timid,” a viewpoint substantiated by historians Stephen Bailey and Edith Mosher, who note that the Office had no overarching organizational principles, an “archaic” financial and management information system, and an outdated personnel system, with no long- or short term employment planning, career development or effective system of personnel evaluation.⁶⁹ Furthermore, there was no real mechanism for integrating the USOE with other departments or agencies, even HEW, of which it was a part, and some of these departments, such as the Bureau of the Budget, had doubts of the Office’s ability to administer large sums of money.⁷⁰ Finally, the Office of Education was eternally wary of the charge of federal interference in education, traditionally a state and local affair.⁷¹

Reorganization of the USOE actually began prior to the enactment of ESEA, when Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel had former *Voice of America* director Harry Loomis appointed as Deputy Commissioner of Education. Loomis took office in March of 1965, and, although he wanted to make many changes, he realized that presenting such changes as a *fait accompli* would not engender support within the ranks of USOE. He therefore asked President Johnson to appoint a task force to analyze

⁶⁷ Bailey and Mosher, *ESEA: The Office of Education Administers a Law*, 99.

⁶⁸ John Warren Bennion, “The Formation of Federal Educational Policy in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.” PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 1966, 142.

⁶⁹ Jeffrey, *Education for Children of the Poor*, 98; Bailey and Mosher, *ESEA: The Office of Education Administers a Law*, 73-74.

⁷⁰ Graham, *The Uncertain Triumph*, 20, 92.

⁷¹ Bailey and Mosher, *ESEA: The Office of Education Administers a Law*, 75.

USOE's operations and recommend changes. This task force, called the Ink task force after its chair, Dwight Ink, then-Assistant General Manager of Atomic Energy, recommended organizing the Office into three major bureaus: the Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education, the Bureau of Higher Education, and the Bureau of Adult and Vocational Education, as well as creating a smaller Bureau of Research.⁷² In its report released in June of 1965, the task force also recommended steps for modernizing and improving the financial and personnel processes of the Office of Education.

This reorganization was not completed easily. Loomis convinced Keppel that the reorganization should take place very quickly. The ensuing chaos made the formation of ESEA regulations and guidelines difficult, but the quick process had some definite advantages, foremost of which was the opportunity for "reshuffling and dislodging old-timers and creating vacancies for needed new staff."⁷³ Due to hiring difficulties, it took until December of 1965 (eight months after ESEA's authorization and three months after funding was allocated) for the department to be fully staffed, and yet, despite the resultant overwork for many staffers, morale was high. As Bailey and Mosher argue, "The very openness of staff relationships put a premium on individual initiative irrespective of employee rank, and the excitement of launching a new program tempered the ordeal of uncertainty and confusion that marked the early months of ESEA."⁷⁴

Once the extensive reorganization of the USOE was completed, the Division of Program Operations (DPO) turned to creating the regulations and guidelines for the state and local educational authorities to use in selecting and implementing their compensatory education programs. Before creating such regulations, however, the USOE needed to

⁷² *Ibid.*, 86.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 90.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 94.

discover what practices would be most likely to help the disadvantaged population that ESEA was intended to reach. Therefore, on July 2, 1965, President Johnson announced that a White House Conference on Education would take place on July 20th and 21st of that year, to address the following issues:

- bringing first class education to “city slum” and impoverished rural areas,
- stimulating a love of learning to keep children from dropping out of school,
- guaranteeing that “new funds will bring new ideas and new techniques to our school system – not just simply expand the old and the outmoded”
- encouraging cooperation between local, state and federal government to make education the first among nation’s goals.⁷⁵

The conference was attended by 650 delegates from all over the country, and was chaired by John Gardner, then-president of the Carnegie Corporation.⁷⁶ The conference designed to stimulate new thinking rather than formulate formal policy resolutions, and was conducted in a series of panel discussions. In his inaugural address, President Johnson had stated that “[e]very child has the right to as much education as he has the ability to receive. I believe that this right does not end in the lower schools, but goes through technical and higher education – if the child wants it and can use it.” Education, he said, was important not only on an individual basis but for “the future of our country . . . freedom is fragile if citizens are ignorant.”⁷⁷ The conference was called to discuss and recommend ways to make that happen.

⁷⁵ “Text of President Johnson’s Address to the NEA” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 23 (1965): 1344.

⁷⁶ Delegates were drawn from a wide range of people and fields. Many were educators, including university professors such as Stephen Bailey of Stanford University and Lawrence Cremin of Teachers College and K-12 practitioners such as Charles Brown, Superintendent of Schools in Newton, MA and Marion Cranmore, principal of Burns Park Elementary School in Ann Arbor, MI. They were joined by many in education-related fields, such as William Carr, executive secretary of the National Education Association and Jack Arbolino, director of the College Board’s Advanced Placement Program. Conferees also included luminaries in non-educational fields, such as Charles Silberman of *Fortune* and Adam Clymer, reporter for the *Baltimore Sun*. See *White House Conference on Education A Milestone for Educational Progress* (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965).

⁷⁷ *White House Conference on Education*, 3.

There was general agreement among panelists that education in the United States lacked innovation and suffered from a failure to devise new methods and approaches to emerging social problems. Schools were providing little in the way of leadership for desegregation in either the North or South, they lacked money and techniques for educating “underprivileged and culturally deprived” children in the inner cities, and were not doing enough for either gifted or handicapped children.⁷⁸

Individual panels addressed issues that were relevant to elementary and secondary education. The teacher education panel advocated a closer link between schools and the universities and colleges that taught teachers, better supervision of beginning teachers, reorganization of neighborhood schools, an increase in the national investment in career teachers, improved teacher preparation for those who would teach in urban schools, and new roles for teachers through reorganization of the teaching process (e.g., getting rid of the self-contained classroom).⁷⁹

The panel entitled Assessment of Educational Performance discussed the “prickly” question of whether, how and what to measure in educational achievement on a national basis. Many participants favored establishing an as yet undefined national standard of some sort, but others considered such a national standard objectionable, as it would result in “punitive sorting” of students by relatively untested instruments. There was substantial – and unresolved – disagreement on what schools and students should be achieving, making measurements of such achievement difficult.⁸⁰

The panels on educating the talented and the handicapped argued that American schools were doing a disservice to children in both groups. The panel on talented

⁷⁸ “White House Education Conference” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 23 (1965): 1612.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 1613.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 1613.

students agreed that schools were inflexible, lacking in administrative support for teaching for higher performance, and that the lack of time, money and freedom to try out new ideas. Furthermore, students who were talented in one or two areas needed be cultivated as much as those who were talented in many.⁸¹ The panel on handicapped students found that there were not enough teachers to provide for these children and favored funding to put new techniques into practice.⁸² Furthermore, the panel noted that “[t]he education of handicapped children would not exist in its present proportions if adequate preventative measures were instituted” and recommended adequate medical care in the early years and preschool to provide social and academic capital.⁸³

The Innovations on Education panel advocated that new approaches in pedagogy and schooling were vital, but that current efforts suffered from three failings: many innovations were superficial, involved too few schools, and evaluation and follow through was so poor that it was difficult to determine what innovations were truly effective. Nevertheless, panel members lauded three types of federal aid as especially important and effective: aid fostering research and development centers in state departments of education and universities, aid establishing supplementary education centers, and aid supporting regional laboratories for experiments, exchange of ideas, demonstrations and consultation services for schools.⁸⁴ Furthermore, school systems, state departments of education, communities, teachers and administrators all need to participate in educational innovation and “must be given the right to be wrong.”⁸⁵ In

⁸¹ *White House Conference on Education*, 98.

⁸² “White House Education Conference” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 23 (1965): 1613.

⁸³ *White House Conference on Education*, 101.

⁸⁴ “White House Education Conference” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 23 (1965): 1614.

⁸⁵ *White House Conference on Education*, 142.

other words, they must have the freedom to experiment, even with the possibility that some projects might fail to produce results.

The panel on preschool noted that studies indicated that early experiences may have a critical impact on later school success. Preschool, the report stated, may be a way to “. . . bring the experience of the lower class child into greater continuity with the expectations of the school – expectations that presuppose middle class value and language codes for its children – not only in order to increase learning but to avoid the frustrating consequences of the discontinuities between the home and school.”⁸⁶ Proponents of preschool argued that more emphasis should be placed on the early years, and pushed for incorporation of Head Start and other preschool programs into ESEA, although others argued that preschools should instead be placed under the aegis of the Economic Opportunity Act’s community action programs.⁸⁷ Regardless of placement, however, preschool was seen as a vehicle for inculcating values consonant with the school environment, in order to promote future academic achievement.

Finally, the panel on Community Extension and Urban Schools weighed in with its list of recommendations: a heavier concentration of university-based research and scholarship on the problems of urban schools; greater involvement of schools and school leaders in the construction of a new urban society, through the creation of “high-quality, socially, intellectually and racially integrated schools” that would enable districts to retain the middle class (usually white) children who were leaving the districts in droves; a larger financial investment in city schools to offset the effects of years of funding problems, degraded infrastructure and an eroding tax base; improvement of the

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 120.

⁸⁷ Vinovskis, *The Birth of Head Start*, 91.

coordination and cooperation between boards of education, federal and state laws and programs, municipal tax authorities and teacher and administrator groups; and a dramatic increase in teacher salaries, status and professional responsibility to improve the quality of teaching.⁸⁸

In addition to the White House Conference on Education, which influenced not only the guidelines written by the USOE, but also provided ideas for the state and local educational authorities, personnel changes at the top of HEW and USOE had a strong impact as well. John Gardner replaced Anthony Celebrezze as Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and “Doc” Harold Howe II was appointed Commissioner of Education. Francis Keppel, one of the primary architects of USOE’s reorganization became Assistant Secretary of HEW.⁸⁹

The long-promised regulations and guidelines were not sent in their final form to the states until December 3, 1965. The Office had presented draft regulations and a model application form at the June 1965 meeting of the Council of Chief State School Officers, and modified them in response to criticism twice during the summer.⁹⁰ The final version of the regulations was delivered to the SEAs on August 26, 1965, and was printed in the *Federal Register* on September 15, 1965. The guidelines took longer: a 76-page preliminary version was distributed and discussed at five meetings between October 14-29, 1965. These meetings involved the majority of the Division of Program Operations staff and more than five hundred state and local officials. The CCSSO

⁸⁸ “White House Education Conference” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 23 (1965): 1614.

⁸⁹ Eidenberg and Morey, *An Act of Congress*, 181.

⁹⁰ The Council of Chief State School Officers includes in its membership the fifty state department of education heads, as well as the education leadership of the District of Columbia, the Department of Defense Education Activity and five U.S. extra-state jurisdictions. The CCSSO “provides leadership, advocacy, and technical assistance on major educational issues. The Council seeks member consensus on major educational issues and expresses their views to civic and professional organizations, federal agencies, Congress, and the public” (website of the Council of Chief State School Officers, <http://www.ccsso.org>).

objected to these draft guidelines, saying that federal involvement should be restricted to the minimum necessary under the law; the states should assume full responsibility for Title I's implementation. The USOE agreed to a meeting on November 23, 1965 to allow the CCSSO the opportunity for one more review. After this meeting, the draft guidelines were rewritten, although few substantive changes were made, and final copies were sent to the states on December 3, 1965, in many cases *after* LEAs and SEAs had already begun to determine how to best spend the Title I money.⁹¹

The regulations and guidelines reiterated the text of the Act which emphasized the importance of local and state control of education. SEAs did not need to submit specific plans for proceeding, but merely to apply for participation, with the assurance that they would comply with the basic tenets of the act which stated that projects would:

- serve areas with high concentrations of low-income children,
- be based on careful assessment of these children's needs and characteristics,
- focus on children's most important needs,
- be offered in locations that can best serve children,
- be of sufficient size, scope and quality to "give reasonable promise of substantial progress,"
- consider preschoolers' needs,
- consider handicapped children's needs,
- provide opportunities for the participation of private school children (but leave control over Title I funding and property with the public school systems),
- give consideration of the capacity of community agencies to serve Title I children,
- include appropriate evaluation procedures,
- include provisions for the LEA to make an annual evaluation report as required by the state.⁹²

Although the above provided a framework of requirements for Title I programs, states had an enormous degree of latitude in terms of program content and structure, and, as can

⁹¹ Bailey and Mosher, *The Office of Education Administers a Law*, 111-112.

⁹² U.S. DHEW/Office of Education, *History of Title I ESEA*, 11-12.

be seen in the next section, Title I of ESEA was implemented in a large number of different ways. There were no mention of school administrators by name, in either the White House Conference of Education report or in requirements for LEAs. They were addressed indirectly, however, as school administrators would be required to carry out some of these requirements.

Local and State Educational Authorities Implement Title I of ESEA

The scope and size of Title I was unprecedented. Nearly 25,000 school districts in fifty-four states and territories were eligible for more than a billion dollars to be spent over fifteen months. Although ESEA was signed into law on April 11, 1965, funding was not appropriated until September 23, 1965, after the school year had already begun.⁹³ Allocations were determined by 1960 census data and 1962 records of payments of aid to dependent children grants, and eligibility was determined at the county level. This resulted in some confusion, as educators found it difficult to adjust census information to apply to the school population, but problems with other data sources made this the most relied-upon method of calculation.⁹⁴

The text of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* and various publications of the USOE made it clear that the aid was to be used for the betterment of the education of poor children, and the states passed that message on to the local educational authorities. *Opportunities for the Disadvantaged*, a report on Title I published by the state of Michigan, for example, clearly states that:

⁹³ Bailey and Mosher, *ESEA: The Office of Education Administers a Law*, 100.

⁹⁴ States were permitted to use other methods of calculation, but were required to use the same method throughout the state (Bailey & Mosher, 106).

Title I delivers the major thrust of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 by authorizing Federal support to local public educational agencies for special education programs for educationally deprived children in attendance areas where low-income families are concentrated. Its aim is to help broaden and strengthen education for the children of poverty, wherever they may be found – in public schools, in private schools, or out of school. It does *not* provide general aid to education.⁹⁵

Regardless of this repeated insistence by legislators that Title I money was to be categorical aid aimed at poor and educationally disadvantaged children, many educators were nonetheless “dismayed to learn that ESEA was not ‘general aid.’”⁹⁶

In some ways, the very openness of the program selection was a significant obstacle for the LEAs. The goal of Title I was to improve the educational outcomes of poor and disadvantaged children, a group for whom schools had traditionally under- or poorly served. Although educators wanted to help these children, their lack of experience and knowledge in this area made it difficult to select effective programs. Furthermore, even prior to Title I there had been a shortage of qualified personnel to work with poor and disadvantaged children; Title I exacerbated this trend by providing funding for additional teachers, accelerating hiring needs.⁹⁷ Finally, there were few, if any, proven methodologies for successfully working with this population of children.

In addition to these difficulties, prior to ESEA, most state departments of education were small and focused on regulation and licensing. ESEA’s requirement that states oversee the distribution and use of the massive Title I funding required a very different type of state organization. Title V of ESEA provided funding for states to strengthen their departments of education, which most states used to create new

⁹⁵ Michigan State Board of Education, *Opportunities for the Disadvantaged A Report to the State on Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 in Michigan* (Lansing: 1967), iii, emphasis in the original.

⁹⁶ Bailey and Mosher, *ESEA: The Office of Education Administers a Law*, 99.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 101.

professional staff positions, and to provide information and advice for local school districts in terms of programs and projects that could be used to meet the requirements of Title I. Researcher Kenneth Smith found that most states did, in fact, use their Title V funding to strengthen their capabilities for research, evaluation and long-range planning.⁹⁸

These changes at the state level did not occur immediately, and therefore most states simply reissued the federal regulations and guidelines to the LEAs as their own. Others, however, such as Michigan, supplemented the federal regulations and guidelines with ones that reflected state concerns. As the Michigan Department of Education wrote its guidelines which were “. . . designed to be of help in the process of identifying needs, planning and writing the required programs” and were organized in eight steps that fairly specifically map the process for implementing Title I:⁹⁹

1. Steps in organizing to benefit from Title I:
 - a. Superintendent appoints a planning committee, including people “whose experience working with educationally deprived children gives them insight into the unmet needs of such children,” those with knowledge of “sound educational programming,” parents, and representatives of agencies concerning the welfare of children.¹⁰⁰
 - b. Superintendent should establish communication with non-public schools.¹⁰¹
2. Identification of pupils: The planning committee should “become as knowledgeable as possible about the characteristics and needs of youngsters to be served” and determine the unique needs in each district.¹⁰²
3. Establish priorities among the various needs of children in each district.¹⁰³

⁹⁸ Kenneth Smith “The Impact of Title V” in *Strengthening State Departments of Education* ed. Roald Campbell, Gerald E. Sroufe, and Donald H. Layton (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1967), 61-75.

⁹⁹ Michigan Department of Education, *Tentative Guidelines for Implementing Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act* (Lansing, 1965).

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 4-5.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 7.

4. Superintendent should contact neighboring school districts and non-public schools to determine whether programs can be carried out on an inter-district basis.¹⁰⁴
5. Plan programs to meet the specific educational needs. The Michigan DOE advocates examining research findings and using pilot programs to determine program effectiveness.¹⁰⁵
6. Superintendent or Designee prepares project description.
7. Superintendent or Designee submits project description to local Board of Education for its approval.
8. Superintendent or Designee submits the project application and description for approval to the Michigan Department of Education.¹⁰⁶

Although the Council of Chief State School Officers had objected to federal control, many of the SEAs actually welcomed the USOE guidance as a way of providing the services that educationally disadvantaged children needed.¹⁰⁷

However, even these USOE-issued guidelines were not very specific – local educational authorities still had an incredibly wide range of possible ways to use Title I money, and, although the funding formula was defined in the legislation, states could still determine at least some criteria upon which the term “disadvantaged” was based. The state of Michigan, for example, defined an educationally disadvantaged child as one who “has never held a pencil or looked at a book before entering kindergarten;” has health issues; is/has been restricted geographically to “not more than a few miles from the small farm on which he lives or a few blocks from the tenement in which he lives;” has “spent his life in a crowded apartment hardly knowing his name, receiving any time from an overworked mother, getting any attention from his brothers and sisters or having any possessions belonging only to him;” disrupts class; or fails regularly in his or her

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

¹⁰⁷ Bailey and Mosher, *The Office of Education Administers a Law*, 114.

academic work.¹⁰⁸ The state noted that although a majority of children in any program should be from low-income families, other children who are “below expected achievement level” can also be included, especially if they attend a school with a concentration of low-income children.¹⁰⁹

The USOE encouraged local educational authorities to “. . . employ imaginative thinking and new approaches in planning for the needs of the educationally deprived children in their districts,” although it did put some constraints on how the funding could be spent to keep LEAs focused on supplementing current educational services for disadvantaged children. For example, funds could not be used for teacher salary raises, but they could be used to fund new positions or additional services. Furthermore, although use of funds for construction was discouraged, a limited amount of Title I funding was permitted in situations where lack of minimum classroom facilities was the “major obstacle to educational programs,” and there was no possibility of rental or lease of another property.¹¹⁰

Title I took up a good deal of school administrators’ time and effort. In a survey of 937 school administrators, historians Stephen Bailey and Edith Mosher found that over 65% reported spending over two weeks preparing their Title I proposals.¹¹¹ In addition to the extensive preparation time, administrators listed other problems as well: 27% had difficulty identifying target schools, 49% had trouble establishing evaluation procedures, 49% reported receiving funds too late in the school year to spend properly, 48% had a

¹⁰⁸ Michigan State Board of Education, *Opportunities for the Disadvantaged*, iii.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹¹⁰ U.S. DHEW, Office of Education., *School Programs for Educationally Deprived Children*, 4-6.

¹¹¹ Approximately 48% reported spending between three and four weeks; 17% reported spending two weeks; 5% one or less weeks; 17% responded “other.” See Bailey and Mosher, *ESEA: The Office of Education Administers a Law*, 336-337.

lack of building space in which to implement planned programs, 56% reported an inability to hire qualified personnel, and 55% noted that they had had difficulty with complex application procedures.¹¹² Nonetheless, a resounding 94% indicated that they would reapply for Title I the following year.¹¹³

In the first year of Title I implementation, \$987.6 million (including about \$11 million for handicapped children under PL 89-313) was used in 17,481 school districts to serve 8.3 million children.¹¹⁴ This sum was approximately 84% of the allocated amount, and included an average per pupil expenditure of \$119 (ranging from \$25-\$227 per pupil). This amount was almost a 25% increase over the average amount spent on non-Title I eligible children in the 1965-1966 school year (national average per pupil expenditure was \$532 that year).¹¹⁵ Because of the late funding and issuance of regulations and guidance from USOE and the state Departments of Education, it seemed at first that local educational authorities would not be able to use substantial amounts of the allocated funding; Education Commissioner Howe therefore encouraged LEAs to plan and implement summer programs to support eligible children.¹¹⁶

The bulk of LEA Title I expenditures was related to instruction (52% of total Title I funds). The other large outlays included equipment (21%), construction (11%), “other” (6%), administration (3%), and services (2%).¹¹⁷ In a report by HEW’s Office of

¹¹² Bailey and Mosher, *ESEA: The Office of Education Administers a Law*, 340-361.

¹¹³ Approximately 3% replied no; 1% were undecided, and 2% did not reply to the question. See Bailey and Mosher, *ESEA: The Office of Education Administers a Law*, 366.

¹¹⁴ Of a total of 26,983 LEAs, 24,926 were eligible for Title I. Of those eligible, 17,481 participated (7445 were eligible but chose not to participate. See U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, *The States Report: The First Year Title I: First Annual Report Title I Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Fifty States, the District of Columbia, and Three U.S. Territories Report on 1965-1966 Compensatory Education Programs Under Title I, Public Law 89-10*, viii.

¹¹⁵ Bailey and Mosher, *ESEA: The Office of Education Administers a Law*, 164-165.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 107.

¹¹⁷ U.S. DHEW/Office of Education, *History of Title I ESEA*, 17.

Education, *History of Title I ESEA*, the category of instruction was further broken down into two main components: instruction and service. Frequently implemented instructional activities included such topics as art, music and cultural enrichment, English (reading, speech and English as a second language), mathematics, physical education, and natural science. Service activities included projects intended to improve attendance, health, library services, provision of food, and transportation. Table 1 is a replica of *History of Title I's* chart of instructional and service activities from whence this information came. The table is divided into two sections, one for instructional activities and one for service activities. The numbers are shown in two ways: percentage of the whole and average expenditure per child in both instruction and service activities as well as the amounts in the categories subsumed under both instructional and service activities. A large percentage of Title I activities were aimed at children in grades one through six (59%), whereas children in grades seven through twelve made up only 36% of the Title I population. Despite a good deal of discussion of preschool in the enactment of ESEA as well as promoting preschool as a good way to use Title I funding, however, preschoolers made up only 6% of the Title I participating population.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ U.S. DHEW/Office of Education, *History of Title I ESEA*, 20.

Table 1: Percent Distribution of Expenditures by Local Education Agencies for Instructional and Service Activities and Average Expenditure Per Child¹¹⁹

Item	Percent Distribution of Expenditures (%)	Average Expenditure Per Child (\$)
Total	100.0	\$119.0
Instructional Activities	72.0	--
Service Activities	28.0	--
Total instructional Activities	100.0	--
Art, music & cultural enrichment	10.3	\$23.0
Business education	2.8	\$42.0
English – reading	45.4	\$56.0
English – speech		
English as a second language		
Foreign language	0.4	\$29.0
Home economics	0.5	\$18.0
Industrial Arts	1.0	\$30.0
Mathematics	5.2	\$20.0
Physical education/recreation	4.3	\$15.0
Natural science	4.1	\$19.0
Social science	2.9	\$14.0
Special activities for handicapped	1.7	\$202.0
Other	21.4*	59*
Total Service Activities	100.0	--
Attendance	2.2	\$7.0
Clothing	1.0	\$13.0
Food	9.6	\$12.0
Guidance/counseling	11.1	\$13.0
Health – medical	10.2	\$11.0
Library	20.8	\$13.0
Social work	3.2	\$12.0
Speech therapy	(1.5% included with instructional activities)	\$47.0
Transportation	7.6	\$9.0
Other	34.2**	\$7.0

*Includes \$44 and 19.3% for general compensatory education

** Includes 29.7% for books, supplies and materials

Perhaps the largest use of Title I funding was in adding both professional and non-professional staff to schools. In 1966, for example, school districts spent a total of \$468,718,993 on additional salaries (\$379,662,384 for professionals; \$89,065,609 for non-professionals). Although this amount of money seems quite high, states reported that

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 18-19.

actual expenditures would have been even higher had qualified personnel been more readily available.¹²⁰ Districts also provided training for school faculties with Title I money – fifty-one out of fifty-four SEAs reported using Title I money for staff training, including inservice training, institutes conducted by colleges and universities, and subsidizing college course enrollment for teachers.¹²¹ A total of 23,908,720 people received some form of training using Title I money in 1966.¹²²

According to *The States Report*, HEW's main report to Congress on ESEA, Title I programs were concentrated in twelve major areas: reading, academic achievement, other communication skills, instruction and curriculum, attitudes and behavior, administration/teaching/other, equipment/facilities, health and welfare services, programs for handicapped children, preschool and kindergarten, summer programs, and library development. The most commonly used approaches did the following:

- hiring aides and “subprofessionals,”
- hiring specialized personnel,
- providing teachers/staff training,
- implementing new programs and/or improving and expanding current programs, and
- provision of equipment, facilities and supplies.

Other commonly cited approaches were summer programs, health services, remedial reading, library services, food and physical services, and provision of special equipment and materials.¹²³ Most instructional programs concentrated on reading and language skills, including reading and language centers, clinical diagnosis and remedial programs for severe reading disabilities, and intensive oral language instruction for English

¹²⁰ U.S. DHEW, *The States Report*, 10.

¹²¹ SEAs include the fifty states, Washington, D.C., Guam, the U.S. Virgin Islands and the Trust Territory in Micronesia (U.S. DHEW, *The States Report*, 10).

¹²² U.S. DHEW/Office of Education, *History of Title I ESEA*, 22.

¹²³ U.S. DHEW, *The States Report*, 1-2.

language learners. Other programs included remedial and corrective arithmetic programs, study centers, tutoring, reduction of teaching load, dropout and absence prevention, preschool programs to provide academic foundations, health services, and to encourage parental involvement, cultural enrichment that offered “[c]hildren who had never been beyond the confines of urban and ghettos and rural poverty areas [exposure] to new worlds through cultural enrichment experiences.”¹²⁴

One State’s Implementation: Michigan

During this period, educational leaders in the state of Michigan generally followed national trends. A large number of children – 419,000, in 557 school districts – participated in grant-supported activities. School districts in the state used Title I money to add 1100 certified teachers and 800 “lay persons” in non-teaching capacities (including more than 100 library aides and several hundred parents as school aides) to school faculties and staffs.¹²⁵ Again, the majority of projects were designed to improve students’ reading abilities (581), but a large amount also addressed health issues (293), guidance, counseling and social services (185), cultural enrichment (129), and preschool (40). There were also 274 instances of use of Title I money for inservice and preservice teacher training. School districts reported that the most constructive uses of Title I money were in reduction of class size, allowing for small group work within classes by utilizing instructional aides, enabling “[s]pecial grouping for children of varying talents and interests,” and opportunities for individualized instruction.¹²⁶ One summer program, for example, provided “occupational counseling and pre-experience” for 160 boys from

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

¹²⁵ Michigan State Board of Education, *Opportunities for the Disadvantaged*, 6.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

seventh to twelfth grades.¹²⁷ Another combined Project Headstart and Title I funds to provide a 9-week preschool program for 120 children, which included work in verbal skills, art, music and book and pre-reading knowledge, as well as providing parent workshops, home visits, two hot meals per day, health and dental exams and field trips.¹²⁸

Title I was implemented in a variety of ways in states and localities throughout the United States. This method of implementation, while ensuring that control over education would remain at the local level, it precludes easy determination of what the money provided by Title I actually did. That said, however, general trends were apparent in the frequency of use of funds for reading, academic achievement, health programs, hiring and training of both teachers and paraprofessionals and preschool. School and school district administrators, therefore, appears to have had a profound – but largely uncommented on – impact on Title I. Administrators were the people who made the decisions about which programs would be implemented in their schools and/or school districts, contributing a great deal to the effectiveness (or lack thereof) of Title I.

Evaluation of ESEA in Its First Year

Mechanisms for the evaluation of ESEA were a large part of the Congressional debate prior to the law's enactment. As noted earlier, Senator Robert Kennedy, although a supporter of the bill, questioned the wisdom of providing funding without a mechanism for deciding how such funding could be used. The result of Kennedy's questions was the

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 17.

inclusion of more stringent requirements for yearly evaluation of the use of ESEA monies.¹²⁹

This evaluation was controversial. At the July 1965 White House Conference on Education, the panel that was devoted to evaluation was unable to resolve the substantial disagreements on what schools and students should be achieving. Proponents of testing argued that assessment would be “an effective means for identifying and subsequently remedying our educational ills and for stimulating wholesale interest in educational matters.” Evaluation critics on the panel, however, worried that

educational innovation will be inhibited as the legitimate boundaries for education are defined and inevitably narrow; subjects representing difficult-to-test material ultimately will be dropped from the curriculum; the test makers will determine both the goals and the standards for education; teachers will teach for the test items; and local control will be surrendered to remote national and federal control.¹³⁰

The panelists did not resolve this issue, but acknowledged that assessment would occur, and thus their larger concern was to prevent the “possible misuse of information [that] is a danger to be guarded against in all realms of human behavior.”¹³¹

As stated by the United States Office of Education, the purpose of Title I evaluation was to “ascertain its effectiveness in meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children.”¹³² Many educators, however, opposed evaluation, declaring that evaluation was not the purpose of Title I. Furthermore, the evaluation requirements disturbed educators, as they were unsure of how the local, state and federal participants in ESEA might use that data. Educators feared that comparisons between teachers, between schools, and between students could be harmful to both students and

¹²⁹ Jeffrey, *Education for Children of the Poor*, 85.

¹³⁰ *White House Conference on Education*, 50-51.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹³² U.S. DHEW, Office of Education., *School Programs for Educationally Deprived Children*, 14.

teachers, and might actually conversely “make the schools less responsive to special local needs and thus *less* conscientious in devising appropriate local solutions, *especially* for disadvantaged children.”¹³³ The issue of federal control also came into play here – educators feared that federal interest in educational outcomes would justify increasing federal involvement, reducing local control. Finally, educators raised concerns about the process of testing itself: they claimed that there were indications that standardized tests were not appropriate measures of achievement, especially for disadvantaged children, and that they would not adequately assess the effectiveness of Title I programs.¹³⁴ Moreover, they argued that the use of standardized tests as an outcome measure would discourage programs with goals not readily measured by such tests.¹³⁵

In formulating the regulations and guidelines pertaining to evaluation, USOE walked a fine line between ESEA’s requirement for annual evaluation and its prohibition of federal control or supervision over state and local administration of ESEA. Furthermore, USOE was unwilling to court the rejection of school administrators. Researcher Milbrey Willin McLaughlin notes that

at the outset explicit decisions were made within DPO [Division of Program Operations of the USOE] to avoid evaluation issues that might frighten local or state administrators, or cloud the new ‘partner-client’ relationship. For example, as discussions concerning the evaluation guidelines got underway, an implicit decision was made not to set uniform reporting standards, not to require measurement by standardized tests, and not to suggest what the preferred components of ‘effectiveness’ might be.¹³⁶

The resultant guidelines, therefore, were not very specific. In an informational pamphlet for school administrators, *School Programs for Educationally Deprived*

¹³³ Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin, *Evaluation and Reform The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, Title I* (Cambridge: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1975), 10, emphasis in original.

¹³⁴ McLaughlin, *Evaluation and Reform*, 10, emphasis in original.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 19.

Children: Basic Facts for School Administrators, the Office of Education stated that evaluation should occur via “appropriate objective measurement of the educational achievement of the children involved and by appraisal of the increase in the educational opportunities afforded them.”¹³⁷ These measurements could include basic skills achievement, general educational attainment, the dropout rate, educational motivation, behavioral indicators, retardation in grade, quality and quantity of educational opportunities provided in the school setting, and competency of staff.¹³⁸

The first year of evaluation, therefore, was less an actual evaluation than a report of the Title I programs. Nonetheless, there is still valuable information about what transpired in that first year embedded in the report, compiled and published by the USOE, entitled *The States Report: The First Year Title I: First Annual Report Title I Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Fifty States, the District of Columbia, and Three U.S. Territories Report on 1965-1966 Compensatory Education Programs Under Title I, Public Law 89-10*. The report began with the caveat that “time limitations, lack of established evaluating procedures and techniques, failure to use achievement measuring systems, and the lack of trained evaluators” meant that the report “lacks some of the specifics of a technical evaluation report.”¹³⁹ Nevertheless, on the whole, *The States Report* is an extremely positive document, attributing a change in educational climate to ESEA: children who had been reluctant learners were now willing participants, and teachers learned to “work more effectively [with disadvantaged children] and with a

¹³⁷ U.S. DHEW, Office of Education., *School Programs for Educationally Deprived Children*, 14.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹³⁹ U.S. DHEW, *The States Report*, vi; Furthermore, data were incomplete. Howard Owen Merriman notes that state data were incomplete, and that “not one state met the requirements of every item” and that there was no possible way for a complete national report based on the data submitted by the states. See Howard Owen Merriman, “A Study of the States’ Reports on Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965”, PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 1968, 128.

greater depth of understanding than ever before.”¹⁴⁰ Moreover, states “praised Title I for furthering the efforts of educators in planning, studying, and evaluating education in general and education for the disadvantaged in particular” and that it had fostered “a new spirit of cooperation and coordination among school districts.”¹⁴¹

The report did note problems delineated by the states, including misinterpretations of regulations by LEAs, a lack of time, both in duration of programs (by June 1966, most programs had been in existence for only four to five months) and for testing, a shortage of evaluation personnel, a lack of appropriate testing materials, and limitations in the capacity for data processing. The states also reported difficulties in hiring qualified personnel, interpreting guidelines and regulations, administering programs, designing and implementing programs, and evaluating programs.¹⁴² Furthermore, local education authorities complained that the conflict between the Congressional appropriations schedule (where money was appropriated in September of 1965) and the school year (where they needed to be able to plan in advance of September) made planning and implementation of programs difficult. Furthermore, LEAs, especially in the large urban centers, wanted assurance that funding would be maintained over a few years before planning new programs and hiring educators to staff them.¹⁴³ Finally, many states requested that USOE provide more specific regulations for the size, scope and quality of Title I programs, and that those regulations be available prior to the start of each school year.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ US DHEW, *The States Report*, 6-7.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 7; *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 12-15.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 18.

The states provided self-reports of their LEAs' progress in improving the education of disadvantaged children. Although states did not have to provide the criteria they used for making judgments about progress, they did seem to indicate that the largest percentage of programs they called "successful" were at the preschool and kindergarten level. States reported a "drop in effectiveness" with the older children, although the report postulates that "[t]he fact that evaluation at the preschool/kindergarten level is usually subjective in nature may have contributed to the high incidence of 'substantial' progress reported." In all grades, states considered "supportive services" more successful than purely "instructional" programs.¹⁴⁵

In terms of more objective evaluation, few states presented complete data including the number of children, name of assessment, pre- and post-test scores, and the time interval between tests. Forty states presented incomplete data, and eleven presented none at all, for a variety of reasons including a lack of uniformity in LEA testing, difficulties in compiling test data, lack of a statewide testing programs, lack of appropriate testing instruments, and perhaps most importantly, the fact that although the law mandated evaluation as a condition for participation, the USOE had only required baseline data for the first year – states were not required to do any post-treatment assessment.¹⁴⁶

The States Report, therefore, while fulfilling ESEA's requirement for evaluation, was not really an evaluation at all. Instead, it served as a chance for states to report the ways in which they were using the money without a need to prove that those ways were effective in meeting the goals of improving the educational attainment of disadvantaged

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 38-39.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 44.

children. It also gave states an opportunity to make their needs known in terms of reauthorization, including requests for longer duration of funding and synchronization of that funding with the school year.

Discussion

In the years prior to 1965, the idea of general federal aid for education was a hotly debated and contentious issue. Legislators intent on passing ESEA, therefore, purposefully avoided answering the question of how this aid money would be spent, lest such discussion derail federal aid entirely. There are some signals of those intentions, however. President Johnson's first message on education in 1965 called for the federal government to accomplish the task of putting the best educational ideas and innovations within the reach of all students, and to provide incentives for those who wish to learn. Although he did not say so specifically, he seemed to indicate that school or school district administrators would need to use the monies that Congress would provide through his suggested legislation to accomplish these tasks – a very general statement, but one that nonetheless signifies that he was thinking about how the money would be used. Furthermore, although for reasons of political expediency he did not make extensive use of the recommendations of the Gardner task force, the task force's very existence clearly indicated an awareness of changes needed to be made at the local and regional level in order to improve schools, especially those serving impoverished children.

Senator Robert Kennedy's questions to Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel and Secretary of HEW Anthony Celebrezze about the need to take steps to aid state and local education authorities in dealing with the problems that they face, and to be

cognizant of the possibility that those education authorities *are* the problem are another example of a Democrat who was thinking about the possible steps that might have needed to be taken beyond authorizing funds. Although this viewpoint was not represented in the final legislation, its discussion at least raised the idea in the minds of all who were present at the hearings.

The Republican opposition had the most comprehensive and thoughtful ideas about how to best go about compensating for the poverty of the affected students. Instead of adding money for the 5-17 year old set, they proposed a preschool program, saying that research had shown that it was easier to impact younger children. Again, this program was not included in the final legislation, but it is an important indication that at least some legislators were thinking about how to best spend the money to improve the education of poor children.

A few months after the legislation was passed, President Johnson hosted a White House Conference on Education, where the most comprehensive discussion under his aegis of the “how” occurred. The 650 delegates who attended discussed ideas and techniques that would improve and change the mechanisms for imparting knowledge and skills rather than “just simply expand[ing] the old and outmoded.”¹⁴⁷ These panels provided ideas on how to improve elementary and secondary education in various ways: teacher education, assessment, education of the talented and the handicapped, promoting innovations, and urban education. Although Johnson set up the format specifically *not* to give recommendations, the fact that he impaneled this group at all indicates that he realized that school and school district administrators needed guidance, and this conference was a way to take some initial steps to provide them with that guidance.

¹⁴⁷ “Text of President Johnson's Address to the NEA” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 23 (1965): 1344.

In many ways, the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* changed the landscape of American education. The federal government had been involved in education before, but this act marked the first time that it began to play a major role and it did so in a way that was focused on poor, minority and otherwise disadvantaged children. The legislators purposefully refrained from specifying how the money was to be used, realizing that such mandates would in all likelihood have resulted in a rejection of the legislation. Instead, control and implementation were left at the state and local level. Although this was a huge step, there was still more to come, as legislators debated the terms of renewal of ESEA and federal, state and local education officials grappled with ways to productively implement this important new law.

Chapter 2: *The Elementary and Secondary Education Act: Reauthorization and Implementation, 1966-1969*

The passage of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* in 1965 changed the educational landscape of the United States, bringing a previously unprecedented level of federal involvement into the funding process. In the subsequent three years, the law was reauthorized twice, each time changing at least somewhat the parameters within which schools and school administrators had to work in order to implement and evaluate the programs funded through the legislation. In this chapter I delineate this reauthorization process and discuss the impact that those reauthorizations had on implementation and evaluation, especially insofar as they affected school administration. This chapter is organized in three sections: the 1966 Reauthorization, the 1967 Reauthorization, and implementation and evaluation in the 1966-1968 time period. The first two sections are further divided into the reauthorization process, including Administration requests, debates in both the House and Senate, Conference and enactment; implementation during that year; and evaluation of ESEA and Title I during that period.

In this chapter I argue that a massive change in the attitude of legislators and administrators towards federal money and federal input into education occurred during this time period. Prior to ESEA's enactment many members of Congress were exceedingly hostile to the very idea of federal funding for education. Yet over the course of just a few years, most of these same legislators found some funding to be not only acceptable but expected. Furthermore, unlike in the enactment fight, during these same

years school administrators began to play a part in shaping ESEA and Title I, coming to Capitol Hill to testify in favor amending the law to accommodate their needs and desires. In other words, during the mid-1960's, both the philosophical stance of legislators and the role of school administrators changed in ways that continue to shape American education to this day.

1966 Reauthorization

The reauthorization of ESEA began soon after the passage of the original bill. As promised, two days after Johnson signed the ESEA into law, on April 13, 1965, a staff member of the House Education and Labor Committee said that the General Education Subcommittee would begin hearings on the law as soon as possible to provide a preliminary analysis of the operation of it, with an eye towards possible revisions in 1966.¹⁴⁸

The first step in this process occurred in the White House Conference on Education that occurred on July 20th and 21st of 1965. As described in the previous chapter, this conference brought together 650 delegates from around the country to address ways of using the ESEA money to reach the goal of improving the educational attainment of impoverished children. The panelists did not formulate policy resolutions, nor did they recommend legislation; instead their purpose was to “tap the opinion of educational leadership and to make that opinion known to the President” so that he could

¹⁴⁸ “Primary Education Bill Clears Congress, Becomes Law” *Congressional Quarterly*, 23(1965): 667.

use the information in formulating the 1966 Amendments to ESEA.¹⁴⁹ Although there was debate as to how this should be done, there was also agreement among the delegates that federal aid to education should continue and be expanded.¹⁵⁰

President Johnson followed up on these initiatives in his Message to Congress on the Fiscal 1967 Budget in January, a few weeks after the State of the Union speech. In the Message, Johnson noted that he intended to ask Congress for a much higher level of funding of education programs.¹⁵¹ In March of 1966, therefore, Johnson asked Congress to renew ESEA, charging it to fund Head Start, raise the low-income family qualification from \$2000 to \$3000 in 1968, and provide money to help schools plan for construction to deal with overcrowding and de facto segregation. He also asked that the bill be extended for four years.¹⁵² President Johnson's request also cut the incentive grant program which provided additional funds to states that increased their education spending, noting in his Education Message to Congress that "[c]areful study of the 'incentive grant' provision of Title I shows that payments would be made to many districts unrelated to need."¹⁵³ His request also would have reduced the amount of aid provided to districts impacted by such federal installations as military bases. Historians Eugene Eidenberg and Roy Moray suggest that the president "did not want to be saddled with the unpopular task" of requesting a tax increase to support a larger budget, and thus

¹⁴⁹ John W. Gardner, Speech to the delegates, July 20, 1965, *White House Conference on Education A Milestone for Educational Progress* (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), 174; Lyndon Johnson, Remarks to the delegates, *White House Conference on Education*, 208.

¹⁵⁰ *Congressional Quarterly*, 23(1965): 1612.

¹⁵¹ "President Johnson's Message on Fiscal 1967 Budget" *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 24 (1966): 297.

¹⁵² "President Submits Domestic Health, Education Plans" *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 24 (1966): 497.

¹⁵³ "President's Education Message" *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 24 (1966): 534.

cut items that he thought Congress was likely to restore. Therefore, Congress would get the blame for the tax increase necessitated by these restorations.¹⁵⁴

In addition to these new proposals, there were changes in the political leadership of the USOE after the passage of ESEA in April of 1965. John W. Gardner, who had replaced Anthony J. Celebrezze as Secretary of HEW in September of 1965, was warmly received, but Harold Howe II, who replaced Francis Keppel as Commissioner of Education upon the latter's move to Assistant Secretary of HEW, was not. By the time of the 1966 renewal, Howe had already presided over the first federal funding cut for lack of progress in desegregation to twelve districts in the South under Title VI of the *Civil Rights Act*. Historians Eugene Eidenberg and Roy Moray note that because of these desegregation issues “[b]y the time the 1966 school bill was debated in Congress, the southern members were ready to hang him from the nearest tree.”¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, there appeared to be less urgency for pushing ESEA in general. The only mention of education in the State of the Union (a good measure of its relative importance to the administration) was Johnson's request for enough resources to continue existing health and education programs, and for completed action on the Teachers Corps.¹⁵⁶ The renewal bill's slow passage from initial proposal to signing is another indication of the apparent lack of urgency – unlike the previous year where the process took eighty-nine days, this bill was proposed in late March but not signed until the following January.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ Eugene Eidenberg and Roy D. Morey. *An Act of Congress; The Legislative Process and the Making of Education Policy* (New York: Norton & Company, 1969), 188.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 181.

¹⁵⁶ “Text of President Johnson's State of Union Message” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 24 (1966): 48.

¹⁵⁷ *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 24 (1966): 534; Eidenberg and Moray, *An Act of Congress*, 202.

1966 Reauthorization: The House

The predominant issues addressed in the House around the renewal of ESEA in 1966 were not the same ones that were so contentious in the initial enactment. Secretary of HEW John Gardner testified that the government wanted to repeal the state incentive grants because they were not actually incentives towards higher spending but would be based on increases already planned before the grants were awarded. He noted that the \$400 million saved by eliminating these incentive grants could be used to increase the basic grants to more than 20,000 school districts.¹⁵⁸ The Administration's focus, therefore, was on using ESEA funding more effectively without necessarily increasing the overall amount allocated to it.

Unlike the previous year, witnesses testifying before the House Education and Labor General Education Subcommittee included superintendents from larger urban districts. Their emphasis was on funding, asking for additional monies for administration and overhead, school construction, and changes in the funding procedures that would (1) enable money to be available in the spring rather than in the fall and (2) provide money on a longer term basis so that ESEA could be better integrated into school budget planning. Adron Dorn, the spokesman for the National Education Association agreed that authorizations should run for more than one year at a time, enabling administrators to plan over the long-term, and also supported funding for school construction.¹⁵⁹ The superintendents of the Cincinnati and Chicago School Districts both requested that a percentage of the funding be allocated to planning, overhead and administrative costs.¹⁶⁰ This testimony, the first inclusion of administrators in ESEA-related House Hearings,

¹⁵⁸ "Elementary Education" *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 24 (1966): 704.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 704

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 800.

indicate that administrators were focused on the financing of their programs rather than shaping the content of such programs. Although at first this seems surprising, in truth it is not – these administrators were probably the last people to want federal intrusion into the programs they selected for their schools and school districts as such intervention would impede their ability to do as they saw fit.

In the same Hearings, George LaNoue of Teachers College at Columbia University criticized Title I for its extremely wide funding eligibility, saying that wealthy suburban districts with “little pockets of poverty” had advantages in hiring teachers with special skills in remediation, pulling those teachers from districts with more dire needs. Therefore, not only were more affluent districts receiving funding that might have better served more disadvantaged districts, but they were able to hire these vital teachers who were in such short supply away from those same disadvantaged districts. This testimony, however, did not seem to change any of the funding mechanisms in place for ESEA and Title I.¹⁶¹

The bill that came to a vote by the full Committee on July 28, 1966, was quite different from the one that had passed the previous year. It extended the authorization for ESEA for two years, reinstated the funding to areas impacted by military and other federal installations that the Administration had attempted to cut, repealed the incentive grants, increased the overall size of the authorization, accepted the presidential request to raise the low-income factor to \$3000 beginning in fiscal year 1968, earmarked aid to children of native Americans and migrant workers and adjusted the allocation formula to allow states to use national average per pupil expenditures instead of state average per

¹⁶¹ Hugh Davis Graham, *The Uncertain Triumph: Federal Education Policy in the Kennedy and Johnson Years* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 122-123.

pupil expenditures if the national figure were higher, thus increasing the amount of funding for those states.¹⁶² The bill boosted the overall authorization by \$120 million.¹⁶³

In the midst of the renewal hearings, James Coleman and his associates released their influential study entitled *Equality of Education Opportunity*, popularly known as the Coleman Report. This report was compiled in response to a mandate in the *Civil Rights Act of 1964* for a report would detail “the lack of availability of equal educational opportunities for individuals by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin in public educational institutions at all levels in the United States . . .”¹⁶⁴ The underlying assumption of the study, therefore, was that differences in educational opportunities existed and that these assumed differences impacted greatly on the performance of students of different races, classes, religions and ethnicities. In fact, the very rationale for ESEA was predicated on these presumed differences in input leading to differences in academic outcomes.

The researchers defined equality in terms of five issues: community input, such as per pupil expenditure, school facilities, libraries, and teacher quality; racial composition of the school; intangibles such as teacher morale, teachers’ expectations, and level of interest in learning by students; equality of results given the same individual input; and the consequences of school for individuals of unequal backgrounds and abilities.¹⁶⁵ Coleman’s results came as a stunning surprise. Instead of substantiating the expected

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 188-193.

¹⁶³ Eidenberg & Moray, *An Act of Congress*, 191; “Elementary School Aid, Impacted Areas Bill Reported” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly*(1966): 1731.

¹⁶⁴ Section 402, Civil Rights Act of 1964, cited in “Introduction,” *Equal Educational Opportunity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 3.

¹⁶⁵ James Coleman, “The Concept of Equality of Educational Opportunity,” *Equal Educational Opportunity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press: 1969), 18-19.

impact of inequities such as per pupil funding in schooling between white middle class students and minority students, Coleman actually found that

Schools bring little influence to bear on a child's achievement that is independent of his background and general social context; this very lack of independent effect means that the inequalities imposed on children by their home, neighborhood, and peer environment are carried along to become the inequalities with which they confront adult life at the end of school. For equality of educational opportunity through the schools must imply a strong effect of the schools that is independent of the child's immediate social environment, and that strong independent effect is not present in American schools.¹⁶⁶

Although Coleman never said so, many policy makers and historians interpreted his report to mean that schools do not matter – students are influenced primarily by their parents and their peers. In fact, Coleman *did* find that two areas that mattered: characteristics of teachers (students whose teachers had larger vocabularies performed better) and characteristics of students' peers, indicating that poor and minority students might perform better if given the opportunity to attend schools integrated with more affluent white students.¹⁶⁷

These results *should* have rocked ESEA supporters to their very core – after all, they stood contrary to the underlying notion of ESEA that providing additional funding to disadvantaged children would close the gap between them and their middle and upper class peers. However, although the Department of Health, Education and Welfare was not overjoyed with these data, it were also not overly discouraged by them. Instead of integrating the report into their thinking and proposed actions, officials at HEW downplayed the report, issuing a summary that used more tentative language than that of the original. Historian Julie Jeffrey provides an example:

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 25.

¹⁶⁷ James Coleman, "A Brief Summary of the Coleman Report," *Equal Educational Opportunity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 258-259.

What appeared in the actual report as a statement that average minority pupils suffered more in low-quality schools than did average white children, for example, was changed into a conditional statement. “The average minority pupil’s achievement *may* suffer more in a school of low quality than *might* the average white pupils.” The major conclusions of the Coleman study were obviously being played down.¹⁶⁸

Furthermore, Education Commissioner Harold Howe II responded to the report saying that the findings were “unexpected and interesting” and that the Office of Education would try to find ways to improve educational opportunities for “Negro” students in the upcoming year. He also noted that the study was completed before the programs funded by ESEA went into effect, and therefore their effect could not yet be known.¹⁶⁹

Thus, despite unexpected and powerful findings, the Coleman Report had little-to-no impact on the reauthorization and modification of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act*. Use of the report’s data might have made for much more effective use of the funds provided through ESEA (for example by directing such funding towards areas such as preschool education that had a well-documented research base rather than continuing to fund programs that Coleman had found were unlikely to close the education gap), but legislators at that time did not see it in such a light. The only area of the Coleman Report that legislators did seem to take into account was the finding that poor black students performed better when educated alongside their more affluent, white peers.¹⁷⁰

When the bill reached the House floor, therefore, most of the discussion centered on a recurring issue – desegregation, particularly in reference to the legality of the use of

¹⁶⁸ Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Education for Children of the Poor: A Study of the Origins and Implementation of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1978), 149, emphasis added.

¹⁶⁹ “Education Report” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 24 (1966): 1436.

¹⁷⁰ Daniel Moynihan, “Sources of Resistance to the Coleman Report.” in *Equal Educational Opportunity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 27.

Title I funds for busing children to other schools for the purpose of desegregation, as well as some Congressmen who wanted to eliminate the provision that gave special consideration to districts that were trying to overcome racial imbalances. For example, Representative Lawrence Fountain (D-NC) proposed an amendment that would prohibit the Commissioner of Education from withholding funding for alleged segregation practices without a hearing and finding of noncompliance. This amendment was adopted by a 221-116 vote.¹⁷¹

Although indicating that they would vote for the bill, Representatives William Ayres (R-OH), Albert Quie (R-MN), Charles E. Goodell, (R-NY) and John N. Erlenborn (R-IL) jointly criticized it for “an almost total inability to establish meaningful priorities among educational needs to be dealt with by Federal programs.”¹⁷² In other words, like the previous year during ESEA’s enactment, the 1966 Amendments were providing funding without indicating ways in which administrators should direct that funding in order to best reach the disadvantaged children for whom it was intended. This criticism was similar to the questions raised in the previous year when Representative Charles Goodell (R-NY) and some of his fellow Republicans questioned the rationale for the lack of provision for preschoolers and Representative John Brademas (D-IN) questioned the feasibility of using education to break the poverty cycle (similar to concerns raised by the Coleman Report).¹⁷³ In this case, opposition focused on the lack of delineation of more and less important goals, and, by extension, the mechanisms to reach those goals, as

¹⁷¹ Eidenberg and Moray, *An Act of Congress*, 196.

¹⁷² “Elementary School Aid, Impacted Areas Bill Reported” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 24 (1966): 1732.

¹⁷³ Maris Vinovskis, *The Birth of Head Start: Preschool Education Policies in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 46; Jeffrey, *Education for Children of the Poor*, 82-83.

opposed to the concentration on how much to fund and to whom that was the focus of the majority. Despite these criticisms, on October 6, 1966, the House passed the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments of 1966* in a 237-97 roll call vote.

1966 Reauthorization: The Senate

Unlike the original enactment of ESEA, when the Senate approved an identical bill to that of the House, in the 1966 reauthorization the Senate bill differed markedly from the House version. The Senate version provided \$600 million, adjusting the low income factor to \$2500 in 1967 and \$3000 in 1968, and added a new section authorizing an additional \$56 million for supplementary education centers. The Senate bill included a provision to grant assistance to encourage school districts to eliminate overcrowded, obsolete schools and to promote racial integration, and, like the House bill, broadened the allocation formula to permit use of the national average per pupil expenditure, increasing funding for poorer states.¹⁷⁴

Education Subcommittee chair Wayne Morse (D-OR), who had been an ardent supporter of ESEA's passage in 1965, was less enthusiastic about the Administration's positions in 1966. Whereas President Johnson wanted to "consolidate, reform and moderate the growth of the Great Society's education programs," Senator Morse wished to expand them.¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, Morse's fervent opposition to the escalating conflict in Vietnam led him to oppose any cuts in education aid that might provide funding be used instead in Vietnam. Historian Hugh Davis Graham cites a memo that Douglass Cater, the president's education advisor, wrote to President Johnson:

¹⁷⁴ Eidenberg and Moray, *An Act of Congress*, 198.

¹⁷⁵ Graham, *An Uncertain Triumph*, 120.

Wayne Morse has declared war on his President and is trying to use education legislation as his weapon. Two days ago in the higher education hearing he announced to the witnesses that he was going to “place the responsibility for the Vietnam war where it belongs – on the doorstep of the White House”. . . Morse has badgered witnesses, not only from HEW but from the American Council on Education who sought to support the Administration’s proposals.¹⁷⁶

Even as the new issue of the war in Vietnam emerged as a factor, old conflicts reappeared in the form of testimony about the conflict between church and state inherent in the funding of parochial schools with federal money. Leo Pfeffer, special counsel of the American Jewish Congress, feared that due to ESEA federal money would fund a parallel private/parochial school system. Pfeffer stated that “There is a widespread impression among public school administrators . . . that a local public school board will not be able to get funds under [ESEA] unless it agrees to set aside a portion . . . for the parochial school system within its district” and called for an investigation of possible religious use of federal funds.¹⁷⁷ But on the whole, despite Pfeffer’s contentions, relations between public and private schools at this time were been markedly congenial. Indeed, the main aspect of this issue that concerned lawmakers were indications that neither private nor public schools were taking full advantage of available assistance.¹⁷⁸

On July 15, 1966, the Education Subcommittee of the Senate reported the bill to the full Labor and Public Welfare Committee, which voted it out, recommending \$1.7 billion for the Office of Education (\$42.6 million less than that recommended by the House). The Committee retained the House increases over the Administration’s initial

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 128.

¹⁷⁷ Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, *Elementary and Secondary Act of 1966*, 89th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1966.

¹⁷⁸ Eidenberg and Moray, *An Act of Congress*, 182-184.

request for federal aid to operate school in federally impacted areas, although they did cut funds for salaries and expenses.¹⁷⁹

In the floor debate, Senator Everett Dirksen (R-IL) offered several amendments to the bill. The first was an amendment that sought to bring the bill in line with the less-extensive Johnson proposals that was rejected. The second, a school prayer amendment, was discussed and tabled. The third, an amendment prohibiting the Commissioner of Education from giving special consideration or preference to local school proposals dealing with racial imbalance, passed.¹⁸⁰

Republicans again criticized the increase in funding without consideration for how the money would be spent saying that “even in the event such expenditures were justified...there is nothing in the present record that indicates that the schools can absorb such an increase with a corresponding improvement in their programs.”¹⁸¹ Despite these concerns, the bill overwhelmingly passed in the Senate (54-16) on October 6, 1966.¹⁸²

1966 Reauthorization: House/Senate Conference

The differences in the House and Senate bills meant that the two houses had to conference to resolve their differences before sending the bill to President Johnson for his signature. Conference members agreed to eliminate the Senate amendment to raise the low income factor to \$2500 for 1967, adopted the Senate provisions for programs for handicapped children, transferred basic education programs from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Office of Education, and rewrote the Fountain amendment to allow

¹⁷⁹ “Senate Votes \$10.5 Billion in Labor-HEW Funds” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 24 (1966): 2297.

¹⁸⁰ Eidenberg and Moray, *An Act of Congress*, 201.

¹⁸¹ “Elementary Education” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 24 (1966): 1905.

¹⁸² Eidenberg and Moray, *An Act of Congress*, 201; “Elementary Education Bills Passed By House and Senate” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 24 (1966): 2465.

Commissioners of Education to defer funding for 90 days to school districts alleged to be in violation of anti-segregation statutes, during which time a hearing would be held to determine whether such a violation had in fact occurred. The conference bill was accepted by both the House and the Senate and was signed by President Johnson on January 2, 1967.¹⁸³

1967 Reauthorization

In this new Congressional session, President Johnson waited to address education until he submitted his education and health requests to Congress on February 28, 1967. Requests relevant to elementary and secondary education included an extension of the *National Defense Education Act*, funding for public television, and money to strengthen current programs under the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act*. The president also requested \$2.5 million for an analysis and report to Congress on the new federal education programs.¹⁸⁴

1967 Reauthorization: The House

The midterm elections in 1966 brought a dramatic change in the composition of the House. In addition to general unhappiness about the continuing war in Vietnam, backlash from white voters against the Johnson Administration's support of civil rights, especially in the wake of race riots, especially the events in Watts, and desegregation

¹⁸³ Eidenberg and Moray, *An Act of Congress*, 202.

¹⁸⁴ "President Submits Education and Health Requests" *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 25 (1967): 301.

efforts led to a Republican victory.¹⁸⁵ When the votes had been counted, the Republicans gained 47 seats in the House, enough to block or amend legislation if they allied with Southern Democrats.¹⁸⁶

Testimony before the House Education and Labor Committee on the renewal of ESEA in 1967 again centered around money, but this time there were hints that testifiers were thinking about the use to which the money would be put at least in terms of assuring that money would be consistent over the long term. In testimony, S.P. Marland Jr., Superintendent of the Pittsburgh School District, and others warned that specific dollar commitments were necessary to carry out Congress's will. These educators mentioned difficulties that had resulted from the receipt of less money than they had been promised and their inability to execute some of the programs they had planned. Other superintendents, including those from of Detroit, Chicago, Buffalo, New York City, Cleveland, Memphis, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Philadelphia and Baltimore, offered their support of the bill and its full funding, but asked for longer authorization periods to facilitate long-range planning.¹⁸⁷ Others, including representatives of the National Education Association and the AFL-CIO also testified in support of full funding of ESEA and Title I in particular.¹⁸⁸ On April 11, 1967, the Committee reported the bill to the full

¹⁸⁵ Albert Matusaw, *The Unraveling of America: A History of Liberalism in the 1960s*, Athens, GA, University of Georgia Press, 2009, 214.

¹⁸⁶ Eidenberg and Moray, *An Act of Congress*, 207; Graham, *An Uncertain Triumph*, 131; Writing in 1968 after Nixon's election to the presidency, Kevin Phillips considers this change a "repudiation visited upon the Democratic Party for its ambitious social programming, and inability to handle the urban and Negro revolutions [that] was comparable in scope to that given conservative Republicanism in 1932 for its failure to cope with the economic crisis of the Depression." See Kevin Phillips, *The Emerging Republican Majority*, New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1969, 25.

¹⁸⁷ "Elementary Education" *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 25 (1967): 435.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 435.

House, with provisions to extend ESEA through fiscal year 1969 and authorizations of \$3.3 billion in fiscal year 1968 and \$3.4 billion in fiscal year 1969.¹⁸⁹

Given the rising tensions about racial issues in this period, when the renewal bill got to the House Floor, questions about desegregation returned. Southern Democrats wanted changes in the desegregation guidelines, which at that time focused on enforcement in the South, with little attention to that which occurred in the North. This issue was resolved when Representative Edith Green (D-OR) offered an amendment that seemed to solve the problem: it required that the desegregation guidelines under Title VI of the *Civil Rights Act* be enforced uniformly throughout the nation, making Southern Democrats, whose constituencies had felt unfairly singled out, more willing to vote for the reauthorization; this amendment was passed.¹⁹⁰ Other amendments also provide evidence that many early issues raised by ESEA were still unresolved. For example, Representative Lawrence Fountain (D-NC) offered the same amendment as the previous year, a proposal to allow states to use national average per pupil expenditure rates to calculate their eligibility for Title I funds rather than state averages when the national numbers would bring more funding; this amendment was again adopted.¹⁹¹ Similarly, Representative Albert Quie (R-MN) sought to substitute block grants for the allocation formula, reducing federal interference in local schools. This amendment was defeated (168-197). After contentious debates, the bill passed by a very wide margin at 1:40 AM on May 25, 1967 (294-122).¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 435.

¹⁹⁰ Eidenberg and Moray, *An Act of Congress*, 209.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 209; this amendment was not accepted by the Senate and was dropped at Conference.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 211-212; "House Passes Hotly Fought Education Bill" *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 25 (1967): 861

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the bill's passage was the tenor of the House debate. In 1965 there was a very real possibility that legislators would not permit the encroachment of the federal government into education, long the province of state and local government. By 1967, very few questioned the concept of federal aid to education. No one was asking if the federal government should fund education; instead they centered on the nuts and bolts – how should it be done? How much money should be provided? Who should be eligible?¹⁹³

1967 Reauthorization: The Senate

The Senate Subcommittee on Education began taking testimony on both the Administration and House versions of the bill on July 24, 1967. This testimony centered on four amendments that had been adopted by the House:

- The amendment offered by Representative Lawrence Fountain (D-NC) that forbade the withholding of funding for new programs for lack of progress on desegregation without a hearing and a finding of noncompliance (existing procedure said that funds could be withheld pending investigation),
- The amendment offered by Sam M. Gibbons (D-FL) allowing the use of either state or national per pupil expenditure to calculate Title I allocations (the House bill said the state average only with the low-income level set at \$2000; the Administration bill permitted use of the state or national average with the low-income level set at \$3000),
- Representative Edith Green's (D-OR) amendment providing that Title III funds (for supplementary education centers and services) be given to the states in block grants (the Administration bill gave this aid as categorical), and
- The other amendment offered by Representative Green providing that all Title V funds (for strengthening the state departments of education) go directly to the states (the Administration allowed 15% of those funds to be awarded by the Office of Education).¹⁹⁴

In his testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Education, Edgar Fuller, the Executive Secretary of the Council of Chief State School Officers, endorsed the House

¹⁹³ Eidenberg and Moray, *An Act of Congress*, 213.

¹⁹⁴ "Elementary Education" *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 25 (1967): 1585.

Amendments, saying that categorical aid put restrictions on SEAs. The director of the NEA's Division of Federal Relations, John M. Lumley also testified in support of the amendments. On the other hand, the superintendents of New York, Chicago, Detroit and Cleveland urged the Subcommittee to reject Green's Amendment of Title III, saying that the state systems would impose so many restrictions that the programs would lose their current freedom and inventiveness.¹⁹⁵ Finally, Monsignor James C. Donohue, the director of the department of education of the U.S. Catholic Conference also opposed this amendment, fearing that the progress made in serving students in both public and private schools would diminish if states were given the money to distribute.¹⁹⁶

The bill was voted out of the Subcommittee on November 6, 1967, and initial debate took place in the full Senate between December 1, 1967 and December 7, 1967. Debate was postponed for a week, however, when the Senate became deadlocked over two desegregation-related amendments. The first, offered by Minority Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen (R-IL) would have forbidden the use of federal funds for busing for desegregation. The amendment was debated all day on December 4th and 5th until Dirksen withdrew it. The second, offered by Senator Richard B. Russell (D-GA) would have prohibited the federal government from cutting off funds to school districts because of noncompliance with desegregation requirements after the school year had begun. The Johnson Administration, represented in this argument by Senator Wayne Morse (D-OR), refused to accept either of these amendments.¹⁹⁷ The deadlock in the Senate was resolved by a letter from Health, Education and Welfare Secretary John W. Gardner in which he outlined a new procedure for fund cutoffs in which school districts would be

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1586.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1586.

¹⁹⁷ "Elementary Education" *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 25 (1967): 2470-2471.

informed by the first of March that there was a possibility of noncompliance, and given the chance to make changes before funding could be stopped for the next school year. Notice of a hearing would have to be given by September 1st. With this issue resolved, the Senate bill passed with a final vote of 71-7.¹⁹⁸

1967 Reauthorization: House/Senate Conference

The House approved the conference report on December 15, 1967 and the Senate followed suit later that evening before adjourning for its winter recess. The final bill took into account the possibility that appropriations would not be enough to fulfill all of the mandates of the authorization and so it included a list of priorities:

1. Allocations for state agencies for handicapped children, children of migrants and delinquent and neglected children in institutions were to be allotted at their maximum amount.
2. Grants to local agencies were to be computed on the basis of the original \$2000 low-income factor until each district had been allocated its maximum allocation; remaining funds were then to be allocated according to the new \$3000 low income factor, with each district receiving a pro-rated share of the monies.
3. In fiscal year 1968, states were obligated to give LEAs no less than the amount they had received in fiscal year 1967.
4. Each state was to receive 1% of the funding for administrative expenses related to ESEA.¹⁹⁹

This list of priorities shows that legislators were beginning to think about how to best allocate funds to serve students, and providing direction to the administrators charged with their distribution. Although the focus continued to be on funding, the mandate for full funding for handicapped children, children of migrant workers and institutionalized

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2555-2556.

¹⁹⁹ "Two-Year, \$9 Billion School Program Enacted" *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 25 (1967): 2615.

children indicates that they were thinking to some degree about the needs of these specific groups and how to best serve them.

The 1967 legislation also included funding for a variety of demonstration projects and research, including a requirement that the Health, Education and Welfare Secretary present an annual evaluation report of existing reports and a comprehensive report the year before authorizations were set to expire, research and demonstration projects in education for handicapped children, a technical assistance program for rural schools, a demonstration program for dropout prevention and a school bus safety report. Furthermore, this reauthorization established a program of aid to school districts for the education of children from non-English speaking backgrounds, providing that the highest priority be given to areas with large populations of English language learners.²⁰⁰ These requirements show that Congress by this time had become much more interested in the programs that their allocations were funding, and not solely in the provision of money for local and state authorities to use as they pleased. Although continuing to refrain from mandating specific programs, legislators were beginning to tiptoe around the edges by funding projects that could be used to guide the school administrators charged with selecting programs funded with the federal money.

Other provisions included in the 1967 Amendments included a two year authorization for ESEA, a stipulation for incentive grants for states, a requirement that desegregation guidelines issued by HEW state the legal authority upon which they were based, included a minimum allotment of \$100,000 per year to each state for adult education and programs of aid for the education of children from non-English speaking

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 2617.

backgrounds.²⁰¹ President Johnson signed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments of 1967 into law on January 12, 1968.

ESEA Reauthorizations: Discussion

As noted in the previous chapter, the enactment of ESEA was contentious. One of the main sticking points was the issue of federal control into an area that had always been a state responsibility. Therefore, in order to enact the legislation at all, the legislators avoided indicating where and how they felt that ESEA money should be spent. By the time the 1966 reauthorizations came up, however, this was less of an issue, although legislators still shied away from dictating program parameters to state and local education authorities. By the 1967 reauthorizations, however, this began to change. In the face of possible funding shortfalls, legislators set a list of priorities for implementation, indicating their thoughts about which children and which programs were most in need of full funding. Furthermore, although legislators still refrained from mandating methodologies and curricula, the new law did require demonstration and research projects that could guide administrators into selecting programs with proven effectiveness.

Implementation and Evaluation: 1966-1968

Implementation: 1966-1968

Unlike the first year of ESEA implementation, in which the United States Office of Education was scrambling to create regulations and guidelines at the same time that

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 2617.

states and localities were rushing to design and implement new programs to help disadvantaged children, by the 1966-1967 school year, the majority of the kinks appeared to have been worked out. The USOE's reorganization was complete, and SEA's and LEA's had the previous year's experiences to draw upon.

Like the previous year, most of the Title I money (58.8%) went to programming for students in grades one through six, with only 34.4% going to grades seven through twelve. Again, regardless of the considerable amount of discussion about the importance of early childhood education, a relatively small percentage of funding (5.3%) went towards prekindergarten and kindergarten. In terms of private school students, the number and percentage of children participating decreased from 1966 to 1967, but the average per pupil expenditure actually increased (from \$57 to \$75).²⁰²

The general national spending patterns changed from the first year to the second. Although instruction was the largest expenditure in both years, other priorities shifted (see Table 2). The overall percentage of funds used for instructional purposes increased, from 52% of expenditures in the 1965-1966 school year to 66% in the 1966-1967 school year. Expenditures for services also increased, from 2% in 1965-1966 to 10% in 1966-1967. In 1967, equipment purchases and construction costs made up a much

²⁰² U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare/Office of Education, *History of Title I ESEA*, (Sacramento, CA, 1969), 20.

Table 2: Percentage of LEA Expenditures²⁰³

	FY 1966	FY 1967
Total LEA Expenditure	\$969,935,000.00	\$974,054,000.00
Administration (%)	3.3	5.1
Construction (%)	10.8	5.0
Services (%)	2.3	9.6
Equipment (%)	21.1	7.7
Instruction (%)	51.6	65.8
Other (%)	6.3	6.8

smaller percentage of LEA expenditures (construction costs were halved, decreasing from 11% of overall expenditures to 5%; equipment costs went down by two-thirds, from 21% to 8%), most likely because so much had been spent in the previous year on initial outlays that less needed to be spent subsequently. Funds attributed to administrative costs rose slightly (from 3% to 5%) whereas the percentage of costs attributed to “other” remained relatively constant.

A more detailed examination of both instructional and service expenditures reveals some changes from the 1965-1966 school year to the 1966-1967 school year (see Table 3). The one area of significant increase was in English, which included reading, writing and English as a Second Language (from 46% to 53%). Other changes in instructional expenditures were minor (within 2% of the previous year’s expenditures) and included decreases in business education, physical education and recreation, natural sciences, and social sciences, as well as a small increase in the percentage of Title I funding used for mathematics.²⁰⁴

The percentages of funds allocated to services changed more drastically. In addition to a large overall increase in funding, there were changes in the amounts allocated to different parts of services. The percentage of funding used on attendance-

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 17.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 18-19.

related programs, food, guidance/counseling and social work all increased, whereas funding for clothing, health, library and transportation remained relatively constant. Services labeled “other” decreased drastically, from 34% in 1965-1966 to just 10% in 1966-1967.²⁰⁵ This change may have been due to any number of things, including

Table 3: Percent Distribution of Expenditures: 1965-1966 School Year and 1966-1967 School Year²⁰⁶

Item	1965-1966 School Year	1966-1967 School Year
Total	100.0	100.0
Instructional Activities	72.0	76.3
Service Activities	28.0	23.7
Total instructional Activities	100.0	100.0
Art, music & cultural enrichment	10.3	10.1
Business education	2.8	0.9
English – reading	45.4	48.0
English – speech		3.5
English as a second language		1.9
Foreign language	0.4	0.3
Home economics	0.5	0.4
Industrial Arts	1.0	0.8
Mathematics	5.2	6.0
Physical education/recreation	4.3	3.8
Natural science	4.1	2.1
Social science	2.9	2.2
Vocational education	(not separately identified)	1.3
Special activities for handicapped	1.7	3.0
Prekindergarten and kindergarten (except for handicapped)	(not separately identified)	7.9
Other	21.4*	7.8
Total Service Activities	100.0	100.0
Attendance	2.2	5.3
Clothing	1.0	1.0
Food	9.6	14.8
Guidance/counseling	11.1	15.2
Health – dental	(not separately identified)	2.8
Health – medical	10.2	9.5
Library	20.8	20.2
Psychological	(not separately identified)	3.9
Social work	3.2	6.0
Speech therapy	(1.5% included with instructional activities)	2.8
Transportation	7.6	8.0

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 18-19.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 18-19.

Special activities for handicapped	(not separately identified)	0.9
Other	34.2**	9.6

*Includes \$44 and 19.3% for general compensatory education

** Includes 29.7% for books, supplies and materials

administrators' use of reports from the previous year to aid them in program selection, or a change in reporting categories for some items previously filed under "Other."

The final area of change from the 1965-1966 school year to the 1966-1967 school year was in staffing (see Table 4). Total expenditures allotted to staffing went up by \$163 million, but the overall number of staff members employed through this funding decreased from the first year to the second. In all likelihood the raise in expenditures reflects the fact that in the first year implementation occurred mid-year at best, and so staffing costs were only for that half year or less that programs were in place. The second year was a full year of operation, and so staffing was a greater cost. When one looks at the numbers broken down by professional and non-professional status, however, there is slight but evident change in hiring practice: the numbers of professional staff members

Table 4: Staff Members Employed in Programs Operated by Local Education Agencies, Salaries Paid, and Inservice Training: School Years 1965-1966 and 1966-1967²⁰⁷

Item	Staff data		Percent Change
	1965-1966	1966-1967	
Number of staff members employed:			
Total	381,700	355,440	-6.9
Professional	265,000	229,740	-13.3
Nonprofessional	116,700	125,700	7.7
B. Expenditures for salaries:			
Total	\$468,718,993	\$631,909,600	34.8
Professional	\$379,662,384	\$485,102,800	27.8
Nonprofessional	\$89,065,609	\$146,806,800	64.8
C. Number of staff who received inservice training	N/A	276,500.0	--
Expenditures for inservice	\$23,908,720	\$22,615,100*	-5.4

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

training			
Percent of total	2.4	2.3	--

*Includes \$164,000 for Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs

The report notes that: "Although the number of personnel was down slightly (about 7 percent) in 1967, the amount spent on salaries rose nearly 35 percent. The reason for larger salary expenditures is, of course, the full year of operation in 1967." (History of ESEA/Title I, p. 20)

decreased, while the numbers of non-professional staff increased. This may reflect somewhat changing priorities on the part of administrators responsible for hiring new staff with Title I money or may be due to difficulties in teacher recruitment.

Evaluation: 1966-1968

As discussed in the previous chapter, despite the law’s requirements, there was little actual evaluation of ESEA and Title I in the 1965-1966 school year. Instead, those evaluation requirements were fulfilled by reports of the various types of projects and programs that had been funded by Title I funds, and anecdotal evidence was presented by “teachers, school administrators and parents – all praising the program and what it had done for their children.”²⁰⁸

Evaluation information published by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in the 1966-1967 school year continued to be primarily anecdotal, although the department did analyze drop-out and attendance data as well as reading and mathematics test scores. The Office of Education reported that the Title I expenditures were really making a difference:

The impact of these expenditures – for instruction, services, equipment, staff and staff training, and so forth – is reflected in the evaluation reports from both State and local education agencies, as well as in independent studies conducted for the Office of Education under contract. Many of them indicate that children who have been falling farther and farther behind their peers in academic achievement have begun to show normal rates of growth and, in some cases, have even begun to narrow the gap between their achievement levels and national norms. There

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 16.

are indications, moreover, that some Title I programs are lowering the drop-out rate and increasing school attendance.²⁰⁹

According to the Office of Education, therefore, Title I funding was effective in reaching its goal of improving the education received by economically disadvantaged students.

However, in that same report, the Office of Education noted that “data collection procedures were still not standardized, and the validity of many of those comparisons [reading and mathematics test scores] was highly questionable.”²¹⁰ Therefore, despite glowing words of approval for Title I from the states, there was no real objective measure of progress. Furthermore, the report indicated that funds were not necessarily having the impact that the legislators might have wished:

At existing levels of funding and with educational costs constantly rising, it will not be possible to enhance or even maintain the quality of local Title I programs unless the programs are concentrated more effectively on those children who are the most deprived educationally.²¹¹

These words indicate concerns that funding was perhaps being spread too widely instead of being focused on the districts and schools with the largest populations in need of educational assistance.

Writing in 1975, researcher Milbrey Willin McLaughlin was extremely critical of federal evaluation efforts saying that they “have not contributed to the formulation of short-run management strategies or long-range planning. Instead they have been used selectively to support policy positions suggested by political or economic constraints, not by new information.”²¹² McLaughlin noted that although the reports fulfilled the legal obligations for evaluation, they did not provide the information that Senator Robert

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 23.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 16.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 29.

²¹² Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin, *Evaluation and Reform The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, Title I* (Cambridge: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1975), ix.

Kennedy and other proponents had hoped for. In other words, they were not used to drive progress, aid in decision making or in any way that improved the education of children living in poverty.²¹³ McLaughlin attributed this problem to school districts' lack of incentives to collect or report output data and federal officials who in turn "lacked the political muscle to enforce evaluation guidelines or to require cooperation with other federal evaluation efforts."²¹⁴

Furthermore, the United States Office of Education itself did not appear to value the states' reports. McLaughlin cites an "area desk man," a Title I/Division of Compensatory Education staffer who was responsible for overseeing Title I implementation and providing technical assistance to states, noting in an interview in 1972 that the state reports are "not read because we feel before we would start they're garbage. [The fact that they are not read] also reflects our experience with the states You talk with the states about evaluation and planning and then you go visit local school districts and find out that Title I is still general aid and supplanting. So what are you evaluating?"²¹⁵ The evaluations, therefore, had little to no impact on school administrators, except perhaps at the local level, where administrators may or may not have taken them into consideration when planning, implementing or modifying Title I programs at their schools.

Discussion

The 1968 elections brought a huge change in the legislative landscape. The House and Senate continued to have Democratic majorities, but Nixon's election brought

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 23.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, viii.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 23-24.

different priorities to the White House. From the very beginning the Administration sent signals that its major concern with education would lie in two areas: desegregation and the allocation and distribution of funding.²¹⁶ However, despite this change in outlook, the more salient fact lies in the massive change in attitude towards federal education aid. Prior to ESEA's passage in 1965, the idea of federal aid was a hotly debated and contentious issue; by this time it was an expected and necessary part of the education landscape. In 1967, such aid was a given and any questions that arose centered on how that money would be used, not the propriety of providing federal funds for what had always been a state and local issue.

In 1965, the funding, although categorical in nature, gave state and local education authorities huge latitude in formulating the ways in which ESEA funding would be spent. By the 1967 reauthorization of ESEA, however, legislators paid much more attention to how the money should be spent, although they fell far short of mandating methodologies and curricula. The new version of the law required a variety of demonstration and research projects whose results could guide administrators towards effective programs including an annual evaluation report from the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare of Title I programs, projects in education for handicapped children, a technical assistance program for rural schools, a demonstration program for dropout prevention and a school bus safety report. This reauthorization went a step further in establishing a program of aid for bilingual students, giving high priority to

²¹⁶ "Confirmation Hearings" *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 17 (1969): 99. Robert H. Finch, then-candidate (later Secretary) for HEW said in a speech to the Finance Committee as part of his confirmation hearings that HEW's greatest problem "lay in the difference in the states' administration of HEW programs and how the Department could 'rationalize' them." He also advocated a long range study of educational needs. His focus, therefore, would be on ways to make better use of the current funding rather than the previous focus on reducing poverty through efforts to increase the level of educational funding.

areas with large populations of English language learners. Furthermore, the new authorization included a mandate for which students should be given precedence in receiving ESEA funding.

In the short two years after the first authorization of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act*, therefore, members of Congress became much more interested in the programs that their allocations were funding. They were not necessarily willing – nor able – to dive in and mandate specific programs for everyone, but they tiptoed in that direction by specifically mandating demonstration and research projects which indicated their realization of the need for guidance and motivation if state and local education authorities were to realize President Johnson and Congress’s goal of using education to improve the lives of the disadvantaged.

School administrators also played a larger role in the legislative process in these years. Administrators testified before Congress, asking in particular for more funding and for that funding to be apportioned in a way more conducive to planning for the school year. But testifying before Congress was certainly not the only way that administrators participated in ESEA. In many ways, their role was the most important of all: school administrators were the people charged with planning, implementing and evaluating the programs that ESEA, and especially Title I, purchased; school administrators were vital to the success of ESEA. Conversely, ESEA required a good deal of work from school administrators, and would have a large impact on them. In the next chapters I will explore the impact that ESEA had on school administrators through an analysis of two journals aimed at school administrators, *Education Leadership* and *School Management Magazine*.

Chapter 3: *Educational Leadership and School Management Magazine* Prior to the Enactment of ESEA (1960-1964)

During the tumultuous years of the mid-1960's when the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* (ESEA) was first enacted and implemented, the work of school administrators continued in many ways as before. Teachers needed to be hired and trained, equipment purchased, buildings constructed and renovated, students taught, meals purchased, and all of the myriad details that contributed to the education of children every day continued as before. At the same time as all of these routines continued, as seen in the previous chapter, ESEA added an additional layer of administrative work, requiring principals, superintendents, and other school administrators to spend time and effort in designing and implementing programs. However, this was not the only change brought about by ESEA. The new legislation demanded that administrators consider in a much more systematic fashion the needs of disadvantaged children.

One would think that the legislation's focus on disadvantaged and minority children would bring administrators to consider the needs of these children much more deeply. One way, albeit an indirect one, to determine changes in administrators' new and rapidly changing environment is to examine changes in the publications aimed at those administrators, as those publications were designed to provide useful information to help school administrators to do their jobs. Changes in the journals' editorials, articles even

and advertisements from the period prior to the enactment of ESEA to the period after the enactment can offer insight into the topics magazine editors felt administrators needed to know about how ESEA changed administrators' responsibilities and routines in the early years of major federal involvement in K-12 education.

This chapter will provide an introduction to the two key journals published for administrators, *Educational Leadership* and *School Management Magazine*. Both of these journals were in publication during the 1960's, although they differed widely in intent, format and content. In this chapter I present a picture of these two disparate journals in the years prior to the enactment of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act*, describing format, content and advertisements, to give the reader a baseline which will enable me to later explore the changes brought about by ESEA in the next chapter. The chapter is organized into three sections: an introduction; *Educational Leadership* and *School Management* in the years prior to ESEA (the 1960-1963 time period) and an examination of the two journals in the transitional year of 1964.

Educational Leadership and School Management Magazine: An Introduction

The two journals used in this study, *Educational Leadership* and *School Management Magazine* are very different publications. *Educational Leadership* has an instructional bent, and the majority of its articles provide information about best practices and ways in which principals can serve as an instructional leader. *School Management Magazine*, on the other hand, as is evident from its title, is more focused on the business end of schooling, with articles providing information on such topics as school construction and financial management. The two journals, therefore, have different foci,

and together provide a more comprehensive picture of reactions and responses to ESEA. In this section, I give a brief overview of each journal, giving a summary of its intended audience, circulation numbers, and editorial intent in terms of the type of content provided to the readers.

Educational Leadership

Educational Leadership is a publication of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD). The ASCD was founded in 1943, and is still active today. According to its website, the organization's mission is to be a "a membership organization that develops programs, products, and services essential to the way educators learn, teach, and lead."²¹⁷ That same website provides members with access to educational programs, lesson plans, publications, and information related to education and educational leadership. All members receive a copy of the journal *Educational Leadership* as part of their dues. ASCD draws its membership from all walks of education, but the largest group of members are principals, assistant principals and associate principals (35%), followed by director/supervisor/central office administrators (16%), classroom teachers (13%), superintendents/administrators (11%), professor/instructor (8%), other (6%), unemployed (4%), independent consultant (4%) or building level specialist (2%). Administrators at all levels make up 62% of ASCD's current membership and *Educational Leadership's* readers.²¹⁸

²¹⁷ www.ascd.org

²¹⁸ "2008 ASCD Annual Report" Accessed via www.ascd.org. Note: these percentages are for 2008. Information for the 1960's was unavailable. I include the current breakdown, and make the conjecture that membership was similar in the 1960's, although that is not assured.

As the intended audience of this journal is school administrators and other school leaders, it reflects the publishers' beliefs about information that would be timely and pertinent to these leaders. Each issue of *Educational Leadership* is organized around a specific theme, and these themes serve as a window into the issues that editors felt would be considered important by school administrators in that year. Each issue provides insight into how these priorities changed as the context in which the schools operated changed. In the 1960s, the journal appeared from October to May each year, and each issue had between five and ten articles based on the monthly theme, plus three or four features and a review of research or significant books related to that theme.²¹⁹ In later years, the issues were further organized into yearly themes. In the early 1960's, the journal had between 10,000 and 14,000 readers each year, and circulation increased in every subsequent year.²²⁰

School Management Magazine

The second source of data comes from articles in *School Management Magazine*. This journal's intended audience was also school administrators and other school leaders, but was of a slightly different bent; as its tagline stated, it sought to provide "Practical Solutions to School Management Problems."²²¹ With few exceptions, *School Management* did not have a monthly theme, but it did have recurring columns which were added and deleted as the larger educational world changed. *School Management Magazine* was produced monthly, and each issue had between eight to ten articles, plus a

²¹⁹ In recent years the journal moved to 12 issues per year.

²²⁰ Circulation numbers were available for this time period:
1960: 10,681; 1961: 11,608; 1962: 12,015; 1963: 12,974

(ASCD: *A Report to the Membership*, January 1970, ASCD, Washington, DC, 3).

²²¹ *School Management Magazine* tagline.

the monthly columns related to topics of continuing interest, such as use of audio-visual equipment and technology, food service, school law, and, after 1965, facts and hints on federal aid to education. Unlike *Educational Leadership*, *School Management Magazine* was not the official “voice” of any educational organization.

1960-1963: Prior to ESEA

Educational Leadership: 1960-1963 Articles

At the beginning of the decade, *Educational Leadership* articles paint a picture of school administrators who were mainly focused on topics of a curricular or supervisory nature. Issues in the 1961-1963 school years include *Who Should Plan the Curriculum?*, *The Supervisor at Work*, *Testing and Evaluation*, *Continuing Growth for the Teacher* and *What is Teaching?* as well as issues devoted to the academic areas of science, language arts, mathematics, the arts and the cultural community of schools. In each of these issues, the articles focused on the topic suggested by the title, and that topic’s import for the school and the classroom. The math issue, for example, included articles such as “Mathematics in the Elementary School,” “Mathematics in the High School,” “Mathematics for Gifted Children,” “Preparing Elementary Teachers in Mathematics” and “Winning Public Support for Mathematics.”²²² Some of the articles reported on the use of various pedagogies, such as “Freeing Children in Primary Arithmetic,” which described the five-pronged approach to basic concepts of elementary mathematics used by author Mary E. Wilsberg and her colleague Esther Schatz or “Mathematics in the Elementary School” which reported on an exploration-based mathematics pedagogy and

²²² *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 19, No. 6, March 1962, 353-424.

other experiments in elementary mathematics at the Peabody Demonstration School.²²³ Others, including “Mathematics in the High School” discussed methodologies for updating and improving mathematics curricula.²²⁴ In the same vein, the science issue discussed science in both elementary and secondary schools, as well as articles on new developments and assessment of science teaching.²²⁵ In these articles, topics were tightly linked with the academic end of schooling, focusing on curriculum and pedagogy.

Not all articles were as closely linked with curriculum or pedagogy, but when the world outside of the classroom was mentioned, it was often done in the context of providing a rationale for academic work. For example, Paul Rosenbloom’s article “Mathematics K-14” talked about the need for reform in mathematics, noting that “To prepare for a changing world, a child must learn to deal with problems for which he has not been specifically instructed” and that an educated citizen must be scientifically and mathematically literate.²²⁶ John Sternig’s “Welcome, Earthman!” advocated a “modern science curriculum” that “will be a dynamic source, fully in tune with the present and the future, using the past to give it firm foundation . . . [that] will provide the learner with facts through discovery and in a setting which gives them fuller meaning.”²²⁷

Only a few issues addressed topics that appeared to be directly influenced by the broader social and political context. In the October 1961 issue entitled *Who Should Plan the Curriculum?* for example, some of the articles, notably “When Teachers Help Plan

²²³ Mary E. Wilsberg, “Freeing Children in Primary Arithmetic,” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 19, No. 6, March 1962, 376-378, 405; Hazel Lundberg, “Mathematics in the Elementary School,” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 19, No. 6, March 1962, 364-368.

²²⁴ Isabelle Rucker, “Mathematics in High School” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 19, No. 6, March 1962, 369-372, 393.

²²⁵ *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 19, No. 4, January 1962, 209-280.

²²⁶ Paul C. Rosenbloom, “Mathematics K-14” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 19, No. 6, March 1962, 359-363.

²²⁷ John Sternig, “Welcome Earthman!” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 19, No. 4, January 1962, 227.

the Curriculum,” “The Learner as a Data-Source” and “Curriculum Planning By Subject Matter Groups” focused on the classroom and the school.²²⁸ “The Learner as a Data Source” for example, postulated and answered three fundamental questions in planning to promote learning: “*Can* it [learning] be induced? *Should* it be induced? *How* is it best induced?”²²⁹ Other articles in this issue, however, did look outside of academics, and into the political arena. “The State Department of Education” talked about the ways in which State Departments of Education could help in local curriculum planning, using the Florida Department of Education as an example.²³⁰ “Minimum State Curriculum Requirements” reported on the results of a questionnaire submitted to chief state school officers asking about the agencies responsible for establishing minimum standards in each state. Most states (46) had such requirements, and half were established by state departments of education, some by the state legislative body, one by a state curriculum committee, and some by a combination of the above. Some states also involved local authorities in these decisions.²³¹ Finally, Glen Robinson’s “Legislation Influences Curriculum Requirements” discussed states’ roles in passing legislation about curriculum, both prescriptive and proscriptive, concluding that “[e]ducators have an impelling responsibility to help the American people, Congress, and state legislatures to choose the road that leads to curriculum flexibility rather than rigidity,” indicating his belief that states should allow localities to design curricula to fit the needs of their individual

²²⁸ John A. Dewar, “When Teachers Help Plan the Curriculum” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 19, No. 1, October 1961, 5-7; John I. Goodlad, “The Learner as a Data-Source” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 19, No. 1, October 1961, 8-10, 54; Paul M. Mitchum, “Curriculum Planning by Subject Matter Groups,” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 19, No. 1, October 1961, 11-15.

²²⁹ John I. Goodlad, “The Learner as a Data-Source” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 19, No. 1, October 1961, 8, italics in original.

²³⁰ John McIntyre, “The State Department of Education” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 19, No. 1, October 1961, 20-23.

²³¹ Roy L. Cox and Earl M. Ramer, “Minimum State Curriculum Requirements” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 19, No. 1, 24-25, 77.

populations.²³² Therefore, although the authors discussed education in terms of the larger political context, their focus largely remained on curriculum; their main interaction with the political issues was their potential impact on the academic and/or curricular content.

During the 1962-1963 year, however, two issues did discuss education as related to the broader context: *Disaffected Children and Youth* and *Pressures and Concerns*. The first of these issues, *Disaffected Children and Youth*, had articles such as “The Dropout – Our Greatest Challenge,” an analysis of the reasons for dropping out as well as incentives to stay in school, and “A Portrait of Blight,” a look at the negative impact of poverty on learning. Another article, “If Johnny Doesn’t Care . . .” talked about the difficulties in teaching children who are uninterested in learning and school. The author delineated the many external factors that might contribute to this attitude, such as physical handicaps and home environments that either neglect or push children so hard that they come to hate school. He then offered suggestions for building the curriculum around topics that would appeal to the interests of these children in order to get them engaged in education.²³³ Finally, “Pupils Who Do Not Respond” highlights three efforts by the Detroit Public Schools to improve the education of children who did not progress well in schools with traditional offerings. The first, the Great Cities Project, used a multi-pronged approach to adapt instruction to children’s needs, modified the organizational patterns of the school, oriented the staff to the needs particular to these children, improved and adapted instructional equipment and materials, and involved parents and the community in the school. The second, the School-Community Behavior Project, used

²³² Glen Robinson, “Legislation Influences Curriculum Development.” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 19, No. 1, October 1961, 30.

²³³ Charles M. Shapp, “If Johnny Doesn’t Care . . .” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 20, No. 5, February 1963, 305-308.

a team approach to prevent problem behaviors from escalating. The third, the “English ‘S’ Program,” modified the standard English tenth grade curriculum to build low-performing students’ communication skills. The article also gave a quick sketch of other programs being used in the Detroit Public Schools, and concluded that a variety of approaches would be necessary to meet the needs of all students.²³⁴ The articles in this issue, therefore, unlike those throughout the rest of the year and in previous years, brought the outside context into the discussion of school and education. The articles acknowledge that the environment from which a student comes can have a massive impact on his or her ability to progress, and provide background information about poverty. These articles also provided some ideas for administrators tailored to enabling their students to succeed in school despite the challenges. Although it is not possible to determine exactly why this change in outlook occurred, it is possible that it is related to either (or both) President Kennedy’s omnibus education bill, the *National Education Improvement Act of 1963*, which had been sent to the House just a month before (see Chapter 2) or to the burgeoning Civil Rights Movement.

Pressures and Concerns, the final issue of the school year, had a different focus than all the *Educational Leadership* issues that predated it. Unlike the others that were mainly focused on education and schools, this issue concentrated on the outside forces that influenced education, and how to cope with these outside pressures. “How Shall the Citizen Be Involved” and “Outside Influence” talked about community involvement in schools. Both articles pointed out the positive side of community involvement in schools, and gave suggestions for selecting and organizing the activities and programs

²³⁴ Carl L. Byerly, “Pupils Who Do Not Respond” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 20, No. 5, February 1963, 309-313.

that these community groups might enhance. In addition, the author of “Outside Influence” advocated a strategic use of these resources, with the school principal marshaling these forces to enrich his or her curriculum. According to the article, this approach could enable administrators to use business, professional and social organizations in the community as part of a coherent and integrated educational program.²³⁵ Despite the articles’ encouragement of greater community involvement in the schools, however, the authors promoted methodologies for doing so that would keep the school leaders firmly in control of the interaction with the community.

Two articles, “What Do Americans Value?” and “Teaching About Communism” also brought the outside world into education, but in a somewhat different way. The first article began by articulating the values that the author believed should underlie American education, including the need for an educated populace, developing individual characteristics, learning to accommodate to group dynamics, mastery of the environment, continuance and linkage to the past, pursuit of economic and scientific goals, social, economic and political mobility, aesthetics and stability. The author then talked about the need for schools to promulgate these values, and suggested that the role of the educational system was to develop curricula to convey these values, and to use those values in the continued evaluation and restructuring of the schools to meet the needs of students in a changing society.²³⁶ In a similar vein, “Teaching About Communism” advocated for an emphasis on American values in the curriculum, rather than a curriculum that simply reacted to Communist propaganda. The author states that “We

²³⁵ Harold E. Turner, “How Shall the Citizen Be Involved?” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 20, No. 8, May 1963, 499-502; Robert C. Hanes, “Outside Influence” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 20, No. 8, May 1963, 512-515, 553.

²³⁶ Guy Duncan, “What Do Americans Value?” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 20, No. 8, May 1963, 503-506.

must do better than be ‘against’ – we must be ‘for’” and argued that curricula needed to be designed to promote both the ideals and practice of democracy.²³⁷

Advertisements

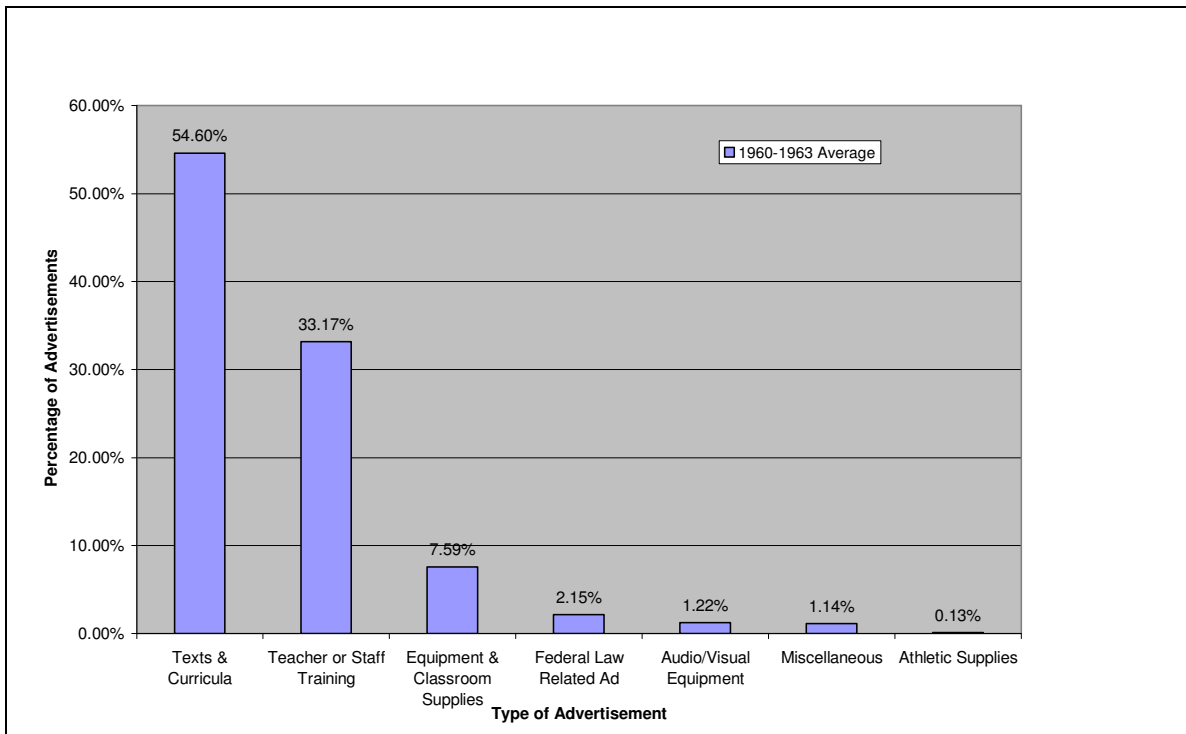
Advertisements in *Educational Leadership* in these years can be classified into seven categories (see Figure 1). The largest category, texts and curricula marketed for use in classrooms, includes numerous books, many of which were leveled or limited vocabulary readers, such as the Beginner Books series (which published books by authors such as Dr. Seuss and P.D. Eastman), maps, atlases and encyclopedias, and academic programs designed to teach students specific subjects, including spelling, geography, mathematics, foreign language and handwriting (55% of all ads in this time period). The second most common type of advertisement was for books and pamphlets aimed at teachers and administrators that were designed to broaden their educational knowledge; Appleton-Century-Crofts, for example, had a full page advertisement offering titles such as *Teaching and Learning in the Elementary School*, *Using Tests in Counseling*, *Public Education in America*, and *Teaching Adolescents in Secondary Schools* (33%).²³⁸ The third most common type of advertisement, although a much smaller proportion of advertisements, were for equipment and classroom supplies, including items such as the Beseler’s Vu-Graph overhead projector or mor-pla’s [*sic*] wooden blocks for kindergarten classrooms.²³⁹

²³⁷ Curtis C. Jennings, “Teaching About Communism” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 20, No. 8, May 1963, 507-511.

²³⁸ *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 19, No. 1, October 1961, 58.

²³⁹ *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 19, No. 8, May 1962, 536; *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 133.

Figure 1: Educational Leadership Advertisements 1960-1963



A final type of advertisement, although appearing infrequently, is worthy of mention, and that is those that mentioned federal funding of some type.²⁴⁰ These were advertisements for products whose producers noted could be purchased with federal funds, in this time period through the *National Defense Education Act* (NDEA). One company, Colonial Films, made mention of its products' eligibility for NDEA in an advertisement that appeared in the April 1962 issue of *Educational Leadership* (see Figure 2). This advertisement highlighted the products being sold (two filmstrip series, one an elementary mathematics series and the other an elementary science series) but

²⁴⁰ A small percentage of advertisements fell under the categories of audio/visual equipment (1%), miscellaneous (1%) or athletic supplies (.1%).

makes mention in the bottom left corner of the advertisement that districts can use their NDEA funding to purchase the films.

Figure 2: Advertisement with reference to federal funding.

2 NEW FILMSTRIP SERIES
IN FULL COLOR

ELEMENTARY SCIENCE SERIES
Grades 1 through 8

- 800 Full Color Filmstrips.
- 11 Separate Grades.
- 11 Science Subjects.
- 4000 Teaching Frames.
- 960 page Teachers Guide.

Both sets of filmstrips are developed from the most up-to-date teaching methods and curricula.
Available under NDEA Titles III and V.

April 1962

THE "NEW" ELEMENTARY MATHEMATICS
GRADE 1 \$50.50
Written and Directed by Dr. Bernard H. Gundlach
Drawn from the collective experiences of several of the foremost Mathematics study groups now active in this country.
Grade 1 consists of 8 filmstrips (averaging 45 frames each), Teachers Guides, and 36"x50" "Addition and Subtraction" Matrix of durable acetate.

1. Language of Sets	5. The Understanding of 10
2. Addition through 9	6. Playing with Numbers
3. The Basic Addition Table	7. The Number Line
4. Subtraction through 9	8. Fractions

Grade 2 (8 filmstrips with Matrix) will be available in early March, 1962.
Grades 3, 4, 5, and 6 in production.

COLONIAL FILMS 71 Walton Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Please send me further information.
 Please send me preview prints.
 Please enter my order for _____ sets.
 Science Mathematics

Name.....
School.....
Position.....
Address.....
City..... Zone..... State.....

401

Mention of
Federal
Funding

A second company, the Cuisenaire Company, also ran advertisements stating that their products, a set of different sized wooden rods that could be used to teach various concepts of arithmetic, including addition, subtraction, and fractions, could be purchased using NDEA funds as well (see Figure 3). This company's ads, while similar in tone to the Colonial Films advertisement, differed in that the Colonial Films advertisement was a one-time ad, whereas the Cuisenaire Company ran its ad monthly from January 1962 to May 1963.

Figure 3: Advertisement with reference to federal funding.

With
CUISENAIRE[®] RODS
learning mathematics
becomes an exciting process of discovery!

Cuisenaire rods and texts help teachers and pupils learn the essential concepts of mathematics rapidly and thoroughly. These colorful and attractive materials are used in all grades.

Cuisenaire rods are ideal for learning all school arithmetic concepts, as well as fundamental ideas of algebra and geometry. Written work is used at all stages. Approved for NDEA purchase.

For free, illustrated information write to:

**CUISENAIRE COMPANY
OF AMERICA, INC.**

235 East 50 Street, New York 22, N. Y.

Mention of
Federal
Funding

During this time period two other companies, the Viewlex Sight and Sound Language Station and Children's Press, also promoted their products as items that could be purchased under the *National Defense Education Act*.

Discussion, *Educational Leadership* Prior to ESEA, 1960-1963

In the years prior to ESEA, therefore, *Educational Leadership* focused for the most part on issues of curriculum and instruction. In the last few issues, however, the journal's topics broadened to take into account developments occurring in the outside

world, especially those related to poverty, dropouts and dropout prevention, American values and citizenship and Communism.

In terms of advertisements in the years prior to the enactment of ESEA, companies for the most part advertised texts and curricula, teacher and staff training programs and materials, and classroom equipment and supplies. In the majority of advertisements, these were proffered with no mention of federal funding, but a few companies did attempt to promote the idea that their products could be purchased under the *National Defense Education Act*.

School Management Magazine: 1960-1963

Articles

School Management Magazine was organized quite differently than *Educational Leadership*. As the name indicates, *School Management Magazine*'s focus was just that—the management of schools and school resources. This magazine, therefore, provided a perspective on the business side of school administration.

Unlike *Educational Leadership*, *School Management Magazine* for the most part did not have a monthly theme, with the exception of two annual issues: the “Annual Budget and Reference Issue” and the “Annual Building Issue.” The first of these yearly issues, the “Annual Budget and Reference Issue” was released every January, and provided a “Cost of Education Index,” a compendium of school costs which gave national and regional information on costs of administration, instruction, equipment, maintenance, auxiliary services (i.e., transportation, health services, food services, and student body activities). The Cost of Education Index also provided districts with a

mechanism for comparing their expenditures with other districts of like region and size, defining a “Quality Quarter” as the 25% of districts that spent over \$370 per pupil, while noting that money alone does not create a quality district. The Index did not, however, give any indication as to what school districts *should* spend; its purpose was to allow school administrators to compare their districts with other districts without making any sort of value judgment as to what amount might be appropriate. The Index was very detailed, allowing for comparison not only in broad categories such as instruction, but in narrower subordinate categories such as classroom teachers, other professionals, clerks and secretaries, teaching materials and other expenditures.²⁴¹ The second of these yearly issues, the “Annual Building Issue,” was released every July. This issue provided a “Cost of Building Index,” providing information on common building costs and issues, including bonds, labor, planning, contractors, equipment purchases and building features such as air conditioning.²⁴² These issues also provided information on regional breakdowns of equipment costs and on-site and off-side labor costs, enabling administrators to compare their school and/or school district with those in the same region of the country and others.²⁴³

As noted, with the exception of these issues, *School Management Magazine* did not organize its issues into monthly themes. Instead the issues tended to be fairly eclectic in their article topics. This journal did, however, have several recurring columns some of which appeared monthly and others bimonthly. For example, *Where To Get Help* was a monthly column that gave information about resources that would help school administrators address various problems that they might be facing in their schools or

²⁴¹ “Cost of Education Index,” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 5, No. 1, January 1961.

²⁴² “Cost of Building Index,” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 6, No. 7, July 1962.

²⁴³ Cost of Building, Index, *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 7, July 1963.

school districts. The June 1961 column was typical, and included information about a handbook for custodians, resources for how to use language laboratories, and an “Educational Television Guidebook” published by McGraw-Hill.²⁴⁴ Another monthly column, *News of the Schools*, was also fairly eclectic, including short informational bits on various things occurring in different schools and school districts across the nation. The column in the January 1962 issue, for instance, mentioned that the Cincinnati School Board decided to accept \$100,000 of *National Defense Education Act* funding that it had rejected in the preceding two years and reported on a school that required parents to come to the school to pick up report cards rather than mailing them.²⁴⁵

Three other columns occurred on a bimonthly basis. *School Law*, by Stephen Roach, reported on and explained education-related judicial rulings in various states. A typical column in the April 1963 issue reported on a case where a district was found to be liable for payments to a contractor that had defaulted on a job, a judicial review of an Illinois County School Board decision where the judge ruled a complainant must be a resident and a ruling stating that the location of a site for a new school lay exclusively with the administrative unit charged with the responsibility of operating the schools.²⁴⁶ The column *Food Clinic*, by Richard Flambert was formulated differently. The author responded to questions sent by administrators, including questions about how to equip a new kitchen, shifting the school menu towards a more calorie and vitamin conscious selection. Finally, the column *Audio-Visual Advisory*, by Jack Tanzman, was started in May 1963, and addressed questions related to that topic, such as queries on district-wide

²⁴⁴ “Where to Get Help” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 5, No. 6, June 1961, 27-37.

²⁴⁵ “News of the Schools” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 6, No. 1, January 1962, 71; 74-75.

²⁴⁶ “School Law” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 4, April 1963, 32-33.

audio-visual libraries and the balance between having a district-wide library and the need to provide teachers in any given school with the materials they need at a given time.²⁴⁷

In line with *School Management Magazine*'s focus on "practical solutions" a large number of articles fall under the category of "how to" – stories broaching and providing a solution to a particular problem. In 1960, for example, these articles included "How to estimate the cost of your proposed school" and "How to teach foreign languages to every grade school student."²⁴⁸ Subsequent years included articles such as

- "How to explain standardized test scores to your parents"
- "How aides can improve your phys ed program,"
- "How to purchase equipment for a new school,"
- "How to save money through cooperative purchasing,"
- "How to add variety to your school curriculum," and
- "How to organize a summer reading program"²⁴⁹

Most of these articles were written to explain a problem and then demonstrate how a particular district or districts solved that problem, often providing hints for modifying the solution to enable the solution to work in any district. One article, published in the February 1961 issue, for example, was entitled "How to Strengthen Your Elementary Summer Program." This article advocated going beyond a remedial summer school program, instead encouraging enrichment and advanced study for children who might benefit from it. In addition to information about the benefits of such programs, the article gave information on how to stimulate interest in such a program and a short step-by-step process for how to proceed in implementation (including a questionnaire to parents to

²⁴⁷ "Audio-Visual Advisory" *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 5, May 1963, 137-138; "Audio-Visual Advisory" *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 6, June 1963, 89-91.

²⁴⁸ *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 4, No. 1, January 1960; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 4, No. 7, July 1960.

²⁴⁹ *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 4, No. 3, March 1961; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 6, No. 2, February 1962; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 6, No. 6, June 1962; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 6, No. 12, December 1962; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 6, July 1962; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 4 April 1963; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 2, February 1963.

discern interests and suggestions for finding teachers to teach such courses).²⁵⁰ Another “how to” article, published in December 1962, was entitled “How to Cash In On Government Surplus” and reports on government surplus material that had been offered to the schools but not taken. The article gave sources of information and resources for school administrators to know what kind of surplus materials might be available and how to obtain them.²⁵¹ A final example, “How to Buy Books for Your Library,” noted that many schools did not have libraries nor did they have balanced collections. The article called for collections to have audio-visual materials, magazines, newspapers and other periodicals and current events displays, but noted that books should continue to form the backbone of any collection. The article then recommended that librarians be the ones to primarily compile the book orders, but noted that a mechanism for teacher input was vital, as well as a procedure for weeding out and replacing old books. This type of article, therefore, provided specific suggestions for how to respond to a particular administrative issue in an efficient and effective manner, often providing examples of how such an issue was dealt with in one or two schools or school districts, with advice on how to modify such a plan in the reader’s own school or district.

Other articles, while still practical in nature, were organized differently. These articles were often informational in nature, posing a question in the title and then providing the information required for the reader to answer the question for his district.

For example, the 1962 and 1963 issues included articles such as:

- “Can school buying be done on a regular basis?”
- “Is your vocational training obsolete?” and

²⁵⁰ “How to Strengthen Your Elementary Summer Program” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 5, No. 2, February 1962, 51-53.

²⁵¹ “How to Cash In On Government Surplus” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 6, No. 12, December 1962, 43-45.

- “Should your district teach science in elementary schools?”
- “Is yours a quality district?”²⁵²

In the February 1962 issue, for example, the article “Can School Buying Be Done on a Year-Round Basis?” suggested that school administrators do away with the system of making supply and equipment purchases at the beginning of the school year, when supplies are often backordered or cause difficulties when everything arrives at once. Instead, the authors advocated setting up a planning system to ensure that different supplies are ordered at different times of the year, reducing confusion and enabling schools and school districts to take advantage of off-season reduced pricing.

Another type of informational article simply gave information about a topic, usually couched in terms of what one district was doing about a specific issue, such as the January 1960 article “A way out when there’s smoke in the halls” or the May 1963 article entitled “Why one district is building a middle school.”²⁵³ The latter article, for example, promoted a district change from a 6 grade elementary school, a 3 grade junior high school and a 3 grade high school to a 4 grade elementary school, a 4 grade middle school and a 4 grade high school. This change, the article noted, would provide a transitional period between the self-contained elementary classroom and the departmentalized, specialized high school. The article provided information on research showing the advantages of the change, and advocated that administrators consider its use in their school districts. Like the previous “how to” articles, these articles presented the reader with information that he

²⁵² *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 6, No. 2, February 1962; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 6, No. 4, April 1962; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 6, No. 4, April 1962; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 1, January 1963.

²⁵³ *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 4, No. 1, January 1960; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 5, May 1963.

or she could apply to his or her school or school district, enabling a smoother functioning administrative and business operation.

A few articles were more like those commonly found in *Educational Leadership*, providing information of a more curricular or pedagogical nature, such as articles like “A new look at language laboratories”, “How to substitute for kindergarten” and “The ‘new’ science curriculums: How to get your district ready.”²⁵⁴ “How to Substitute For Kindergarten” described the Lexington, Massachusetts School District’s use of a six-week summer school/orientation program for children who would begin first grade in the coming September that the district used in lieu of providing a kindergarten program that the district did not have space nor resources to provide during the school year. The article provided a thumbnail sketch of the curriculum covered during the six week time period, as well as a breakdown of the program’s overall cost and cost per pupil.

Another group of articles featured interviews with an expert on a given topic. For example, the article entitled “How to Supervise Our Principals” cited an interview with Lee Newcomer, the Assistant Superintendent of the Corvina, California School District, who was responsible for principal supervision in that district. In the interview, Newcomer elucidated his program, which included summer training for new principals, systematic observations and visitations, as well as explaining his criteria for assessing performance on those observations and visitations (including the atmosphere of the office, teacher reactions to the principal, materials and supplies available for instruction

²⁵⁴ *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 4, No. 1, January 1960; Lester E. Goodridge, Jr. and Richard G. Woodward, *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 10, October 1963; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 2, February 1963.

and the reaction of students to the principal).²⁵⁵ Another such article, “Why, When and How to Fire a Superintendent” recounted an interview with Dr. Finis Engleman, the executive secretary of the American Association of School Administrators and Dr. Richard Kennan, the Executive Secretary for the National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education, who both answered questions about legitimate causes of termination (i.e, poor public relations, budgetary and financial problems, or issues with the Board of Education) and proper procedures for termination.²⁵⁶ These articles, again, provided practical information for school administrators that they could then modify to fit their own needs.

Another type of article, less frequently seen in the journal, was the few that provide assistance to the school administrator as an individual (rather than the more common articles that provide information intended to aid the administrator in doing something for the district). One three-part series, entitled “Workshop for School Managers,” for example appeared in the May, June and August 1961 issues and continued intermittently in subsequent years. The first and second articles, both entitled “How to Double or Triple Your Reading Speed,” provided step-by-step instructions for improving reading speed, in order to help the administrators continue their educations through reading about administration and instruction.²⁵⁷ The third, “How to Stop Wasting Your Time,” by Ray Josephs, gives administrators tips as to how they could make the best use of their time, such as daily scheduling, having a secretary screen calls

²⁵⁵ “How to Supervise Our Principals” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 5, No. 5, May 1961, 68-72; 131-133.

²⁵⁶ “Why, When and How to Fire a Superintendent” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 5, No. 8, August 1961, 28-32; 63-69.

²⁵⁷ “Workshop for School Managers: How to Double or Triple Your Reading Speed” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 5, No. 6, June 1961, 73-75; “Workshop for School Managers: How to Double or Triple Your Reading Speed” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 5, No. 7, 58-60.

and place calls, purchase and use dictating equipment and delegate routine matters. These articles were slightly different in that they addressed personal skills for school administrators, but were still oriented towards the business end of school administration.

One more infrequent category dealt with federal education aid. In the February 1961 issue, there was an article entitled “Can All of Our States Support Good Schools?”²⁵⁸ This article, based on a speech prepared by Sam Lambert, the then-research director of the National Education Association, advocated federal aid to education. However, the editors of *School Management Magazine* commented in a note preceding the article that the journal’s purpose was not to advocate for or protest against federal aid to education. Instead, the journal’s purpose was “to present some facts and figures on past, present and future support of the public schools that will serve as the basis for constructive discussions of the problem.”²⁵⁹ Despite this stated desire to remain non-partisan, the argument of the article was presented in such a way as to make the author’s support of such aid evident. Lambert set up and then demolished various arguments against federal aid: the resultant rise in national debt, the ‘freight charge’ of sending money to the federal government and back again, and federal control. In December 1961, the journal ran an article covering an interview with Sterling McMurrin, the then-Commissioner of Education, discussing two main topics: the *National Defense Education Act* and federal control of education. In terms of NDEA, McMurrin discussed the one area where the United States Office of Education worked directly with school districts (Title VII, which covers educational television and other teaching media). Otherwise, he emphasized that USOE’s role was to work with states who would then work with

²⁵⁸ “Can All of Our States Support Good Schools?” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 5, No. 2, February 1961, 16-23.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 16.

districts, preserving state and local control. Piggybacking on this discussion, McMurrin's other major point was that although greater federal input was needed in education, local and state control would remain:

[The Kennedy] Administration is categorically opposed to federal control of education. I think the federal government should influence education in the direction of the satisfaction of the over-all needs of the nation. We simply have to recognize that a nation that is in a perilous condition—a condition that is affected by the quality of education—must take steps to improve its education. This situation necessarily means that the federal government has to take a greater interest in education. And the federal government, which to me means all of the people acting together through their representatives, must see to it that certain broad national interests are satisfied.²⁶⁰

He continued, denying any federal interest in playing a role setting standards for education, and noted that he and the Administration were opposed to a national curriculum.²⁶¹ This article, therefore articulated and challenged an argument aimed at the lawmakers depicted in Chapter 2 who opposed the enactment of federal education aid because they feared it would lead to federal control of education.

Another related article, published in April 1962, recounted a condemnation of members of the American Association of School Administrators by then-Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Abraham Ribicoff, who stated that their endorsement of a demand for \$8 billion in federal education aid actually hurt the Administration's efforts to provide education aid. The article, although ultimately in favor of federal aid to education, noted that "There is too much emotion and partisanship already, and too little inspection of the issues," and restated the federal government's lack of desire to exercise control, instead emphasizing that funds would be distributed to the states: "The state

²⁶⁰ "The Office of Education: What's In It for Your Schools?" *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 5, No. 12, December 1962, 44-45.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 45-46.

departments of education would *control* the money, and local boards of education would *spend* it.”²⁶²

Finally, an article by Bruce Miller and Donald N. Taylor reported on “What Superintendents Think of NDEA,” providing results of a survey of superintendents which concluded that while superintendents felt that NDEA had been effective and served a good purpose, “the majority of superintendents believe that it is time for a change, either in the form of an expanded NDEA program to include other areas of instruction, or in the form of a general federal support measure.”²⁶³ These four articles, taken together, indicate that the editors of *School Management Magazine*, although they claimed non-partisanship, were probably in favor of federal aid to education. Each of these articles, while frequently claiming to provide objective information, concluded by affirming support for federal aid to education and noted that mechanisms were in place to prevent the federal control possibly feared by readers.

In the years prior to ESEA, therefore, the articles in *School Management Magazine* concentrated, for the most part, on common issues of management and business operation of schools and school districts. At times, the journal did cover issues of curriculum and instruction such as the articles on textbook selection, the use of paperback books and the provision of pre-first grade experiences for schools that could not afford a kindergarten program. Finally, occasional articles covered issues related to federal education law, such as the article giving superintendents’ opinions on the *National Defense Education Act*.

²⁶² “\$8 Billion in Federal Aid?” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 6, No. 4, April 1962, 46-50.

²⁶³ Bruce Miller and Donald N. Taylor, “What Superintendents Think of NDEA” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 6, No. 5, May 1962, 87-89.

Advertisements

Advertisements in *School Management Magazine* in these years can be categorized into twelve areas (see Figure 4). The most common type of advertisement was for building or construction materials (51% of all advertisements), such as those for Huntington Laboratories Weatherall Wax, Halsey Taylor water fountains, Safway Budget Master Bleachers, R-W Classroom folding walls or even AmBridge Portable Schools.²⁶⁴ The second most common type of advertisement (21%) was for school equipment or materials, such as Republic Steel lockers, Brunswick School Equipment (including school furniture such as student desks and chairs, teacher desks and chairs, study carrels, etc.), SCM Corporation electric typewriters, and Heyer's spirit duplicator.²⁶⁵ The third most common type of advertisement (12%) was for various types of audio-visual equipment including televisions and public address systems.²⁶⁶ Although much less common in *School Management Magazine* than in *Educational Leadership*, there were also advertisements for curricular materials (5%), such as the Laurel-Leaf Library or Follett Publishing Companies "7 Uniquely Designed Slow Learner Programs for Junior & Senior High Schools."^{267,268} Finally, similar to those described above in the *Educational Leadership* section for this time period, just one advertisement mentioned the *National Defense Education Act* as a source of funding for the product.

²⁶⁴ *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 4, No. 11, November 1960, 39; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 7, July 1963, 95; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 8, August 1963, 1; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 5, May 1963, 69; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 8, August 1963, 14-15.

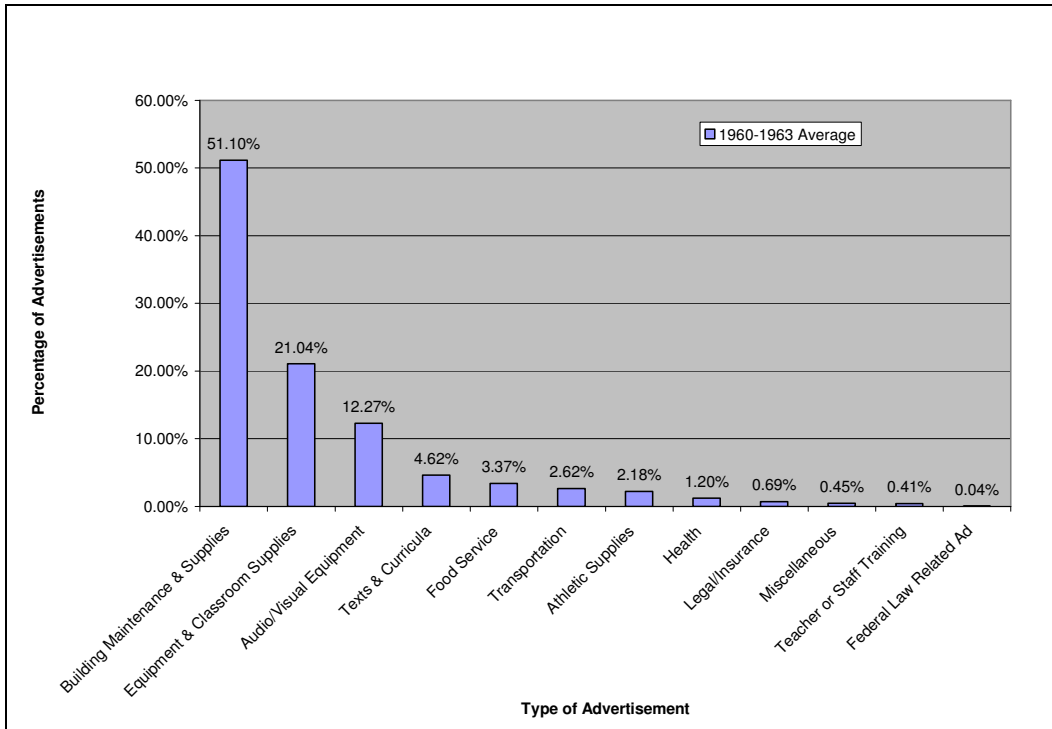
²⁶⁵ *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 4, No. 10, October 1960, 44-45; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 1, January 1963, 1; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 2, February 1963, inside front cover; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 10, October 1963, 103.

²⁶⁶ *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 10, October 1963, 96; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 10, October 1963, 86.

²⁶⁷ *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 8, August 1963, inside front cover; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 8, No. 2, February 1964, 3.

²⁶⁸ There were also a few advertisements in the following categories: Food Service (3%), Transportation (3%), Athletic Supplies (2%), Health (1%), Legal/Insurance (.7%), and Teacher/Staff Training (.4%)

Figure 4: School Management Magazine Advertisements 1960-1963



Discussion

In the early sixties, prior to the enactment of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act*, *School Management Magazine* was a journal that focused, as its tagline claimed on “practical solutions to school management problems.” This bent led to a variety of articles that, for the most part, broached a topic school administrators needed to deal with and provided a solution that worked in at least one district or school and explained how that solution might be modified to fit the particular needs of the reader’s district or school. These issues most frequently related to the physical plant or the administrative, business and/or financial aspects of the educational system. A few articles also provided practical advice for administrators as individuals, including speed reading techniques and ideas for more efficient working time. Like *Educational*

Leadership, a few articles provided some information about curriculum and instruction related topics, such as those related to language laboratories, kindergarten and science curricula. Finally, a modest subset of articles dealt with federal education aid. These articles, although claiming to be objective and interested only in providing information for the reader to make up his or her own mind, projected definite bias towards support for federal aid to education while denying claims of increased federal control of education.

Advertisements in these years for the most part fell into four main categories: building and maintenance supplies, classroom equipment and supplies, audio-visual equipment or, in a small percentage of advertisements, curriculum materials. Similar to the content of the articles, therefore, in these years the majority of *School Management Magazine's* advertisements leaned towards items needed for smooth functioning of schools, with occasional forays into items of a more curricular or instructional nature. Finally, only one advertisement also mentioned federal education law.

1964: A Year of Transition

The year 1964 was a period of transition for education. Although school leaders for the most part remained focused on curricular and educational matters, as seen in Chapter 2, the country at large was starting to talk more about equality in schools, and politicians were beginning to talk about using funding to aid in reaching parity between white and minority children and between poor and middle/upper class children. In the presidential debates between then-vice President Richard Nixon and then-Senator John F. Kennedy, Kennedy said that the great focus in education must be related to equity: "About 2 per cent of our population of white people is illiterate – 10 per cent of our

colored population. Sixty to 70 percent of our colored children do not finish high school.”²⁶⁹ Upon his election, however, President Kennedy soon discovered that funding for equality and better education was not an easy sell in Congress. As noted in Chapter 2, he twice tried to pass a general school aid bill which would have provided funds for public school teachers’ salaries and classroom construction, but both times the bills foundered upon church-state separation, the specter of federal control over education, and desegregation.²⁷⁰

After Kennedy’s assassination on November 22, 1963, Lyndon Johnson promised to work to implement Kennedy’s programs, calling their pursuit the best eulogy he and Congress could give to the fallen president.²⁷¹ Although this turbulent year marked the beginnings of change in the wider world of education, its impact was not obvious in *Educational Leadership* and *School Management Magazine*. This is not to say, however, that there were no changes in the topics discussed in the journals. Indeed, there is some evidence that the politicians’ focus on poverty was beginning to percolate down to administrators, as both journals at least occasionally included information relating to poverty, educational disadvantage and federal education law.

Educational Leadership: 1964

Articles

In this year of transition, *Educational Leadership*’s articles for the most part continued the previous pattern of focusing on curriculum and pedagogy, with occasional forays into issues that related to the broader context. Issues with obvious curricular and

²⁶⁹ “Transcript of the Second Nixon-Kennedy Debate on Nation-Wide Television.” *The New York Times*, October 8, 1960.

²⁷⁰ Vinovskis, *The Birth of Head Start*, 19; Eidenberg and Moray, *An Act of Congress*, 11-12; Vinovskis, *The Birth of Head Start*, 15.

²⁷¹ *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 21 (1963): 2067.

pedagogical concentrations included January's *Centers for Learning* and February's *The Staff Works to Improve*.²⁷² In the latter issue, for example, articles included "A Strategy in Curricular Change," Louis Rubin's examination of professional development which argued for the need to change teacher in-service education from "something which is done to teachers" to "something which teachers do to and for themselves."²⁷³ Another article, Mary Nazaire Columbro's "Supervision and Action Research," argued that both appropriate supervision and action research were necessary for teacher growth, and explained how a supervisor could go about setting up such a system in his or her own school.²⁷⁴ The articles in these issues, therefore, continued the previous year's focus on academic, curricular and pedagogical themes.

After the February 1964 issue, however, the content of the issues began to change. Although they did not completely ignore the curricular, academic and pedagogical focus of previous issues, these issues broadened the scope of topics to include those influenced by the events in the larger political context. The March 1964 issue, entitled *Relating to Today's World*, acknowledged the changes in the larger environment, albeit in the context of teaching about those changes.²⁷⁵ Articles included Charlotte Crabtree's "Teaching about the World: Elementary" and Leonard S. Kenworthy's "Teaching about the World: Secondary," each of which provided information on how to teach about other cultures. Ina Corinne Brown's "A World Out of Joint," on the other hand, discussed current world problems and suggested ways to use education to help solve those problems. Finally,

²⁷² *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 21, No. 4, January 1964; *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 21, No. 5, February 1964.

²⁷³ Louis J. Rubin "A Strategy in Curricular Change" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 21, No. 5, February 1964, 277-287.

²⁷⁴ Mary Nazaire Columbro "Supervision and Action Research" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 21, No. 5, February 1964, 297-300.

²⁷⁵ *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 21, No. 6, March 1964.

John F. Putnam's "Folklore: A Key to Cultural Understanding" highlighted the important role of the schools in preserving and developing an understanding of folk heritage. The articles in this issue, therefore, continued to discuss curriculum, but in a way that acknowledged the influence of the larger political context in which schools functioned.

The issues from April to November 1964, unlike those described above, had somewhat broader themes. The first of these issues, *Changing Childhood and Youth*, included articles such as "Changing Schools for Changing Pupils," "Are Children in the Suburbs Different?" and "A Supervision Experiment with the Disadvantaged."²⁷⁶ These articles discussed the various pressures and difficulties facing students, covering the challenges faced by children "liv[ing] under the constant threat of almost instantaneous destruction" as well as a growing population, and widening horizons in terms of the increasing technological capabilities of American society.²⁷⁷ The final theme running through the articles in this issue was the difficulty presented by poverty in both "slum" and rural areas. Although the articles do so in different manners, their conclusion was quite similar. As one author put it, "we must somehow muster our resources more effectively to produce total communities which educate."²⁷⁸ This issue, therefore, although stopping short of suggesting a source of resources, did promote the provision and more effective use of educational resources to help poor and disadvantaged children. This suggestion may have been tied to the discussions around the *Economic Opportunity Act*, which although it had not yet been passed, was being debated at this time. Although Johnson had not yet proposed ESEA nor publicly discussed the link between poverty and

²⁷⁶ *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 21, No. 7, April 1964.

²⁷⁷ Harold D. Drummond "Growing Up in America" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 21, No. 7, April 1964, 420.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 422.

education publicly, the connection between poverty and its impact on quality of life had certainly been made on the political stage. Perhaps then it is not surprising that a journal aimed at school administrators would take the next step and make the link between education and poverty.

The May 1964 issue, *Personal and Social Values*, was focused entirely on using education to solve the problems resulting from the changing wider culture. Articles talked about using education to provide moral education for disadvantaged children, as well as using education to solve juvenile delinquency and develop values. In the editorial introducing the issue, author Robert R. Smith noted that

In response to public pressure, we have chosen in education to center our attention too narrowly on the formal academic curriculum, achievement standards, school management, provision of facilities and the like. While most of our concern has been centered on these matters, we have failed to devote needed attention to the storm clouds gathering in the personal-social value dimensions of young people's lives. Some have argued that these areas are not the proper concerns of education.²⁷⁹

The editorial went on to argue for the need for morals and values education in schools, stating that although these topics are complicated they need to be addressed. The articles in this issue all fell under this theme, and included, among others, "The Juvenile Decency Corps: An Answer to Delinquency" (the article described an organization in Washington, D.C. that "emphasizes character formation and service to others as its major goals"), "Values and Our Destiny," a look at the issues confronting America that needed to be addressed by the schools, and "A Secular Approach to Moral Education."²⁸⁰ This issue, therefore, with the exception of one article, John Sternig's "A New Progressive

²⁷⁹ Robert R. Smith, "Personal and Social Values" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 21, No. 8, May 1964, 483.

²⁸⁰ Stanley E. Jackson, "The Juvenile Decency Corps: An Answer to Delinquency" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 21, No. 8, May 1964, 491-497; Kimball Wiles, "Values and Our Destiny" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 21, No. 8, May 1964, 501-504; 554; Algernon D. Black, "A Secular Approach to Moral Education" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 21, No. 8, May 1964, 505-508; 553-554.

Education?” which compared the idea of process education to the old ideas of progressive education, broke away from the previous pattern of issues and articles that focused largely on curriculum and pedagogy and instead examining the social need for the inclusion of values and morals into the curriculum, with special focus on reaching poor and disadvantaged children. Furthermore, authors wrote about the schools as the proper place to at least begin to solve these problems, perhaps foreshadowing Johnson’s efforts to use the schools in a similar way through ESEA.

The next two issues, published after the summer hiatus in October and November 1964, also both reflect this change towards topics less connected exclusively to curriculum and pedagogy and more in tune with prevailing issues. Articles in the October issue, *Commitment: To What and Why?* in many ways continued the theme in the previous issue of values. The articles, which addressed various meanings of the concept of commitment, began with “The World of the Individual,” which discusses the connections between the individual and society, and argues that educators need to be committed to fostering such connections, particularly by providing education to poor and minority children.²⁸¹ Other articles follow this line of thought as well, including discussions about the characteristics of committed teachers and the need to balance a commitment to reforming teaching with respect for the traditional autonomy of teaching, as well as an article on the role of educational research in social change.²⁸²

²⁸¹ Harold Taylor, “The World of the Individual” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 22, No. 1, October 1964, 8-12; 27.

²⁸² Alvin D. Loving, “Studying and Learning American Ideals” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 22, No. 1, October 1964, 13-14; 32; Ann Komadina, “Commitment: A Threat to Autonomy?” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 22, No. 1, October 1964, 24-27; James B. Macdonald, “Educational Research and Development as an Agent in Social Change, *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 22, No. 1, October 1964, 57-63.

The issue *Politics and Education*, published in November 1964, addressed various questions about the ways schools should and should not be linked with the political system. In “Must Schools Be Neutral?” Richard L. Hart focused on curriculum, arguing that schools cannot be politically neutral, and emphasizing that such neutrality in a curricular sense is detrimental to learning; rather, various points of view should be brought into the classroom. Another article, Betty Rice Roberts’ “A Teacher Becomes a Candidate” gave a positive account of a teacher’s involvement in politics, emphasizing the utility of political involvement in getting children interested and involved in the political system themselves.²⁸³ Other articles promoted the idea of teachers as “active citizens” who engaged with politics in order to benefit society as a whole, argued for a revamping of the local control system to make it more effective, and argued that schools cannot be kept separate from politics and the political process.²⁸⁴

One article in this issue, “Private School—Public School: What Are the Issues?” directly addressed federal aid to education. This article first explained the obstacles to federal funding of private school saying that the main issue is

the religious claim of primary responsibility for all of education both religious and secular, on the grounds that the religious and secular aspects cannot satisfactorily be separated” and stating that “[s]uch an authoritative position is quite as difficult to reconcile with the idea of cooperative pluralism in American society as it is with the idea of public responsibility for the education of all the people.”²⁸⁵

The author also noted that the opposition of parochial supporters to federal funding for public schools unless they are also funded was an impediment to federal funding. The

²⁸³ Betty Rice Roberts, “A Teacher Becomes a Candidate” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 22, No. 2, November 1964, 80-82.

²⁸⁴ Russell Dineen, “The Teacher as Active Citizen” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 22, No. 2, November 1964, 83-84; Donald G. Nugent “Are Local Control and Lay Boards Obsolete?” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 22, No. 2, November 1964, 85-87; Harold A. Van Dorn, “Efforts to Keep Schools Out of Politics” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 22, No. 2, November 1964, 93-95; 138.

²⁸⁵ Edgar Fuller, “Private School—Public School: What Are the Issues?” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 22, No. 2, November 1964, 89.

article then went on to describe efforts in Congress to provide such federal funding, describing an effort by Congressman James J. Delaney (D-NY) to pass a bill to provide funding to both parents of private school students and the public school system as well as a shared time experiment encouraged by Monsignor Frederick Hochwalt and the National Catholic Educational Association. The article also discussed the legislative tactics embraced by those in favor of federal aid to education (i.e., the provision for federal aid to vocational aid in private schools found in the *Vocational Educational Act of 1963* and the anti-poverty programs funded by the *Economic Opportunity Act* which allowed for both public and private institutions to conduct federally funded programs. Finally, the author discussed the difficulties that might ensue from funding private schools, namely a large egress from the public schools into disparate private schools, which would leave the public schools to educate “children from denominations too small to operate their own schools, the unchurched, the culturally deprived and the rejects and problem students from the private schools which can choose their own pupils” as well as encouraging a fractured society instead of the unified society the author supported.²⁸⁶

The final issue of the year, in December 1964, returned to the previous year’s focus on curriculum, pedagogy and academics. This issue, entitled *Schools are People Changing*, contained articles that discussed teachers’ evaluation of curricula, elective classes and the information parents should be given about their children’s teachers and schools in order to help their children learn.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 133.

²⁸⁷ J. Harvey Littrell, “When Teachers Evaluate Curriculum Study” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 22, No. 3, December 1964, 173-176; Roy L. Cox, “Elective Courses: Gaining State Approval” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 22, No. 3, December 1964, 177-182; Maxine Dunfee, “What Do Parents Need to Know?” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 22, No. 3, December 1964, 160-163.

Although this issue returned to the focus of previous years in the majority of articles, other articles acknowledged the impact that issues outside of the strictly educational realm had on education at that time. “Pressures on Teachers” acknowledged the increasing attention paid to education by the general American public in the wake of Sputnik’s launch and advocated that “greater evaluation of curricular offerings be made by teachers and administrators.”²⁸⁸ The article’s emphasis was on curriculum, but it was introduced via an acknowledgement of the political pressure that was being brought to bear on education. A final article, Paul D. Allen’s “Teaching for Commitment” stated that while upper- and middle-class parents were able to “exert a positive influence on their children” and help them choose to live as “a productive, law-abiding citizen” rather than “an antisocial nonentity,” children growing up in “socially deprived homes” rarely have that same positive influence.²⁸⁹ The article then described ways that schools could act to fill in that gap and gave suggestions such as bringing in neighborhood residents who had been successful in their work to talk to the children, exposing children to all sorts of cultural activities, and providing opportunities for students to develop their ability to predict consequences. This issue, although returning to the previous years’ focus on curriculum, pedagogy and academia, extended the broader themes of poverty, race and the changing social order to that earlier focus.

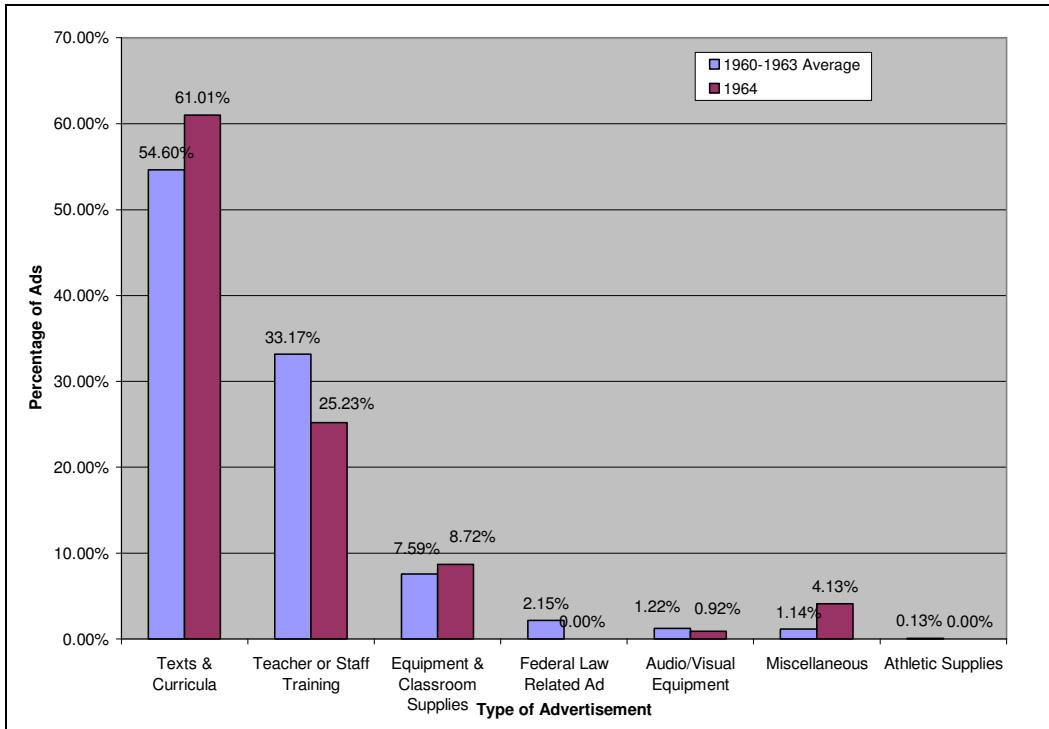
²⁸⁸ Gene F. Ackerman, “Pressures on Teachers” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 22, No. 3, December 1964, 158.

²⁸⁹ Paul D. Allen, “Teaching for Commitment” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 22, No. 3, December 1964, 170.

Advertisements

For the most part, advertisements in *Educational Leadership* followed the pattern established in previous years of advertisements that fell into seven categories: texts and curricula, teacher or staff training, equipment and classroom supplies, Federal-law related ads, audio/visual equipment and athletic supplies (see Figure 5). Although the percentages changed somewhat, the general pattern remained the same in that the majority of advertisements were related to texts and curricula, teacher or staff training, or equipment and classroom supplies, with small percentages devoted to audio/visual equipment or miscellaneous advertisements. There were no advertisements related to athletic supplies in this year. There were also no advertisements that made any mention of federal aid, unlike the previous years in which there was some mention of products that could be funded through the *National Defense Education Act*.

Figure 5: Educational Leadership Advertisements 1960-1963 and 1964



There was one new type of advertisement: an advertisement for a teaching unit produced by Paul S. Amidon & Associates, Inc. called “The Nature of Communism,” which the company noted provided “A real contribution to equipping young people and adults to meet in an intelligent and rational way the challenge that Communism offers to the free world.”²⁹⁰ This advertisement reflected an awareness of the perceived need to teach about the “red menace;” an acknowledgement of the broader context, if not one specifically related to education.

²⁹⁰ *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 21, No. 7, April 1964, 390.

Educational Leadership 1964: Discussion

In 1964, articles and advertisements in *Educational Leadership* changed somewhat from those in the prior time period. Instead of the previous focus on curriculum and instruction, articles showed a broader focus, including a much greater concentration on the impact of poverty had on education. Although many issues continued to explore curriculum and instruction through this new lens, other issues such *Changing Childhood and Youth* and *Personal and Social Values* addressed the issues of disadvantaged children without that curricular focus.

This November 1964 issue, *Politics and Education*, entered into an entirely different area of discussion, one in which various aspects of politics and their relationship to education held forth. Specifically, this issue was the only one to have an article that referred to federal education law, in the article “Private School—Public School: What Are the Issues?” which enumerated private school supporters’ objections to federal funding of public schools without similar support for private and parochial schools as well as failed efforts by Congress to pass such aid in the previous year. Finally, the author presented the problems that could result from public funding of private schools, leaving the reader with the impression that he was in favor of federal funding for public schools but not for private ones.²⁹¹ The existence of this article makes it clear that federal aid to education was a topic that editors of *Educational Leadership* felt that readers would be interested in reading about, and, in fact it was not long after its publication that Johnson proposed ESEA.

²⁹¹ Edgar Fuller, “Private School—Public School: What Are the Issues?” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 22, No. 2.

Advertisements remained similar to those in previous years, with the sole exception of an advertisement for an anti-Communist teaching unit, reflecting political concerns of that time.

School Management Magazine: 1964 **Articles**

For the most part, in 1964 *School Management Magazine* followed the pattern of covering mostly practical, business-oriented aspects of school management, with some leavening of curricular issues. The January and June issues continued to be *The Cost of Education Index* and *The Cost of Building Index* issues, respectively. In other issues, articles continued to include “how-to’s” such as “How to cut transportation costs—build a bus garage” and “How to design a report card parents can understand” as well as articles such as “Do your school bus drivers know their job?” and “Good public relations isn’t expensive.”²⁹² In addition, the year’s articles include some that are curriculum related such as “Independent study: effective program or waste of time?” and “Explorations in curriculum: How to save dropouts before they quit.”²⁹³ The five columns – *Where to Get Help*, *News of the Schools*, *School Law*, *Food Clinic* and *Audio-Visual Advisory* – continued as well.

The major difference from previous years came with two articles related to federal education measures. The first, entitled “What the poverty program will mean to your schools,” was a two-part article, giving first an interview with Sargent Shriver, who

²⁹² *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 8, No. 2, February 1964; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 8, No. 5, May 1964; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 8, No. 10, October 1964; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 8, No. 5, May 1964.

²⁹³ *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 8, No. 9, September 1964; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 8, No. 2, February 1964.

provided information on the history and importance of the *Economic Opportunity Act*, explaining how the Act would provide funds for schools operating in impoverished areas. The second section of the article got into the nuts and bolts, spelling out the portions of the *Economic Opportunity Act* that were relevant to the schools and noting what schools would have to do in order to get such funding.²⁹⁴

The second article, “What four districts are doing about desegregation” was a determinedly practical look at methods of desegregation. In a note from the editor, the introduction of the article specifically noted that

SCHOOL MANAGEMENT [*sic*] magazine has carried no major articles on the issue of desegregation, despite the obvious interest of many readers in this subject. The reason is given in the underline on our cover: SCHOOL MANAGEMENT [*sic*] is devoted to presenting ‘practical solutions to school management problems.’ Until recently, we have seen many desegregation problems, but few practical solutions.²⁹⁵

The article, then, focused on four districts that were successful in “minimizing the upset desegregation can bring to a community.” The article noted that although “[n]one of the four has a perfect solution” and “[n]one satisfied all of the people involved” each “faced the situation squarely and looked for ways to keep their communities from falling apart in the wake of a major act that had badly disrupted many others.” Finally, before providing information about each district’s (different) successful approach to desegregation, the article noted that

This article is not meant to preach the good or the bad of desegregation. It is presented in the light of certain facts. The courts *have* ruled in favor of desegregation time and again, and recent history has shown that the federal

²⁹⁴ “What the poverty program will mean to your schools” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 8, No. 9, September 1964, 66-71.

²⁹⁵ “What four districts are doing about desegregation” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 8, No. 3, March 1964, 89.

government—and in many cases, state and local governments—are going to move to enforce these rulings.²⁹⁶

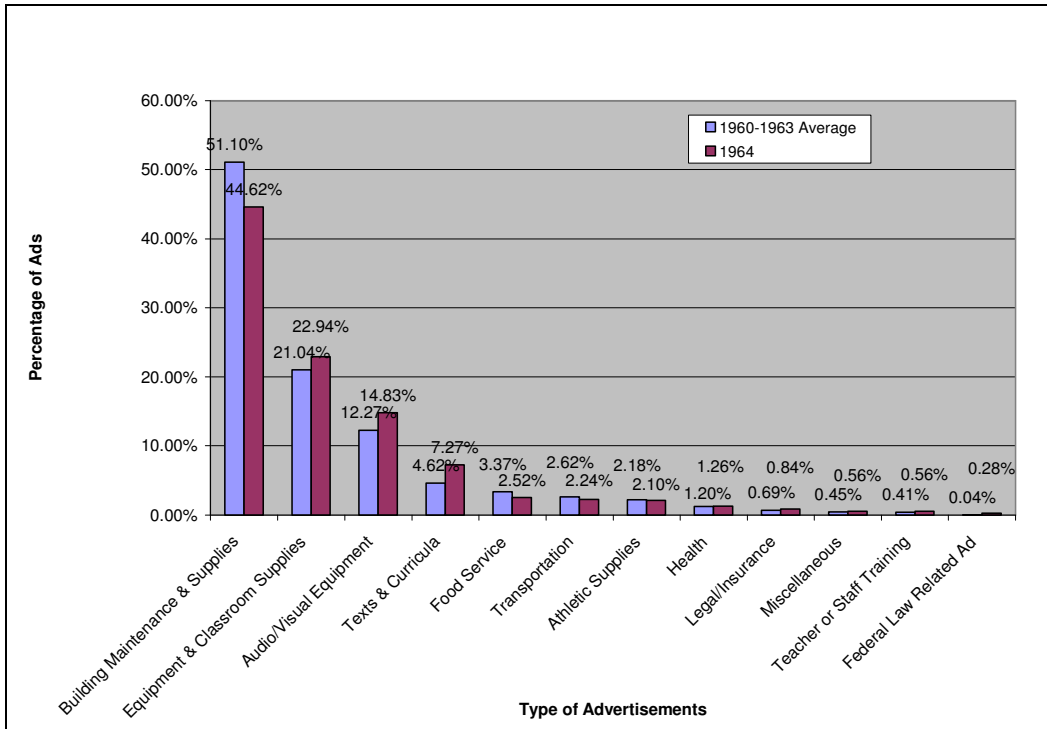
In other words, *School Management Magazine*'s editors overtly refused to engage in the question of whether (or how) desegregation might benefit or harm children; instead, it focuses solely on the practical aspects of desegregation, providing a “how to” manual for school administrators. On the one hand this reaction appears somewhat cowardly, as the journal's editors were unwilling to comment substantively on one of the greatest issues of the time. On the other hand, this apolitical attitude could have been due to an unwillingness to either alienate readers on either side of the debate, or a genuine desire to do exactly what they stated: present practical solutions to the problem of implementing desegregation rather than wandering outside of the self-imposed boundary of providing practical information to school administrators.

Advertisements

Like the advertisements in *Educational Leadership*, the advertisements in *School Management Magazine* did not change very much from the 1960-1963 time period to 1964 (see Figure 6). As seen in Figure 5, the percentage of advertisements in each category remained relatively the same, although there was a slight reduction in building maintenance and supplies matched by a slight increase in both advertisements for equipment and classroom and supplies and audio-visual equipment.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 89.

Figure 6: School Management Magazine Advertisements 1960-1963 and 1964




Also similar to the advertisements in *Educational Leadership*, in this time period there were a very few advertisements that mentioned that their products could be purchased using federal funds. In this case there were two ads mentioning federal funding, an advertisement that mentioned that its product could be funded under “the new Vocational Education law” and the advertisement depicted in Figure 7, an item to teach electronics that is touted as eligible for NDEA reimbursement.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁷ *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 8, No. 2, February 1964, 40.

Figure 7: Advertisement with reference to federal funding.

Teaching aid
helps students learn
electronics



Complete package for introducing electronics in science or industrial arts from grades 7-12 is now available with the Jansen Circuit Board and accompanying textbook, "TAMING THE ELECTRON." Basic electronics becomes easier to learn and students retain their knowledge longer. The desk-top unit enables the student to demonstrate each new principle to himself.

Battery-operated Circuit Board can be used in any classroom, is completely portable. Students assemble electronic circuits, using plug-in components that require no soldering, from schematic diagrams.

Safe, rugged unit uses small, standard transistor battery and transistors—no expensive electrical outlets required, no high voltage to give electrical shocks.

Companion test, "TAMING THE ELECTRON," covers basic principles through simple radio circuitry. Can be taught by any teacher, even one without electronics training. Contains 20 experiments and 25 problems for the student.

Eligible for NDEA reimbursement. Prices at \$59.50. Text \$1.75.

Jansen Electronics Mfg., Inc.

2233 University Avenue, St. Paul 14, Minnesota
(For literature, circle 730 on reply card opposite last page)

40

Mention of Federal funding

School Management Magazine 1964: Discussion

In 1964, for the most part *School Management Magazine* continued its pursuit of "practical solutions to school management problems." The columns of the previous years continued, as did "how-to" and informational articles, interviews, and the occasional curriculum/pedagogy related articles or articles aimed at improving the skills of principals and other school administrators. The journal also continued its practice of

including occasional articles relevant to the federal government and education law, in this case the interview with Sargent Shriver about the *Economic Opportunity Act* and the article describing four districts' efforts in the area of desegregation. In the latter article, the journal's editors specifically stated their purpose was not to debate the propriety of desegregation but to discuss practical ways to implement it.

Advertisements in 1964 followed the pattern set in the 1960-1963 time period, with the majority for building maintenance and supplies, equipment and classroom supplies or audio-visual equipment. A very small percentage of advertisements (2 advertisements) were for products whose manufacturers noted could be funded via federal funding.

Before ESEA: 1960-1964, Conclusion

This chapter has provided a baseline look at articles and advertisements in both *Educational Leadership* and *School Management Magazine*. In it, I have described the types of articles and advertisements commonly found in both journals prior to the enactment of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965*. This baseline serves as a "control," describing the types of topics that the editors of each journal felt its constituency would be interested in reading about, or questions the readers might have that the editors felt could be answered by the articles provided. This introduction to the content of each journal will facilitate the exploration of the impact that the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965* had on the interests and questions of the school administrators as reflected by journal editors' continued choices in terms of the types of articles that they present. A similar exploration of the changes in advertisements after the

enactment of ESEA will work in parallel with the exploration of the articles, providing information about what producers of educational materials thought would best attract the journals' audiences of school administrators.

Chapter 4: ESEA's Passage and First Implementation: 1965-1966

In April of 1965, President Lyndon Johnson signed the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* into law. Title I of ESEA in particular provided supplementary funding for school districts for use in the education of impoverished children. School districts were encouraged to use this funding in new and innovative ways in order to serve educationally disadvantaged children. Moreover, the focus on providing funding to help economically disadvantaged children, regardless of race, location (rural or urban) or region of the country changed way that education was regarded. In theory, therefore, school administrators would have been likely to focus more both on the issues of poverty and their impact on education and on ways to improve the education of disadvantaged children. On the other hand, this new education legislation required that school administrators formulate plans for projects, complete applications, implement and evaluate these new projects; although some of these roles would have been familiar to school administrators, others required new information and new skills. Again, in theory, the two journals were in a position to provide this new information and skills for their readers. In this chapter, I argue that the articles and advertisements of both *Educational Leadership* and *School Management Magazine* indicate that this is exactly what happened.

Although the presence of the articles does not automatically insure that school administrators were definitely reading each and every one, their existence indicates at the very least that the editors of the two journals believed that the articles would be welcomed by their readers, and quite possibly that the readers were requesting such articles. Furthermore the companies publishing the advertisements clearly felt that invoking ESEA and other federal education laws as potential methods of payment for their items would increase their sales, also indicating their belief that administrators were looking for information and products that would help them comply with these federal education laws.

This chapter is structured in a similar fashion to the previous one. I first describe the articles and advertisements of *Educational Leadership* in 1965, and then compare them to the articles and advertisements of the previous years, especially in regards to mentions and discussions of federal law-related topics in general, and the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* in particular. I will then do the same type of analysis on the articles and advertisements of *School Management Magazine* for 1965. The second section of this chapter will do the same type of analysis for both journals for the year 1966, which was the first full year of ESEA implementation. I will with a discussion of the overall pattern of changes from the pre-ESEA years (1960-1964) to the years in which ESEA was first implemented (1965-1966).

Educational Leadership, Articles and Advertisements: 1965

Articles

In 1965, the issue themes and articles in *Educational Leadership* continued the tendency first seen in 1964 towards a broader focus than that of the “nuts and bolts” approach to curriculum and supervision in the 1960-1963 time period. Although certainly not losing the curricular and pedagogical components, the articles talked much more about those elements in relation to the political, cultural and economic contexts in which education was operating at the time as opposed to the fairly acontextual approach of previous years. In fact, only one issue—*Junior High School: Transition in Chaos?*—returned to that previous approach.

This is not to say, however, that the journal completely changed its style. The journal continued to be thematically organized, but during this year the themes can be categorized in three groups. The first group of issues and articles is actually comprised of just one issue that focused exclusively on topics of pedagogy and curriculum, *Junior High School: Transition in Chaos?* The second group of issues are those which for the most part continued to be focused on curriculum and/or pedagogy, but did so in the context of discussing social change and social issues. These issues included *Social Ferment and the Social Studies*, *Reading as a Social Skill*, and *Affective Learning*. *Reading as a Social Skill*, for example, contained articles like “Reading in Subject Matter Fields,” a fairly straightforward look at the need for reading in mathematics, science and social studies, but also included articles relating those curricular areas to the broader context such as “Reading for the Culturally Disadvantaged,” “Evaluating Differentiation

of Learning in Reading Instruction” and “Values and Student Writing.”²⁹⁸ The third group of issues, primarily those published in the latter part of the year, had specific articles and sections devoted to federal involvement in education, and include *Poverty and the School* and *The Young Child: Today’s Pawn*. One final issue, *Curriculum vs. the Individual*, although in many ways focused on curriculum and pedagogy, also fit into this category, as a subsection of the issue focused on federal support to education in three articles entitled “The Federal Colossus in Education—Threat or Promise?” “The Federal Colossus in Education—Curriculum Planning” and “How are Federal Programs Working in the Large City?” In this section of the chapter, I will describe each of these three categories, paying particular attention to those issues that fall in the area of interest, those related in some way to federal education law in general, and/or specifically the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965*.

The December 1965 issue, *Junior High School: Transition in Chaos?* was the one issue which followed the pattern set in previous years by concentrating fairly exclusively on curriculum and pedagogy. This issue focused on topics pertaining to the education of students in the sixth, seventh, eighth and/or ninth grades. The editorial preceding the rest of the articles introduced the topic, and directed the readers’ attention toward the question of why a discussion of the appropriate placement of adolescents was necessary, explaining that these students are neither the young children who belong in elementary school nor the developed adolescents of the high school.²⁹⁹ One article, for example, “Today’s Junior High Students” described the age group, presenting information about

²⁹⁸ *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 22., No. 6, March 1965, 373-452.

²⁹⁹ Gordon F. Vars, “Change—and the Junior High” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 23, No. 3, December 1965, 187-189; the two placements discussed were junior high schools that function in a similar fashion to high schools or middle schools that would be more of a transition between elementary and high schools.

adolescents to readers, noting particular the large gaps in knowledge and class which had created cliques frequently called “varsity,” “frats” and “ivy,” for example, as contrasted with the less academically and economically successful “grease” and “hoods.” The author then argued for the need to make students who fall into the latter categories successful, suggesting that perhaps programs launched under the *Education Opportunity Act of 1964* (EOA) or the *Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965* might help to reduce that gap in the future.³⁰⁰

A few articles, notably “The Adolescent Intellect” and “Today’s Junior High Students” argued respectively for the design of a curriculum that would respect children in this age group and for a program that would bring intellect and intellectual pursuits to the forefront, rather than the more typical focus on athletics and other extra-curricular activities. It also called for teachers who would care about and understand the particular needs of students in this age group.³⁰¹ Finally, a subset of articles in this issue explored the pros and cons of the various permutations of middle and junior high schools, including “Are Junior High Schools the Answer?” and “Schools for the Middle School Years.” These articles both argued for the need to create schools specifically tailored to the needs of children in early adolescence, rather than trying on the one hand to ape the appearance and function of the high school as in the junior high or keeping children in the elementary school environment through the eighth grade. Instead, the author argued, a middle school would house students from approximately ten years to fourteen years of age, and would provide them with a flexible transition from elementary to high school;

³⁰⁰ William W. Wattenberg, “Today’s Junior High Students” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 23, No. 3, December 1965, 190-193.

³⁰¹ Mauritz Johnson, Jr. “The Adolescent Intellect” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 23, No. 3, December 1965, 200-204; Jack E. Blackburn, “The Junior High School Teacher We Need” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 23, No. 3, December 1965, 205-208.

the author postulated an organization that would place students securely in a homeroom group while putting a small group of teachers together to teach each of the academic subjects, ensuring that although the child has more teachers he could not be lost in the shuffle as could occur in larger environs. The author concluded by advocating for the need for “a staff of adults of uncommon talents and abilities” stating that a program of staff recruitment and development would be necessary for successful implementation.³⁰² This issue, therefore, was pedagogically focused, although even here mention was made of ESEA, in the hopes that the funding provided will help to narrow the gap between groups of students.

The second group of issues in this year is examined curriculum and pedagogy through the lens of social change and controversies. These issues included *Youth and the World of Work*, *Social Ferment and the Social Studies*, *Reading as a Social Skill*, and *Affective Learning*. Each of these issues, all of which came out in the beginning part of the calendar year (January through April), had some articles that were entirely curricular or pedagogical in focus. For example, “Understanding Other Lands Other Peoples,” an article in *Social Ferment and the Social Studies* by Arthur J. Lewis, advocated a new approach to social studies, proposing that students study a limited number of nations in depth rather than the previous method of studying primarily the developed nations.³⁰³ Another example of a curriculum-focused article, “i/t/a: A Step Forward or Sideways?” appeared in the March issue *Reading as a Social Skill*. This article looked at the Initial Teaching Alphabet created by Sir James Pitman, a different way of teaching beginning

³⁰² J. H. Hull “Are Junior High Schools the Answer?” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 22, No. 3, December 1964, 213-216; William M. Alexander and Emmett L. Williams “Schools for the Middle Years” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 23, No. 3, December 1964, 217-223.

³⁰³ Arthur J. Lewis “Understanding Other Lands Other Peoples” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 22, No. 2., November 1964, 306-309.

readers that augmented the regular Roman alphabet with characters that represent additional sounds (i.e., a symbol for the sound /ch/ in chips or a symbol for /th/). The article reported on a study of the i/t/a alphabet and advocated for more research to be done to determine for whom i/t/a is appropriate and what its advantages and disadvantages were.³⁰⁴ Another article in that same issue, Jeannette Veatch's "Evaluating Differentiation of Learning in Reading Instruction" also looked on curriculum and pedagogy, advocating for student choice in learning, especially in reading and writing, arguing in particular against traditional homogeneous grouping of students and proposing that students be able to choose both topics and pacing.³⁰⁵ Many articles in this group of issues were similar to those described here, with a concentration on matters of curriculum and/or pedagogy.

Other articles in this group, however, differed from those enumerated above. Although they continued to discuss curriculum and pedagogy, they did so in the context of discussing issues appearing in the larger American scene and relating them to curriculum and pedagogy. In the issue *Reading as a Social Skill*, for example, Mildred Beatty Smith's "Reading for the Culturally Disadvantaged" noted the need for pre-reading experiences, vocabulary building exercises, and parent education programs as part of a preschool program, all of which would foster home and school reading experiences. The author focused on the pre-school experiences of children living in poverty, stating that by virtue of that poverty children were more in need of a

³⁰⁴ Thomas C. Barrett "i/t/a: A Step Forward or Sideways?" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 22, No. 3, December 1964, 394-397.

³⁰⁵ Jeannette Veatch "Evaluating Differentiation of Learning in Reading Instruction" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 22, No.3, December 1964, 408-411.

comprehensive preschool experience.³⁰⁶ Other articles were more direct. In the April 1965 issue, *Affective Learning*, a series of articles explored the influence of background and family factors on learning, beginning with “Affective Factors Influence Classroom Learning,” which provided information about different teaching and disciplinary styles and their impact on students, finishing with recommendations of teaching styles likely to bring about the most positive result.³⁰⁷ Other articles in this issue more directly addressed the impact of poverty on learning. One example, Jane Ellen McAllister’s “Affective Climate and the Disadvantaged,” reported on work done in Mississippi where students who were “socially and psychologically deprived” were chosen for a Saturday and summer enrichment program in which Jackson State College assessed students’ academic abilities and affective states and then “channeled the students’ fears and made these fears productive and not destructive.” The author explained that the school did this by setting high expectations and providing students with mentors among other methods.³⁰⁸ Another example, Charles E. Stewart’s “Human Interaction: A Source of Affective Learnings” [*sic*] discussed the need for disadvantaged children to be provided with motivation for doing well in school. The article gave suggestions for improving such motivation as well as improving disadvantaged children’s self-image. For example, teachers should explain *why* work should be done a certain way, use texts that include minority children, make a purposeful attempt to increase and improve home/school communications, and make school a welcoming place to disadvantaged children and their

³⁰⁶ Mildred Beatty Smith “Reading for the Culturally Disadvantaged” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 22, No. 3, December 1964, 398-403.

³⁰⁷ Richard E. Ripple, “Affective Factors Influence Classroom Learning” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 22, No. 4, December 1964, 475-480; 532.

³⁰⁸ Jane Ellen McAllister “Affective Climate and the Disadvantaged” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 22, No. 4, January 1965, 481-485; 531.

parents.³⁰⁹ Like the first category of articles, these issues, and the articles that they contained, were focused for the most part on curriculum and pedagogy. However, as these examples show, they did so in the context of sharing information about how to improve learning and teaching by gaining a greater understanding of the contexts in which children lived, particularly the difficulties caused by poverty.

The third group of issues have specific articles and in some cases, series of articles, devoted to federal involvement in education. These articles were published in the latter half of the year, and include *Poverty and the School*, *The Young Child: Today's Pawn*, and *Curriculum vs. the Individual*.

The May 1965 issue, *Poverty and the School* began with a series of articles on the relationship between poverty and learning. In "An Experimental Curriculum for Culturally Deprived Kindergarten Children" authors James L. Olson and Richard G. Larson reported on a pilot program undertaken in Racine, Wisconsin in which a group of twenty "culturally deprived" kindergarteners were exposed to a number of classroom activities, including a variety of trips, in-class activities such as cooking and baking and time for imaginative play using both white and black dolls as well as a lengthened school day.³¹⁰ Another article, "Tutors for Disadvantaged Youth," reported on a growing phenomenon of white, middle class college students who tutored minority, lower class elementary or high school students. The author noted that tutors can provide individual attention without many of the classroom management issues that plague many classrooms, but that they would function best if tutors collaborated with schools so that

³⁰⁹ Charles E. Stewart "Human Interaction: A Source of Affective Learnings" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 22, No. 4, January 1965, 487-491; 532.

³¹⁰ James L. Olson and Richard G. Larson "An Experimental Curriculum for Culturally Deprived Kindergarten Children" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 22, No. 8, May 1965, 553-558; 618.

their assistance would augment and supplement the work of schools rather than go at cross-purposes with it. In short, these articles discussed the cultural issues of poverty, and may reflect the ongoing discussions of poverty and its impacts going on in the wider culture.³¹¹

Another article, “Poverty and the School,” described the issues related to poverty, but also provided resources and suggestions for solutions. Author Muriel Crosby first provided a list of difficulties that children living in poverty face including high mobility, lack of educational motivation and self-concept, and the “educational lag” caused by a lack of experiences prior to beginning schooling that tends to widen as children get older. She described federal aid programs aimed at helping to provide for the needs of disadvantaged children, including both the *National Defense Education Act* (NDEA) and the *Economic Opportunity Act* (EOA), but not ESEA.³¹²

Two other articles directly addressed federal aid to education: Lawrence E. Metcalf’s “Poverty, Government and the Schools” and Carl L. Marburger’s “The Economic Opportunity Act—and the Schools.” The latter article looked at the role of schools in fulfilling the EOA, listing roles they could play in the creation and implementation of youth programs, such as forming a job corps or creating work-training and work-study programs. The article also promoted community programs that could augment schools, and notes that school systems not only could but *should* act as providers for those programs, saying that “It is imperative that the schools initiate community action organization where none exists or catalyze the agencies and

³¹¹ Mark A. Chesler “Tutors for Disadvantaged Youth” *Educational Leadership* Vol, 22, No. 8, May 1965, 559-563; 605-607.

³¹² Muriel Crosby “Poverty and the School” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 22, No. 8, May 1965, 536-539; This lack of attention to ESEA may be due to a publication lag, as articles would have most likely been selected for this May issue prior to ESEA’s passage the previous month.

institutions with the potential for initiating the community action organization into forming a cooperative action team”³¹³ Although focused on the EOA, the article did mention to ESEA, noting that EOA has “the standard restriction against general aid in all educational legislation prior to President Johnson’s newly proposed ‘Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965,’ which circumvents this language.”³¹⁴

Finally, Lawrence E. Metcalf’s “Poverty, Government and the Schools” noted that “[t]he spate of federal legislation in the last three years is testimony enough that many have lost faith in a school system financed and controlled at a local and state level” and pointed out that federal involvement in education would likely increase in upcoming years. The author also reported on the introduction of ESEA the previous January, and gave readers a glimpse into its provisions and focus on children of low-income families. The author argued that the legislation would “no doubt” pass, and that such funding would prevent schools from “point[ing] to slim budgets as an excuse for not doing anything about certain educational problems.” His culminating argument was a call for schools to do more than simply take the additional funding and continue as before. Instead, he stated that schools would need to not only develop new and creative ways of educating all students but that the only way to effectively use education to wipe out poverty is to teach all the critical thinking skills necessary for “valid social criticism.” Without such a change, the additional funding might be used to strengthen the current

³¹³ Carl L. Marburger “The Economic Opportunity Act—and the Schools” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 22, No. 8, May 1965, 591.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 547-548; Again, I assume that the mention of the already-passed ESEA as “proposed” legislation is due to a lag between writing and publication.

system in which poor students continued learning basic skills and more affluent students learned critical thinking, thus reinforcing the large gap between affluent and poor.³¹⁵

In addition to articles devoted to the monthly theme of *Curriculum vs. the Individual*, the October 1965 issue had three articles devoted specifically to federal education law, in a “Special Interest” section. The first of these three articles, Galen Saylor’s “The Federal Colossus in Education—Threat or Promise?” for the first time spoke of federal government’s participation in education as a fact, unlike previous articles that until this point had continued to debate the propriety of such participation. The article began by listing the positive impacts that federal aid to education could have (the “promises”): more money available for schools and school districts; the size of the national effort would provide programs and services not feasible through smaller or more local and/or state level efforts, citing specifically “...the entire program being developed under the Economic Opportunity Act and most of the activities that will be possible under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965;” the phenomenon in which federal support often stimulated state and local agencies to increase their own effort, suggesting, for example, that Title II of ESEA would be likely to induce school districts to improve and expand their library services much more rapidly than would be likely in the absence of that federal funding; federal efforts will push innovation as well as action; and that federal support can demand that all students have opportunities to learn, regardless of economic social and cultural factors.³¹⁶ The second section of the article detailed the potential negative impacts of federal involvement in education (the “threats”): stifling of

³¹⁵ Lawrence E. Metcalf “Poverty, Government and the Schools” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 22, No. 8, May 1965, 543-546.

³¹⁶ Galen Saylor “The Federal Colossus in Education—Threat or Promise?” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 23, No. 1, October 1965, 8-10.

local creativity; “invidious” federal control over curriculum in which federal officials might have control “over the *educational aspects* of the plans developed for carrying out some of these acts” as well as mandates for state reports to the United States Commissioner of Education which the Commissioner would then evaluate; and a long term concern that by increasing the role of federal and national interests in education, local interest and participation might wane.³¹⁷ The author concluded that in order to realize the promises and obviate the threats, the following steps should be taken:

- The federal government should actually play a larger role in education funding;
- Federal funds should support educational undertakings of all types, and should in large part be used to stimulate and support “more comprehensive and extensive educational efforts than are carried out as part of our traditional program of schooling in local districts”;
- The federal government should support only those “aspects of the total educational program that represent a wise investment of funds”
- Federal funds should be used to support research and development of activities on a broader scale than that usually deployed by state and local education authorities;
- All programs should be part of an overarching plan for the total education of children and young adults; and
- Programs should be planned and administered by educators, not by politicians who are ““not fully qualified by training and experience to administer such programs.”

Interestingly, despite his depiction of federal involvement as a threat, Saylor did advocate one thing that would require such federal intervention – the requirement that the federal government only invest in programs that are a “wise investment of funds.”³¹⁸

The second article in the special interest section is entitled “The Federal Colossus in Education—Curriculum Planning” by Mark R. Shedd, the then-superintendent of the Englewood, New Jersey School District. Shedd noted that while he might have preferred general aid he was content with categorical aid, especially as he predicted that “...in time the categories will become so increased and extend as to constitute general aid in fact,”

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 10-13.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

stating that “[i]f the people of America prefer to support ‘programs for children’ rather than ‘money for schools’ then let it be so.” In this article, Shedd gave suggestions for how educators might utilize provisions of each of ESEA’s predecessors (i.e., using NDEA funds for improving science and foreign language curricula) and what background information educators should have when planning to utilize those funds (i.e., those wishing to fund programs with the EOA should know the federal definition of poverty as a starting point). The article focused on provisions of the EOA with only one small mention of ESEA, perhaps because at the time that this article went to print educators were at the very beginning the planning stage for the use of ESEA funds.³¹⁹

The final article in this special section on federal education aid, “How are Federal Programs Working in the Large city?” used New York City as an example of how the various federal programs were progressing. Similar to the previous article, this one discussed programs funded by previous federal education legislation, with no mention of ESEA. Instead, the author reported on programs funded by the EOA (including the Neighborhood Youth Corps and Project Head Start), the NDEA and the *Vocational Education Act of 1963* as well as the Manpower Development Training program.³²⁰

The November 1965 issue, *The Young Child: Today’s Pawn?* Had similar articles to the May issue, again looking at the impact of poverty and disadvantage on young children, although from a slightly different angle. Helen F. Robison and Rose Mukerji’s “Language, Concepts—and the Disadvantaged” discussed the language deficiencies of impoverished children and noted that

³¹⁹ Mark R. Shedd “The Federal Colossus in Education—Curriculum Planning” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 23, No. 1, October 1965, 15-19.

³²⁰ Joseph O. Loretan “How Are Federal Programs Working in the Large City?” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 23, No. 1, October 1965, 20-24; Again, I postulate that the press date of this journal made inclusion of ESEA difficult as schools and school districts were likely still in the planning stages.

While research studies are emphasizing the preschool and early school years as the critical period for language and beginning concept development, mere attendance in classes and exposure to the conventional kindergarten curriculum have not been sufficient to compensate disadvantaged children for early deprivation. Within the larger requirements for social and economic improvement, these children appear to need a carefully constructed school program with some power to reverse the apparently growing educational gap between them and their middle class counterparts.³²¹

The authors then reported on an experimental kindergarten program that promoted language learning, concept development, and symbol use as a pre-reading strategy (i.e., looking at the picture to determine if a carton held orange juice or milk), and reported on the study's finding that disadvantaged children needed such a play-based program designed to widen horizons and increase children's scholastic capacities.³²² Another article, "Deprivation—Its Effects, Its Remedies" described Baltimore Public Schools' Early School Admissions Project, a program similar to that described in the preceding article but aimed at four year olds rather than kindergarteners.³²³ These articles did not directly address federal aid to education; they did, however note the educational challenges faced by children living in poverty, and the remedies suggested are the type of those which were advocated as ideal programs for Title I funding.

Two articles in this issue directly addressed federal programs, although both were related to early childhood, not ESEA. "Project Head Start—An Assessment" by Keith Osborn reported on the author's observations of the then-nascent program. The majority of the article was complimentary, although there was some commentary to the effect that

³²¹ Helen F. Robison and Rose Mukerji "Language, Concepts—and the Disadvantaged" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 23, No. 2, November 1965, 133.

³²² *Ibid.*, 133-136; 141-142.

³²³ Catherine Bruner "Deprivation—Its Effects, Its Remedies" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 23, No. 2, November 1965, 103-107.

the quality of the teachers and levels of parental participation varied considerably.³²⁴ The second article, Bernard Spodek's "Is Massive Intervention the Answer?" explored the appropriateness of society's intervention in the lives of poor and disadvantaged children by taking them out of the home and putting them in school at such a young age, concluding that such pre-school programs could be a good solution but only if they were of high quality.³²⁵ Therefore, although these articles did not directly address ESEA or federal legislation other than that which funded Head Start, they were discussing the group of disadvantaged children that ESEA was designed to help, indicating the awareness of these issues in the larger political and educational context.

In 1965, therefore, the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965* was mentioned very few times in the various issues of *Educational Leadership*. On the other hand, a very distinct change had occurred. This change was linked to the various debates leading to and surrounding the enactment of ESEA – the move from a curricular and pedagogical focus without regard to students' backgrounds to an awareness of the issues that children living in poverty face with regard to education. Furthermore, in the latter half of the year, although there was little mention of ESEA itself, possibly due to publishing deadlines that most likely occurred before any schools or school districts had progressed past the planning stage, there were many more mentions of the federal government's involvement in education.

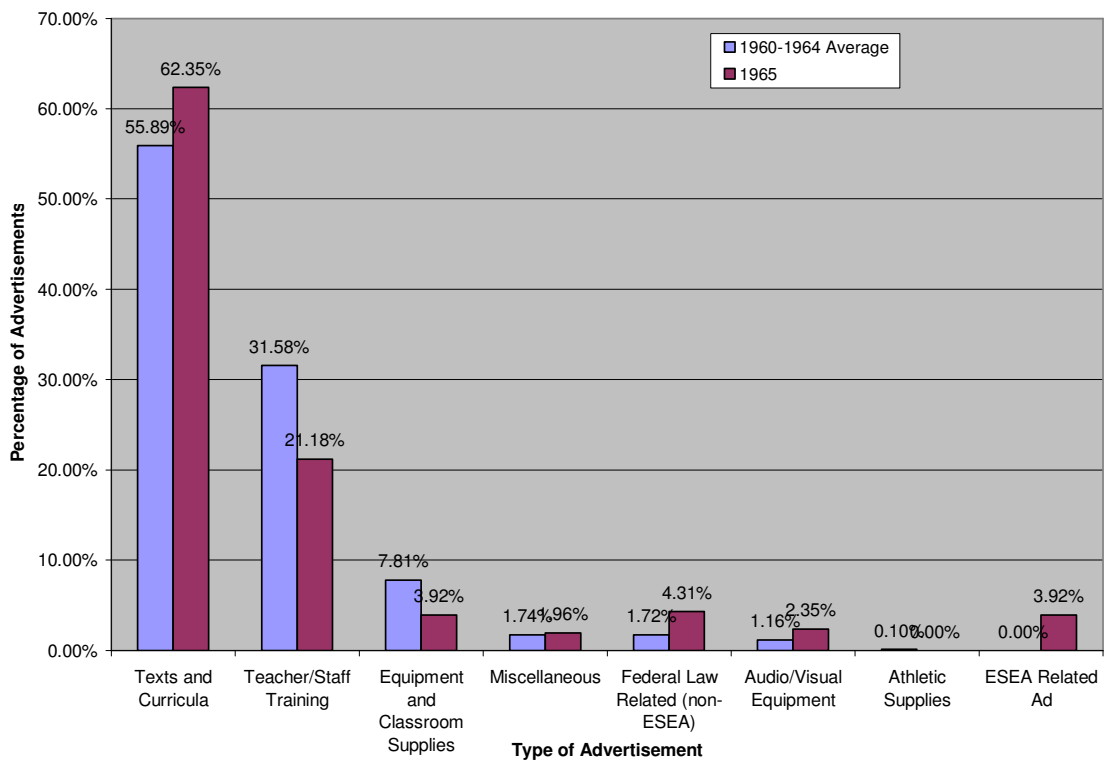
³²⁴ Keith Osborn "Project Head Start—An Assessment" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 23, No. 2, November 1965, 98-101.

³²⁵ Bernard Spodek "Is 'Massive Intervention' the Answer?" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 23, No. 2, November 1965, 108-112.

Advertisements

The advertisements in *Educational Leadership* in 1965 also changed somewhat from the 1960-1964 time period to 1965. The seven categories of advertisements from the previous years continued, and were joined by a new category, that of advertisements suggesting that their product(s) could be funded through ESEA (see Figure 1). Although percentages of some categories—athletic supplies and audio/visual equipment—stayed fairly constant (from .1% to 0% and from 1% to 2%, respectively), others changed, some a good deal. Advertisements for texts and curricula, for example increased by approximately 7% (from 56% to 64%). On the other hand, the percentage of advertisements devoted to teacher and/or staff training fell slightly more than 10% (from

Figure 8: *Educational Leadership* Advertisements 1960-1964 and 1965



31% to 21%) and those for equipment and classroom supplies fell just over 3% (from 7%

to 4%). Finally, advertisements citing federal laws as funding sources (including NDEA, EOA, the *Vocational Education Act of 1963* among others but not ESEA) increased by just under 3% (from 1.7% to 4%). Like those cited in the previous chapter, these advertisements suggest that school districts could use these federal sources of funding to subsidize or purchase outright their products (see Figure 2 for an example of a product that could be funded through NDEA).

Figure 9: Advertisement citing NDEA as a Funding Source

Now offer students "INSTANT TRAVEL" with
LET'S TRAVEL BOOKS

ELIGIBLE FOR PURCHASE UNDER TITLE III, N.D.E.A.

The Let's Travel series from Childrens Press inspires a desire to read; particularly excellent for supplemental reading in Social Studies, History and Geography. For 6th graders through junior and senior high school.

Schedule a visual trip to 16 different countries: SPAIN • SOVIET UNION • ITALY • MEXICO • GREECE • SWITZERLAND • CHINA • JAPAN • INDIA • HOLLAND • ENGLAND • FRANCE • HAWAII • SOUTH SEAS • HOLY LAND • HONG KONG

32 BRILLIANT FULL-COLOR, PAGE-SIZE PHOTOGRAPHS—50-60 ILLUSTRATIONS per title. 800 PICTURES in the set.

Each book \$3.50 list, \$2.63 net.* Complete set of 16, \$56.00 list, \$39.95 net.*

Write for FREE new curriculum-oriented catalog today!

*Net postpaid to schools and libraries. Free examination privileges. All books bound in reinforced cloth and unconditionally guaranteed.

Childrens Press, Inc.
1224 W. Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60607

Mention of NDEA as a funding source.

In 1965, unsurprisingly, a few advertisements begin to also cite ESEA as a funding source for the purchase of educational products (4%). Although this was only a small percentage of advertisements overall for the calendar year, one should also take

into account that ESEA was not passed until April, when there was only one more issue to go before the summer hiatus. Therefore, it is likely that the concentration of ESEA-related advertisements in the fall months was again due to a publication delay between planning and layout of the journal and its actual publication month. These advertisements were laid out similarly to those promoting other federal sources of funding, with a mention of ESEA as a potential source, sometimes by itself, and sometimes in conjunction with other federal sources of funding (see Figure 3 for an example of a product advertised as eligible for funding under both ESEA and NDEA).

Figure 10: Advertisement with ESEA as a Source of Funding³²⁶

How can you bring better schooling to these children?

PROVED EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS QUALIFIED FOR FEDERALLY FUNDED PROGRAMS

Available now, specialized materials designed to help you in teaching the culturally diverse student, the slow learner and potential dropout, the under-educated and unemployed and adult, the pre-school child, as well as the mainstream student.

To guide you in making a selection, these Follett materials, proved-in-use in private and public schools, have been categorized according to the specific federal acts under which they qualify for funds. In four separate folders we offer you reports, literature and recommended programming on 603 book titles, 26 special programs and materials for all levels from pre-kindergarten through adult.

F FOLLETT PUBLISHING COMPANY
1010 W. Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois 60607

Please send the materials I have checked under the following Federally Funded Programs:

Elementary and Secondary Education Act
For Elementary Schools _____ POSITION _____
Junior High Schools _____ SCHOOL _____
or Senior High Schools _____ ADDRESS _____
 N.D.E.A. Title III
For Primary Grades _____ CITY _____ STATE _____
Intermediate Grades _____
or Upper Grades _____

Library Services and Construction Act
 Economic Opportunity Act and Manpower Development Act

Mention of ESEA and federal funding.

³²⁶ *Educational Leadership* Vol. 23, No. 3, December 1965, inside front cover.

In the latter half of 1965, companies began to advertise their products as eligible for purchase under ESEA. At the same time, the percentage of ads citing any federal source for purchasing power rose a small but substantial percentage. I postulate that this overall increase may be related to the publicity surrounding ESEA's passage, as the providers of educational products came to realize that their products could be paid for by federal funds. Therefore, although the percentage of advertisements citing ESEA is relatively small, the new law may have had a larger impact on advertisements than is first apparent, as the overall number of federal programs mentioned in ads increased a good amount.

Discussion

In 1965, the tenor of many of the articles in *Educational Leadership* changed. Although not breaking away from the previous pedagogical and curricular focus, many articles were presented in a new way, reflecting the increasing national focus on the problems of poverty and its impact on educational progress. Therefore, many articles spoke about ways to modify curricula and pedagogy in order to best serve this population which was underserved in the past. Other articles, towards the latter part of the year, focused more specifically on federal education law, reacting, most likely, to the discussions of ESEA as school administrators strove to implement it during the first tumultuous years described in Chapters 2 and 3.

Advertisements continued to be able to be classified in the same categories as in previous years, including advertisements for textbooks and curricula, teacher and/or staff training, equipment and classrooms supplies, audio/visual equipment and athletic supplies. But a new category of advertisements, that of ads citing ESEA as a funding

source for products was added. In addition, the category of ads whose producers referenced non-ESEA federal laws as funding sources increased.

School Management Magazine, Articles and Advertisements: 1965

Articles

In the first half of 1965 the articles in *School Management Magazine* were very similar to those found in the 1960-1964 time period. Articles continued to provide ways to address practical issues in school administration, in a pattern similar to previous years. January's issue contained the "Cost of Education Index," July's the "Cost of Building Index," and the monthly and bimonthly columns such as *Food Clinic*, *School Law*, *Audio-Visual Advisory*, *News from the Schools* and *Where to Get Help* continued. In February 1965, a new monthly feature debuted, the *Administrators' Clinic*. This new column, which had no attributed author, presented real-life situations that occurred in school districts and the solutions to these problems presented by a panel of administrators. Each month's column presented a group of related problems, and the panel solutions included the majority opinion as well as any dissenting opinions. In February, for example, all problems related to personnel. One such problem presented was the following:

Two years ago, you hired a young man as a mathematics teacher and basketball coach. He is an extremely capable and popular coach and this year, his team brought home the high school's first league championship. However, he is a poor mathematics teacher. He's coming up for tenure this year. What do you do?³²⁷

³²⁷ "Administrators' Clinic" *School Management Magazine* Vol. 9, No. 2, February 1965, 68.

The article then gave the consensus of the majority of the panel (to release the teacher, as academics are of paramount importance) and the dissenting opinion of two panelists who recommended giving the teacher tenure but changing his teaching area to a less academically rigorous area.³²⁸

The March 1965 issue continued the same pattern of articles and columns, including the new *Administrators' Clinic*, but the April 1965 issue included an article that addressed “What the Civil Rights Groups Want From Your Schools.” This article provided an edited transcript of an interview by *School Management Magazine* editors (no further attribution is made) with Roy Wilkins, the executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.³²⁹ During the course of the interview, Wilkins responded to questions about desegregation and the roles that schools could and should play in that effort. Wilkins began by stating that “[t]he purpose [of desegregation], of course, is to secure what has not hitherto been available—namely a quality, or vastly improved, education for the minority children in northern schools.”³³⁰ Wilkins emphasized this point, when, in response to the question of whether or not he would still call for desegregation if the separation were done so on an economic rather than a racial basis, he noted that although NAACP’s mission was organized on basis of race, “[w]e regard any difference in educational opportunity as being bad for this nation” and “if a certain group of your student population is consistently below grade level, no matter what the reason—his color or anything else—you do whatever is necessary to give

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, 68.

³²⁹ “What the Civil Rights Groups Want From Your Schools” *School Management Magazine* Vol. 9, No. 4, April 1965, 76-83.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 77.

him the chance to catch up.”³³¹ In this, Wilkins’ argument reflected the ideas of President Johnson, Senator Wayne Morse and other proponents of ESEA. Wilkins’ final statement made the link from disadvantage to education even more clear:

Because they [schools] are the one agency that is capable of tackling these problems at their root. The school community is fond of saying that segregated schools are the result of segregated houses and they can’t do anything about that. But why do you have segregated housing? Why can’t the Negro buy a better house? Why can’t he get a better job? The answer to that question in part is discrimination. But in large part it’s also education. This is at the very root of the problem. It’s an educational problem. It is the type of problem that the people who are running our schools were hired to solve” (83)

Like Johnson, therefore, Wilkins linked education to the economy, arguing that only with a good education could minorities obtain better jobs which would enable them to live where they chose, eliminating, or at least reducing the *de facto* segregation that was rampant in the North.

In June of 1965, *School Management Magazine* published its first response to ESEA. The introductory article to this section, “Why Congress Passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act,” was an interview with Senator Morse, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Education and one of the authors of ESEA. The stated purpose of this interview was “to focus on the *intent* of stepped-up federal aid to education—on what these monies are supposed to accomplish in your district, and in the nation as a whole, and on what they are *not* designed to accomplish.”³³² The questions *School Management’s* editors asked Senator Morse indicated their assumptions of administrators’ most burning questions about this large federal aid program. Their questions included inquiries about the specter of federal control, issues around the

³³¹ *Ibid.*, 78-79.

³³² “Why Congress passed the Elementary and Secondary Act” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 9, No. 6, June 1965, 87.

separation of church and state, the speed of the bill's passage, and the methodology for determining who counts as a child from a low-income family.

The question of federal control resulting from federal funding is the crux of the argument of many opponents of federal aid-to-education. Morse's response was extremely clear in its rejection of that viewpoint:

This old bromide that federal legislation will lead to federal domination has been dragged out ever since Buchanan vetoed the Morrill Land Grant College Act that Lincoln eventually signed in 1862. It is nothing more than a handy straw man.... In the administration of the present bill, there isn't the slightest federal interference....Nothing can be construed to authorize any federal department, agency or officer to exercise any direction, supervision or control over the curriculum, instruction, administration or personnel of any school system.³³³

Although Morse vehemently rejected this viewpoint, the fact that this question cropped up even two months after the bill's passage makes it clear that the editors of *School Management Magazine* felt that this question still needed to be addressed for their readers, indicating that they, at least, felt uneasy with the issue. In a similar vein, the editors expressed "concern" about the constitutionality of the provision of services to children attending non-public schools. Morse's response, that this program "...does not disturb me since what we are dealing with are *public* funds being dispersed to *public* officials to finance the *public* purpose of education" made it clear that he did not share the editors' qualms.³³⁴ Again, the very presence of the question indicates that the editors felt that this issue still needed to be addressed and clarified for the readers even after ESEA's passage.

Two other major questions were addressed in the interview. The first was an explanation of the funding structure and the selection of \$2000 as the low-income factor.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 89.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 92.

Morse acknowledged that the system could be improved, but noted that “We are all political realists,” indicating that it was better to pass something than try to find an idea that might have been lost in conferences with the House.³³⁵ Finally, Morse was asked about the speed of ESEA’s passage: as noted in Chapter 2, the bill was first proposed in January and was signed into law a mere four months later, an incredibly short amount of time. The editors noted that “[t]here’s a widespread impression that this bill was ‘railroaded’ through Congress with no significant modifications,” and asked whether Morse believed this to be true. Morse answered firmly that this was not the case: “We were under considerable pressure to get the bill through and we were fortunate in being able to do it as quickly as we did. But this legislation was thoroughly examined, questioned and modified by Congress.”³³⁶

This interview with Senator Morse addressed many of the major concerns educators had about ESEA. All of the concerns mentioned here were brought up in some fashion during the Congressional debates about ESEA, including the specter of federal control, separation of church and state, and the specifics of funding, as well as the speed of ESEA’s passage, which was, in fact, planned by the Johnson Administration (see Chapter 2). Although this interview was published two months after ESEA’s passage, two things were likely to have influenced the editors’ inclusion of these questions. First, although the publication date was June, in all likelihood the actual interview would have occurred prior to that date, as journals and magazines require a certain amount of lead time built into the publication schedule. Second, and more important to the argument in this chapter, the editors were likely including questions that they felt that their readers

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, 89.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 92-93.

might still have about the legislation, using this interview to provide needed background information for those readers. The choice of questions indicates that the editors at least felt that these were still burning questions for school administrators, and that they would need to be addressed before administrators could turn to the planning and implementation of ESEA.

A second article, actually an inset in the interview with Senator Morse, was entitled “How the Office of Education Will Implement ESEA.” This article, again attributed only to *School Management* editors, contained excerpts from an interview with Education Commissioner Francis Keppel. The main thrust of the interview addressed the issue of federal control, and Keppel stated forcefully that

Ideas must come from the local level, not from the federal government. Superintendents and board members know what their problems are. They’re familiar with the general situations in their communities. They’re the only ones who can formulate programs tailored to their needs. And our experience has indicated that there are many, many ideas on how to effectively use this money.³³⁷

Furthermore, in response to a question of whether the USOE would provide ideas or templates, Keppel again responded that the purpose of the bill was to fund local efforts and that “[t]he Office of Education is in no position to tell local schoolmen how to use ESEA funds.”³³⁸ The very presence of this interview, which, for the most part, reiterated and reinforced Senator Morse’s statements that federal funding would not increase federal control, makes it clear that this issue was still of great concern to school administrators and needed to be addressed in a fashion that would insure that the federal government was not looking to reduce or take over any local and state educational prerogatives.

³³⁷ “How the Office of Education Will Implement ESEA” *School Management Magazine*, Vol 9, No. 6, June 1965, 90.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, 90.

Following these interviews was “A Schoolman’s Guide to Federal Aid,” compiled by Buckman Osborne, and designed to provide information to specifically address “programs under which local school districts—or their employees—could obtain *direct help*” in curricular areas.³³⁹ The article was divided into two sections: the first gives information about ten major sources of federal aid—ESEA, NDEA, the *Library Services and Construction Act*, *School Assistance to Federally Affected Areas*, Provisions for educational television, the *Vocational Educational Act*, *The Manpower Development and Training Act*, the *Economic Opportunity Act*, and *The Civil Rights Act*; the second section listed twelve areas of likely concern (i.e., science programs, libraries, language programs and educational television) and cross-indexes them to particular federal programs and areas that might provide assistance.³⁴⁰

The first section of the *Schoolman’s Guide* provided descriptions of each of the bills listed above, including specific enumeration of each of the Titles of those laws that could provide funding to local school districts. In addition, each section had an inset labeled “What your district can do right now,” which gave specific directions for school administrators to follow in order to obtain funds. The section on ESEA began with a brief overview of Titles I-V of that act, noting the amount of funding provide by each Title and a sentence or two describing what that funding could be used for. This was followed by a larger description of Titles I, II and III and a “What your district can do now” section listing steps that school administrators could take to prepare for obtaining funds even before the USOE released the guidelines specific to each Title.

³³⁹ Buckman Osborne “A Schoolman’s Guide to Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine* Vol. 9, No. 6, June 1965, 94.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 95.

The Title I section began by explaining that although the greatest benefit would go to school districts that served high concentrations of low-income families, projections showed that over 90% of school districts would be eligible for at least some funding. Osborne then addressed the issue of eligibility, explaining that census data was the preferred method of determining how many low-income families were in any given district, other methodologies would be acceptable if the census data proved untenable for districts. Finally, he discussed preparing a plan for implementation, commenting that programs should include projects that would benefit all economically handicapped children and while they should not duplicate efforts already in place they could be used to augment current efforts or create entirely new projects.³⁴¹ A one page inset in this section entitled “What your district can do right now” told the reader that the Office of Education was in the midst of developing the administrative procedures for implementing ESEA and Title I, but that despite the lack of guidelines, school administrators should begin to prepare for the funding by obtaining information about programs to aid the educationally disadvantaged, determine the most vital needs in the readers’ own communities, explore how to combine programs under Title I with other federal programs (i.e., the EOA or NDEA), develop plans for projects, and assess how to extend projects to non-public school students in the reader’s district.³⁴²

The sections on ESEA’s Titles II and III followed a similar pattern, first explaining the specific title and then suggesting what school administrators should do in order to obtain such funds for their school districts. Embedded into this report was another inset, “Programs for the Disadvantaged.” This inset provided a list of suggested

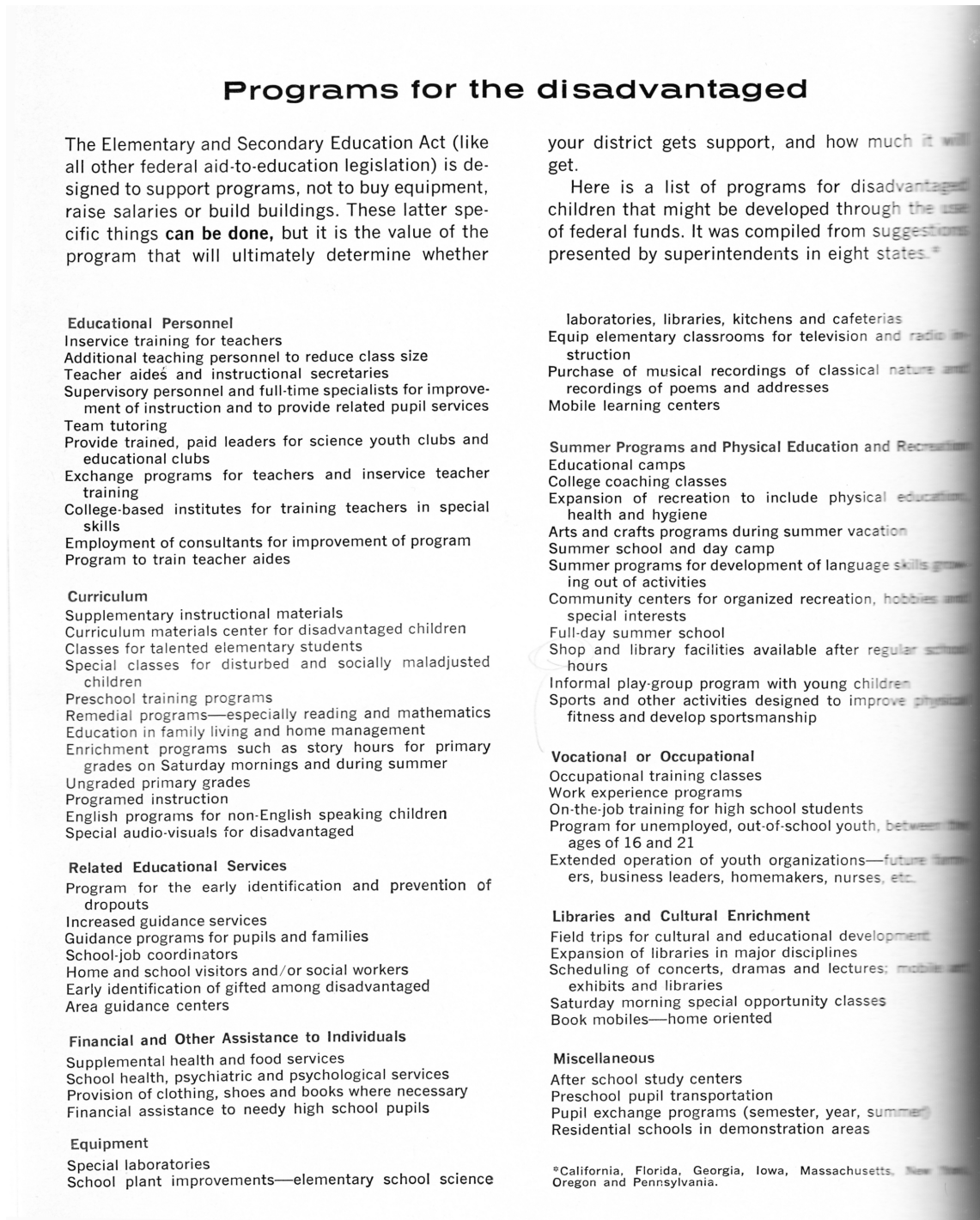
³⁴¹ “Chapter 1: Elementary and Secondary Education Act” in “A Schoolman’s Guide to Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine* Vol. 9, No. 6, June 1965, 96-101.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, 98.

projects that could fit under ESEA, including ideas for personnel (i.e., inservice training, hiring additional teachers to reduce class size or hiring instructional aides), curriculum (i.e., supplementary instructional materials, preschool training programs, or ESL programs) and others (see Figure 4).

This section on ESEA illustrates how *School Management Magazine* continued to find “practical solutions to school management problems” even in the context of this new and often complicated federal aid-to-education legislation. Although this information was fairly general in nature, it addressed concerns that at the very least *School Management’s* editors believed school administrators would have. The other sections of this article continued in the same vein, but addressed the other legislation listed above that could be used to support local efforts in education, either on their own or in conjunction with ESEA.

Figure 11: List of projects that could be funded under ESEA



The second section of “The Schoolman’s Guide” was comprised of a series of pages whose titles began “So You Want to Improve Your...” and ended in different ways: Science Program, Libraries, Educational Television, Language Programs,

Community Colleges, Guidance & Counseling, Adult Education, Special Education Program, Building Program, Audio-Visual Program, Vocational Education, Teachers. In each of these subsections, the author listed the applicable laws and departmental regulations that would enable school administrators to improve their programs in each area. For example, on the “So You Want to Improve Your Library” page, the author cited a variety of sources and told how to use them in improving the school or school district’s library. Under ESEA’s Title I, therefore, “[f]inancial assistance to local educational agencies for the education of children of low-income families may be used for library resources and/or textbooks, if included in approved plan” and under Title II “[g]rants are available to states to acquire printed and published materials, including textbooks for use of elementary and secondary pupils and teachers, in public and private schools.”³⁴³ This section of the article also addressed practical concerns that might be felt by school administrators, and help them to negotiate the web of different federal aid-to-education programs.

A final article in this section was called “How to Stretch Federal Funds” and advocated cooperative ventures with other school districts in order to stretch federal assistance dollars. The unnamed authors were careful to emphasize that cooperation between small districts does not mean consolidation into larger districts, but that sharing materials allows small districts to benefit from the same economies of scale that larger districts possess. One example would be pooling resources to purchase a large audio/visual library that can be shared rather than each district buying its own very small

³⁴³ Buckman Osborne, “So You Want to Improve Your School Library” in “A Schoolman’s Guide to Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 9, No. 6, June 1965, 130.

library.³⁴⁴ This concluding article also stressed the practical implications of federal funding, and was designed to aid school administrators in implementing ESEA and other federal aid programs in their schools and districts.

The *Schoolman's Guide* was not the only change made to *School Management Magazine* in the wake of ESEA's passage. Beginning in the July 1965 issue, a new monthly column, "Facts & Hints on Federal Aid" debuted. This column varied in its topics, and was not attributed to any one author, but for the most part it covered relevant events in the United States Office of Education, Congress and the White House. For example, the July 1965 article discussed the reorganization of the USOE, which would result in "clearer lines of communications concerning various federally supported programs."³⁴⁵ This reportage of the occurrences in the USOE (explained in detail in Chapter 2) shows that the editors realized that such information would be important to school administrators in their implementation of ESEA.

The August issue had almost no mention of federal education law, although that month's "Facts & Hints on Federal Aid" column reported on the White House Conference on Education, which had occurred in the end of July. Unlike the legislators' viewpoint of the conference, which was generally positive (see Chapter 2), the "Facts & Hints" column's take on the conference was negative: "Two-day session produced mountain of words, few new thoughts. Usual speakers present. Usual ideas expressed. Unlikely to be any important new results."³⁴⁶ This dichotomy of opinion provides interesting insight – although the legislators expressed pleasure at the work done at this

³⁴⁴ "How to Stretch Federal Funds" *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 9, No. 6, June 1965, 161-164.

³⁴⁵ "Facts & Hints on Federal Aid" *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 9, No. 7, July 1965, 49.

³⁴⁶ "Facts & Hints on Federal Aid" *School Management Magazine*, August 1965, 11.

conference and indicated that new ground had been covered, *School Management* was unimpressed.

Other points covered by the two-page article were a note that school districts could obtain funding for retraining youth and/or out-of-work adults under the *Manpower Development and Training Act*, and a proposed bill by Senator Eugene McCarthy that would allow NDEA funds to be used to fund the teaching of classical languages as well as a sentence encouraging readers to write their senators in support of that bill.³⁴⁷

September's "Facts & Hints" column announced that Congress had cleared appropriations for ESEA and that states might get funds as early as October, although LEAs would probably have to wait until November. In addition to reporting on this fact, the column informed readers that "[c]ontrary to some published reports" they would need to apply for ESEA and Title I funding; those forms would become available from Title I coordinators in the state departments of education.³⁴⁸ The issue of federal control was again addressed in this column: the column stressed that the local plan must be approved by the state but "[d]etails of the local plan will not be forwarded to Washington," indicating that concerns about this issue were still in evidence.³⁴⁹

October's column focused on elements of the *Higher Education Act*, proposed amendments to NDEA that were then being debated in Congress, vocational education and the proposed *School Construction Act of 1965*, which would provide funding for construction of schools in areas with high concentrations of low-income families.³⁵⁰

November's "Facts & Hints" returned to ESEA, and its main topic was the application

³⁴⁷ "Facts & Hints on Federal Aid" August 1965, 11-12.

³⁴⁸ "Facts & Hints on Federal Aid" September 1965, 23.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 23.

³⁵⁰ "Facts & Hints on Federal Aid" October 1965, 45-46.

process for Title I funding. The fact sheet announced that both parts of the application were now available at state departments of education and provided clarification about both parts, evidently in response to questions from school administrators. The column took particular care to define two important terms: program, a district's "over-all plan to meet the needs of educationally deprived children" in that district; and project, "any specific plan of action to meet a specific need."³⁵¹ The column concluded with more practical advice for school administrators, suggesting that school districts submit several project applications and that "Successive projects, related to one another, are considered best approach."³⁵² Finally, the column offered advice on funding, suggesting that although projects could at earliest begin mid-year, districts should request the full amount and use the overage from the extra half year of salaries and supplies to purchase equipment.³⁵³

The December 1965 issue did not have a "Facts & Hints" column. Instead, it featured "A Schoolman's Guide to Federal Aid Part II: Implementation of Projects." Like the previous "Schoolman's Guide to Federal Aid," this article was composed of two sections. The first was an interview with Arthur L. Harris, Associate Commissioner of Education in charge of the USOE's Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education, and John Hughes, Director of Program Operations in the Bureau of Elementary Education. The second section detailed twenty-four projects that had been, would be, or could be

³⁵¹ "Facts & Hints on Federal Aid" November 1965, 41.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, , 41.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 42.

funded with federal aid—“project blueprints that could well have direct application in *your* district.”³⁵⁴

In the first section, *School Management Magazine* editors asked a series of practical questions, including when Title I funding would be available (“now”), whether administrative costs would be covered by the federal government (yes), determination of priorities (districts should include this with their funding application), and eligibility of students (any deprived student in a target school as well as other children on a space available basis; it was mandatory to include private school children who live in the project area).³⁵⁵ In addition, the two interviewees noted that programs should be balanced among student needs and that funding programs could be coordinated with other ESEA titles or projects, as long as accounting for Title I funding is kept separately.³⁵⁶ This section, like that in the first “Federal Guide,” is composed of responses to questions asked by SM editors, questions that they presumably felt that their readership would be interested in or need to know. In compliance with *School Management’s* stated purpose of providing practical solutions to school management issues, the questions and responses were focused on the administrative, economic and other tangible aspects of the Title I program, providing school administrators with information that they needed in order to complete their own work. It does not touch upon the curricular or pedagogical aspects of Title I.

The second part of this “Schoolman’s Guide” described twenty-four projects designed to meet the needs of educationally deprived children. Unlike other articles, this

³⁵⁴ “A Schoolman’s Guide to Federal Aid Part II: Implementation of Projects” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 9, No. 12, December 1965, 104.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 106-109.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 110-111.

one specifically noted that “Your job is not to tailor a project to a specific Act or federal program. First, tailor a project to meet your district’s most pressing needs. *Then* locate the program that will fund it.”³⁵⁷ This section of the article, therefore, was devoted to providing examples of schools and/or school districts that had done just that. For example, one of the twenty-four projects was an “Improving language skills” program approved in San Antonio, Texas. The goal of project was to “[s]ubstantially raise reading levels in grades K-8 by individualizing instruction and providing the material necessities deprived children need to attend school regularly.” The project used a two-pronged strategy to achieve its goal: fifty percent of the program was aimed at keeping children in school by providing food, clothing and medical care as necessary; the other fifty percent was devoted to remedial projects and instructional measures designed to “substantially improve the language skills of every educationally deprived child in seven elementary schools and two junior high schools” by hiring additional professional and paraprofessional staff to implement new and improved reading programs.³⁵⁸ A second example was the “Preschool kit” designed in Cleveland, OH as a possible Title I project: for 50¢ per child the district would provide a bag filled with crayons, clay, pipe cleaners, paste, paper and other art supplies to pre-school aged children and use volunteers to meet with groups of their mothers to show them ways to engage in play that would encourage later success in school.³⁵⁹ This section of the article, therefore, provided practical solutions to the questions of what one might do with the influx of federal money that Title I and other programs brought to the schools in 1965, giving school administrators ideas that they could apply to their own local contexts, the very ideas that the legislators

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 113.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 114.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 125-126.

purposefully avoided giving in order to assure that control over education remained at the local level.

In all, *School Management Magazine* made two large and distinct changes with the advent of ESEA but it did so in a way that complied with its mission of providing practical solutions to school management problems. First, the two “Schoolman’s Guides to Federal Aid” provided a good deal of practical information that would help school administrators navigate the massive and confusing new infusion of federal funding. Their interviews with the Senator Morse, Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel, Associate Commissioner Arthur Harris and Director of Program Operations John Hughes provided answers to questions from people who operated at the highest level and were intimately connected with the formulation of the regulations and guidelines that would bind the school administrators reading the interviews, making them invaluable information sources. Furthermore, the examples of how to use the various federal aid-to-education funding sources depending on local needs provided ideas for school administrators in search of solutions for their own districts.

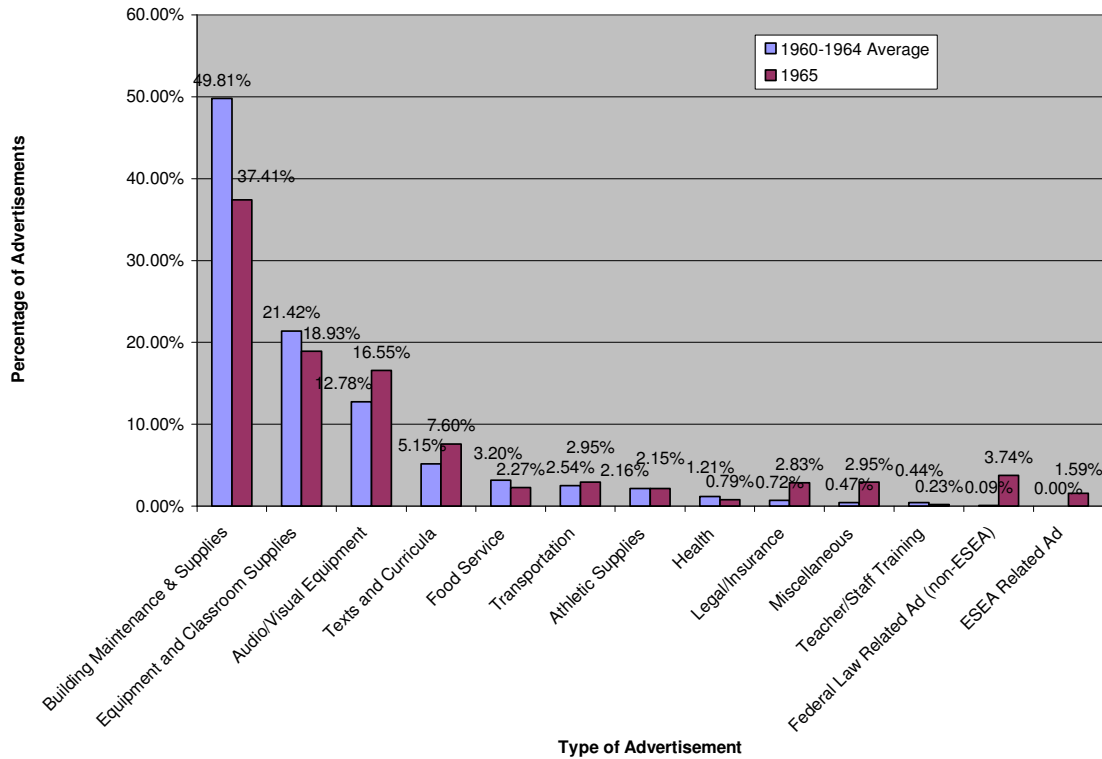
The second change that *School Management Magazine* made was in some ways smaller but in others more lasting. This was in the creation of the “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” column. This recurring column provided snippets of information, and often seemed to be aimed at correcting misunderstandings on the part of the reader, such as the column mentioned earlier that cautioned school district officials about the need to submit applications in order to receive Title I funding. Although this column by its very nature was shorter and less detailed than the “Schoolman’s Guides,” its recurring nature provided readers an opportunity to stay on top of developing situations in the federal aid-

to-education programs, as well as providing reminders and suggestions of ways that funding could be put to use in local school districts.

Advertisements

Like the advertisements in *Educational Leadership*, the advertisements in *School Management* changed from the 1960-1964 time period to 1965. Again like *Educational Leadership*, the categories of advertisements did not change, with the exception of an additional category: advertisements that mentioned ESEA as a funding source (see Figure 5). For the most part, the percentage of advertisements in each category remained relatively constant. However, there were a few exceptions: advertisements for maintenance and supplies dropped from 50% to 37%; advertisements for audio/visual equipment increased by 4 % (from 12.8% to 16.6%), and advertisements for texts and curricula increased from 5.2% to 7.8%. Finally, advertisements that mention federal legislation as a source for funding to purchase products increased. These advertisements included those that mentioned ESEA (1.6% of total advertisements) and those that mentioned either general federal aid without specifying a law or those that mentioned laws other than ESEA (an increase from .1% in the 1960-1964 time period to 3.7% in 1965).

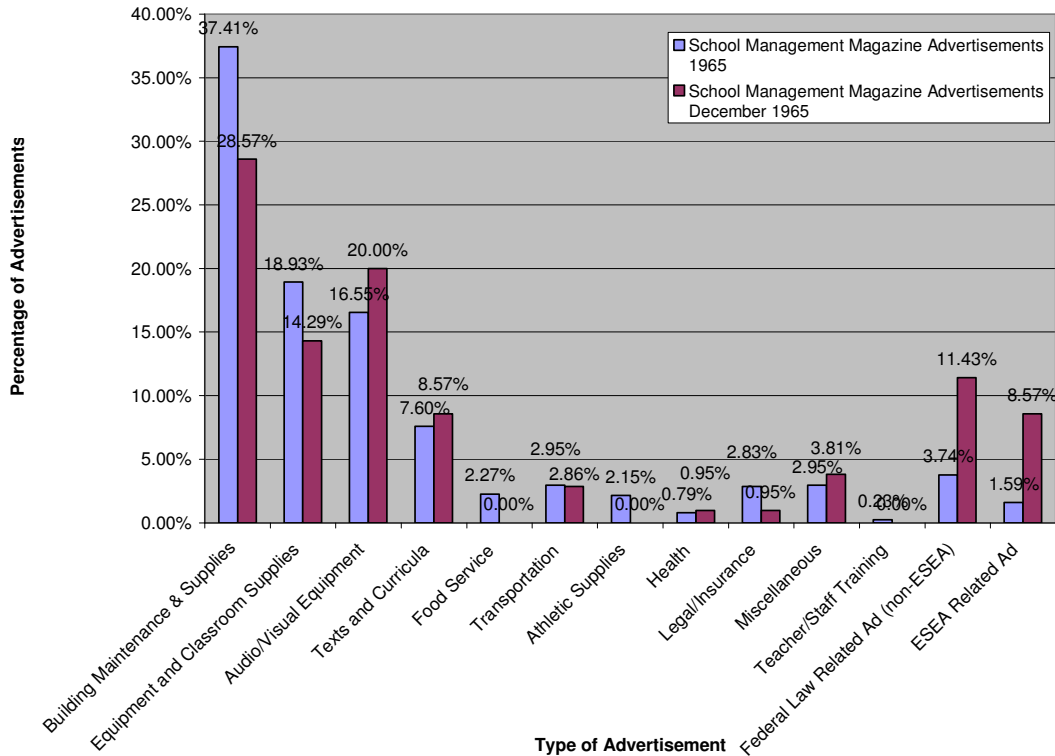
Figure 12: School Management Magazine Advertisements 1960-1964 and 1965



Although ESEA passed in April of 1965, very few advertisements mentioned ESEA at all until December of 1965 when there was an explosion in both the number of ads mentioning ESEA and those mentioning federal aid in more general terms (see Figure 6). Compared to the rest of the year, December’s advertisements included almost 10% less for building maintenance and supplies (from 37.4% to 28.6%), about 5% less for classroom supplies (from 18.9% to 14.2%) and about 4% more for audio/visual equipment (from 16.6% to 20.0%); other categories stayed more or less the same. The major exceptions to this were the two categories for ESEA-related advertisements and for general federal aid-related advertisements. These two categories show a major change – advertisements mentioning federal aid in general as a source of revenue increased from 3.7% to 11.4%, whereas ESEA-related advertisements increased from 1.6% to 8.6%. Each of these increases is substantial in and of itself, but when combined they reach just

over 20% of all advertisements, a large increase. It is unclear why this explosion of federal aid-related advertisements occurred in December rather than earlier, but the delay could be connected to the amount of time it took companies to (a) react to the new legislation, (b) plan and design a new advertisement campaign, and (c) the publication delay from the submission of the advertisement to *School Management Magazine* and its publishing date.

Figure 13: *School Management Magazine* 1965 as a whole and December 1965





Advertisements referencing federal education aid in general, and ESEA specifically, fall into three major categories. The first are those which appear virtually the same as the previous advertisement but with an additional statement that the product could be funded through federal aid. Figure 7, in particular, is a good example of minor

modification that ESEA provoked. The image on the left, from the October 1965 issue shows Cram's advertisement for maps, atlases, globes and other products. The image on the right, from December 1965, shows a similar advertisement, but with the addition that the products are "Approvable Under Federal Programs" via Title I, Title II or Title III.³⁶⁰ Figure 8 gives another example of a company which designed its advertisement to primarily market its product but included a mention of federal aid as a funding source for that product.

³⁶⁰ *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 9, No. 10, October 1965, 32; *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 9, No. 12, December 1965, 19.

Figure 14: Side-by-Side Comparison of Advertisements With and Without Reference to Federal Aid

<p style="text-align: center;">Cram Consultant Offers To Conduct Teacher Workshops To Help You!</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">A Specialized Service To Obtain Maximum Use of Old and New Visual Aids...</p> <p>Your Cram Consultant is not satisfied just to <i>SELL</i> you Cram Materials. He must see that these Materials are <i>USED</i>... and to the very best advantage. So the sale is only a beginning. He is anxious to show your teachers how to capitalize on the many features of Cram Materials. He is trained as a public speaker to demonstrate the use in the classroom of our fine products. During the day, in the evening, or on Saturday.</p> <p>He is an authority on Maps, Globes, Charts, Models and Atlases and can keep you up-to-date on trends in visual aids for the social studies, math, science and business education. Make use of this man's talents and know-how without cost or obligation. Mail coupon below for an immediate appointment.</p> <p>GEORGE F. CRAM CO. 730 E. Washington St. Indianapolis 7, Ind.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Have Cram Consultant Call <input type="checkbox"/> Send Free Colorful Buyer's Guide #98</p> <p>Name _____ Title _____ Name of School _____ City _____ Street _____ State _____</p> <p style="text-align: center;">For literature, write #715 on reply card opposite last page</p> <p>32</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Your CRAM Consultant Has The Latest Information On How You Can Buy...</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">CRAM Maps, Globes, Charts and Atlases Approvable Under Federal Programs TITLE I • TITLE II • TITLE III</p> <p>THE CRAM CONSULTANT can show you how to equip your school NOW with the very latest maps, globes, charts and atlases—all through the use of Federal money now available. Specify the BEST—MARKABLE-KLEENABLE on Maps, and Globes—UNBREAKABLE TUFFY Globe Balls—MATERIALS from CRAM's 98 Years of Experience. Let us know when you would like to see the CRAM Consultant in your area. He is anxious to demonstrate how you can equip your schools at a minimum cost to your school district.</p> <p>GEORGE F. CRAM CO. P. O. Box 426 Indianapolis, Ind. 46206</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Have Cram Consultant Call <input type="checkbox"/> Send Free Colorful Buyer's Guide #98</p> <p>Name _____ Title _____ Name of School _____ City _____ Street _____ State _____</p> <p style="text-align: center;">For literature, write 721 on reply card opposite last page.</p>
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The image on the left shows an advertisement for CRAM maps and globes found in the October 1965 issue of *School Management Magazine*. The image on the right is a CRAM advertisement from the December 1965 issue that notes that CRAM products can be purchased with the use of federal funds.

Figure 15: Advertisement with Reference to Federal Aid as a Funding Source

BEFORE
YOU GIVE
THE


O.K.

BE SURE
YOU'RE GETTING
THE FINEST

**BRADY TRANSPARENCIES
AND FOM FILMSTRIPS**
visual teaching aids ...
available under NDEA, EISec

Look for the name BRADY when overhead projection transparencies are requisitioned. And in filmstrips, look for FOM. For two excellent reasons. First, they're your assurance that you're approving an order for the most advanced, most widely accepted group of professionally-prepared, curriculum-oriented visual teaching aids. Second, you are assured that your purchase is eligible for Federal financial assistance. And that's good news for your tight school budget!

References to ESEA and other federal aid.



AUDIO-VISUAL DIVISION
Popular Science Publishing Company, Inc.
355 Lexington Ave., N. Y., N. Y. 10017, Dept. J-10

A-V Division
Popular Science Publishing Co., Inc.
355 Lexington Ave., N. Y.
N. Y., 10017, Dept. J-10

Please send me complete catalog(s) of
 Brady Transparencies FOM Filmstrips

name _____
school _____
address _____
city _____ state _____

For literature, write #761 on reply card

The second group of advertisements are those in which the company marketing the product did so in such a way that offered direct help to school administrators in complying with those laws. Instead of ESEA or another federal aid-to-education law being depicted as a method of payment for a pre-existing product as in the previous advertisements, these advertisements begin with the federal aid-to-education law and show how the company's product(s) might be used under that law. An example of this is an eight page spread in the December 1965 issue produced by *Science Research Associates (SRA)*. On the first page, SRA claimed that this was “not an ad” but “is, rather, an eight-paged structured guide to the development of projects purchasable under the Federal Acts relating to education.”³⁶¹ In these pages, SRA did two things. Three pages were devoted to specific Acts—ESEA, NDEA and the *Economic Opportunity Act (EOA)*, and provided a short synopsis of the titles of those acts that SRA products could help schools and school districts fill as well as a suggested project for each of those titles. The suggested project information included a short description of the project, a list of materials needed (materials that could be purchased from SRA) and evaluation procedures for the project (which could be purchased from SRA as well). Figure 9 is a reproduction of the page devoted to ESEA, which shows three suggested projects, one each for Titles I, II and III of that Act.

³⁶¹ *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 9, No. 12, December 1965, 5.

Figure 16: Page from SRA's eight page spread showing suggested projects for Titles I, II and III of ESEA

Legislation, SRA and You

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA)

Title I:	Title II:	Title III:
<p>An Act to improve educational programs which contribute particularly to meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children.</p>	<p>An Act to provide school library resources, textbooks, and other printed materials for the use of children and teachers in public and private elementary and secondary schools.</p>	<p>An Act to develop supplementary educational centers and services not available in sufficient quantity and quality, and to assist in the development and establishment of exemplary elementary and secondary school educational programs to serve as models for regular school program.</p>
<p>A Suggested Project:</p>	<p>A Suggested Project:</p>	<p>A Suggested Project:</p>
<p>A program to identify school entrance needs of the pre-first grade child and to provide specific concept and skill experiences in crucial learning areas.</p>	<p>To develop a Professional Resource Center for staff development.</p>	<p>The development of a Student Guidance Center to provide current vocational information and guidance tools for students in grades 7-12. The program is designed to assist students in the development of a sound background for the establishment of realistic goals in a changing vocational world.</p>
<p>Materials Needed: A Book About Me Learning to Think Series Kindergarten Book—Greater Cleveland Math Program SRA Bead Frame Flannelboard Flannel Mathematics Visuals—Kindergarten Teacher's Guidance Handbooks, Elementary (Professional Use) Guidance Series Booklets (Professional Use) SRA In-Service Education Program (Professional Use)</p>	<p>Materials Needed: SRA Reading Institute Extension Service (3 courses) SRA New Mathematics About Service (2 courses) Language Arts of Individual Inquiry Extension Service SRA Testing and Measurement Extension Service Major Issues in Education Extension Service Federal Legislation on American Education Extension Service Basic Guidance Kit (Elementary) Basic Guidance Kit (Secondary) Guidance Series Booklets Greater Cleveland Mathematics Program film series Modern Mathematics in the Elementary Classroom films Today's Mathematics Key topics in Mathematics Language and Literacy Today</p>	<p>Materials Needed: Widening Occupational Roles Kit Occupational Exploration Kit Career Information Kit Careers for High School Graduates Careers for Women Careers in Science and Math Job Family Series Handbook of Job Facts Guidance Service Subscription Keys to Vocational Decisions Activity Texts from SRA Guidance Series Booklets Junior Guidance Series Booklets Who Goes Where to College Directory of Sources for Higher Educational Planning Directory of Vocational Training Sources</p>
<p>Evaluation Procedures: Behavioral changes should be noted through systematized anecdotal records, and readiness for learning can be measured with the SRA Primary Mental Abilities Test (Grades K-1)</p>	<p>Today's Mathematics</p> 	<p>Career Information Kit</p> 

Note: Column 1, which details a suggested project that could be funded under Title I of ESEA, is difficult to read as scanned above. Here is a transcription:

Title I:
 An Act to improve educational programs which contribute particularly to meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children.

A Suggested Project:
 A program to identify school entrance needs of the pre-first grade child and to provide specific concept and skill experiences in crucial learning areas.

Materials Needed:
 A Book About Me
 Learning to Think Series
 Kindergarten Book—Greater Cleveland Math Program
 SRA Bead Frame
 Flannelboard
 Flannel Mathematics Visuals—Kindergarten
 Teacher's Guidance Handbooks, Elementary (Professional Use)
 Guidance Series Booklets (Professional Use)
 SRA In-Service Education Program (Professional Use)

Evaluation Procedures:
 Behavioral changes should be noted through systematized anecdotal records, and readiness for learning can be measured with the SRA Primary Mental Abilities Test (Grades K-1)

The second part of the SRA advertisement listed SRA products that could be funded by one or more of the Titles of ESEA, NDEA or the EOA. This part was arranged as a checklist, and products could fall into one or more categories. In Figure 10, for example, the highlighted product, *Learn How to Study*, could be funded under Titles I, II and III of ESEA or Title IV of NDEA.

Figure 17: Page showing SRA products that could be funded by ESEA, NDEA or EOA.³⁶²

Legislation, SRA and You

SRA Guide to Project Development

	ESEA			NDEA		EOA		
	titles I	II	III	titles III	IV	titles IA	IIA	IIB
GUIDANCE PROJECTS								
<i>Learn How to Study</i>	X	X	X					
Secondary Guidance Booklets:								
My Educational Plans	X	X	X					
Planning My Future	X	X	X					
Looking Toward High School	X	X	X					
Discovering Yourself	X	X	X					
How to Be a Better Student	X	X	X					
Junior Guidance Series Booklets (Personal Adjustment)	X	X	X					
About You	X	X	X					
How to Study	X	X	X			X		
Facts About Narcotics	X	X	X					
The Job Family Series	X	X	X			X	X	
Charting Your Job Future	X	X	X					
You and Your Life Work	X	X	X					
If You're Not Going to College	X	X	X				X	
How to Get into College and Stay There	X	X	X					
About Marriage and You	X	X	X				X	
Your Attitude Is Showing	X	X	X				X	
Guidance Series Booklets	X	X	X			X	X	
Handbook of Job Facts	X	X	X			X	X	X
Who Goes Where to College?	X	X	X					
Directory of Vocational Training Sources	X	X	X			X	X	X
Directory of Sources for Higher Education Planning	X	X	X			X		
EVALUATION PROJECTS								
Achievement in Education:								
SRA Achievement Series	X				X			
Iowa Tests of Educational Development	X				X			X
Achievement in Specific Areas:								
Basic Skills in Arithmetic	X				X	X		X
Diagnostic Reading Test	X				X	X		X
Principles of Democracy	X				X			
SRA Reading Record	X				X	X		X
Test of Economic Understanding	X				X			
Writing Skills Test Interest	X				X			X
Kuder Preference Records	X				X	X		
Intelligence and Educational Ability								
Army General Classification Test								X
SRA Non-verbal Form Test						X		X
Ohio State University Psychological Test								X
SRA Primary Mental Abilities Test	X				X	X	X	
SRA Tests of Educational Ability	X				X	X		
SRA Tests of General Ability	X				X	X	X	
Thurstone Test of Mental Alertness								X
SRA Verbal Form Test Aptitudes						X		X
SRA Clerical Aptitude Test					X	X		X
Drake Musical Aptitude Test					X			X
Flanagan Aptitude Classification Test					X	X		
SRA Mechanical Aptitude Test					X	X		X
Purdue Pegboard Test					X	X		X
ERC Stenographic Aptitude Test					X	X		X
SRA Typing Skills Test					X	X		X
Short Tests of Clerical Ability Personality					X	X		X

DECEMBER 1965

³⁶² *Ibid.*, 9.

The third type of advertisement are those in which the company went even a step further than the second category and created a product specifically to cater to purchases under ESEA and other education laws. For example, the Houghton Mifflin Company advertised “help for project planning” under ESEA, NDEA and the *Vocational Education Act* in December 1965. In this advertisement, Houghton Mifflin depicted four catalogs that had been created to show readers the products that could be purchased under the various acts. The *NDEA Title III Catalog*, for example, was designed to list all of the products available for purchase under that act in one place, assisting the reader in making his or her purchase. Another catalog, the *1965-1966 Catalog of Textbooks*, is less targeted, but still “[i]ncludes guidelines to the selection of materials for all three of the above acts [ESEA, NDEA and the *Vocational Education Act*].” (see Figure 11)³⁶³

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, 52.

Figure 18: Advertisement depicting products specifically developed to showcase products that could be purchased under ESEA or other federal education aid-to-education legislation.³⁶⁴

Here's help for project planning under the

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT

NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ACT

Houghton Mifflin Company offers you a wealth of materials for use in many types of federally supported projects. The four catalogs pictured below describe these materials and include helpful advice on securing federal aid. Your schools probably have these catalogs on file. If you would like additional copies (available as long as the supply lasts), indicate your choices on the coupon.






1965-1966 Catalog of Textbooks
A complete listing and description of our textbooks, supplementary books, tapes, records, projectuals, professional books, and special teaching aids for K-12. Includes guidelines to the selection of materials for all three of the above acts.

NDEA Title III Catalog • 1965-1966
A carefully chosen selection of over 1400 items purchasable for supplementary use under NDEA. Entries graded and arranged by critical subject area. Provides detailed federal guidelines for planning Title III projects.

1965-1966 Library Books Catalog
Descriptions of hundreds of Houghton Mifflin's library books arranged by topic for primary and middle grades and for junior and senior high. Each book suitable in content and format for purchase with federal funds.

Standardized Tests and Scoring Service Catalog • 1965-1966
A comprehensive listing of nationally standardized tests and scoring services in the areas of achievement, intelligence, vocational guidance, English, reading, music, arithmetic, and personality — all purchasable under various federal acts.

Check the catalogs you wish to receive and send your coupon to

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY, DEPARTMENT K
110 TREMONT STREET
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02107

Regional Offices: New York • Atlanta • Geneva, Ill. • Dallas • Palo Alto

Name _____ position _____
Address _____
_____ city _____ state _____ zip code _____

For literature, write 744 on reply card opposite last page.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 52.

Finally, Follett Publishing Company produced a full page advertisement for its pamphlet *Suggestions for a Project Proposal Under Title I Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965*. Like Houghton Mifflin, with this booklet Follett went even a step further than the advertisements in the first two categories of advertisements, as this represents an entirely new product created specifically to provide suggestions for school administrators to use in fulfilling Title I requirements. Furthermore, as the advertisement stated, Follett not only suggested projects and products that schools and school districts could fund with Title I but offered them assistance in writing the proposals to get such funding accepted by state and federal officials (see Figure 12).

Figure 19: Follett advertisement for pamphlet offering aid writing project proposals under ESEA

No Obligation

**We Can Help You Write
A Project Proposal
Covering Junior/Senior
High School
Educationally
Deprived Youth**

**SUGGESTIONS FOR A PROJECT PROPOSAL
UNDER TITLE I
ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT OF 1965**

**A Modified Curriculum to
Remediate Deficiencies of
Junior and Senior High School
Educationally Deprived Youth**

Send today for this detailed 16 page brochure. The suggestions it contains will provide you with ideas and information for a proposal for a modified curriculum designed to remediate deficiencies of educationally deprived youth at the junior-senior high school level. These suggestions parallel the major items in an application request that you should include in every proposal for Title I funds.
Further help with your proposal, if needed, is also available upon request. Write Dept. D.M.

FOLLETT PUBLISHING COMPANY, Dept. D.M.
1010 West Washington Boulevard • Chicago, Illinois 60607

Please send me a copy of **Suggestions For A Project Proposal Under Title I ESEA 1965**

Also send me the information on qualifying Follett materials under the following Federally Funded Programs:

Elementary and Secondary Education Act
For Elementary Schools
Junior High Schools
or Senior High Schools

N.D.E.A. Title III
For Primary Grades
Intermediate Grades
or Upper Grades

Economic Opportunity Act and Manpower Development Act

NAME _____ POSITION _____
SCHOOL _____ ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

FOLLETT PUBLISHING COMPANY
1010 West Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois 60607

For literature, write 736 on reply card opposite last page

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As this section shows, the passage of ESEA changed the nature of many of the advertisements found in *School Management Magazine*. Although previous years also had some advertisements that mentioned other federal aid-to-education programs as a source of funding, both the quantity and quality of these advertisements changed greatly during this year. There was a huge increase in the percentage of advertisements mentioning federal aid-to-education programs, as well as, of course, the new ESEA legislation. This increase was especially marked in the December 1965 edition. As noted earlier, the delay from ESEA's passage in April to December might be attributed to the delay in the publication of the USOE's guidelines for implementation of the law, the amount of time it took the companies to digest and implement changes in their institutions, publication delay on the part of *School Management Magazine*, or any combination of the above.

The type of advertisement also changed. Whereas in previous years the few advertisements that mentioned federal aid fit in the first category of those that focused on the product with just a mention of the possibility of using federal aid to fund that product, now advertisements were also being created to emphasize the reverse—that school administrators could fulfill the requirements of those federal programs by using the products advertised. Furthermore, the companies offered their assistance in selecting products that would meet the needs of both schools and school districts, and even in writing the applications for such funding. It is evident, therefore, that many of the companies that advertised in *School Management Magazine* found ESEA and other federal aid-to-education legislation a potential boon for them in terms of revenue, as the

laws could be used to fund purchases of many of their products, increasing business as well as improving education.

Discussion

After the passage of ESEA, *School Management Magazine* changed in notable ways, although it did not veer from its primary mission of providing practical advice for school administrators; the advice was broadened to include federal aid on a large scale. In the articles this was especially evident in the two “Schoolman’s Guides,” which together imparted a large amount of information for the school administrators charged with implementing ESEA and other federal legislation. The new “Facts & Hints” column also provided readers with a good deal of information about federal legislation as it applied to education. The creation of the new column, furthermore, indicates that the editors of *School Management Magazine* expected the topic of federal aid to be one that would need to be addressed on a monthly basis; federal aid was here to stay.

Perhaps even more than the change in articles, the change in advertisements is worthy of discussion. Although a new trend was not apparent until December, ESEA clearly brought about a sea change in the way that companies marketed their products, especially those with connections to curriculum. Whereas before companies were simply trying to encourage school administrators to purchase their products, and occasionally pointing out that federal funds could be used to purchase the products, now many were directly using ESEA and other federal education funding as selling points, saying that school districts could obtain their products using those laws as funding sources, without dipping into their own already stretched budgets. Moreover, some companies recognized

the burden under which many school administrators were now laboring, and offered assistance in planning projects using their products.

Educational Leadership, Articles and Advertisements: 1966

Articles

In 1966, issues and articles in *Educational Leadership* can again be divided into three categories. Similar to 1965, the first category of issues and articles are those which were focused exclusively on pedagogy and curriculum, with very little or no mention of federal education law. These issues include January's *Senior High School: To What Ends?*, a look at curriculum and pedagogy at the high school level, February's *Towards Self-Direction*, an examination at ways to build independence and self-motivation in students, the May issue, *Let's Rate Supervision*, which provided information on ideal supervisory practices, and *Generalist: Balance Factor In the School*, the December issue, which described ways to nurture pre-service and in-service growth for generalist teachers. The second category is comprised of issues and articles that make reference to ESEA and other federal education laws, but in the main are focused on curriculum and/or pedagogy. This category includes three issues: the April 1966 issue, *Teacher—or Technician?* which was primarily devoted to the professionalization of teaching but did include some mentions of NDEA and other federal funding sources; *When Media Serve People*, the March issue, which was primarily devoted to using media and technology to improve curriculum and pedagogy but did make mention of ESEA, especially as a funding source for media and technology; and *After Assessment, What?* the November 1966 issue, which contained articles that mention ESEA and other federal education laws as sources for

funding but for the most part focused on the curricular and pedagogical aspects of testing. The last category, which focused primarily on ESEA and other federal education laws, had only one issue, the October 1966 issue, entitled *Federal Funds: To Assist or To Control*. This issue contains a series of articles which looked directly at federal education law in general, and ESEA specifically. In this section of the chapter, I will describe each of these three categories, paying special attention to those articles and issues that discuss ESEA and other federal education laws.

Four of the 1966 issues made no mention of ESEA or federal education law and therefore fall into my first category of issues. These include *Senior High School: To What Ends?*, *Towards Self-Direction*, *Teacher—or Technician?*, *Let's Rate Supervision*, and *Generalist: Balance Factor in the School*. Articles in both *Towards Self-Direction* and *Generalist: Balance Factor in the School* were concerned exclusively with issues of pedagogy and curriculum, with no mention of the broader societal context or federal education law. The other three issues concentrated on issues of curriculum and pedagogy but did so with at least some reference to the broader context.

The first of these three issues, January's *Senior High School: To What Ends?* followed up on the December 1965 issue which discussed the pros and cons of junior high and middle schools. Articles in this issue were, for the most part, narrowly focused on issues of pedagogy and curriculum at the high school level. One notable exception, Robert Smith's "Educating Youth in a Revolutionary Society," called for changes in the way society looked at education and argued that education needed to change in the following ways: analyzing and using education research to guide educators in using best practices, extending educational programs into community and family environments,

maximizing schools' ability to foster personality and character development, including cultural and work experience in education, designing programs that would enable students to "unlearn" previous bad experiences, using of specialists from a broad range of fields, an exploration of how "our on-going revolution for attitudinal and value implications which should shape major objectives of the schools," parent involvement and the establishment of research facilities to work with teachers and specialists in each school district and county. Finally, the author advocated a large increase in the funding provided by ESEA over the next decade, perhaps referring to the renewal of ESEA that would occur later that year, and the hope that the low-income factor would be raised to include more children in its programs.³⁶⁵ Although this issue does include one reference to ESEA, I classified the issue with those that make no reference at all to federal education law, as the reference is minimal at most and only refers to an increase in funding without any specifications as to how that money should be used.

The second issue, *Teacher—Or Technician?*, focused almost exclusively on the professionalization of teaching, but also had one article that mentioned federal education law: "The Computer and Education," that referenced NDEA's Title X as a funding source for data systems.³⁶⁶ Like the situation described in the previous paragraph, I include this issue in this category as the reference to federal education law was made in passing and was simply a mention of the law as a source of funding, with no specifications as to how that funding could be put to use.

³⁶⁵ Robert Smith, "Educating Youth in a Revolutionary Society" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 23, No. 4, January 1966, 279-284.

³⁶⁶ Albert L. Goldberg, "The Computer and Education" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 23, No. 3, December 1965, 579-593.

Finally, the May issue, *Let's Rate Supervision*, for the most part had articles that focused on the curricular and pedagogical aspects of supervision, including "The Supervisor We Need" which described characteristics of the ideal supervisor, and "Certification Requirements for General Supervisors and/or Curriculum Workers," which advocated for strengthened certification requirements for supervisors and curriculum workers.³⁶⁷ However, a few articles did reference the broader context. "Lessons from Urban Jobs Corps Experience" gave a positive review of the Job Corps and advocated putting elements of Job Corps programs into the public schools, such as its provisions for integrating school programs with the community, individualizing programs for students, and promoting innovation.³⁶⁸ Another article, "Supervisor: Coordinator of Multiple Consultations," defined a supervisor as the one who selects and coordinates "the many and varied consultants who are now available to assist the school in improving its staff and program." Therefore, although the article did not directly cite ESEA as a source for the funding of those outside consultants, it is likely that the phrase "now available" alludes to ESEA, as that program was the most likely source of new income.³⁶⁹ Again, however, like the issues listed in the preceding paragraphs, I include this issue in the category of issues making little or no reference to ESEA or other federal education law, as references are fleeting and have little specificity attached to them.

The second group of issues are those which make some substantive mention of federal education, but continue to focus in large part on issues of pedagogy and

³⁶⁷ Richard F. Neville, "The Supervisor We Need" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 23, No. 8, May 1966, 634-640; H. Irene Hallberg, "Certification Requirements for General Supervisors and/or Curriculum Workers" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 23, No. 8, May 1966, 623-625.

³⁶⁸ Hugh B. Wood, "Lessons From Urban Job Corps Experience" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 23, No. 8, May 1966, 671-675.

³⁶⁹ Pat W. Wear, "Supervisor: Coordinator of Multiple Consultations" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 23, No. 8, May 1966, 652-655.

curriculum. This section includes two issues, *After Assessment, What?* and *When Media Serve People*. *After Assessment, What?*, the November issue, discusses testing, but does so in almost every article in the context of assessment on the national level and at least occasionally referring to national funding sources and ESEA. For example, the article “Curriculum Control? ‘We Can Get It for You Wholesale’” was author Muriel Crosby’s exploration of national testing and expressed her fear that such testing would result in a narrowing of curricula as teachers strove to help their students perform better on such assessments. Furthermore, she noted teacher complaints that testing would take time away from teaching and learning. Although this article did not specifically reference ESEA, the author *did* reference poverty and oppression as a causes for depressed educational results, noting that “[f]or those who have been victims of man’s inhumanity to man for three hundred years, no miracles will happen in a single generation” and that “[s]tandardized testing misused or overemphasized simply puts ceilings on a child’s learning. If we shape curriculum on false test labels, the child will grow in the image of his label, and the attainment of ‘The Great Society’ will be but a figment of the imagination.” Testing, therefore, was discussed in the context of federal programs, although the author did not directly reference either ESEA or other any other federal law.³⁷⁰

Jack R. Frymier’s “Curriculum Assessment: Problems and Possibilities,” on the other hand, talked about testing in the context of curriculum writing – the need to move from asking about the quantity of classes offered in a given area to the quality of such classes. The author made his argument in the context of ESEA’s evaluation requirements

³⁷⁰ Muriel Crosby “Curriculum Control? ‘We Can Get It For You Wholesale’” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 2, November 1966, 119-123.

that were “forcing curriculum workers to reexamine these notions [of assessment and evaluation] as they apply to curriculum development today.” In this article, therefore, the author addressed assessment, using ESEA to frame his argument that higher quality curricula must be developed in order to address the specific needs of children who would fall under its auspices.³⁷¹ Finally, both “Why Not Use the Data We Already Have?” and “Potential of the R and D Center” used ESEA to frame their arguments as well: the former did so by making an argument for high quality data, noting the presence of regional research laboratories funded under ESEA as a step in the right direction; the latter by advocating directly for the potential of the ten research and development centers funded by Title IV of ESEA to provide high quality information that could result in the creation of new and better educational programs.³⁷² Articles in this issue, therefore, made both indirect and direct references to ESEA and did so in such a manner that ESEA played an important role in the authors’ discussions and arguments.

The second issue in this category, the March 1966 edition, *When Media Serve People*, consisted of a series of articles discussing viability and feasibility of using media and technology in education. Some articles, such as “Winnetka’s Learning Laboratory” and “Televised Learning” reported on specific technological methods for teaching, and were focused exclusively on pedagogy and curriculum.³⁷³ Others, namely Eleanor E. Ahlers’ “Library Service: A Changing Concept” were tied much more directly to federal education law: the author first cited Title III of the NDEA as a longstanding source of

³⁷¹ Jack R. Frymier “Curriculum Assessment Problems and Possibilities” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 2, November 1966, 124-128.

³⁷² David Turney “Why Not Use the Data We Already Have?” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 2, November 1966, 133-136; Max R. Goodson “Potential of the R and D Center” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 2, November 1966, 151-155.

³⁷³ Joe A. Richardson “Winnetka’s Learning Laboratory” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 23, No. 6, March 1966, 455-459; Harvey Kessler Meyer “Televised Learning” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 23, No. 6, March 1966, 463-469.

library funds and then presented Title II of ESEA as a new source of funding for audio-visual and other materials. She went on to cite both Title I and Title III of ESEA as additional sources of funding for media centers, suggesting that schools and school administrators use such funding to expand library staffs and facilities as well as expanding reference services and using computers to provide more a more centralized method of cataloging resources.³⁷⁴ Therefore, although the author began by simply citing ESEA and NDEA as funding sources, she continued with a description of specific ways that the funding could be used to provide particular services to schools and to students in those schools.

The final item that placed this issue into the second category of issues that had a partial focus on ESEA and other federal education laws actually came in its “Letters to the Editor.” This is an intermittent feature of *Educational Leadership* which appeared in occasional issues, and for the most part represented readers’ responses to previously written articles. In this case, however, the letters were written in response to events occurring in the broader context, namely the debates surrounding national testing and the role that the Association of Supervision and Curriculum Development, *Educational Leadership*’s parent company, should play in those debates. First, David Turney, associate professor of education at Kent State University, wrote that the ASCD has the obligation to offer “affirmative leadership in education” and should be calling attention to the potential dangers of national testing as well as its possible virtues. He made three points about national testing that he asked the ASCD and its readership to consider:

³⁷⁴ Eleanor E. Ahlers “Library Service: A Changing Concept” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 23, No. 6, March 1966, 451-454.

- The existence of substantial federal participation in education requires that federal policies on education become coherent, and that national assessment will provide the data needed to develop such a coherent federal education policy.
- National assessment data can be valuable but only if such assessments are designed for provide necessary information, including data on mental health, self concepts and ethical conduct of pupils.
- National assessment data should be used not only to identify LEA's working below optimum levels but to "help to pinpoint those phases of a local curriculum most in need of our attention"; in other words, data should be used to guide curriculum planning.

The author concludes by stating that the ASCD should be participating in the discussion around how results of national assessments will be interpreted and used.³⁷⁵ He was therefore commenting on both the reach of the broader context, namely in the requirements for evaluation of programs listed in ESEA and other calls for national testing, and advocating for how *Educational Leadership's* parent organization, the ASCD, should respond to such calls.

The second editorial, by Wisconsin State University Associate Professor of Education Burton E. Alton gave a resounding endorsement of national testing, stating that although new assessment methods need to be developed, instruments that identify "what has been accomplished not only in reading and arithmetic skills but also in attitudes and understandings" would have the potential to provide evidence of public education's progress as well as "discovering new knowledge about the process of education." The author concluded that assessment should not be considered a threat.³⁷⁶ This letter to the editor was unlike other articles which reported on pedagogical, curricular, or even federal-law related topics. Instead of providing information for the reader the author, similar to the previous letter, advocated action on the part of the parent organization of *Educational Leadership*, this time urging its support of national testing.

³⁷⁵ David Turney "Letter to the Editor" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 23, No. 6, March 1966, 442-444.

³⁷⁶ Burton E. Altman "Letter to the Editor" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 23, No. 6, March 1966, 444-446.

The issues in this section are those that concentrate primarily on curriculum and pedagogy while paying some attention to issues related to federal education legislation in some capacity. As seen in the preceding paragraphs, although a majority of articles focused on the issues' themes, assessment and media respectively, each issue also included articles which mentioned and discussed how federal education law should be applied to schools, school administration, and, in the case of the editorials in the March issue, actively addressed how the journal's parent company should respond to federal education law as it pertains to national testing.

The third category of issues reflects those that directly addresses federal education law, and is comprised of only one issue. This issue, the October 1966 issue, was entitled *Federal Funds: To Assist or To Control?* The editorial which opened up the issue, also entitled "Federal Funds: To Assist or To Control?" was penned by J. Harlan Shores, who noted that while federal aid to education had become a reality, "[w]e may find that the long, hard fight for federal money was an easy one in comparison to the problem of spending it wisely"³⁷⁷ Furthermore, stated Shores, "[n]o one is yet expert at spending federal monies to the best interests of public schools. Education is newly rich and the newly rich are known better for the mistakes made with their money than for using it to good advantage."³⁷⁸ This editorial, therefore, serves as a preface to an issue that, unlike some articles in previous years, accepted the continuing reality of federal education funding but advocated that educators question and improve the use towards which that money is put.

³⁷⁷ J. Harlan Shores "Federal Funds: To Assist or To Control?" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 7.

³⁷⁸ Shores "Federal Funds: To Assist or To Control?" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 7.

The first article, O.L. Davis Jr.'s "Title I: What a First Inning!" uses a baseball metaphor to examine the first year of Title I's implementation. The article begins with a discussion of the delay in the USOE's issuance of guidance described in Chapter 2, noting that "weeks of delay were frustrating and new programs for children went unplanned" but, conversely, commented that "the agonizingly slow pace by which the administrative machinery was constructed, however, may very well be judged, years hence, as deliberate speed" (a view unsubstantiated by that data described in Chapter 2).³⁷⁹ The author echoed the government reports cited in Chapter 2 of programs that benefited poor children – meals, trips, classroom equipment and materials, specialized services for children, summer programs, remedial programs in both mathematics and reading, preschool programs and learning resources centers.³⁸⁰ However, the author criticized the program, saying that while more materials were bought and used and students were frequently taught in smaller groups, "...the sad fact remains that what pupils and teachers *did* in the Title I situation varied little from what they would have done in a materials-enriched 'normal' setting."³⁸¹ The author lists other shortcomings as well: lack of training for teachers, inefficiency in Title I implementation, and the use of "canned" programs designed by companies for a large market rather than specific programs tied to local needs. Overall, however, he concluded that American children were benefiting from Title I, but advocated for all parties to continue to work together to assure that such benefits would continue and increase.³⁸² This article, therefore, served as a fairly balanced look at the progress made and pitfalls encountered during the first year

³⁷⁹ O.L. Davis, Jr. "Title I: What a First Inning!" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 1, October 1966, 14.

³⁸⁰ See pages 47-49 of Chapter 2 for clarification.

³⁸¹ O.L. Davis, Jr. "Title I: What a First Inning!" October 1966, 16-17.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, 20.

of Title I implementation, in many ways echoing the government-issued reports discussed in Chapter 2.

A second article, Norman H. Naas' "Seduction By Federal Funds" examined the downside of the new educational affluence noting in particular the difficulties for the school administrator in terms of fulfilling the new administrative requirements for the Title I and other programs while at the same time continuing to fulfill the old requirements of the position. His argument can be summed up by the following quote:

The big question that arises is: who is assuming the responsibilities that the personnel involved in project planning used to assume—for example, visiting classrooms; conferring with individual teachers, staffs, administrators; working on curriculum development and the improvement of instruction; planning and implementing professional growth and programs? The answer, all too frequently, is *no one*—and instruction and curriculum, rather than being helped by the new affluence, are suffering.³⁸³

The author was for the most part critical of Title I. He was not, however, advocating that the law be rescinded – his writing made it clear that he assumed that the funding would continue, although he did express concerns that it might not come at the same rate as in the first year of implementation. In his conclusion, he stated that two things must be done for education aid to prosper: at least some of the funding must be made available as general aid, and the amount of red tape involved must be decreased.³⁸⁴ This tenor of this article was different from many others. Although the author was clearly in favor of the continuation of federal education aid, he was equally clearly leery of the amount of time and effort or "red tape" that school administrators had to put into such work, possibly at the expense of other equally important work, and advocated that federal and state

³⁸³ Norman H. Naas "Seduction By Federal Funds" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 1, October 1966, 21-22, italics in original.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

departments of education streamline application procedures so as to require less time and effort from school administrators in future years.

A third relevant article, “The State Department of Education and Federal Funding,” by Nicholas P. Georgiady, talked about the opportunities that Title V of ESEA presented for state-level programs. Like the article described in the preceding paragraph, this article talks about both positive and negative aspects of this funding, commenting that although the funding gives states a new opportunity to support local programs, previous sparse budgets have made it difficult for some SEA’s to adjust to their newfound wealth and to provide creative new solutions to educational problems. Furthermore, the author harkens back to the arguments against federal control of education originally used to oppose any federal participation in education enumerated in detail in Chapter 2. Although this author stopped well short of any suggestion that federal aid should not continue, he did warn that state education authorities needed to keep open communication with the United States Office of Education in order to keep “the specter of federal control [from] becom[ing] a real threat.”³⁸⁵ Again, like the previously described article, this author wrote as if federal aid were a given, but cautioned that those who were implementing it, in this case those in the state departments of education, needed to do so with care.

The next article, Robert S. Gilchrist and Frank W. Marcus’ “The Regional Educational Laboratory: Implications for the Future,” took a somewhat different tack. The authors, the director and assistant director of the Midcontinent Regional Educational Laboratory in Kansas City, Missouri, wrote explicitly to argue that readers should support

³⁸⁵ Nicholas Georgiady “The State Department of Education and Federal Funding” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 1, October 1966, 25-27.

renewal of the Regional Educational Laboratories, which, at the time of the article's publication was being considered. The authors noted that the laboratories had only been authorized originally for one year and that were "crucial" assets that provided research-based and exemplary practices for schools and school districts.³⁸⁶

The final relevant article in this issue is "Federal Participation and Its Results" by Hugh V. Perkins. The author began by stating that ESEA's contribution to education "must rank as one of the most significant developments of our time." That said, he commented that with that infusion of money "[f]rom now on it will be more difficult to blame the limited gains of an educational half-loaf on the lack of funds."³⁸⁷ The author then proceeded to give a synopsis of programs funded by ESEA in its first year, including Project Head Start, a variety of programs aimed at improving mental health and cooperative research programs that have provided new knowledge about educational problems and new applications for existing knowledge. Finally, the author gives suggestions for criteria to be used for assessing programs funded by the federal government, including provision of specific information on program impact on children, the identification and prioritization of educational issues, the need for "re-thinking and clarifying" educational purposes of both proposed and existing programs, new programs which use "bold" assessment procedures and research design, and provision of more adequate means for disseminating research in a timely fashion.³⁸⁸ Finally, the author concluded that although the programs are still new and only a limited picture of what is going on is available as of yet, "[p]erhaps the most important outcome, however, is the

³⁸⁶ Robert S. Gilchrist and Frank W. Markus "The Regional Educational Laboratory: Implications for the Future" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 1, October 1966, 28-32.

³⁸⁷ Hugh V. Perkins "Federal Participation and Its Results" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 1, October 1966, 39.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 43-44.

greater vision these efforts are giving educators and lay leaders of the vast potential of education for developing our human resources beyond anything we can now imagine.”³⁸⁹

This author, like some of the ones in preceding paragraphs, also assumed the continuance of federal education funding, although again like some of those above, indicated that simply continuing funding was not going to be enough: the way in which the funding would be put into use would matter.

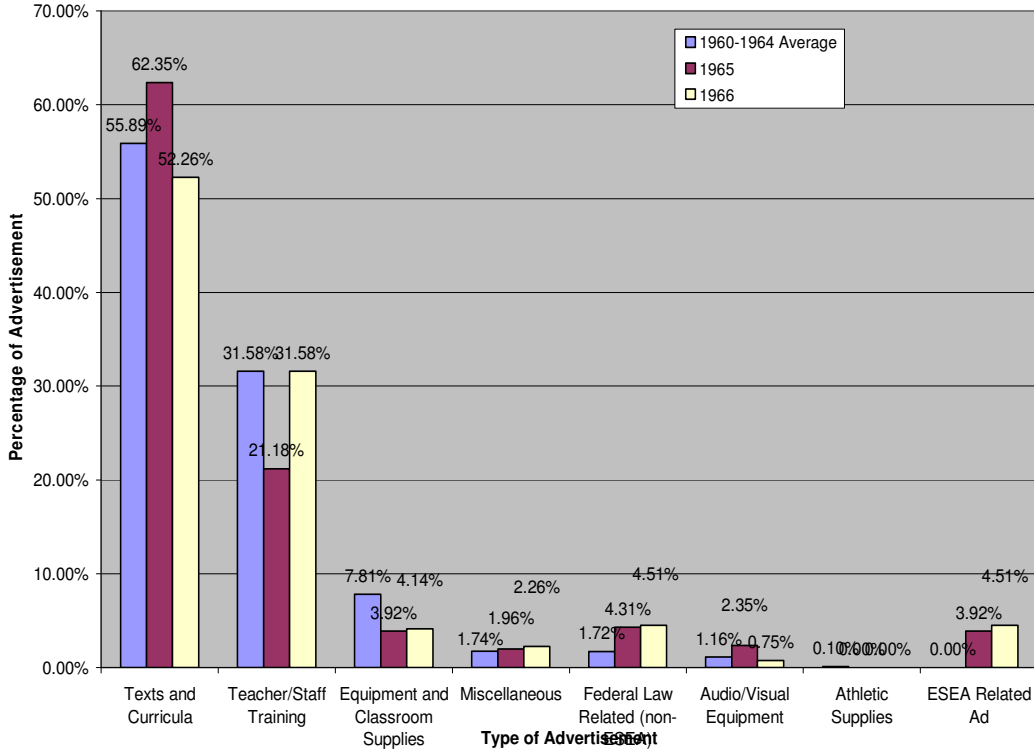
In 1966, the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965* had a much bigger presence in *Educational Leadership* than 1965, the year in which it was enacted. In the beginning part of 1966, however, the journal continued the previous year’s practice of very few direct mentions of ESEA or other federal education laws, and, in fact, it was not until October 1966 that the law was featured in *Educational Leadership*. This is not to say that other issues in 1966 made no mention of the law at all; as shown above, other issues did reference ESEA, albeit in the context of curriculum and pedagogy. The October 1966 issue, however, represented the majority of *Educational Leadership*’s focus on ESEA in this year, and was ambivalent in its tone. The authors of the various articles were supportive of the funding, and wrote with the expectation that such funding would continue. They did, however, caution that simply providing funding is not going to be enough—schools, school districts and school administrators would need to put thought into *how* to spend the money in order to accomplish the goal of improved educational outcomes for disadvantaged children.

Advertisements

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 45.

In 1966, *Educational Leadership* had a slight increase in the percentage of advertisements devoted to both federal aid in general and the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* in particular as compared to those in 1965. Advertisements mentioning federal aid as a source for funding of a given product or service went from 4.3% of the total in 1965 to 4.5% in 1966, whereas advertisements specifically mentioning ESEA went from 3.9% of all advertisements in 1965 to 4.5% in 1966 (see Figure 13). In total, therefore, in 1966 the total percentage of advertisements citing either ESEA or federal aid in general as a funding source was 10%. At the same time, there was a 10% reduction in advertisements devoted to texts and curricula and a 10% increase in advertisements devoted to teacher/staff training. The percentage of advertisements in other categories stayed relatively constant from 1965 to 1966 (see Figure 13 for exact changes).

Figure 20: Educational Leadership Advertisements 1960-1964, 1965 and 1966



Some of the advertisements citing ESEA or other federal aid programs appeared similar to those replicated earlier in this chapter, such as the ad for Shorewood Art Programs for Education depicted in Figure 14. Like those advertisements, Shorewood’s advertisement expended the majority of its space on its product but devoted a small space to informing readers that its product could be purchased using federal aid programs including both NDEA and ESEA.

Figure 21: Advertisement citing ESEA as a funding source³⁹⁰

Now you can incorporate fine art
into every area of the curriculum... with the...

Shorewood Art Programs for Education

...featuring full-color, large size
(22½" x 28½") reproductions
of paintings and drawings from
the world's great museums... at
the remarkably modest price of
\$1.00 per reproduction... with
complete curriculum and display
guides to help you...

**International Board
of Advisors**

- Charles Sterling
Curator
The Louvre, Paris
- Theodore Rousseau
Curator
Metropolitan Museum
New York
- Lloyd Goodrich
Director, Whitney Museum of
American Art, New York
- Sir John Rothenstein
Formerly Director
Tate Gallery, London

- Open an art gallery in your school
- Incorporate the study of art into every area of the school curriculum
- Hold an art fair

* **Federal Aid:**
Eligible for purchase under ■ NDEA Title III ■ Elementary and Secondary Education Act Titles I, II, & III ■ National Foundation for the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 ■ Operation Head Start

SHOREWOOD REPRODUCTIONS, INC., 724 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10019

Please send me your Brochure EL describing the Shorewood Art Programs for Education.

Name _____
Position _____
School _____

Reference to Federal aid.

Other advertisements, however, were different from the format of Shorewood Art and others like it. Similar to the multi-page spread that SRA put in the December 1965 issue of *School Management Magazine*, the November 1965 issue of *Educational Leadership* included a four page “Special ESEA Section” specifically advertising the Encyclopedia Britannica Educational Corporation’s products that could be funded through ESEA (see Figure 15).³⁹¹ The inclusion of this type of advertisement represented a concrete change in the philosophy of the companies advertising in *Educational Leadership*—the previous type of advertisement showed the products that a company offered, and school administrators were expected to decide if that product met their needs. The mention of possible federal funding might then assist the school administrator

³⁹⁰ *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 24, No. 2, November, 1966, 204.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 157-160.

in making the purchase, but was not couched in such a way to necessarily have an impact on his or her decision to adopt that particular product. This system worked differently: the producers began with ESEA and designed (or at least advertised) a product that schools and school administrators could use to fulfill the requirements of that law. Therefore, this type of advertisement represented a much more direct appeal for school administrators to fulfill their ESEA and Title I needs via a specific product.

Figure 22: Multi-page ESEA-specific advertisement



A final type of advertisement took yet another step. As seen in the Coronet Films advertisement reproduced in Figure 16, a subgroup of advertisers went even further than supplying specific products to meet the requirements of ESEA. Embedded in the text of the advertisement were a few sentences that reflect the change:

The Coronet Film library is helping build educational projects in every state of the Union. Coronet's special representatives have acquired a valuable fund of knowledge on the intricate maze of aid to education legislation which is at your service—without any obligation. With the help of this guidance—you can learn how to build or strengthen your film library—without a major increase in your budget.³⁹²

Coronet Films and other companies operating in the same mold, therefore, were not only providing materials that could be funded by ESEA, or even just tailoring specific

³⁹² *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 24, No. 3, December 1966, 278.

products to ESEA. In addition to these sales methodologies, they were actively providing information to school administrators to help them in making these funding decisions, clearly with the intention of persuading them to purchase their advertised product.

Figure 23: Advertisement with offer of assistance in negotiating the “intricate maze of aid-to-education legislation”³⁹³

Out of quiet darkness comes learning

If your school system has been renting its films—or giving lip service to the film library concept—or even maintaining what you consider an above average film library—now is when you should take a new look at your teaching film program and give it a thorough, serious re-examination. There is an overwhelming national interest in providing better education to more children and in furnishing teachers better tools for teaching. As a result, there is a host of federal laws which make available financial reimbursement for approved programs.

Because films are a proven method of improving instruction, because they relate well to other educational activities, because they are effective aids to in-service teacher education—it is possible to obtain considerable federal financial help, if not total reimbursement, for programs which include educational films.

The Coronet Film library is helping build educational projects in every state of the Union. Coronet's special representatives have acquired a valuable fund of knowledge on the intricate maze of aid-to-education legislation which is at your service—without any obligation. With the help of this guidance—you can learn how to build or strengthen your film library—without a major increase in your budget.

For more information, write or call

CORONET FILMS Coronet Building / Chicago, Illinois / 60604
312 - 352-7676

Reference to federal funding.

Advertisements in 1966 took a different turn than those found in earlier years. Like those in the previous year, many advertisements simply cited ESEA as a funding source for already-offered products. Other companies, however, capitalized on ESEA as a new source of revenue, and were much more overt in offering their products as an answer to school administrators needs in terms of products that would enable them to

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, 278.

reach their goal of better education for disadvantaged children. Still other companies superseded even that overt push for purchase by offering school administrators access to their own representatives who had been trained to help those administrators with the “maze” of federal education funding.

Discussion

In 1966, *Educational Leadership*'s response to ESEA was more overt than in the previous year. As compared to the previous years, articles in both 1964 and 1965 included more indirect references to the debates swirling about education in the larger political context, specifically with the increase in articles pertaining to disadvantage, poverty, minority status and the quality of education received by children falling into any and all of those categories. In 1966, some issues returned to the previous years' focus on curriculum and pedagogy, specifically January's *Senior High School: To What Ends?*, February's *Towards Self-Direction*, May's *Let's Rate Supervision*, and December's *Generalist: Balance Factor in the School*. Other issues kept the curricular and pedagogical focus but included at least some articles that made references to ESEA, NDEA and other federal education legislation. These issues included March's *When Media Serve People*, April's *Teacher—or Technician?* and November's *After Assessment, What?* Finally, one issue, October's *Federal Funds: To Assist or To Control* focused almost exclusively on federal education law in general, and ESEA in particular. Although the general tenor of the issue is positive and hopeful about federal education aid, specific articles show mixed feelings—not towards the funding itself, which the authors invariably write about as if they expect it to continue, and welcome it, but authors

consistently urged readers to make wise choices in terms of what they spend the money on, acknowledging that money alone would not solve the educational difficulties faced by disadvantaged children—school administrators would need to make decisions that would result in the federal funding being spent wisely on programs that were proven to improve the educational outcomes of disadvantaged children.

Advertisements in *Educational Leadership* in 1966 changed from those in the previous year. Like those in *School Management Magazine*, many companies began to capitalize on ESEA as a new source of revenue, citing it (and other federal education legislation) as sources for funding that school administrators could use to purchase their products. Companies used varying tactics, including inserting a brief mention of ESEA as a funding source, offering their product(s) as a solution to what to do about ESEA, or even offering school administrators access to their own representatives who could help them in complying with the requirements of the federal education laws.

School Management Magazine, Articles and Advertisements: 1966 ***Articles***

In 1966, articles in *School Management Magazine* continued much as before. The column “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” that began in the previous year continued, providing readers with information about the various programs and laws that were sources of federal aid-to-education. Also, two more parts to the “Schoolman’s Guide to Federal Aid” were published, one in June and one in December. With one exception, however, these articles constituted the only mentions of ESEA during this year. This is not to say that the references to ESEA were insubstantial; they were substantive and

occurred on a monthly basis. But, overall, they constituted less emphasis on the federal education laws than in the previous year.

January's "Facts & Hints on Federal Aid" column addressed a few issues relevant to ESEA and/or Title I. First it clarified policy on the use of Title I funding for construction, stating that in general construction is not an acceptable use of Title I but "if remodeling or minor construction is absolutely necessary to carry out a project which will improve the educational opportunities of children from low-income families, costs may be included as Title I project expense."³⁹⁴ This issue also contained a special section on Title III of ESEA, funding for supplementary services. The first part of this section stated that "there have been communications snarl-ups between local districts and Washington. You can avoid trouble if you *contact the right man in the Office of Education* for information and advice on planning your proposal" and then provided contact information for three people in the Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education's Division of plans and Supplementary Centers who could give proper information.³⁹⁵ The column then provided a step-by-step procedure for applying for that grant money as well as alerting readers to the criteria with which their applications would be judged by the USOE.³⁹⁶ From the way in which the column is structured it appeared to be responding to problems that had occurred, providing the appropriate information to readers so that they could obtain the grant money that would fund their projects. The second part of this section gave sample proposals and critiques of those proposals by Jack Tanzman, *School Management Magazine* columnist. For example, one sample proposal was for a school bus film program that would make use of student commutes to show

³⁹⁴ "Facts & Hints on Federal Aid" *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 10, No. 1, January 1966, 73.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 74.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 74-75.

instructional videos; Tanzman noted that this is an “excellent idea”—practical, imaginative and innovative, three of the criteria by which these proposals would be judged.³⁹⁷

The February “Facts & Hints” column announced that four major education bills were before Congress—the *Vocational Education Act of 1963*, *Library Services and Construction Act of 1964*, the *Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963* and *School Construction in Federally Affected Areas*. These bills were scheduled to expire on June 30, 1966, but “Facts & Hints” reported that Congress was expected to extend and expand all four.³⁹⁸ In terms of ESEA, the column informed readers that Congress was debating a new low-income factor and that the likely outcome would be permission to use the national average education expenditures rather than their state’s expenditures if the national rate were higher.³⁹⁹ The column also noted that fewer Title I project applications had been sent in than expected—“an extremely disappointing turnout.” Furthermore, said the column, developing projects should not be a problem: “Define your deprived students’ needs, identify target areas and come up with projects that will work—and the project will be approved.”⁴⁰⁰ In this paragraph, the tone of the column actually scolded the reader who might not have completed his Title I application, a different tack than *School Management Magazine* usual methodology of informing readers of the various provisions and permutations of the federal aid-to-education legislation.

The February 1966 issue also contained an article devoted to Title III of ESEA entitled “Title III ESEA: What You Can Learn from the 1st Evaluation.” This article was

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 77.

³⁹⁸ “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 10, No. 2, February 1966, 55.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 57.

written after the first of three rounds of judging of Title III applications by the USOE and not only reported on the results but “describe[d] what actually transpired prior to, and during, the evaluation in Washington, how the recommendations for approval were reached, what factors were considered, and, on the basis of this first judging, how proposals [could] be improved.”⁴⁰¹ The article explained to readers that proposals that were accepted did the following things: involved the entire community, represented innovative and exemplary improvements, were specific in outlining programs, made it clear that the applicants knew why they wanted the programs, and included private school children and teachers, and encouraged school administrators to submit an application for an appropriate program in the next round of applications.⁴⁰²

In the March 1966 issue, “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” had a large section on the evaluation of the supplementary center projects funded by Title III, especially in terms of the right of state departments of education to weigh in on proposals. The column made it clear: “Congressional and Office of Education spokesmen agree that Title III is a federal-local program. It isn’t state aid. Recommendations of the state education agency are required. But state officials don’t approve or disapprove any Title III projects....Local school districts do not have to follow state guidelines.”⁴⁰³ Unlike the more typical concerns about federal control discussed in large part in Chapter 2, in this case *School Management Magazine* seemed to be responding to concerns at the local level that the states might interfere with local priorities.

⁴⁰¹ “Title III ESEA: What You Can Learn from the 1st Evaluation” *School Management Magazine* Vol. 10, No. 2, February 1966, 123.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, 125-126.

⁴⁰³ “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine* Vol. 10, No. 3, March 1966, 51-52, emphasis in original.

April's "Fact & Hints" column announced ESEA could be used to fund summer programs. Due to the late appropriation of funding, for this year only the money could be used beyond the end of the fiscal year on June 30th, through August 31, 1966.⁴⁰⁴ Another point raised in this column was the need for increased staffing at USOE, and the author advocated that readers do something about this: "A USOE spokesman, who knows what he's talking about, says the field staff should be doubled to provide a minimum level of adequate service. Note: If local and state school administrators would echo this need, perhaps additional staff would be assigned."⁴⁰⁵ In this issue, "Facts & Hints" expanded its role from a column that provided information on federal education legislation to one that assumed an advocacy role, encouraging readers to take action that would improve ESEA administration and ultimately make their own implementation of ESEA easier.

The May 1966 issue featured "A Schoolman's Guide to Federal Aid—Part III Title I ESEA Where Do We Stand? Where Are We Headed?"⁴⁰⁶ This information was divided into three subsections: a short overview of Title I projects, an interview with Harold Howe II, U.S. Commissioner of Education, and a report on project design including three exemplary Head Start programs that showed "how to improve the design, scope and quality of your Title I projects—both this summer, and next year."⁴⁰⁷

The first subsection gave sixteen examples of programs funded by Title I, including one in Highland Park, Michigan in which "education in home and family life is being given to 12th grade students, chiefly through a laboratory nursery school" and one in Walden, Vermont, where four one-room schools were reorganized so that each taught

⁴⁰⁴ "Facts & Hints on Federal Aid" *School Management Magazine* Vol. 10, No. 4, April 1966, 69.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 69, emphasis in original.

⁴⁰⁶ "A Schoolman's Guide to Federal Aid—Part III Title I ESEA Where Do We Stand? Where Are We Headed?" *School Management Magazine* Vol. 10, No. 5, May 1966, 155-177.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 157.

two grades rather than each teaching eight; Title I funds were used to provide transportation, a part-time teaching aid, remedial programs, cultural programs and audio-visual equipment.⁴⁰⁸

The second subsection of this “Schoolman’s Guide,” entitled “Title I: Where Do We Stand?” was comprised of an abridged transcript of an interview conducted by *School Management* editors with Commissioner of Education Harold Howe II. Overall, Howe stated, “everyone involved in Title I, at all levels, has done well.” He acknowledges, however, that there are problems, namely that not every eligible district is participating in Title I, but also that some districts seemed to be mainly using the funds to purchase equipment. Moreover, finding adequate personnel to implement new programs as well as finding somewhere in existing buildings to put them proved difficult for some districts.⁴⁰⁹ In addition, Howe acknowledged that administrators were having difficulty reconciling Congress’ funding schedule with that of the school year and that simplification of the Title I application would be helpful to administrators.⁴¹⁰

Howe also addressed questions related to duplication of effort, using Head Start and Title I as an example—he first noted that Title I projects were supposed to be cleared with local community action group, which should take care of duplication at that level. But, he said, if children receive services from both programs, good: “We’ve looked at it this way: If there’s a strong Head Start program operating in a school district, serving youngsters we’d like to see served, then by all means let Title I money go into building on top of that. On the other hand, if there is not a Head Start program, or a similar

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 158-160.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 162.

program, then let Title I money flow into a Head Start-type project”⁴¹¹ Finally, Howe addressed evaluation, explaining that while the USOE was expecting school districts to do a thorough job in their evaluations, “No one is going to be ‘penalized’ as a result of the evaluation....If a project doesn’t show up well—and this will happen—the local and state people will get together and figure out why and then do something about it. But the Office of Education isn’t about to yank money away from any district”⁴¹² Like many of the items in the “Facts & Hints” columns, therefore, this interview served as a way for editors of *School Management Magazine* to provide their readers with answers to questions they might have about Title I, as well as providing reassurance on areas of concern that had cropped up during its initial implementation.

Following the interview with Howe, the article presented six Title I ideas put into place in Rochester, NY, prefacing them by saying that “[t]here well may be some ideas here that *you* can adapt (not just ‘copy’) this summer and next fall.”⁴¹³ Among these projects were Family Nursery School classes that (a) met the needs of three and four year old children from impoverished homes and (b) encouraged participation of parents, especially fathers, in their children’s education and Team Teaching, in which the district assigned three teachers to two classrooms, reducing the teacher-student ratio without the need to build new classrooms.⁴¹⁴

Finally, the third subsection, “Where Are We Headed?” gave ideas that schools and school districts could modify to fit their needs of their own students. For example, the Summer Outdoor Activities category suggested that schools and/or school districts

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, 160.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*, 164.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, 165.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 166-168.

could sponsor camps that included combinations of remedial or enrichment classes, sports, and arts and crafts. In the Teacher Training category, the article suggested that “[e]ach state or local district might sponsor and coordinate a series of workshops and seminars during the summer months for those teachers who have been working with the educationally disadvantaged.”⁴¹⁵ Between these two last sections, part three of the “Schoolman’s Guide” provided a good deal in the way of suggestions for local school administrators in terms of how they might use their Title I funds. Although the editors were careful to make it clear that local school administrators needed to consider their individual needs carefully, nonetheless they did provide ideas to use as a starting base. This was very different from the legislators, who purposefully omitted such suggestions as a way to preclude federal control.

“Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” in this month was shorter than most – one page instead of the more usual two or three. It reported briefly on Johnson’s budget, which asked for less funding for education programs than in the previous year and stated that in response to a question about that budget Senator Morse replied that he expected Congress to reject cuts in ESEA and other education programs, and would in fact push for an increase in the poverty level for ESEA beginning on July 1st, a year earlier than proposed by the President. Also, the column announced that hearings on the amendments to ESEA finished in early May but that no final action can be taken until committee reports the bill out, probably after the first of June. It was therefore likely Congress would not send bill to White House until after the first of July. This delay would likely not be received well by school administrators, and in fact, the column continued that urban superintendents have “banded together in seeking an early spring commitment from Congress. In effect,

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 172.

Congress is being asked to guarantee no cutback in existing programs after April 15 of each year.”⁴¹⁶ If Congress were to implement such a guarantee, it would be useful to school administrators as it would resonate better with the school year than the Congressional calendar.

For the rest of the calendar year, “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” was a much shorter column than in the beginning of the year. With two exceptions, the column was only one page long, and coverage had less to do with ESEA and Title I. The June column, however did talk about a report of the National Advisory Council on the Education of Handicapped Children that urged schools to use Title I funds for health services, provision of clothing and food, and recreation and character-building activities. The report also recommended a revision of the guidelines to permit use of Title I funds for construction, although the column commented that “This may be a mixed blessing. In many cases, ESEA money is stretched thin already. Diverting funds for construction will mean a cutback in operating some programs.”⁴¹⁷ The July column made no reference to ESEA except to say that federal aid for school construction was “a dead issue.”⁴¹⁸ August brought some mention of ESEA, in a paragraph that drew readers’ attention to the fact that the impact of Title I was unknown, and that some children may be underserved: “At the moment, no one can say how many eligible youngsters have failed to benefit from Title I spending this year....On the surface it appears that as many as 5,000 local districts didn’t initiate Title I projects. But children from many of those districts probably participated in projects sponsored by adjacent districts. The total picture is

⁴¹⁶ “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine* Vol. 10, No. 5, May 1966, 69.

⁴¹⁷ “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine* Vol. 10, No. 6, June 1966, 57, emphasis in original.

⁴¹⁸ “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine* Vol. 10, No. 7, July 1966, 45.

clouded by the fact that some data is maintained by county and other by district.”⁴¹⁹ The column also informed readers that the final allocations under Title I might not be announced until very late in the year.⁴²⁰

The September “Facts & Hints” column informed readers that the amendments to education legislation would be delayed, and repeated a comment by an anonymous Congressman that “‘I’d hate to be a school administrator, attempting to plan an operating budget that depends on federal aid.’”⁴²¹ In addition, it reported that not enough was being done to include non-public school students in Title I programs, and repeated a warning by HEW Assistant Secretary Samuel Halperin that if local school districts did not resolve this issue, the USOE would.⁴²² The October and November “Facts & Hints” columns both talked about the ESEA 1966 amendments, announcing their passage and explaining to readers that the appropriations would likely not be authorized until after the elections in November.⁴²³

The October issue of *School Management Magazine* also contained an article entitled “The Church State Controversy and Your Schools” by Eugene J. Murphy which examined the problem of providing Title I services to parochial students without falling afoul of the separation of church and state requirements of both the federal and state constitutions. The article described two commonly used methods—dual enrollment of students in both public and parochial schools (problematic in areas where schools were separated by distance as well as states in which dual enrollment was contrary to state

⁴¹⁹ “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine* Vol. 10, No. 8, August 1966, 15.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁴²¹ “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine* Vol. 10, No. 9, September 1966, 55.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, 56.

⁴²³ “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine* Vol. 10, No. 10, October 1966, 59; “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine* Vol. 10, No. 11, November 1966, 69.

constitutions) and mobile educational services and/or equipment that were provided to the parochial students (problematic in that school districts needed to be careful to provide the aid to the student rather than the institution).⁴²⁴ Finally, the article gave an example of how a public school superintendent should go about creating a Title I program that includes adequate provisions for non-public school students.⁴²⁵

The December 1966 issue did not have a “Facts & Hints” column, but the final section of *A Schoolman’s Guide to Federal Aid*, Part IV, appeared in it.⁴²⁶ This article brought the reader up-to-date on revisions to federal aid to education due to the amendments to education legislation enacted in the preceding months. First and foremost, the article described the changes made to Title I of ESEA, including changes in the funding formula that resulted in increased funding, minimum funding requirements intended to encourage smaller districts to cooperate with each other in developing projects, and the addition of funding for planning.⁴²⁷ In terms of project applications, school districts were advised to “identify the needs of educationally deprived children *more specifically* this year” and not attempt to sidestep restrictions on general aid by planning projects that encompass all or most children rather than focusing on educationally deprived children.⁴²⁸ The remainder of this section of the article discussed changes to other education-related federal law, including the addition of Title VI to

⁴²⁴ Eugene J. Murphy “The Church State Controversy and Your Schools” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 10, No. 10, October 1966, 119-120.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*, 129-134.

⁴²⁶ “A Schoolman’s Guide to Federal Aid—Part IV” *School Management Magazine*, v. 10, no. 12, December 1966, 60-91.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, 63-64.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, 64, italics in original.

ESEA (grants to states for education of the handicapped) and changes to Head Start and the National Teacher Corps.⁴²⁹

Other sections of the “Schoolman’s Guide” provided information on sources of funding for equipment (primarily Title II of ESEA but also NDEA and the purchase of surplus government equipment), aid to federally impacted areas, supplementary services (namely Title III of ESEA, which was a joint federal-local program which encouraged inventive and innovative responses to educational problems), educational research (funded in large part by Title IV of ESEA), teacher training (especially through NDEA, the National Science Foundation and the Teacher Corps), and adult and vocational education (funded through the *Vocational Education Act*, the *Manpower Development and Training Act* and the *Adult Education Act of 1966*).

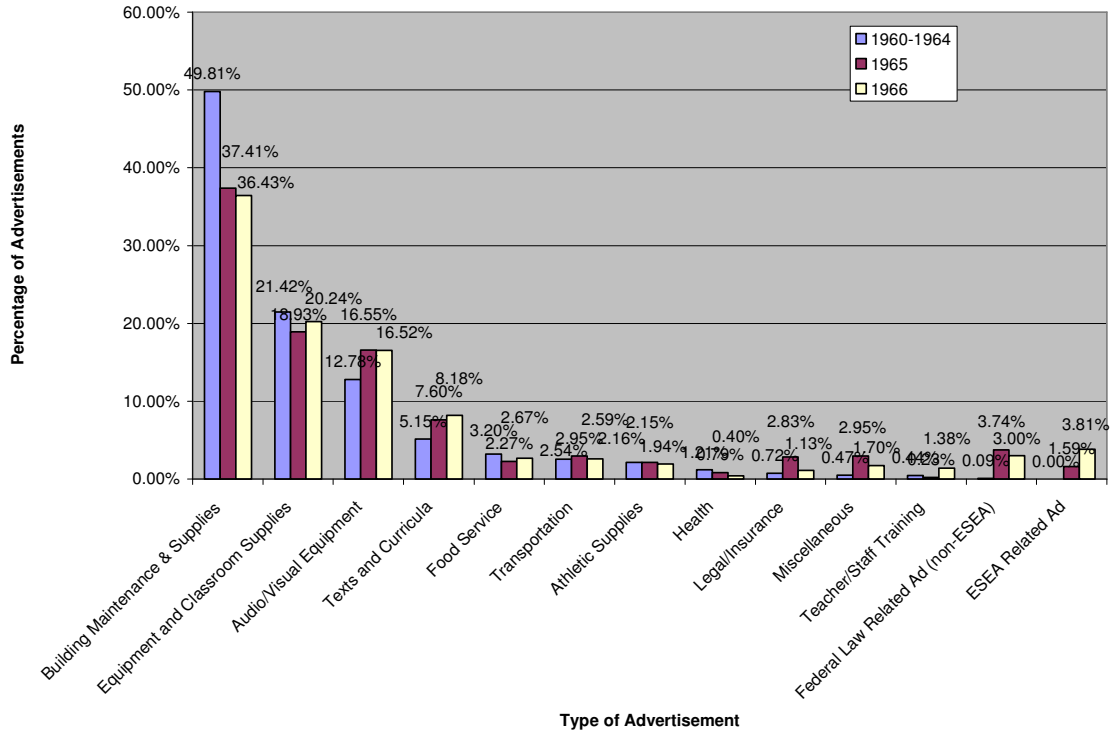
Advertisements

Advertisements in *School Management Magazine* in 1966 follow the same pattern as those in 1965. As Figure 17 shows, the percentages in virtually all categories remained relatively constant from 1965 to 1966. Qualitatively, advertisements that referenced ESEA were, for the most part, similar, or even the same advertisements. For example, the Follett advertisement found in Figure 12 of this chapter was reproduced in the January 1966 issue of *School Management Magazine* as well. There were, however, two advertisements of note. The first, seen in Figure 18, by Harcourt, Brace & World had a tongue-in-cheek reference to the number of products that have been advertised as eligible for purchase under ESEA and NDEA, stating that “[s]ome of the items offered may have caused you to wonder about the capacity of the ESEA-NDEA bandwagon.”

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, 65-66.

Despite that comment, however, the company continued to market its books as eligible for funding under ESEA and NDEA.⁴³⁰

Figure 24: School Management Magazine Advertisements 1960-1964, 1965 & 1966



⁴³⁰ *School Management Magazine* Vol. 10, No. 3, March 1966, 167.

Figure 25: Tongue-in-cheek mention of ESEA and NDEA funding

**ELIGIBLE
FOR PURCHASE
UNDER TITLES
II, III (ESEA)
and TITLE III
(NDEA)**

You have been seeing the above phrase, in some variation of it, in countless advertisements. Some of the items being offered may have caused you to wonder about the capacity of the ESEA-NDEA bandwagon.

Responsible educators have long realized that far too small a percentage of the average school budget has been available for books and related materials. The education acts provide a golden opportunity for communities to obtain needed educational publications that could not be obtained previously because of limited funds.

Harcourt, Brace & World, with more than a half a century of experience in educational and general book publishing offers a great variety of tested and proven publications fully eligible for purchase under the various education acts, plus many new kinds of materials designed especially to meet educational needs now getting special attention.

A range of elementary and secondary school programs in English, Foreign Languages, Mathematics, Science, and Social Studies (plus correlated audio-visual materials).

Elementary school science classroom laboratories, manual aids for elementary mathematics, and other similar instructional devices developed in our new Special Projects Department.

Distinguished "Trade" Department books suitable for school use, including the *Harvest and Harbinger* Series of quality paperbacks, such as Forster's *A Passage to India*, *Dangerfield's The Era of Good Feelings*, *The Orwell Reader*, and *The Harbinger Shakespeares*, edited by G. B. Harrison.

A rich assortment of children's books — such as Mary Norton's *The Borrowers* and Sandburg's *Wind Song* — 32 of which are now also available in the new *Voyager* Series of inexpensive paperbacks.

College textbooks for established courses in the humanities, in history and the social sciences, in the sciences, in mathematics, and in education.

Stanford Achievement Test, the *Metropolitan Achievement Tests*, and many other standardized tests published by our Test Department (which also provides full test-scoring services).

Our educational representatives, our consultant specialists, and experienced personnel in our five regional offices can give detailed professional assistance in choosing Harcourt, Brace & World publications for ESEA-NDEA projects. Please call on us for help.

**HARCOURT,
BRACE & WORLD**

New York 10017 / Chicago 60648
Atlanta 30312 / Dallas 75235
Burlingame, California 94010

For literature, write 744 on reply card opposite last page.

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The one new kind of advertisement was found in the October 1966 issue of *School Management*. This advertisement was for a service called the "Federal Aid Information Service," a company which would compile information on federal aid and send it to subscribers biweekly (see Figure 19). This new service was unique in all of the

federal aid-related advertisements—instead of providing a product that could be purchased with federal funds, or even a pamphlet that would aid administrators in selecting a product, this service would help administrators negotiate their way through the myriad forms of federal aid, and, in the words of the advertisement, “give you firm, reliable guidance.”⁴³¹

Figure 26: Advertisement featuring service that would aid school administrators in keeping abreast of federal aid.

FEDERAL AID INFORMATION SERVICE

We know you are busy. You have many pressing duties. Yet your staff, your pupils, your school board looks to you for leadership and guidance in gaining maximum benefits from funds available from various aid programs now in effect and soon to be written in new legislation by the Federal government.

Don't waste time with rumors, misinterpretations, confusion. But don't wait either till the information you need finds its way to you.

FEDERAL AID INFORMATION SERVICE gets its information at the top level and speeds it to you twice each month. Precise, accurate reporting cuts through the jargon and gives you firm, reliable guidance.

All aspects of Federal Aid are covered. Not one penny for which you can qualify need be overlooked.

NOW, AS AN INTRODUCTION to the twice a month subscription service you get free the PROJECT WRITER HANDBOOK that guides you simply through the planning, writing, evaluation and operation of a Title I project.

Send your purchase order for the \$50 a year service to:

FEDERAL AID INFORMATION SERVICE
c/o Educational Aid Associates
41 Whelan Road, E. Rutherford, N.J.
ZIP Code 07073 Telephone 201-933-8308

Subscriptions can be canceled within 30 days if you are not entirely satisfied.

⁴³¹ *School Management Magazine* Vol. 10, No. 10, October 1966, 162.

Discussion

In 1966, *School Management Magazine* continued to provide a good deal of information about ESEA and other federal education legislation. The journal continued the major feature, the “Schoolman’s Guide to Federal Aid,” including two new sections during the course of the year. The journal also continued its monthly column “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” that debuted the previous July. The articles and columns served to answer questions that readers might have about the legislation and its implementation, and to offer practical suggestions for administrators who needed help in completing all the steps necessary to receive the funding under that legislation. At times, especially in the “Facts & Hints” columns, the journal also encouraged school administrators to take full advantage of the programs, and even occasionally took a scolding tone, rebuking those who had not. Outside of these specific articles and columns, however, little notice was taken of federal aid-to-education legislation or its consequences to school administrators; other articles and columns continued as before.

In terms of advertisements, for the most part there was no change from the advertisements that began to appear in December 1965. A sizable percentage of advertisements mentioned ESEA or other federal aid-to-education legislation in some way, but for the most part they fell into the same categories as those described in the 1965 *School Management Magazine* section. One of the two advertisements that represented a departure from those advertisements made only a slight departure, as it referenced the number of companies representing their products as eligible for purchase under ESEA and NDEA while doing the same thing itself. The other advertisement was truly different, and offered a service to school administrators that would keep them

informed of changes in federal aid-to-education law so that they could best implement it in their schools.

ESEA's Passage: 1965-1966, Conclusion

In the time period covered in this chapter, 1965-1966, both *Educational Leadership* and *School Management Magazine* show evidence that the passage of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965* made a large impact on their readership. Both journals responded to the enactment of the law, in ways that, although different, make it clear that the editors of both journals believed that their constituencies would want to see information about the various permutations of the Act, as well as needing to know about other federal aid-to-education laws.

Educational Leadership's response to ESEA was in line with its pedagogical and curricular focus. As seen in Chapter 4, the articles in the 1960-1964 time period were narrowly centered on pedagogy and curriculum. In 1965-1966, *Educational Leadership* continued to look at education through curricular and pedagogical lenses, but it also began to report on the role of schools and school administrators in promoting change and improving education. Furthermore, the journal also began to include a good deal more about integration and multi-culturalism as well as other topics that might denote the influence of the wider world on the editors and readers of the journal. The topic most closely related to ESEA that began to appear frequently was that of poverty and its links to education. Various articles in many issues explored differing aspects of the challenges inherent in educating disadvantaged children, a change from the previous time period, in which poverty was not a focus. Furthermore, in 1966, journal articles made specific

references to ESEA. The majority of these references were embedded in articles about other topics, mostly poverty and its impact on education, but one issue, the October 1966 issue, was devoted to the legislation. In general, the authors of the various articles that comprised this issue were supportive of ESEA funding, and clearly expected the funding to continue. As a group, however, they indicated that school administrators should be careful in their selection of projects and programs implemented with ESEA funding—funding alone was no guarantee of quality programs.

School Management Magazine's response to ESEA was also in line with its objective of providing “practical solutions to school management problems.” All four parts of the “Schoolman’s Guide to Federal Aid” provided information on the aspects of Title I and other education laws that were of interest to school administrators, and gave information on all aspects of the process, including planning, application, implementation and evaluation. Furthermore, the creation of the “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” column indicated that the editors of *School Management Magazine* believed that school administrators were in need of the information provided via that column on a monthly basis.

Perhaps most interesting, however, are the changes in the advertising aimed at the school administrators in both journals. Publishing companies and those companies that provided various forms of school equipment were quick to jump on the bandwagon of federal funding, pushing educators towards the purchase of equipment and programs. Even more interesting are the various permutations that those advertisements took, from simple mentions of ESEA (or other federal education laws) as a funding source for their product(s) to advertisements that suggests that the purchaser include their product in their

ESEA program to companies that designed specific products to meet the requirements of ESEA to companies that offered to provide school administrators with information and even consultants to help them plan their ESEA programs. The existence of all of these advertisements indicate that companies saw a large potential for profit due to ESEA and they were overt in their exhortations for school administrators to purchase their products.

Taken together, the data from the articles and advertisements in both journals detailed in this chapter indicate that ESEA did have a large impact on school administrators, or at least that the editors of both journals expected that it would have that impact. Each in its own way provided school administrators with new information they would need to fulfill their new role as ESEA and Title I administrator, *Educational Leadership* by giving readers information on poverty and its relationship to learning; *School Management Magazine* by providing logistical information for ESEA and many other federal aid-to-education and examples of projects, Title I in particular, initiated by school districts that readers could use as models.

These new topics, articles, columns and advertisements changed the tenor of both journals. But were these changes maintained over time as ESEA became more integrated into the day-to-day functioning of the schools, and its funding became a regular part of the budget? In the next chapter, I will analyze articles and advertisements from 1967 and 1968 in order to see if the changes recorded here continued in the following years.

**Chapter 5: *Educational Leadership and School
Management Magazine After the Enactment of ESEA
(1967-1968)***

By the beginning of 1967, the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* was almost two years old. In that short time period the prevailing view on federal aid-to-education had gone from something that had been hotly contested to established fact. As recounted in Chapter 3, this change occurred in Congress, where debate in 1967 centered on *how* federal money would be spent in education, rather than whether federal funds should support state and local school systems. The question addressed in this chapter is whether this attitude change in the legislature was mirrored in *Educational Leadership* and *School Management Magazine*. What information did the editors of each journal now provide for its readers on ESEA and other federal aid-to-education legislation? Did the information change from the previous time period in either quantity or content? The other question addressed in this chapter is whether advertisements changed as well, and if so, what exactly those changes entailed.

This chapter is structured in a similar fashion to that of the previous two chapters. I first describe the articles and advertisements of *Educational Leadership* in 1967 and 1968, and then compare them to the articles and advertisements of the previous years, especially in regards to mentions and discussions of federal law-related topics in general, and the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* in particular. I then do the same type of analysis on the articles and advertisements of *School Management Magazine* for 1967

and 1968. I close with a discussion of the overall pattern of changes from the years in which ESEA was first implemented (1965-1966) to the years after ESEA's enactment (1967-1968).

Educational Leadership, *Articles and Advertisements: 1967-1968*

Articles

In 1967, articles in *Educational Leadership* can be divided into two groups: those that mentioned ESEA directly and those that made reference to ESEA, but at most in an indirect fashion. The first group includes three issues, all of which appeared in the first half of the year, January's *Guidance: Education or Therapy?*, February's *Reading: Claims and Proof*, and May's *Unlocking the School*. The second group of issues includes the remaining five issues: March's *Human Variability: The Insistent Element*, April's *Design for Alienation?*, October's *Social Class and Urbanization*, November's *The University and Social Planning*, and December's *Federal Money and Industrial Participation*. Although these categories seem fairly similar to those in the previous chapter, there is a difference: in both the ESEA-related category and the indirect reference to federal education law category, the references are fewer, in each case limited to one or two articles. This is a very small fraction of the articles, most of which had reverted to the pedagogical and curricular focus found in the 1960-1963 time period.

The first issue that fits in to the category of articles directly related to ESEA was also the first of the calendar year: January's *Guidance: Education or Therapy?* As noted above, the majority of articles in this issue were directly related to issues of curriculum and pedagogy. For example, Robert Polglase's "When the Counselor Works with the Teacher" advocated for the involvement of the counselor in developing instructional

groups within a classroom or grade. As befitting its status as a journal for administrators, the article noted that while the interaction the author was suggesting would occur between the counselor and teacher, “all of this is dependent upon the administrative leadership that will make possible a school organization that will be productive in terms of meeting the needs of pupils—needs that stem from the interaction of the pupil with his physical and cultural environments.”⁴³² The majority of other articles were organized on similar lines: discussions of issues of curriculum and pedagogy with no mention of factors that existed outside of the classroom or the school.

There was, however, one article in this issue that mentioned ESEA. This article was entitled “Needed: Diagnostic Attention in Defeating Educational Deprivation” and began by stating that that “Present programs have evolved through three stages: (a) foundation-financed pilot projects, (b) expanded for the War on Poverty, and (c) nearly universalized by 1965 Congressional action.” This statement, although falling short of mentioning ESEA by name, was clearly talking about it, as ESEA was the only major education legislation enacted in 1965. The article’s stated purpose was to stimulate more effective proposals under that law, arguing that ESEA funding could not and would not be effective if not used carefully—educators needed to pay careful attention to the level at which students were currently functioning before designing a program and not assume a foundation of basic skills that might not be there; ESEA projects should include a process that he called “diagnostic attention”—an assessment of the level at which students were currently functioning, followed by use of that assessment to design an

⁴³² Robert Polglase “When the Counselor Works with the Teacher” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24 No. 4, January 19967, 341.

appropriate program.⁴³³ This article, therefore, indirectly discussed ESEA in terms of project proposals, and, like the articles discussed in the previous chapter from the issue devoted to ESEA, October 1966's *Federal Funds: To Assist or To Control*, indicated support for ESEA's funding while cautioning that funding alone would not improve education for disadvantaged children.

February's issue, *Reading: Claims and Proof*, was structured in a similar way. The majority of articles were devoted to curriculum and pedagogy as they related to reading, such as "Reading for Enjoyment and Personal Development," "Logic and Critical Reading," and "Grouping for Reading or for Reading Instruction."⁴³⁴ For example, "Reading for Enjoyment and Personal Development" talked about the importance of reading as a mechanism for learning about oneself and in exploring scenarios that would help a child solve some of his or her own personal problems. The article ended by calling on teachers to help students learn to enjoy reading, as this enjoyment would result in long term gain as children continued to read throughout their lives.⁴³⁵ Another article, Willavene Wolf's "Logic and Critical Reading," promoted the importance of introducing critical thinking and inference skills at the early elementary level, rather than in high school as often happened.⁴³⁶ The majority of other articles in this issue were structured similarly, focusing on issues of curriculum and pedagogy.

⁴³³ William W. Wayson "Needed: Diagnostic Attention in Defeating Educational Deprivation" *Educational Leadership* Vol 24 No. 4, January 1967, 325.

⁴³⁴ William A. Jenkins "Reading for Enjoyment and Personal Development" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 5, February 1967, 404-406; Willavene Wolf "Logic and Critical Reading" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 5, February 1967, 404-406; Miriam E. Wilt "Grouping for Reading or for Reading Instruction" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 24, No. 5, February 1967, 445-450.

⁴³⁵ William A. Jenkins "Reading for Enjoyment and Personal Development" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 5, February 1967, 404-406.

⁴³⁶ Willavene Wolf "Logic and Critical Reading" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 5, February 1967, 404-406.

Similar to other issues in this category, however, this issue had two articles that related to ESEA as well. The first, “Supervising Teachers of the Disadvantaged,” by Marcia R. Conlin and Martin Haberman did not directly mention ESEA, but instead described the negative impact that teacher prejudice could have on student progress. The article began by saying that “[o]perationally, the disadvantaged are those whose teachers perceive them as disadvantaged” and argued that supervisors needed to help teachers “surrender the distortions of these negative expectations.”⁴³⁷ This article did not actually offer solutions, but, as the authors stated towards the end, served to bring these issues to readers’ attention so that this issue could begin to be contemplated and ultimately addressed.⁴³⁸ Although this article did not mention ESEA at all, I included it in this category as an article that is indirectly related to ESEA, as its focus was on disadvantaged students living in poverty, a major focus of that law.

The second article directly related to ESEA and was entitled “Research in Review: ‘Evaluating E.S.E.A. Projects for the Disadvantaged.’” This article provided readers with information about evaluating the progress made by ESEA projects and recommended that at this point, a year and a half after ESEA’s implementation, administrators should take the time to evaluate what progress had been made on ESEA projects. The author suggested five steps for evaluation that would enable administrators to assess the value of their projects: they should take a close look at the stated purpose and objectives of the project, make sure to delineate exactly what would be done to achieve that objective, state what information would be collected to as evidence of attainment (or not) of the objective, and a “rigorous” examination of the data.

⁴³⁷ Marcia R. Conlin and Martin Haberman “Supervising Teachers of the Disadvantaged” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 24, No. 5, February 1967, 393-394.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, 398.

Administrators should then use these data to decide if and how to proceed with the ESEA project in a way that would best serve the disadvantaged students it was supposed to aid.⁴³⁹ This article, the only one in the issue that addressed ESEA directly did so by providing administrators with a step-by-step process to follow when evaluating their ESEA projects and programs.

The third and final issue that fell into this directly referencing ESEA category was the May 1967 issue, *Unlocking the School*. Again, the majority of articles in this issue were geared towards issues of pedagogy and curriculum and made no connection to ESEA. For example, Arnold J. Moore's "An Approach to Flexibility" reported on a modular schedule introduced at the high school level that allowed students to be scheduled for varying time for different subjects in addition to a large amount of independent learning time.⁴⁴⁰ This issue did, however, have two articles that made indirect references to ESEA, "Desegregation in a California School System" and "Since Desegregation." The first of these related articles described the steps that the Sausalito, California School District took in creating and implementing a desegregation plan; the second was a follow-up to that article, reporting on both positive and negative responses to the implementation of the desegregation plan.⁴⁴¹ Although neither of these articles mentioned ESEA at all, I include them here as indirect references as they did talk about poverty and its relationship to school performance, the central rationale for ESEA. Finally, like the previous edition of the journal, one article in this issue directly

⁴³⁹ J. Richard Harsh "Research in Review: 'Evaluating E.S.E.A. Projects for the Disadvantaged'" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 5, February 1967, 453-461.

⁴⁴⁰ Arnold J. Moore "An Approach to Flexibility" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 8, May 1967, 691-695.

⁴⁴¹ Richard L. Foster "Desegregation in a California School System" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 8, May 1967, 707-708; Philip W. Schneider "Since Desegregation" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 8, May 1967, 709-713.

referenced ESEA: “Outdoor Education Can Help Unlock the School.” In this article, author Morris Wiener advocated using nature study to increase learning, but emphasized the need to assure that learning actually occurred. In his reference to ESEA, Wiener cites Titles I and III as sources of funding for outdoor activities, specifically promoting outdoor laboratories to serve as supplementary classrooms, extended school year programs including both recreational and academic aspects, natural science and conservation programs and resident outdoor education programs as programs that could be funded under those titles.⁴⁴² In this article, the author ties ESEA to the issue theme of “unlocking the school” to make it more accessible to students of all types.

The other five issues published in this calendar year fall into the second category of articles, those that contained no articles that made direct references to ESEA or other federal aid-to-education laws but contained at least one article that made an indirect reference, usually in the form of an article that discussed the impact of poverty on learning in some way. Similar to the issues listed in the first grouping, the majority of articles in each of these issues was focused on issues of curriculum and pedagogy, and how those two issues related to the monthly theme in some way. Each issue did, however, have one or two articles that made an indirect reference to ESEA.

The March 1967 issue, *Human Variability: The Insistent Element*, consisted of a series of articles that talked about the importance of encouraging creativity and individualism among both teachers and students. “Staffing for Variability,” for example, argued that developing a school that encourages individualization would require the selection and training of a staff amenable to this process, whereas “Designing Schools for

⁴⁴² Morris Wiener “Outdoor Education Can Help Unlock the School” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 8, May 1967, 696-699.

Variability” advocated including structural features such as library facilities that allow independent study to promote individual work.⁴⁴³ One article in the issue made an indirect reference to ESEA. This article, “Private Schools—Public Money,” addressed the legislation without mentioning it by name, specifically Title I’s provisions for providing services to private school children with public funds. The author acknowledged that this was actually occurring at the time of publication, but argued that the current practice was “handling” the problem rather than solving it. He closed by calling for “careful consideration” of the educational and societal issues raised by the public funding of any part of private education.⁴⁴⁴

The April 1967 issue was similar. Most issues, including “The Alienated Speak” and “As the Large School Becomes Larger . . . ‘Hey, You!’” were centered around the month’s theme, *Design for Alienation?* which, in a variety of ways, discussed the problems of isolation and alienation that large schools were prone to encourage by virtue of their size. In “The Alienated Speak” for example, author Mary B. Lane focused on the impact of alienation on the poor, and advocated for schools to work to establish “a sense of caring” that would counteract that alienation and enable disadvantaged students to prosper.⁴⁴⁵ “As the Large School Becomes Larger . . . ‘Hey, You!’” is somewhat different as it does not mention poverty at all—instead the focus is on the depersonalization of students that can occur in large schools, and offered a solution: a school-within-a-school structure that would enable students and teachers to get to know

⁴⁴³ Frank W. Hunter “Staffing for Variability” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 6, March 1967, 501-504; Ben E. Coody and Walter S. Sandefur “Designing Schools for Variability” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 6, March 1967, 505-507.

⁴⁴⁴ Robert C. O’Reilly “Private Schools—Public money” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 6, March 1967, 491-492.

⁴⁴⁵ Mary B. Lane “The Alienated Speak” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 7, April 1967, 589-594.

each other.⁴⁴⁶ Finally, one article was indirectly related to ESEA. Martin Haberman's "Materials the Disadvantaged Need—and Don't Need" never actually mentions ESEA by name, but advocated the purchase of materials that would encourage language development in disadvantaged children, claiming that such growth was necessary for success in school.⁴⁴⁷ This article, therefore, while not directly mentioning ESEA in any capacity, did indirectly reference it, as the various Titles of ESEA (especially Title I) were primary sources for materials for the disadvantaged, and could likely be used to purchase the language materials advocated by Haberman.

Neither the October 1967 issue, *Social Class and Urbanization*, nor the November 1967 issue, *The University and Social Planning*, made any direct reference to ESEA. However, each contained an article or two that discussed poverty and its relationship to school success. October's "Cities are Changing" described changes occurring in the urban areas, especially in relation to what has come to be called "white flight," which he anticipated would lead to shrinking property tax bases that would give urban schools less money. He also lamented the system of small school districts that each had their own superintendent, school board, teachers and academic standards, leading to a waste of resources; children could be better served if some of these small districts were combined.⁴⁴⁸ Clare A. Broadhead's "Ghetto Schools—An American Tragedy" gave a portrait of the Detroit Public Schools as a place where students didn't care, and teachers are either convinced that teaching is "an exercise in futility" or finding creative ways to "reach and teach children," but noted that even those managing to teach

⁴⁴⁶ Robert W. Edgar "As the Large School Becomes Larger . . . 'Hey, You!'" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 7, April 1967, 600-603.

⁴⁴⁷ Martin Haberman "Materials the Disadvantaged Need—and Don't Need" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 6, April 1967, 611-617.

⁴⁴⁸ Mel Ravitz "Cities are Changing" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 25, No. 1, October 1967, 19-23.

creatively are “handicapped by their early education and upbringing.” She advocated for better preparation for teachers serving in urban areas, as well as commenting that simply restating the problems of disadvantaged youth would not help; instead educators needed to commit to solving them, even when doing so might cause conflict and tension.⁴⁴⁹ The article related to poverty in the November issue, *The University and Social Planning*, was “Educating the Disadvantaged: A Beginning.” In it, author David E. Day talked about the difficulties encountered by those who want to educate inner children, especially in terms of preparing such children for the structure of education and the school. He urged educators to adopt programs that would teach children to delay gratification (an important component of school success) and increase language development. The article concluded with a push for programs to be specifically designed with the needs of the disadvantaged child in mind.⁴⁵⁰ These article together demonstrate a new focus on the needs of children living in poverty, and the differences in needs of children living in urban, suburban and rural settings.

The December 1967 issue, *Federal Money and Industrial Participation*, although invoking federal funding in its title, was actually similar in structure to the October and November issues wherein most articles related to curriculum and pedagogy but one article indirectly referenced ESEA and federal aid-to-education legislation. This was James H. Fortenberry’s “Money and Change” which, for the most part, talked about budgetary concerns and the ways in which administrators could use money to facilitate change. The federal government, Fortenberry stated, advocated the use of money to

⁴⁴⁹ Clare A. Broadhead “Ghetto Schools—An American Tragedy” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 25, No. 1, October 1967, 24-27.

⁴⁵⁰ David E. Day “Educating the Disadvantaged: A Beginning” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 25, No. 2, November 1967, 132-135.

provide innovative educational practices (perhaps a reference to ESEA), but warned that such innovation was at the sufferance of those who funded it:

Education has no money of its own. Will government and industry allow education, for that reason, to become a victim of tradition? After all, education is in partnership with government and private enterprise in furthering the public interest.⁴⁵¹

This quote may be linked to the debates surrounding the renewal of ESEA that were still going on as of the submission for publication for this issue of *Educational Leadership*.⁴⁵²

These articles in October, November and December of 1967, therefore, while not directly discussing ESEA in any way, did discuss poverty and its impact on student progress, the very rationale for the way in which ESEA funding was structured. Although these articles were not necessarily a direct consequence of ESEA, they are an indication that the topics brought up during and directly after the passage of ESEA were still of concern to school administrators.

In 1968, many of the issues fell into the same two categories as in 1967, those that mentioned ESEA directly in at least one article and those that made reference to ESEA, but at most in an indirect fashion. Some issues fell into an additional category: those that made no reference to ESEA whatsoever. Two issues each contained one article that mentioned ESEA directly, November's *Racial Integration: Roads to Understanding* and December's *Court Decisions: Impact on Schools*. One issue, February's *Curriculum and Supervision in Social Planning*, had one article that made an indirect reference to ESEA in which the author discussed the need for comprehensive planning of programs rather

⁴⁵¹ James H. Fortenberry "Money and Change" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 25, No. 3, December 1967, 233.

⁴⁵² Although the ESEA Amendments of 1967 were approved by the House and Senate on December 15, 1967, they were not signed into law by President Johnson until January 12, 1968. Furthermore, the press date of this article would have been at least a few weeks to a few months earlier than the publication date of December, so this article was likely to have been written at least a month or two prior to its December 1967 publication date. Please see Chapter 3 for a full explanation of the ESEA Amendments of 1967.

than a group of programs developed in isolation.⁴⁵³ Finally, the majority of the issues could be classified in the third category of those that made no reference to ESEA, direct or indirect, at all: January's *Innovative Purpose and Effect*, March's *Cross-National or International Education*, April's *Alternatives to Schooling*, May's *Technology: Its Effects on Education* and October's *Impact of Social Forces on Education*.

The first direct reference to ESEA in an article did not occur until the November 1968 issue. The majority of articles in that issue, *Racial Integration: Roads to Understanding* were linked to pedagogy and curriculum, such as M. Lucia James' "Instructional Materials Can Assist Integration," which talked about how good selection of classroom materials could help students to learn about other cultures and races, especially in areas where children attended school where the majority of students looked like them.⁴⁵⁴ Another article, "The Spirit of the Law," lamented the fact that desegregation efforts were focused solely on black children, concluding that the only way for integration to succeed would be to uphold the spirit as well as the letter of the law, with teachers and administrators who could and would see minority children as individuals with inherent worth and individual needs, regardless of race.⁴⁵⁵ One article in the issue mentioned ESEA: Tom F. Park, Jr.'s "Promising Developments in Integration." The author, the then-superintendent of the Portageville Reorganized School District Number 1, wrote about his district's experiences with integration, citing difficulties including economic barriers between white and black children, the dearth of black staff

⁴⁵³ James A. Reynolds, "Curriculum Reform and Social Behavior" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 25, No. 5, February 1968, 397-400.

⁴⁵⁴ M. Lucia James "Instructional Materials Can Assist Integration" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 26, No. 2, November 1968, 129-134.

⁴⁵⁵ Shirley H. Schell "The Spirit of the Law" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 26, No. 2, November 1968, 122-125.

members, and the lack of acceptance of black children by white children. Superintendent Park then described the methods used in the district to remedy these difficulties, including the use of funding from ESEA, the *Child Nutrition Act* and Head Start (under the EOA) to provide services and hire black teachers. In terms of ESEA, the author specifically cited Title I as a source for funding for providing “slow achiever” classes, smaller classes designed to help those students (60% of students in these classes were black); hiring a social worker; and purchasing two commercial laundries to provide clean school uniforms for disadvantaged students.⁴⁵⁶ This article, therefore, mentioned ESEA as an important funding source for programs put in place in order to meet the obligations of desegregation in this school district.

The December 1968 issue had the only other article that directly mentioned ESEA. The majority of the articles in the issue, *Court Decisions: Impact on Schools* were typified by Samuel B. Ethridge’s “Court Decisions: Impact on Staff Balance” which talked about how black teachers were often fired when schools were integrated, but argued that school staffs should reflect the make up of the students in that school, although personnel decisions should ideally be made on basis of sex, experience, preparation and areas of specialization as well.⁴⁵⁷ Another article, “A Relationship in Transition: Public and Private Education” seemed as if it might discuss the separation of church and state issues discussed in the enactment of ESEA but instead began by reiterating the common argument that public schools should be funded by public money as they served the public good, whereas private schools were not under public control and

⁴⁵⁶ Tom F. Park, Jr. “Promising Developments in Integration” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 26, No. 2, November 1968, 126-128.

⁴⁵⁷ Samuel B. Ethridge “Court Decisions: Impact on Staff Balance” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 26, No. 3, December 1968, 235-239.

did not necessarily serve the public good. The author then stated that he did not object to that argument, but that what was really needed was for public schools to operate in a fashion akin to that of private schools, which “stressed the individual interest” of students rather than solely looking at the common good.⁴⁵⁸

The one article in this issue that did discuss ESEA was also an article about private school. In “Public Money for Parochial Schools?” author E. Dale Doak took the reader through an abbreviated history of arguments for and against the use of public money to fund parochial school books and other equipment, and noted that Titles I and III of ESEA might be vulnerable to court challenges for their provision of funding to parochial schools. The author concluded that no such challenge had yet been made but that if and when it were made “[t]he constitutionality of this act [would] be tested in the courts, the outcome of which will have major implications for public and parochial education and for the potential growth and effectiveness pattern of each.”⁴⁵⁹ In fact, such a challenge was made in New York state, where a statute had been passed by the Legislature in 1965 requiring that public school boards lend textbooks to students attending public and parochial schools. The New York Central School District No. 1 sued, claiming that such a requirement violated the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment. The trial court agreed, and found the statute unconstitutional; the Appellate Division ruled that the district had no standing. At the subsequent appeal, the New York Court of Appeals ruled that the district did have standing, but that the law was constitutional, as it was intended to benefit all students regardless of the type of school

⁴⁵⁸ John Hardin Best “A Relationship in Transition: Public and Private Education” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 26, No. 3, December 1968, 250-253.

⁴⁵⁹ E. Dale Doak “Public Money for Parochial Schools?” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 26, No. 3, December 1968, 246-249.

they attended. When the case reached the Supreme Court, the court sustained the Appellate ruling, stating that because the legislative purpose and effects of the law did not advance any one religion, or religion in general, the law did not violate the First Amendment, and therefore would stand.⁴⁶⁰ Therefore, despite author Doak's fears it did prove legal to use public money to fund secular aspects of private and parochial education, and therefore ESEA could be used to meet the needs of disadvantaged children attending those schools.

The second category, that of issues containing articles that referenced ESEA indirectly, contained one issue, the February issue, *Curriculum and Supervision in Social Planning*. Most articles in this issue made no mention whatsoever of ESEA, but were instead related to the issue's theme. For example, Larry Cuban's "The Powerlessness of Irrelevancy" listed issues faced by supervisors and curriculum workers, calling them "powerless to deal effectively with the concerns of teachers," as they were unable to provide the smaller classes, planning time and freedom for experimentation that many teachers wanted. However, Cuban suggested that supervisors could and should gain specific knowledge of the local community to help the school staff integrate its work with local needs, do some classroom teaching to stay in touch with children's needs, and have more face-to-face contact with teachers.⁴⁶¹ Another article in this issue, James A. Reynolds' "Curriculum Reform and Social Behavior" made an indirect reference to

⁴⁶⁰ The Oyez Project, *Board Of Education v. Allen*, 392 U.S. 236 (1968), accessed via the internet on January 17, 2010, http://www.oyez.org/cases/1960-1969/1967/1967_660; in a subsequent case, *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, the Supreme Court in 1971 placed limitations on the use of public funds in parochial schools, devising a three-pronged test to determine whether or not any given statute would violate the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment (a statute must have 'a secular legislative purpose,' neither advance nor inhibit religion, and must not foster 'an excessive government entanglement with religion.')

(The Oyez Project, *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, 403 U.S. 602 (1971) accessed via the internet at http://oyez.org/cases/1970-1979/1970/1970_89).

⁴⁶¹ Larry Cuban "The Powerlessness of Irrelevancy" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 25, No. 5, February 1968, 393-396.

ESEA. The article began by saying that “[s]upport from the Federal Government has made it possible to develop new programs with unprecedented speed.” However, the author continued, the large quantity of projects developed in isolation has led to a situation where there was still no clearly defined direction in education. The author concluded by advocating that educators take a close look at the overall picture, and work to develop a process for reform that would encourage wholesale reform rather than isolated projects that would have little to no impact on the larger picture.⁴⁶² In this article, although ESEA is not mentioned by name, it is clear that the phrase “[s]upport from the Federal Government” as well as mentions of a large diversity of new projects indicate that the author was making reference to ESEA and the projects that could be funded under that law.

The issues that fell into the third category were those that made no reference to ESEA whatsoever. In 1968, five issues fell into this category: January’s *Innovative Purpose and Effect*, March’s *Cross-National or International Education*, April’s *Alternatives to Schooling?*, May’s *Technology: Its Effects on Education*, and October’s *Impact of Social Forces on Education*. Each issue’s articles focused on the topic suggested by the theme. For example, January’s *Innovative Purpose and Effect* included “Richard L. Foster’s “The Search for Change,” which advocated for a systemic, structured approach to reform that could be a useful albeit limited method to promote change and Donald Hair’s “The Road to Where?” in which the author argued that evaluation should be designed to measure progress towards specific objectives rather than

⁴⁶² James A. Reynolds “Curriculum Reform and Social Behavior” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 25, No. 5, February 1968, 397-400.

as a justification for a project that has already been completed.⁴⁶³ The March 1968 issue, *Cross-National or International Education* contained a series of articles that provided information about education in Latin America, Ethiopia, Africa, Scotland, Germany and Albania. April's issue, *Alternatives to Schooling?* had a series of articles devoted to ways to approach schooling outside of the traditional school structure and format. For example, Alexander Frazier's "Individualized Instruction" was devoted to delineating the elements necessary for a successful implementation of an individualized instructional program, including clearly stated goals, better understanding of the content material to be taught, better, more "studyable" materials, better pedagogical methods, and new evaluation and organizational methods; the author then suggested that educators would need to develop each of these elements for individualized instruction to be feasible.⁴⁶⁴ The theme of the May 1968 issue was *Technology: Its Effects on Education*. A typical article in this issue was "Introducing Technological Hardware in Education" in which author Lawrence M. Stolurow pointed out that while technology was appealing to students, teachers and parents, responsible educators needed to assure that it served an educational purpose in order to be worth deploying in schools.⁴⁶⁵ The October 1968 issue was the last to fall into this third category of issues that made no mention of ESEA. This issue, *Impact of Social Forces on Education* instead discussed ways to address the cultural differences between students' homes and schools, in articles such as Jacquetta H. Burnett's "Social Culture and Social Change in the City" in which the author discussed

⁴⁶³ Richard L. Foster "The Search for Change" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 25, No. 4, January 1968, 288-291; Donald Hair "The Road to Where?" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 25, No. 4, January 1968, 300-303.

⁴⁶⁴ Alexander Frazier "Individualized Instruction" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 25, No. 7, April 1968, 616-624.

⁴⁶⁵ Lawrence M. Stolurow "Introducing Technological Hardware in Education" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 25, No. 8, May 1968, 765-768.

situations in which the home culture of the child was different from that of the school, and promoted the idea that schools adopt a bicultural approach that would not require children to choose between the home and school cultures; rather schools should promote success by encouraging the home culture.⁴⁶⁶

In 1967 and 1968 *Educational Leadership* issues made fewer mentions of ESEA than in the previous two years. Based on their references to ESEA, the issues can be divided into three categories: those with direct reference to ESEA, those with indirect reference to ESEA (i.e., discussions of disadvantaged or poor students) and those with no reference whatsoever to ESEA. Quantitatively, the issues over the two year time span fall virtually evenly in each category: 5 issues with direct mention of ESEA, 6 issues with indirect mentions of ESEA, and 5 issues with no mention of ESEA. However, the two years were actually very different from each other. In 1967, every issue had at least one article that made either direct or indirect reference to ESEA; there were no issues that did not reference ESEA in some way. By 1968, on the other hand, only two issues made direct reference to ESEA, and one issue made indirect reference; the other issues made no mention whatsoever of ESEA (see Figures 1 and 2 for a pictorial depiction of this change). This change could be due to the fact that by this time federal funding had become commonplace, and educators may have been taking it for granted. Furthermore, by this point administrators likely had a solid grasp of what they needed to do in order to plan, implement and evaluate Title I and other ESEA programs.

⁴⁶⁶ Jacquetta H. Burnett "Social Culture and Social Change in the City" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 26, No. 1, October 1968, 12-16.

Figure 27: A pictorial representation of ESEA references in *Educational Leadership* Articles in 1967.

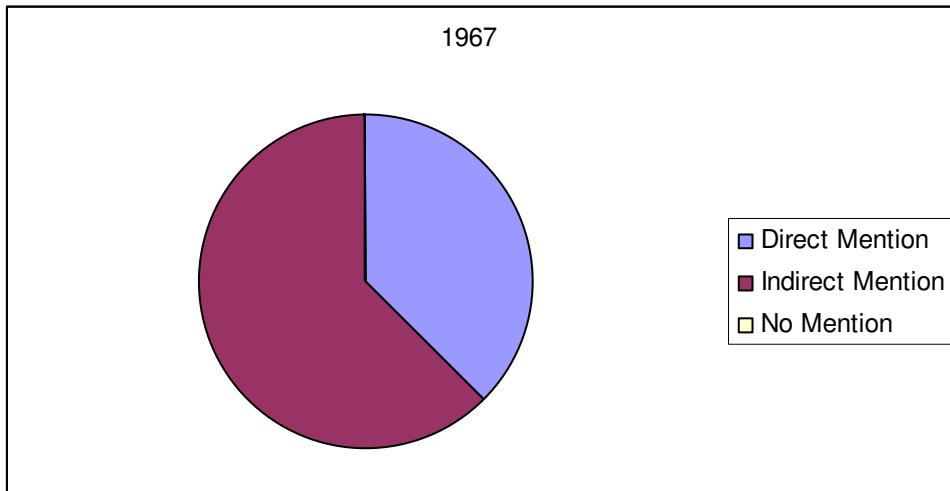
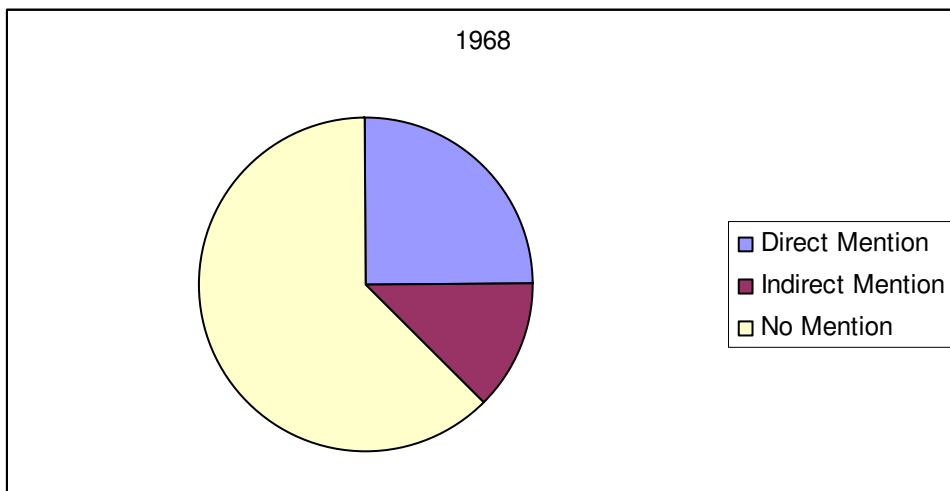


Figure 28: A pictorial representation of ESEA mentions in *Educational Leadership* articles in 1968

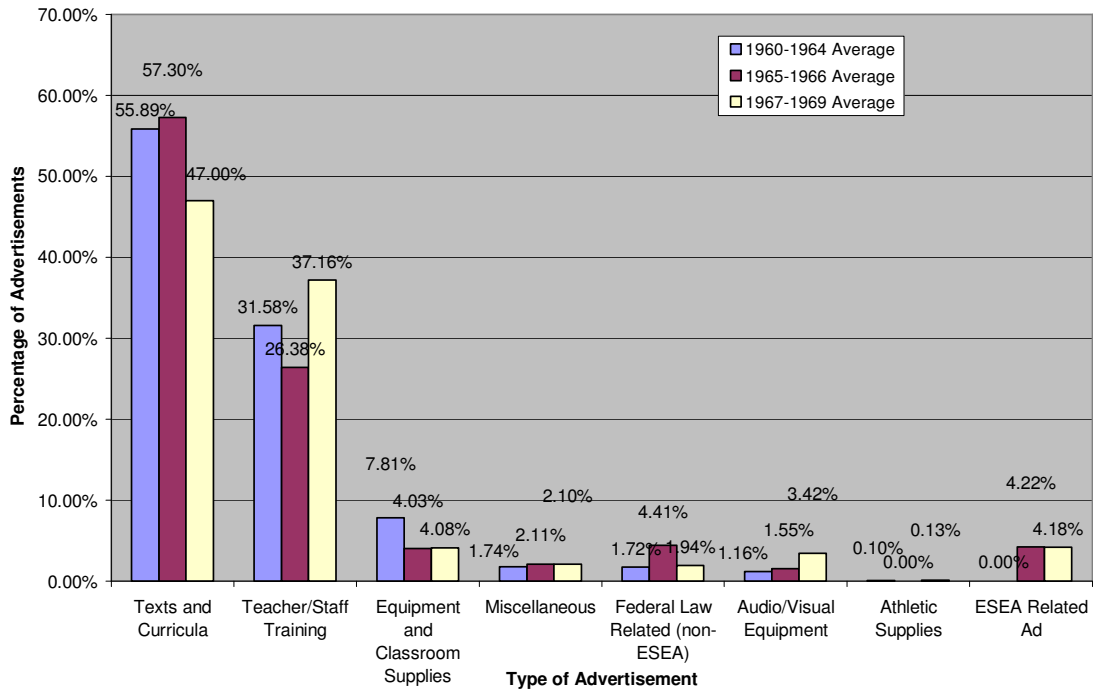


Advertisements

Advertisements in the 1967-1968 time period were not fairly similar to those in the previous time period. The percentage of advertisements devoted to Texts and Curricula fell about 10% (from 57.3% in 1965-1966 to 47% in 1967-1968), while those related to Teacher and Staff training rose by about the same amount (from 26.4% to 37.2%). With these exceptions, the categories of advertisements stayed within a few percentage points of the previous years. In this study's area of interest, that of

advertisements making mention of ESEA and other federal legislation as funding sources, interestingly enough those related to ESEA stayed constant from one time period to the other, but those advertisements mentioning other federal legislation (i.e., NDEA) as funding sources dropped from 4.4% in the 1965-1966 time period to just 1% in the 1967-1968 time period (see Figure 3).

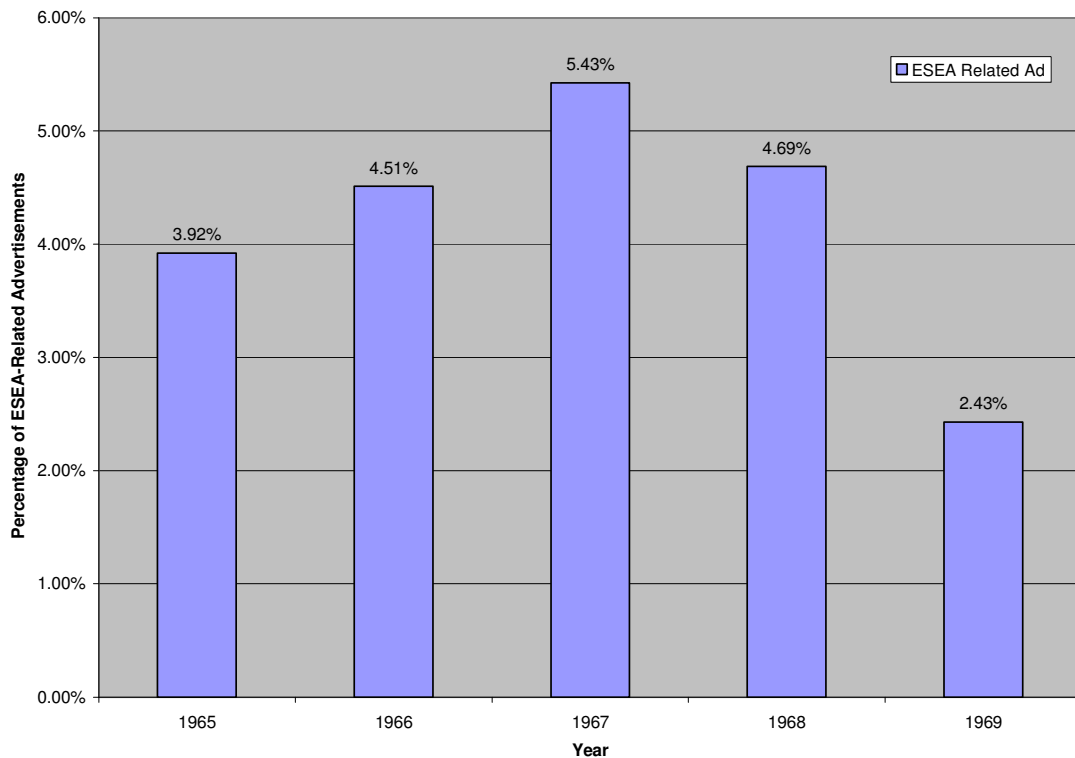
Figure 29: Educational Leadership Advertisements: 1960-1964, 1965-1966 and 1967-1968



At first glance, therefore, it appears that although advertisers were invoking non-ESEA-related legislation less frequently, they were citing ESEA as a funding source at the same rate as before. However, when one breaks down the numbers further, it becomes clear that this was not actually the case. Although the overall quantity of advertisements referencing ESEA as a funding source remained relatively constant when looking at the average in each time period, the percentages reported on an annual basis tell a different story. As Figure 4 shows, beginning in 1965, the year of ESEA's

enactment, the percentage of advertisements citing ESEA as a funding source increased until the peak year of 1967, after which the percentage decreased. Furthermore, although 1969 is outside of the scope of this research, the percentage of advertisements did continue to decrease in that year. The increase from 1965-1967 may indicate that the companies realized that their products could be funded with ESEA money and advertised them as such so as to make the best possible use of that funding stream. The decrease is harder to explain, as such products continued to be eligible for funding under ESEA, but I postulate that such funding had become so commonplace that advertisers may not have seen the need to waste valuable advertisement space on something that would have been obvious to the potential purchasers of the companies' products.

Figure 30: Educational Leadership ESEA Related Advertisements 1965-1969



Many of the advertisements that referenced ESEA were similar in tone and type to those described in the previous chapter. For example, an advertisement for *Highlights* magazine found in the March 1968 issue discussed the value of the product for students, and noted that the magazine could be funded via ESEA if it were included in a Title I or Title II project (see Figure 5).⁴⁶⁷ Another advertisement, for a phonics program called the “PhonoVisual Method” also cited ESEA as well as NDEA as a funding source (see Figure 6).

⁴⁶⁷ *Educational Leadership* Vol. 25, No. 6, March 1968, 578.

Figure 31: Advertisement with Reference to Federal Aid as a Funding Source

With this one magazine...

... keep pupils alert and receptive with creative thinking projects, games, pictures, poetry, puzzles and craft ideas. ... have an excellent supplement to classroom work, with a wide array of topics for pupils from beginners to 12-year-olds. ... add an easy-to-use reference source to every classroom library. ... provide material for every reading level with short, varied, well-written fiction and fact articles that appeal to the child in reading trouble, the reluctant reader and the advanced reader seeking a challenge.

■ Edited by nationally known authorities on education and child psychology ■ No coloring or cutout pages ■ No advertising ■ 9" x 11 1/4" ■ Sturdily bound in washable covers ■ Annual Resource/Index Issue enables you and your pupils to use HIGHLIGHTS

again and again for current topic reports and reports.

More than 30 HIGHLIGHTS Handwritten Teacher Aids now available as a classroom resource. Write for a FREE copy of our latest Teacher Aids Catalog.

As a teacher subscriber to HIGHLIGHTS you receive—FREE—HIGHLIGHTS PLUS Teacher Aids, the quarterly professional publication that translates current important educational topics into classroom practice.

Utilize HIGHLIGHTS for projects and Title I and II ESEA funds.

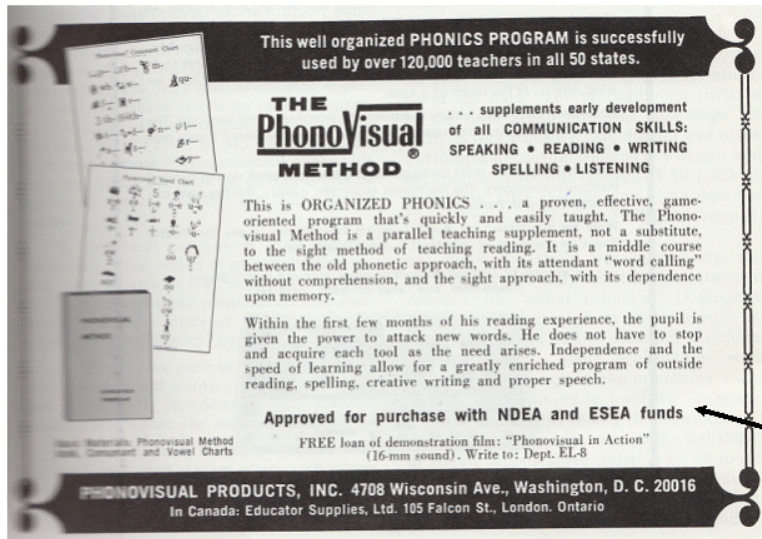
Reference to ESEA as a funding source.

Build rates, starting up to 40% off. We suggest a subscription for several years.

Highlights® for Children
2300 West Fifth Avenue/Columbus, Ohio 43216

578 Educational Resources

Figure 32: Advertisement with Reference to Federal Aid as a Funding Source



Reference to ESEA and NDEA as a funding source.

One advertisement, for products from the Follett publishing company, was slightly different. This advertisement also mentioned federal programs as a funding source, but the products it touted were aimed at “bring[ing] the slow learner into the educational mainstream” by providing basic skills programs. This approach can be seen as a variant on the advertisements more commonly seen in this time period and the previous one—like the others, it cites federal aid-to-education legislation as a funding source, but unlike them, it aimed its services at the “slow learner” population, many of whom were likely to be the same disadvantaged children ESEA was intended to help (see Figure 7).

Figure 33: Advertisement with Reference to Federal Aid as a Funding Source as well as mention of slow learners.

How do you bring the slow learner into the educational mainstream?


SPECIAL BASIC LEARNINGS PROGRAMS
Grades 7 through 12

Here are specialized Basic Learnings Programs that prove below-norm readers, under-achievers and slow learners are learners. These programs consist of special treatment materials structured to give the teacher a built-in methodology. The result? Assured daily success for the student. Success that builds confidence, improves reading skills and learning capacities, returns the student to the educational mainstream.

Follett Basic Learnings Programs and Social Contact Materials are available on two levels for grades 7 through 12. They include: World History □ American History □ Our Nation's History □ Turner-Livingston Reading Series □ Turner-Livingston Communication Series □ Vocational Reading Series.

All Follett Basic Learnings Programs Qualify For Federal Fund Proposals

Reference to Federal aid-to-education legislation funding.

 For detailed brochure, write Dept. D.M.

FOLLETT PUBLISHING COMPANY
1010 W. Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois 60607

In this time period, there was little qualitative difference in the advertisements that mentioned federal aid-to-education legislation as a funding source as compared to those in the previous time period. The only discernable difference was the one new advertisement from Follett, which was marketing programs designed specifically for the slow child, perhaps in response to focus on such children engendered by ESEA. The

bigger change was quantitative: as the years passed, the relatively small percentage of advertisements citing ESEA and other education legislation dwindled, until in 1969 they made up just 2.4% of all advertisements. This may reflect an assumption by companies that their readers were now aware that they could use such funding to purchase the products and therefore they did not need to waste valuable advertisement space on a now superfluous statement.

Discussion

In the 1967-1968 time period, *Educational Leadership* had fewer references to ESEA in both the articles and advertisements. In fact, in 1968, there were only two articles that made reference to ESEA, one in each of two issues, a much smaller percentage than in the 1965-1966 time period. On the one hand this is quite surprising—federal education aid had been accepted and would continue, at least for the foreseeable future, and yet there were fewer references to ESEA. On the other hand, this same familiarity may have paved the way for the reduction in articles and advertisements on the grounds that federal aid's continued existence meant that no debates were necessary about whether or not it should be implemented. Moreover, at this point, two years after its first implementation, administrators had a good idea of what they were able to do with such funding, and in many cases already had their plans in place for implementation and evaluation, and thus may have needed less advice.

School Management Magazine, *Articles and Advertisements: 1967-1968*

Articles

During the years 1967-1968, *School Management Magazine* also ran fewer articles devoted to federal aid-to-education legislation. Similar to *Educational Leadership*, issues in this time period can be classified into three groups: issues with no mention whatsoever of ESEA or other federal education legislation, issues whose only mention came in the monthly “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” column, and issues which contained at least one article referencing ESEA or other federal aid-to-education legislation in addition to “Facts & Hints.” The vast majority of issues (75%) fell in the middle category, those that made reference to ESEA and/or other federal aid-to-education legislation, but only in the context of the monthly “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” column. The rest of the issues were split evenly between those that made no reference whatsoever to federal education aid and those that contained at least one article in addition to the “Facts & Hints” column.

Three issues made no reference to federal education legislation, and did not contain the usually monthly “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” column. These occurred in the middle of the two year period, in September 1967, October 1967 and again in February 1968. The issues gave no explanation for the lack of at least a “Facts & Hints” column, but these issues were sandwiched around the only three issues that, unlike typical “Facts & Hints” columns that gave no authorial credit, gave credit to a specific author for the column (Theodor Schuchat, a freelance writer who frequently wrote on

topics related to education).⁴⁶⁸

One of these issues, in October 1967, did have an article that made a passing reference to ESEA, although I include it in this group as it was one extremely brief mention embedded in a larger article. The article, Townsend Hopper's "How to Get More Books for Your Libraries," discussed ways to increase the size of school libraries, including gifts from private individuals, donations from groups such as Rotary Clubs or other service clubs, book drives, library exchanges with other libraries, book fares and free surplus books from the Library of Congress. Embedded in this list was a suggestion that school administrators could use Titles I and II of ESEA and Title III of NDEA to fund library purchases as well.⁴⁶⁹ This mention of ESEA, therefore, was in passing, rather than a substantive discussion of ESEA in any way.

A small group of issues in this time period (12.5%) referenced ESEA in both the "Facts & Hints" column and in at least one other article. These issues occurred early in the time period, in the January 1967, February 1967 and August 1967 issues. In the January 1967 issue, the "Facts & Hints" column discussed Title I funding, and told

⁴⁶⁸ Some of Schuchat's publications included:

- Schuchat, Theodor, "Lined Up: The 'Official' and 'Critical' Views on the Federal Government's Latest Plan for Public Education" *American School Board Journal*, Vol. 161, No. 8, August 1974, 43-44.
- Schuchat, Theodor, "Quality Education AND the Money to Pay For It – We Want Both, Boardmen Are Insisting" *American School Board Journal*, Vol. 159, No. 11, May 1972, 37-39.
- Schuchat, Theodor, "The Vocational Education Amendments of 1968" *School Shop*, Vol. 28, No. 5, January 1969, 25-27.
- Council for Exceptional Children, *Conference on Creative Use of Federal Legislation for Exceptional Children*. Theodor Schuchat (ed.). Washington, D.C.: Council for Exceptional Children, National Education Association, 1965

Although I cannot prove or disprove this conjecture, I postulate that the lack of columns may have been related to the journal hiring and subsequently either firing or ceasing to give Schuchat credit for the column. At no other time before or after the November 1967, December 1967 and January 1968 issues was an author given credit for the "Facts & Hints" column. The absence of columns in the issues surrounding these few issues that give authorial credit for "Facts & Hints" led me to believe that there may be a connection between that credit and the issues lacking the column.

⁴⁶⁹ Townsend Hopper "How to Get More Books for Your Libraries" *School Management Magazine* Vol. 11, No. 10, October 1967, 117-120; 124-125.

readers that funds would be released on a county-by-county basis; localities should “use caution in spending money before you have it.” Furthermore, the column noted, the late date of the Congressional approval of the ESEA Amendments of 1966 would mean that there would not be additional appropriations to cover the expanded definitions of poverty that had increased the low-income qualification factor from \$2000 to \$3000, including more children under the ESEA umbrella: “It now appears that existing appropriations will be sufficient to cover almost 75% of the maximum grants, on the average – but no more.”⁴⁷⁰ In addition to the discussion of Title I funding, the column also described difficulties in local-state cooperation, noting that “[t]here is substantial evidence to indicate that some state agencies aren’t disseminating information to local school officials.” The column urged local school administrators to first contact the state agency for Title I information, but suggested that “[i]f, however, cooperation is lacking [at the state level]– copies of such inquiries can be sent to the Division of Compensatory Education in Washington.”⁴⁷¹ This column not only provided the more typical factual information regarding ESEA but also gave administrators a mechanism to circumvent their state department if it was not providing the help that the local district needed.

In addition to “Facts & Hints,” the January 1967 issue had one other article that referenced ESEA. The article, which was embedded in the “Annual Cost of Education Index 1966-1967” section, was entitled “Federal Aid: Can You Be Bought for \$8 Per Pupil?” The article, which noted that federal education spending made up less than 2% of most districts’ budgets, argued that federal spending, even on a scale as large and widespread as that of ESEA was not enough to result in federal control of education:

⁴⁷⁰ “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine* Vol. 11, No. 1, January 1967, 75; see Chapter 3 for a discussion of the 1966 ESEA Amendments.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 75.

“What it really boils down to is this: Any school district that can be bought—or ‘controlled’—for \$8 per pupil, is in pretty bad shape in the first place.”⁴⁷² Interestingly enough, the article was returning to the arguments advanced during the fight to enact ESEA—federal funding leading to federal control—but dismissed them as unworthy of notice.

The February 1967 issue also contained both a “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” and an additional article that discussed ESEA. In the “Facts & Hints” column, editors reported that the USOE had announced a small grants program, which would enable smaller districts to become involved in Title II projects. In addition, the column told administrators that the ESEA Amendments of 1966 required the creation of a Bureau for the Education of the Handicapped at USOE whose first responsibility would be to evaluate plans for implementing Title VI. However, the column warned, “[b]e cautious until state plans have been approved and announced” as Title VI’s wording did not mandate states to distribute funds to the local school districts; at the states’ discretion all funds could be kept at the state level.⁴⁷³ The other article, “Public School Vs. Parochial: Is Consolidation the Answer?” presented an answer to the quandary faced by many school administrators who were faced with serving all disadvantaged children, in both public and private schools, without falling afoul of the Constitutional requirement for the separation of church and state. The article reported on a solution being tried by a school district in Swanton, Vermont, which was in the process of building a school that would offer vocational, academic and parochial instruction in the same building to students who had previously attending separate public and private schools. The article noted that the

⁴⁷² “Federal Aid: Can You Be Bought for \$8 Per Pupil?” *School Management Magazine* Vol. 11, No. 1, January 1967, 130-131.

⁴⁷³ “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine* Vol. 11, No. 2, February 1967, 49-50.

project had been awarded a planning grant from Title III, although the school was “not yet a done deal”—there was still a need to find staffing for both the public and parochial departments as well as funding for building the whole school. The article concluded that “there still remains nascent resistance to the whole public-parochial idea” and that although promoters were calling it an “ecumenical and elective program” critics were questioning how ecumenical such a program could be in a community that was 70% Catholic. The inclusion of this article indicated that although the politicians may have considered the church-state issue resolved by their assignment of funds to children rather than to schools, administrators were still grappling with ways in which to implement such a plan.⁴⁷⁴

The third and final issue of *School Management Magazine* that contained an additional ESEA-related article in addition to the monthly “Facts & Hints” column was published in August 1967. “Facts & Hints” reported on a continuation of the *Higher Education Act* that would extend the National Teacher Corps, announced that funding from the Office of Economic Opportunity would be available to fund anti-narcotics programs, and that the ESEA amendments would be “late again this year.” The column also noted some indications of changes in ESEA to come: although Congress had changed the poverty level to \$3000, funding levels would likely stay constant as Congress had not appropriated enough money to cover the additional children included by the new definition of poverty; Congress had also removed the word “seriously” from its definition of emotionally handicapped children that made them eligible for funding, putting the responsibility for classification on states; and that state agencies would have

⁴⁷⁴ “Public School Vs. Parochial: Is Consolidation the Answer?” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 2, February 1967, 85-91; see Chapter 2 for a thorough discussion on the political debates surrounding the church-state issue in ESEA’s enactment.

the right to reject Title III proposals rather than only being able to recommend disapproval as in previous years.⁴⁷⁵ This month's "Facts & Hints" provided information on ESEA, although that information was focused on the debate and actions of Congress as ESEA neared renewal.

The one ESEA-related article in this issue was entitled "Can You Afford to Take That Government Grant?" In this article, the editors of *School Management Magazine* offered caution about taking federal grants, stating that districts should consider carefully before taking a government grant that in the future might be more of a liability than an asset. The article gave school district administrators a 12-step checklist to use in making the decision as to whether or not to implement a program using federal grant money, including: whether the program would serve a useful educational purpose in the district; whether the funds would be used in a manner consistent with the board's usual objectives; if the program could be easily explained to both the faculty and the community; if the district or school is willing to continue and expand the program if it is successful; if the proposal would duplicate, conflict with or detract from any existing programs; if additional personnel and/or facilities are required, and, if so, would be funded through the grant; and, finally, if the program could be ended easily in the future absence of federal funding.⁴⁷⁶ This article is one of few that made a case that administrators should be careful in their acceptance of federal funding; its presence may have indicated that editors realized federal funding could be a mixed blessing, especially

⁴⁷⁵ "Facts & Hints on Federal Aid" *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 8, August 1967, 69-70.

⁴⁷⁶ "Can You Afford to Take That Government Grant?" *School Management Magazine* Vol. 11, No. 8, August 1967, 38.

as the political structure was changing, and Johnson was beginning to ask for less funding for domestic programs as needs in Vietnam increased.⁴⁷⁷

The majority of issues in this time period (75%) made mention of federal aid-to-education legislation, but did so exclusively in the “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” column, with no mention in any other article or column. Of these issues, the majority (65%) discussed something that related to ESEA in some way; the remainder discussed other federal happenings or federal aid-to-education legislation. For the most part, the issues that addressed ESEA itself occurred earlier in the two year period, with those addressing other issues coming later in the time period, although there was some overlap.

The March 1967 issue was the first in this time period to limit ESEA references to the “Facts & Hints” column. The column, one page long instead of the more usual two, reported on Johnson’s annual Message on Education and Welfare, in which he requested \$135 million for programs designed to build on Project Head Start in the first three grades, noting that this program would be related to Title I of ESEA and would work with the primary school curriculum. In addition, the column noted that supplementary appropriations would be needed to fully fund some programs including the *Adult Education Act* (a part of the ESEA amendments of 1966) and Title III of NDEA.⁴⁷⁸

The April and May 1967 issues of *School Management Magazine* also fit into this category of issues whose sole mention of ESEA occurred in the “Facts & Hints” column. Both of these columns discussed difficulties faced by administrators due to funding levels that were less than the amount originally appropriated by Congress. In the April 1967

⁴⁷⁷ See Chapter 3 for a discussion of Johnson’s funding requests in 1967 and 1968 and Congress’ response to those requests.

⁴⁷⁸ “Fact & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 3, March 1967, 77.

issue, “Facts & Hints” reported that Johnson was asking that Congress act now (in 1967) on the education items on its agenda, rather than waiting until 1968. The column noted that in 1967 Title I was funded at a much lesser rate than was authorized, and advocated that readers write their Congressmen to preclude the same thing from happening in 1968.⁴⁷⁹ In the May 1967, the only mention of ESEA was in the context of advising administrators to plan projects carefully as funding might not be available at the rate expected. “The amount of federal aid for Title I projects next year is impossible to estimate,” cautioned the column, and suggested that administrators base their projections on a little less than half of the funds for which their district or school would be eligible based upon the poverty formula. “This is a terrible way to plan a program,” noted the columnist, “[b]ut it’s the only safe way.”⁴⁸⁰

The July 1967 issue also mentioned ESEA solely in the context of the “Facts & Hints” column, but this mention was different from the previous references to funding. In this case, the column discussed the content of the ESEA-funded programs themselves, citing John F. Hughes, the Director of USOE’s Division of Compensatory Education, who said that as of yet projects had been too scattershot and one-shot; he felt that states and localities needed to push for innovative approaches. Furthermore, Hughes advocated that states and school districts scale up and help other districts with projects that had proven successful in their districts, although he provided no real advice on how to do this.⁴⁸¹

The next issue that fit into this category appeared in the November 1967 issue. For the first time, The “Facts & Hints” column was attributed to an author, Theodor

⁴⁷⁹ “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 4, April 1967, 59-60.

⁴⁸⁰ “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 5, May 1967, 49.

⁴⁸¹ “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 7, July 1967, 25.

Schuchat, a freelance education writer.⁴⁸² This column reports that Johnson’s mandate for budgetary reductions would include education – the only exceptions would be for national defense and health and welfare expenditures. These reductions included restrictions on reallocation of unused funds unless so required by law (which ESEA did not). Schuchat noted that Title III of ESEA, which provided grants to supplementary education centers, in particular would come under fire, as would any requests including construction, and thus the author recommended that readers plan projects very carefully to avoid these pitfalls.⁴⁸³

The December 1967 column, also attributed to Theodor Schuchat, reported on the passage of the USOE appropriations bill for fiscal year 1968, which was approved at 97% of the amount that Johnson had requested. Although this amount actually represented a reduction of \$21.5 million in the amount appropriated the previous year, Schuchat reported that Education Commissioner Harold Howe II “expressed satisfaction with the money measure.” Although the column made no reference to ESEA by name, it reported that funding for “Elementary and Secondary Education Activities,” a clear reference to ESEA, had actually increased, from \$1.46 billion in fiscal 1967 to \$1.68 billion in fiscal 1968; the cuts had occurred in other programs.⁴⁸⁴

The January 1968 “Facts & Hints” column, the last to be credited to Theodor Schuchat, reported on new legislation which mandated that every federal agency cut personnel costs by 2%, including travel. This measure meant that USOE employees would not be able to visit state departments of education or local school districts, a hardship

⁴⁸² See above for examples of Schuchat other work.

⁴⁸³ Schuchat, Theodor “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 11, November 1967, 19-20.

⁴⁸⁴ Schuchat, Theodor “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 12, December 1967, 17-18.

in the time before electronic communication or even inexpensive long distance telephone service. Prior to this restriction, such visits had been a mechanism for state and local education authorities to ask questions pertinent to their own specific issues and concerns, rather than the more general information that the USOE sent to all states and localities. Furthermore, in the course of the floor fight to get the ESEA amendments of 1967 passed, HEW agreed that it would not withdraw funds during a school year for a lack of progress in desegregation. Instead, funds would be withdrawn on a new timetable: by March a district with possible noncompliance would receive a letter; it would then have six months to either convince HEW there was no problem or to fix the problem. If districts were to lose funds they would have to know by the first of September. HEW would only be permitted to take action during the school year if a district were proven to be actively interfering with a free choice plan, denying students the right to participate in programs or use facilities, not complying with written commitments to HEW or refusing to supply or supplying false data.⁴⁸⁵ Finally, the column informed administrators that states were now permitted to submit one comprehensive plan for federal funding rather than myriad smaller plans for federal aid; the USOE would then advise states as to which portions could be funded by the USOE or by other federal agencies.⁴⁸⁶

March 1968 was the next issue to only mention ESEA in the context of the “Facts & Hints” column. In this issue, which reverted to the earlier practice of not attributing the column to any one author, the columnist reiterated the Congressional mandate for a 2% cut in personnel spending first reported in January 1968. In addition, program spending would be reduced by 10%. These reductions included funding for ESEA Title

⁴⁸⁵ See Chapter 3 for more information on this aspect of the 1967 reauthorization debates.

⁴⁸⁶ “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 12, No. 1, January 1968, 17

III's supplementary education centers and library resources as well as programs funded through Title VI of ESEA. On the other hand, reported the column, funding for Title I of ESEA would actually be increased, as would funding for training that would aid teachers, schools and school districts in their desegregation efforts. The funding section of is column concluded that the new budget requested that Congress authorize advanced funding for Title I; "If Congress agrees," reported the columnist, "you [school administrators] will know your Title I allocation a full year in advance." The second section of the "Facts & Hints" column described new programs that would be funded by ESEA as part of the reauthorizations: programs for handicapped children, especially in terms of resource centers that were to be established, model centers for deaf-blind children, programs for bilingual children, dropout prevention and aid to rural schools.⁴⁸⁷

The next issue whose only mention of ESEA occurred in the "Facts & Hints" column was not published until May 1968. The column reported a change in funding for disadvantaged schools, stating that "[t]he U.S. Office of Education is putting down its fiscal shotgun and loading a rifle to shoot more federal funds into ghetto schools." In this new program, the USOE invited pilot proposals from 28 big-city superintendents; from these pilot projects 10-15 programs would be funded; examples of possible projects were a preschool programs starting at age 2, dropout prevention efforts or vocational education. The column projected that these new inner-city programs would add \$300 per year to per-pupil expenditures in those areas. Finally, the column reported new priorities for desegregation enforcement, which, under a recent amendment requiring enforcement in all states, would be extended northern and western school districts. Furthermore, the

⁴⁸⁷ "Facts & Hints on Federal Aid" *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 12, No. 3, March 1968, 97-99.

column warned administrators, districts which had shown indications of segregation on the previous year's USOE survey would be checked first.⁴⁸⁸

The next two months' issues, June and July 1968, also had their only mention of ESEA in the "Facts & Hints" column. In June, the column reported that federal aid to education would be cut but what those cuts would be exactly was still unknown. The column did report that construction projects were likely to be affected but that "programs directly aiding people" such as inservice teacher training or college fellowships would most likely remain intact. Furthermore, the USOE would ask congress for \$1.2 billion for ESEA's Title I funding in the coming year, the exact same amount requested for the current year. Finally, the column reported on the "Poor People's March on Washington" in which marchers demanded that segregated school systems be done away with a year earlier than mandated. In addition, marchers wanted Washington to require that states and localities make data on per pupil expenditures, dropout rates and reading levels available to the public.⁴⁸⁹ July's "Facts & Hints" followed up on that story, noting that the USOE's newly released criteria for approval of Title I projects required that states involve private schools, parents, community spokesmen and other agencies serving low-income families as well as considering the needs of children of all ages, from preschool through secondary school, dropouts, children in institutions, handicapped children and non-English speaking children. Furthermore, the column stated, the USOE would hire ombudsmen for the poor, and local districts would be required to make their Title I evaluation reports public.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁸ "Facts & Hints on Federal Aid" *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 12, No. 5, May 1968, 29-30.

⁴⁸⁹ "Facts & Hints on Federal Aid" *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 12, No. 6, June 1968, 29-30.

⁴⁹⁰ "Facts & Hints on Federal Aid" *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 12, No. 7, July 1968, 13-14.

The final two issues in the time period that fit into this category of issues whose only reference to ESEA occurred in the “Facts & Hints” columns were published in September and October 1968. For the most part, both columns focused on funding; September’s column reported differences between the House and Senate in educational funding (the Senate provided \$50 million more than the House, although this was still \$68 million less than in the previous year). The column noted that should the conference report agree on the lesser number, the funding would be cut from Titles II and III of ESEA.⁴⁹¹ October’s column also reported on the funding situation for ESEA and other federal aid-to-education legislation, but in a way that most likely brought relief to the administrators reading it. The column reported that ““It now appears that the U.S. Budget Bureau’s widely-heralded reductions in the fiscal year 1969 budget will not cut as deeply into federal education funds as had been feared.” Instead, the column continued, higher education construction and research programs would bear the brunt of spending controls. Additionally, the column reported that USOE Commissioner Harold Howe II planned to reverse the decentralization of USOE’s work with Titles I, II and III of ESEA and Titles III and V-A of NDEA that had occurred during John Gardner’s tenure in the wake of the Senate’s expressed displeasure at that decentralization; following that announcement the Senate restored a \$2 million cut in the USOE’s payroll that had been previously made by the Appropriations Committee. Finally, the column made a brief mention of the impending presidential election, announcing that Richard Nixon had made anti-busing comments to GOP members in the South, and that Hubert Humphrey on the other hand was proposing a series of elements to his education plan: higher teacher salaries, year-round use of school facilities, preferential treatment for children who have

⁴⁹¹ “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 12, No. 9, September 1968, 9-10.

difficulty in school for any reason (widening “disadvantaged” to include all struggling children, not just those from families with lower incomes), stronger efforts in dropout prevention, new curricula for non-college bound students, and greater participation for students in decision-making.⁴⁹²

The final category of issues were those with no articles referencing ESEA nor any direct references to ESEA in the “Facts & Hints” column. The June 1967 issue was the first to fit into this category. In this issue, “Facts & Hints,” which was only a page instead of the more typical two pages, suggested that administrators coordinate a variety of grants to fund large projects and programs rather than funding each individually through one grant; therefore, if funding in any one area should be reduced or cut off completely, their programs would not have to be canceled. The column also addressed joint funding for vocational education programs.⁴⁹³

It was not until April 1968 that there was another “Facts & Hints” column which made no reference to ESEA. Instead, the column provided readers with information about how to apply for inservice training funds under the newly authorized *Education Professions Development Act of 1967*. The column gave “detailed tips” on the new program, including the fact that planning grants were available, that independence was a necessary element of any proposal and that the USOE was looking especially for both inventive approaches and for projects that coordinated use of money from various federal, state, local and private sources. Finally, the column announced that new legislation would divide the Teacher Corps proportionally among states on the basis of the total combined enrollment of public and private school students and that school

⁴⁹² “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 12, No. 10, October 1968, 13-14.

⁴⁹³ “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine* Vol.11, No. 6, June 1967, 26.

assignments would be made on the basis of the percentage of children living below the poverty line.⁴⁹⁴ This column made no mention of ESEA whatsoever, although it did reference poverty in its reportage of new requirements for the Teacher Corps.

The August 1968 issue also made no reference to ESEA. The “Facts & Hints” column was different than those in previous years in that it focused on one topic only: funding. The column explained to readers that Congress had indicated that appropriations in every area would be \$10 billion less than Johnson’s request, and that although it was not yet clear if school-aid funding would be impacted, more “belt-tightening” was to come and might have repercussions on school funding in the future.⁴⁹⁵ The “Facts & Hints” column in the November 1968 issue was a follow-up on the August 1968 column, reporting that Congress had exempted the USOE from any spending cuts; the entire USOE appropriation of \$4.7 billion was excused from the Congressional mandate to reduce federal spending by \$6 billion. The rest of the column provided details about exactly how various federal aid-to-education legislation would be funded, including specific mentions of NDEA and vocational education and general references to “education appropriations.” There was one reference to programs funded for elementary and secondary education programs, noting that Congress had voted \$201 million less than in the previous year but had also appropriated \$1 billion in advance for 1970. This most likely was a reference to ESEA, but the wording of the column was unclear on whether this was actually so.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹⁴ “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine* Vol. 12, No. 4, April 1968, 41-42.

⁴⁹⁵ “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 12, No. 8, August 1968, 49-50.

⁴⁹⁶ “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 12, No. 11, November 1968, 11-12.

The final “Facts & Hints” column in this time period, in December 1968, was published after Richard Nixon’s victory in the election which had occurred one month previously. The first half of the column, therefore, was devoted to reporting the President-elect’s positions on and plans for education in the coming years, including indications that he wanted to reshape federal-state-local fiscal relationships, favored bloc grants over formula grants to enable localities more freedom to determine their own priorities (although the column did note that final plans must contain provisions to ensure that all localities, especially cities, receive a fair share), and would allow increased federal income tax credits for taxes paid at local and state levels to enable state and local governments to finance their own educational activities. The second half of the column reported that Commissioner of Education Harold Howe II had retired, and listed projects that Nixon had stated would be the province of the new commissioner: creating a “National Institute for the Education Future” that would serve as a clearing house for ideas in elementary and secondary education and a National Teacher Corps to send college and high school students to tutor in “core-city schools,” maintaining and expanding preschool programs such as Head Start, a return to the Republican emphasis on preschool that was emphasized in the initial enactment of ESEA in 1965, encouraging diversity and the inclusion of non-public school children, and forming community resource units to provide advice and experience.⁴⁹⁷ This column, therefore, serves as a marker of transition, allowing the reader to see at least some of the changes that were likely to occur with the inauguration of the new president. However, the editors of *School Management* indicated that they were not overly positive about this change,

⁴⁹⁷ “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 12, No. 12, December 1968, 9-10; see Chapter 2 for a discussion of the failed Republican attempt to include preschool in the ESEA legislation in 1965.

warning that as the Republicans did not “gain significant strength in Congress,” Nixon might not be able to get his own legislation passed and implemented. Furthermore, the editors were not particularly respectful of Nixon’s education agenda, calling his proposals “warmed-over” and noting that Congress was likely to call for more than the administration would be willing to provide, and cautioned that a “cold war” between Congress and the president could “create a major hang-up over fund appropriations.”⁴⁹⁸

In 1967 and 1968, the content of *School Management Magazine* as it related to the *Elementary and Secondary Act* changed from that in the previous time period. Quantitatively, there were many fewer articles on federal funding outside of the monthly “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid;” in fact, during this time period there were only three articles on the topic at all. In contrast to the articles in the previous time period, these articles did not explore the nuts and bolts of ESEA implementation. Instead, they talked about three different topics. The first of these articles revisited the idea of federal control, arguing persuasively that the small amount of funding provided by the federal government was not enough to lead to federal control. The second provided an example of a school district’s mechanism for complying with Title I’s mandate to serve disadvantaged students regardless of their attendance at public, private or parochial schools by building a new school that could serve all students. The third article encouraged readers to think carefully before taking federal dollars; they should assure that programs funded by federal money would be considered necessary without such funding, and that they could be ended easily should such funding disappear or lessen in the future.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

Most issues in this time period continued to have a “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” column, with the exception of three issues.⁴⁹⁹ Two-thirds of the “Facts & Hints” columns made reference to ESEA in some form or another. In many instances this reference was to developments in Congress that would impact ESEA, especially in terms of funding, but also included advice on applications, implementation, evaluation and deadlines. One-third of the “Facts & Hints” columns discussed topics other than ESEA.

Interestingly, although one cannot categorize these issues exactly chronologically, the issues with ESEA-related articles in addition to “Facts & Hints” were all published in 1967. Furthermore, none of the issues with no reference to ESEA whatsoever occurred until June 1967. In the latter half of 1967 and 1968, however, ten of the issues made no reference to ESEA. As Figures 8 and 9 indicate, therefore, the percentage of ESEA-related articles and columns decreased from 1967 to 1968.

⁴⁹⁹ There was no explanation given for the missing columns, although, as postulated above, it is possible that such absence somehow connected to the citation of Theodor Schuchat as the author of the columns that were surrounded by the issues lacking “Facts & Hints.”

Figure 34: A pictorial representation of ESEA references in *School Management Magazine* Articles in 1967.

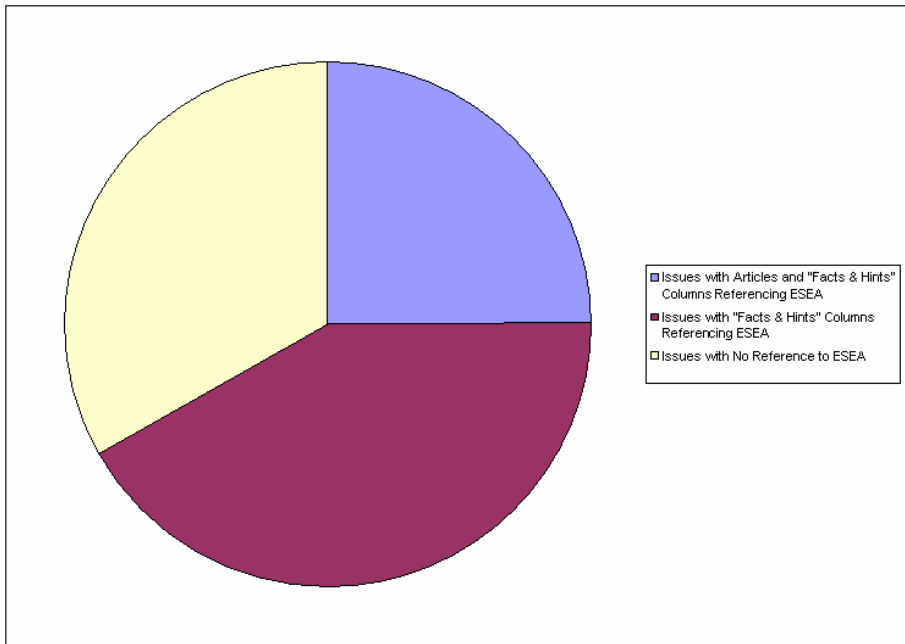
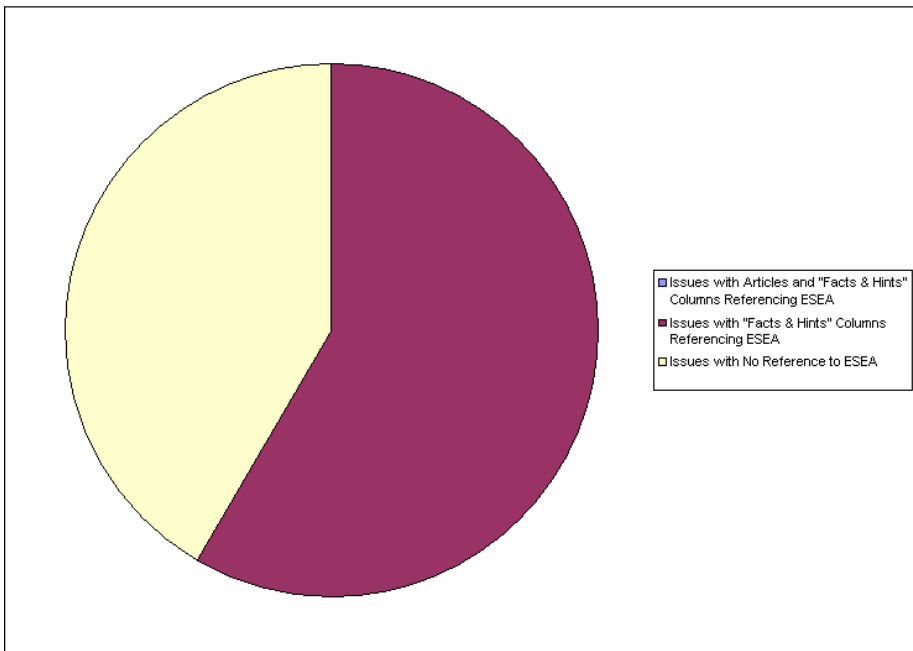


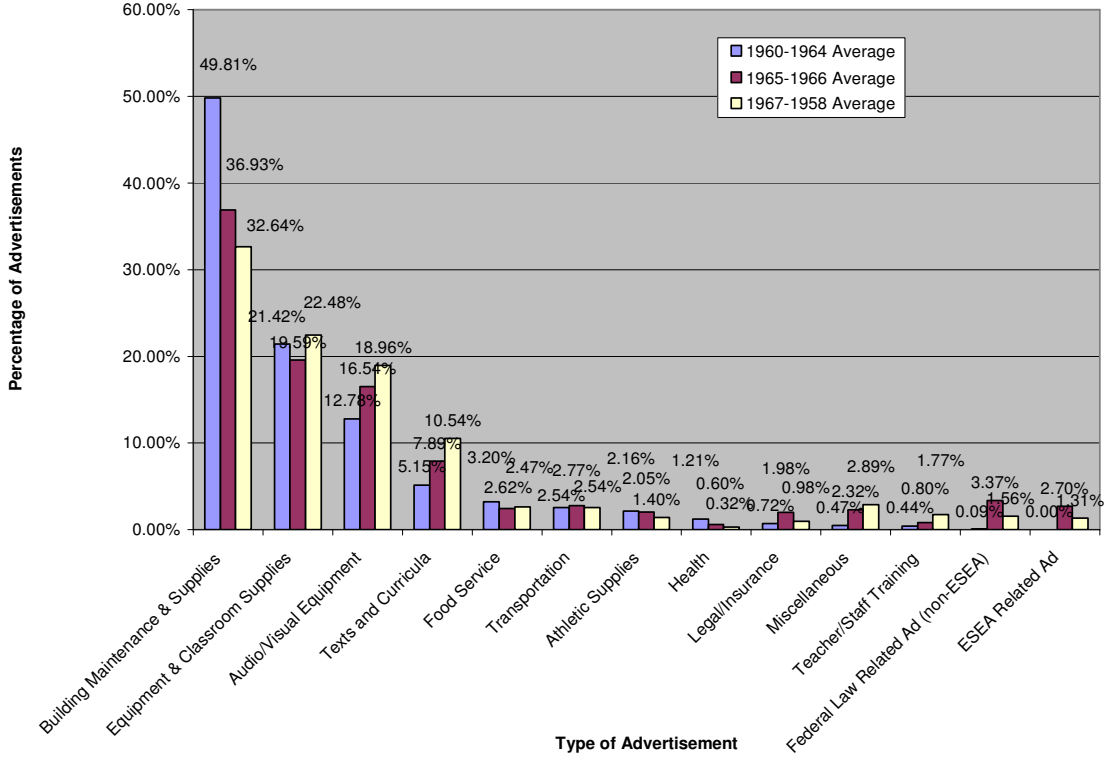
Figure 35: A pictorial representation of ESEA references in *School Management Magazine* Articles in 1968



Advertisements

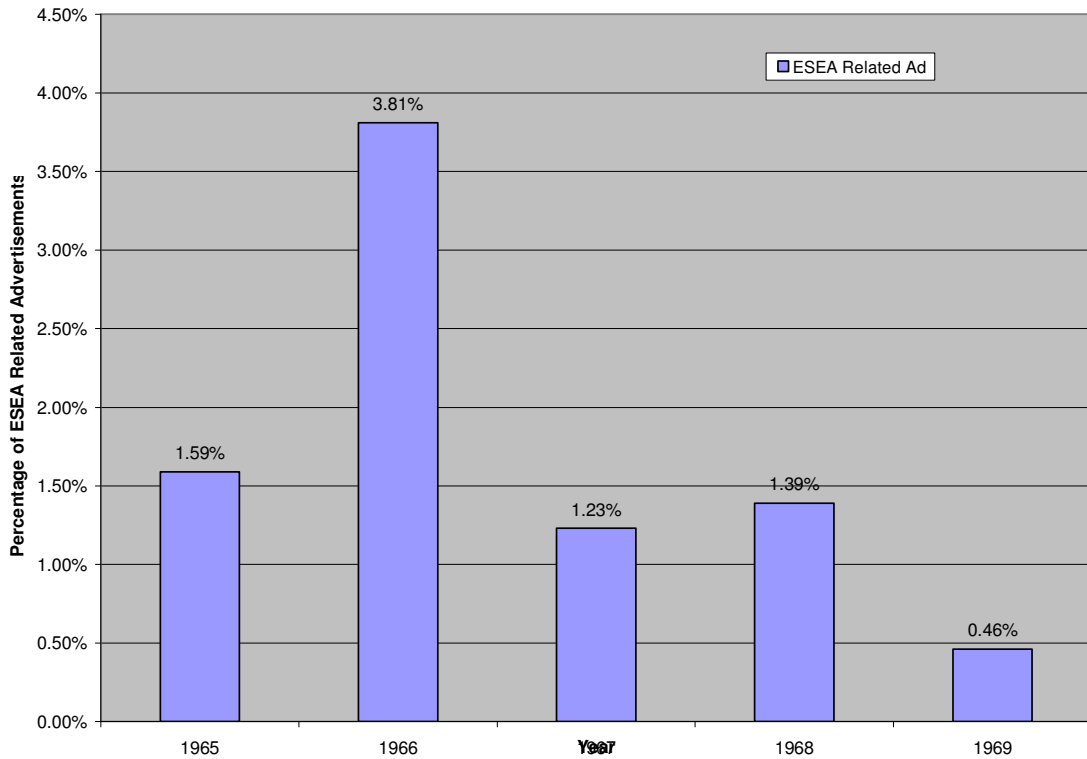
There were some changes in advertisements from the previous time period to this one. The percentage of advertisements devoted to building maintenance and supplies, although still the largest category overall, decreased from 36.9% to 32.6%, and those advertising equipment and classroom supplies, audio/visual equipment and texts and curricula each increased by about 2% (from 20% to 22.5%, 16.5% to 18% and 7.9% to 10.5%, respectively). In our area of interest, advertisements referencing any type of federal aid-to-education legislation, in this time period, the percentage of advertisements referencing any type of federal decreased (from 6.1% in the 1965-1966 time period to 2.9% in the 1967-1968 time period), unlike the advertisements in *Educational Leadership*, which, overall stayed constant. Advertisements that made specific reference to ESEA also decreased, from 2.7% in the 1965-1966 time period to 1.3% in the subsequent time period (see Figure 10).

Figure 36: School Management Magazine Advertisements, 1960-1964, 1965-1966 and 1967-1968



When broken down annually, however, *School Management Magazine*'s advertisements referencing ESEA followed the same pattern as those in *Educational Leadership*: with a rise in 1965, a peak in 1966 and a decrease in 1967, 1968 and 1969 (although unlike *Educational Leadership*, 1968 did have a slight upwards bump) (see Figure 11). As in the *Educational Leadership* section, I postulate that this decrease occurred as advertisers realized that their readers were well aware of federal money as a funding source for their products and were thus reluctant to use valuable advertising space on it.

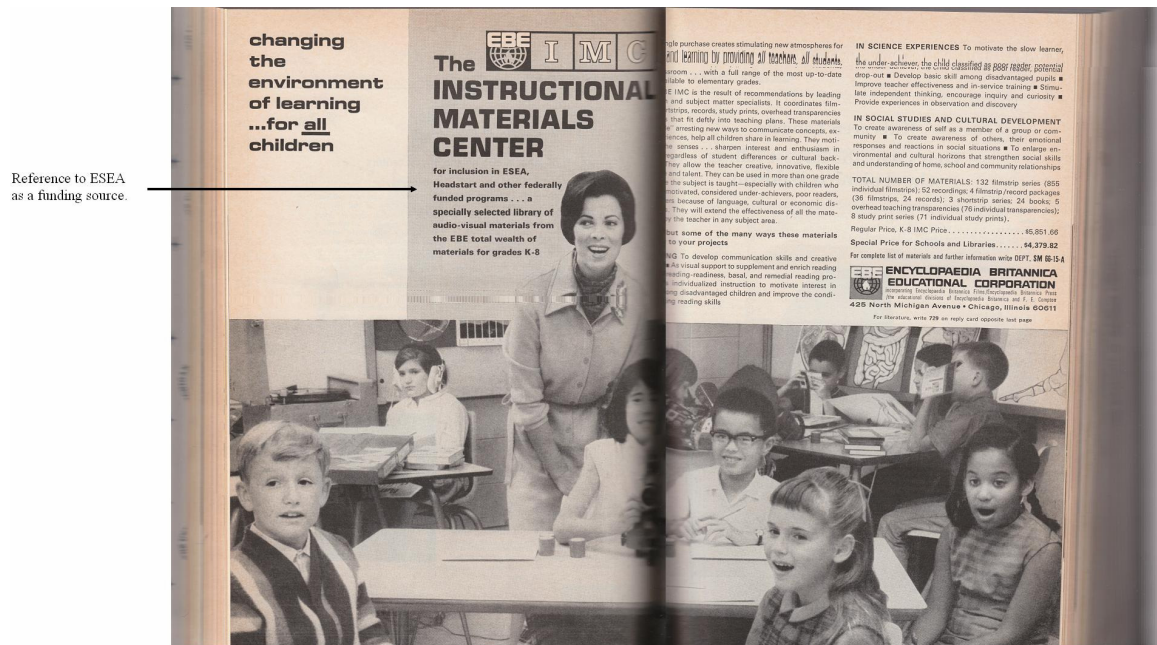
Figure 37: School Management Magazine ESEA Related Advertisements 1965-1969



The advertisements that did reference federal education law followed the same pattern as in years past and could again be divided into three categories. The first were those that advertised their product but added that it could be purchased with federal funding. For example, the advertisement for the Encyclopedia Britannica Educational Corporation’s Instructional Materials Center stated that it could be purchased as part of a school or school district’s “ESEA, Headstart and other federally funded programs” (see Figure 12).⁵⁰⁰

⁵⁰⁰ *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 2, February 1967, 26-27.

Figure 38: Advertisement with Reference to Federal Aid as a Funding Source



Reference to ESEA as a funding source.

The second group of products, such as Gerstenslager’s mobile classrooms, offered assistance to school administrators in planning to use their products in a way that would be most useful to the school. In this case, the product was an expansion to the school building that could be used for classrooms, reading laboratories, bookmobiles or many other school functions. In the advertisement, the company offered its assistance in planning to use its products in a way that would be tailored to the school’s specific needs, and then stated that such usage could be funded with federal and state assistance (see figure 13).⁵⁰¹ Another example of this type of advertisement was produced by SRA, and offered school administrators assistance in figuring out what the various federal aid-to-education legislation might mean to them, as well as ways in which to use its products to fulfill those provisions (see figure 14)⁵⁰²

⁵⁰¹ *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 9, September 1967, 152.

⁵⁰² *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 2, February 1967, 61.

Figure 39: Advertisement with Reference to Federal Aid as a Funding Source

Put your Program on wheels...

CLASSROOM EXPANSION AT LOW COST!



Branford, Conn., elementary school officials solved space and cost problems by putting their remedial reading program on wheels. Approximately 150 pupils utilize the vehicle's self-contained audiovisual and instructional programs. 2400 more make use of the vehicle for library purposes. Result: Valuable classroom space saved... more efficiency of teachers' and librarians' time... duplication of expensive materials and equipment eliminated.

Gerstenslager will help you plan your own tailored mobile educational program. Federal and state funds are available!

GERSTENSLAGER
DESIGNS
AND BUILDS

- Bookmobiles
- X-Raymobiles
- Artmobiles
- Traveling Exhibits
- Mobile Laboratories
- Bloodmobiles
- Speech Therapy Units
- Remedial Reading Labs
- Hearing Testing
- Sight Testing
- Dental Clinics
- Audio Visual
- ... and other specialized classrooms!

For the complete Branford story, write:



GERSTENSLAGER

THE GERSTENSLAGER COMPANY • WOOSTER, OHIO • PHONE 216/262-2015
For literature, write 726 on reply card

Reference to federal aid as a funding source.

Figure 40: Advertisement offering assistance in deciphering federal education law as well as referencing federal aid as a funding source.



The final type of advertisement was of a product that was produced specifically in response to federal aid-to-education legislation. Unlike other advertisements that cited federal education aid as a way to fund products that stayed more-or-less the same, in this case information about federal aid was the product. For example, Macmillan advertised a book entitled *Federal Aid for Schools 1967-1968 Guide* that was designed to teach administrators “how to get your share of federal funds” (see figure 15).⁵⁰³

⁵⁰³ *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 3, March 1967, 93.

Figure 41: Advertisement for a product designed to provide information about federal aid.

How to get your share of federal funds

FEDERAL AID FOR SCHOOLS REFERENCE GUIDE

James H. Goodland and Richard L. Wing

**Reference That Shows You
How To Do It**

Obtain your fair share of federal funds this year with **FEDERAL AID FOR SCHOOLS 1967-1968 REFERENCE GUIDE**.

This authoritative guidebook brings you essential information and proven methods for the development, submission, and implementation of proposals for federal assistance.

**Unique, Practical Handbook
Provides a List of "Possibilities"**

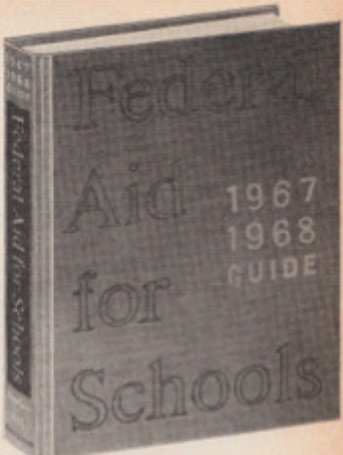
Step-by-step instructions show you how to develop a project, select the right grant program, prepare your proposal, submit the proposal, and contact state and federal officials.

Opportunities for federal assistance are completely described and arranged in 18 categories, and necessary application information is included.

This practical book was written for schoolmen and schoolwomen who are experienced and successful in obtaining funds.

Reference Wall Chart

A large 29" x 39" WALL CHART is included in each volume. Immediate information is given for grant possibilities, appropriations for 1966 and 1967, purpose of the appropriations, who may receive benefit, where to apply, and for more detailed information—chapter references to **FEDERAL AID FOR SCHOOLS 1967-1968 GUIDE**.



This Valuable Chart Can Be Yours Free

Examine **FEDERAL AID FOR SCHOOLS 1967-1968 GUIDE** for 30 days. If you are not convinced that it is worth many times the purchase price, return it to us without obligation. **THE WALL CHART REMAINS YOURS, FREE!**

Information you need NOW is waiting. Send in the coupon below to get it.

Send to:

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY/School Department
866 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022

Yes—I am definitely interested in bettering my school system through federal aid. Please send me a copy of **FEDERAL AID FOR SCHOOLS 1967-1968 GUIDE** for a 30-day examination. If I decide to keep the book, I will remit \$12.00 (net price) plus a small handling and shipping charge.

The WALL REFERENCE CHART, included with the volume, remains mine to keep FREE, whether I keep the book or not.

Quantity	Comsumer Code	Title	List Price	Net Price to Schools
1	88136	FEDERAL AID FOR SCHOOLS 1967-1968 GUIDE	\$15.00	\$12.00

Name _____ Position _____

School _____

School Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

For literature, write 771 on reply card opposite text page

In the 1967-1968 time period, the types of advertisements related to federal aid did not change from the previous time period. Companies cited ESEA and other federal aid-to-education legislation as sources for funding for their products, offered school administrators aid in tailoring their products and programs for their own federal aid programs, and offered occasional products such as the Macmillan book cited above that

were designed specifically to inform readers about federal aid-to-education legislation. Quantitatively, however, there was a change. Although advertisements citing federal aid were never a large percentage of advertisements, the number dropped significantly from the 1965-1966 time period to the 1967-1968 time period. This is perhaps due to the fact that federal aid had become *de rigor*, and thus it was expected that administrators would know that they could use those funding sources in a variety of ways; advertisers no longer needed to waste valuable space proclaiming what was assumed to be known.

Discussion

Similar to *Educational Leadership*, in this time period *School Management Magazine* made fewer references to ESEA in both the articles and advertisements. Outside of the “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” columns, there were only three articles which made any mention of the legislation, and those three occurred early on in the two year time period. “Facts & Hints” continued to discuss ESEA, although about one-third of the columns did not mention it. As far as advertisements were concerned, again, like *Educational Leadership*, the percentage making reference to ESEA and other federal education legislation, although never high, decreased from the previous time period, and that trend continued into 1969.

After the Enactment of ESEA (1967-1968), Conclusion

In this time period, the latter two years of the Johnson Administration, both journals made fewer references to the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* and other federal aid-to-education legislation, and those mentions changed. Prior to ESEA’s

enactment, such references discussed the propriety of federal aid-to-education legislation in the face of concerns about federal control over a state responsibility, the separation of church and state, and issues concerning desegregation. In the period leading up to and just following ESEA's enactment, such mentions usually concerned how to plan, implement and evaluate ESEA. In this time period, two short years after ESEA's enactment, however, not only was federal aid-to-education a given, but administrators had a good idea of how to plan, implement and evaluate it. Instead, discussions of ESEA centered around announcements of specific changes occurring as Congress reauthorized the law (especially in the "Facts & Hints" columns) and ways in which administrators could solve particular problems or difficulties presented by the legislation (such as the Vermont school district's attempt to resolve the dilemma presented by the necessity of providing funding for all disadvantaged children while remaining compliant with the Constitutional requirement for the separation of church and state).

Advertisements in both journals referencing ESEA and other federal aid-to-education laws did not change qualitatively from the previous time period to this one. Quantitatively, both journals ran fewer advertisements citing these laws as sources for funding, and fewer resources for dealing with the difficulties presented by such legislation. As postulated above, this may be due to the very familiarity with which administrators viewed this funding—now that it had been in place for two years, advertisers might have been assuming that administrators knew that products could be purchased with ESEA and other funds, and chosen to use their advertising space for other features.

By the end of Johnson's tenure in the White House, more than three years after the enactment of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act*, the federal aid-to-education legislation that had been so contentious was an established fact. Furthermore, as evidenced by the rise and then fall of articles and advertisements citing the legislation, it had gone from something to debate to something that was overwhelming in nature that needed to be clarified and explained to something that was second nature and part of the educational landscape. Administrators needed less guidance on the various Titles of the act, as evidenced by the editors' reduction in articles addressing such topics, and, by 1968, the majority of references to ESEA were found in *School Management Magazine's* "Facts & Hints" columns, and even there the information was, for the most part, limited to changes occurring as Congress reauthorized the law each year.

Other things were going on in the nation that impacted on education, and on the journals focus (or lack thereof) on ESEA. Richard Nixon had won the 1968 election, and promised changes in the way the educational programs were to be administered. Furthermore, the national discussion was moving away from education and poverty and towards desegregation as the focus for improving the education of disadvantaged children.

Chapter 6: School Leaders and the Challenge of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 1960-1968*

The 1960's was a period of incredible change—socially, politically and educationally. Although the federal government modestly involved in education prior to the enactment of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act*, the type and level of federal involvement in education changed dramatically after 1965. Indeed, the very existence of large scale federal assistance to public education was a huge departure from past practices. Previously, such assistance had been strongly discouraged for fear of federal control over the traditional state-level responsibility for education. Concerns that federal funding of parochial schools would violate the separation of church and state, and requirements that any federal funds be attached to efforts to desegregate schools in the South were rampant. The enactment of ESEA required that politicians surmount these and other concerns, no mean feat.

Nevertheless, ESEA's impact on the role of the federal government is just one part of the story. The federal government began the process by infusing funding aimed at improving the quality of life of children living in poverty. The key to this improvement was an improvement in their educational experiences. Simply providing funding, however, would not be enough to change children's educational experiences. The money would have to be used to purchase products and services that could in turn act to improve the education received by poor and disadvantaged students. People at all levels of education were involved in this process, from

textbook and equipment manufacturers to teachers and instructional aids to administrators at both school and school district levels. All of these people played an important role in planning, implementing and evaluating ESEA-funded programs. This study focuses on the role school administrators. Although scholars of federal aid to education have discussed many aspects of ESEA in great detail, the administrators' role in the process is one that has been generally overlooked. Administrators are vital to successful educational reform, because they are the people charged with selecting textbooks, equipment and other curricular materials, hiring teachers and instructional aides, supervising teachers, and otherwise ordering and leading the school.

To gauge the impact that ESEA had on school administrators, I began this study by examining the enactment process. I looked for evidence that would enable me to determine what, if anything, legislators had in mind for the administrators to do with the funding that they would receive through ESEA. I then looked at the two subsequent reauthorizations of ESEA, 1966 and 1967, again looking for evidence of the legislators' intent in terms of how school administrators were to implement ESEA. However, legislative intent alone is not enough to determine the impact that ESEA had on school administrators. In order to examine that impact from another angle, I also examined two leading journals for administrators, *Educational Leadership* and *School Management Magazine* in order to determine how these publication, aimed at school administrators, responded and reacted to the enactment of ESEA.

This study shows that ESEA did, in fact, have an impact on the school administrators charged with its planning, implementing and evaluating. This impact

occurred in three main ways, all of which played a major role in changing the role of school administrators in this era. First, there were changes at the managerial level in terms of time spent on applications, hiring, equipment purchases and other components of ESEA programs. Furthermore, although in the initial enactment of ESEA administrators were given wide latitude in terms of how to spend the money provided by the legislation, with the caveat that it be used to improve the education of poor children, by the end of the time period, legislators were beginning to mandate that funding be used for particular children within that category as well as funding demonstration and research projects as a way to push school administrators towards implementing specific and new types of programs. Second, in these years administrators and legislators alike underwent a sea change in how that federal aid-to-education legislation was viewed. Prior to the enactment of ESEA in 1965, federal funding for education was feared as it was seen to have the potential to lead to federal control of education. By the end of the 1968, however, such federal funding was no longer considered threatening, but an expected and necessary part of the education landscape. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, was the attitude change first in terms of how the education of disadvantaged children was regarded and second in the debate about appropriate role the federal government should play in the education of those disadvantaged children. Prior to the enactment of ESEA, both *Educational Leadership* and *School Management Magazine* spoke of children as one homogeneous group, with no discussion of different educational needs of children from minority or poor backgrounds. By 1968, however, regardless of article topic, authors and editors in both journals frequently considered the needs specific to

disadvantaged children, assuring that every program included specific components that would enable their success. In this concluding chapter, I discuss each of these three findings, examining how each relates to changes in the practice of school administrators in response to the advent of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965*.

Changes at the Administrative Level

These changes occurred in two ways. First was the purely logistical and managerial aspect: as historians Stephen Bailey and Edith Mosher noted, over 65% of school administrators reported spending over two weeks preparing Title I proposals alone.⁵⁰⁴ Indeed, the amount of time spent on ESEA programs was assuredly much larger, as this survey did not include any information about implementation or evaluation of Title I projects, much less projects that fell under any of the other titles of ESEA. Furthermore, school administrators would have had to either find a substitute to take up whatever responsibilities were being neglected in favor of ESEA work, attempt to do the additional work at a different time, or let it go by the wayside. In the journals, one article, Norman H. Naas' "Seduction by Federal Funds," in particular made much of the burden that ESEA placed on school administrators, stating that the law required those administrators to devote a massive amount of time and effort to planning, organizing and implementing programs that fell under the Act, and commenting that "personnel in Washington or in state departments of education have little or no concept of inroads on time and personnel which participation in the

⁵⁰⁴ Bailey and Mosher, *ESEA: The Office of Education Administers a Law*, 336-337.

new programs necessitates.”⁵⁰⁵ The author noted that school administrators were still responsible for all that they had to do prior to ESEA’s enactment, such as visiting classrooms, conferring with teachers and staff, working on curriculum development, improving instruction, and planning professional development opportunities for teachers, but had the additional burden of planning and implementing ESEA programs as well. Although the author remained supportive of the continuation of federal funding of education, he concluded by suggesting “that we ought to find some ways for making the experience of securing such funds less traumatic than it is at present,” a clear indicator that the change brought about by ESEA in its first year was difficult and job-altering.⁵⁰⁶

The second change occurred in the process in which school administrators could select programs to be funded by ESEA. One of the biggest challenges to the enactment of federal aid-to-education legislation in the 1950s and early 1960s was the fear that federal funding would lead to federal control of education, traditionally a state and local responsibility. Although the federal government did play a role in education prior to the 1960s, it was a small one. An assortment of laws in the preceding centuries had provided federal funding that supported education, including the *Survey Ordinance of 1785*, the *Smith-Hughes Act of 1917*, school construction assistance funded by the Public Works Administration, the *Servicemen’s Readjustment Act* (GI Bill) and the 1958 *National Defense Education Act*. These acts were the most notable although there were others. However, such aid was directed at very specific purposes; these were not general aid bills. The Kennedy Administration

⁵⁰⁵ Norman H. Naas, “Seduction by Federal Funds” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 24, No. 1, October 1966, 21-22.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

twice attempted to pass a general school aid bill, but although the bills passed in the Senate failed in the House.

Between the two attempts, however, a change in outlook occurred. The first bill was marketed as a general school aid, aimed at providing assistance to all schools. The second bill was sent to the Hill after Kennedy's Third State of the Union Address in which he had remarked negatively on the high dropout rate in America's high schools, calling it "a waste that we cannot afford" and was designed to provide temporary help to struggling localities, providing help to those districts serving the children who were most likely to drop out.⁵⁰⁷ Although this bill also failed to pass, it marked a change in American educational politics: education aid was no longer for general use; it was to help schools struggling with the difficulties of drop-outs and poverty.

After Kennedy's assassination, and Johnson's swearing in as president, the pace of change quickened. Title VI of the *Civil Rights Act of 1964* included provisions that would allow the Commissioner of Education to discontinue federal aid to segregated schools, obviating the need for civil rights proponents to append such provisions to education legislation as had occurred in the past, or for Southern Democrats to vote against education bills with such provisions appended to them, as had also happened in the past. Moreover, the enactment of the *Economic Opportunity Act* presaged that of ESEA, as it demonstrated that the public would accept and indeed encourage such large-scale legislation designed to reduce poverty. Indeed, ESEA was to some degree modeled after the EOA, using the elimination on poverty

⁵⁰⁷ "President Kennedy's Third State of the Union Message" *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 21 (1963): 60.

as the primary reason for the promotion of federal aid to education legislation. Still another change was in the public's perception of federal aid to private and parochial schools. Whereas in the Kennedy years the majority of Americans felt that private schools should not be funded with federal money, by 1965 slightly over half of the population supported federal funding of private schools.⁵⁰⁸ Finally, and perhaps most importantly, was the large change in the composition of Congress following the 1964 elections. Not only was Johnson elected with 61 percent of the popular vote, but the Senate Democrats increased their majority by two seats and the House Democrats won an additional 38 seats. With these majorities, Democrats were able to pass Johnson's programs without needing the votes of liberal Republicans.

President Johnson created a task force on education that met four times in 1964 to talk about issues of education, and to suggest proposals to education. It was at these meetings that the idea to provide funding to students, rather than to schools, was born, a shift in thinking that enabled the Administration to neatly sidestep the difficult church-state issue and paved the way for the enactment of ESEA.⁵⁰⁹ The task force's report was released in November 1964, and in January 1965, Johnson introduced his education proposals in the State of the Union address. He emphasized that education could improve the quality of life both at the individual level and at the national level, and proposed funding programs for needy pre-school children to encourage a love of learning, aid for primary and secondary schools that served low-

⁵⁰⁸ Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Education for Children of the Poor: A Study of the Origins and Implementation of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1978), 76; In 1961 polls showed that 31% of people felt that private schools should get federal funding; in 1963 that number had increased to 44%; by 1965 the percentage of people supporting federal funding of private schools was at 51%. Eugene Eidenberg and Roy D. Morey. *An Act of Congress; The Legislative Process and the Making of Education Policy* (New York: Norton & Company, 1969, 78-79.

income families, college scholarships for needy and promising high school students, low interest loans for all students seeking higher education and the establishment of new laboratories and centers to help schools raise new standards, improve pedagogy and provide additional training to teachers and other school staff.⁵¹⁰

Johnson sent a draft of ESEA to Congress on January 12, 1965. The bill was passed quickly and with relatively little debate in both the House and the Senate. The majority of opposition came, unsurprisingly, from Republicans, who first warned against the federal control over education that they felt would result from federal funding of education, and second proposed that funding include preschool programs, as there was educational research that indicated that early intervention was more likely to be successful. There was also some opposition from Democrats, namely from Representatives John Brademas (D-IN) and Edith Green (D-OR) and Senator Robert Kennedy (D-NY). All three of these Democrats questioned provisions of the bill, but were overruled by their fellows, who voted in favor of ESEA.

Due to the concerns that federal legislation could lead to federal control, as passed in 1965 ESEA did not provide administrators with any clear course of action to use in their implementation of the bill. To avoid the charge of federal control over education, the legislators purposefully refrained from specifying how the money was to be used, leaving such decisions to the state and local education authorities. Indeed, the emphasis on improving the education of children living in poverty coupled with this lack of direction for administrators actually aided the legislators in passing the first major federal aid-to-education legislation.

⁵¹⁰ “Text of President Johnson’s State of the Union Message” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 23 (1965): 37.

As school administrators began to grapple with ways in which to plan, implement and evaluate projects under the new law, President Johnson and Congress were already working on its renewal. In fact, the process to reauthorize ESEA began soon after the passage of the original bill, and information garnered from the July 1965 White House Conference on Education was used in that process to help formulate the regulations and guidelines that would enable the implementation of the original bill. President Johnson's request, when sent to Congress, asked that ESEA be extended for four years, raise the low-income family qualification from \$2000 to \$3000 in 1968 and provide funds to aid schools in construction to deal with both overcrowding and *de facto* segregation. He also requested that Congress cut the incentive grant program, as he found that districts with little need were frequent recipients and asked for reductions in the amount of money allotted to areas affected by the presence of and lack of taxes paid by federal installations ("impact aid").

The version of the bill that passed in the House did some of these things, extending the authorization for ESEA for two years, repealing the incentive grants, and raising the low-income factor to \$3000 beginning in fiscal year 1968. Two of Johnson's requests were negated: the House reinstated the funding to areas impacted by federal installations such as military bases and funding was not earmarked for school construction. In addition, the House increased the overall size of the authorization by \$120 million, earmarked aid to children of native Americans and migrant workers, and adjusted the allocation formula to allow states to use the national average per pupil expenditure instead of the state average if the national figure were higher to calculate eligibility for funding.

Unlike the 1965 version of the bill, in this year the Senate version was different than that of the House. The Senate provided \$600 million, increased the low-income factor earlier than either Johnson's request or the House bill, to \$2500 in 1967 and \$3000 in 1968. The Senate also included funding for new supplementary education centers. Following Johnson's request (but unlike the House bill), the Senate bill included a provision to aid schools in construction that would eliminate overcrowded and obsolete schools and promote racial integration. Like the House, the Senate bill also enabled districts to use either the national average per pupil expenditure rather than the state if it were advantageous, increasing funding for poorer states.

The Senate and House versions of the legislation were so different from each other that had to be reconciled in Conference before the bill could be sent to Johnson for his signature. Conference committee members agreed to follow the House's plan of increasing the low-income qualification factor in 1968 rather than in 1967 as requested by the Senate, adopted the Senate provisions for programs for handicapped children, transferred basic education programs from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Office of Education, and included a provision that would allow Commissioners of Education to defer funding for 90 days to school districts alleged to be in violation of anti-segregation statutes, at which time a hearing would be held to determine if such a violation had actually occurred. This Conference bill was accepted by both the House and Senate and signed into law on January 2, 1967.

The 1967 reauthorization of ESEA led to a change in the legislation. Whereas in the initial enactment and the 1966 renewal legislators specifically refrained from

specifying how the money should be spent in order to prevent charges of federal interference in education, in 1967 legislators tiptoed towards providing some specifications. Faced with budgetary constraints brought about by the escalating involvement in Vietnam, legislators set up a list of priorities for implementation which indicated their thoughts as to which children and programs were most in need of full funding. This priority list required that allocations for handicapped children, children of migrants and delinquent and neglected children were to be allotted their full amount; that grants to local school districts were to be computed at the original \$2000 low-income qualification factor until each district had been given its maximum allocation and only then were the remaining funds to be allocated at the new \$3000 low-income qualification factor; states were obligated to give local school districts no less in fiscal year 1968 than they had received in fiscal year 1967; and that each state could use 1% of ESEA funding for administrative expenses.⁵¹¹ The 1967 amendments also provided for a variety of research and demonstration projects, required that HEW present an annual evaluation report, and created a program of aid to school districts for the education of non-English speaking children. All of these factors together indicate that for the first time legislators, although still refraining from mandating specific programs and projects, were beginning to show their priorities, and to guide school administrators in their selection of programs and projects.

In both the initial enactment of ESEA in 1965 and the 1966 renewal, therefore, legislators specifically refrained from specifying how federally provided

⁵¹¹ “Two-Year, \$9 Billion School Program Enacted” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* 25 (1967): 2615.

funding should be spent in order to prevent charges of federal interference in education. By the 1967 reauthorization, legislators began providing some specifics; in particular, legislators set up a list of priorities that indicated their thoughts as to which children and programs were most in need of full funding as well as providing for research and demonstration projects that would be used to guide school administrators in program selection. This resulted in a change in school administrators' practice, as they were required to accommodate their planning to these legislative mandates.

Changes in Attitude Towards Federal Funding

In the years leading up to the enactment of ESEA, attempts to institute federal aid-to-education repeatedly foundered on three issues, separation of church and state, segregation, and the specter of federal control. By the time Johnson introduced ESEA in January 1965, however, a number of things had changed to make its passage possible. First, realizing that children in private and parochial schools needed to be included for the bill to pass but that funding private and parochial schools with public money would be suspect at best, Johnson and his Administration couched their proposal differently than those that had preceded it. Instead of funding schools and school districts, federal money would go towards the education of disadvantaged children, regardless of what type of school they might attend. Funding, therefore, would be allocated for the poor child, not for the school, and all equipment and texts purchased for the use of private and parochial students would in fact belong to the public schools. In addition, public polls indicated that attitudes had changed as far as

federal aid to private and parochial schools were concerned. In 1961, polls showed that only 31 percent felt that private schools should get federal funding. In 1963, that number was at 44 percent, and by 1965, 51 percent supported federal funding of private schools.⁵¹²

Second, the previous enactment of the *Civil Rights Act of 1964* changed the discussion around desegregation that had become so inflammatory. In previous attempts to pass education law, legislators, most notably Congressman Adam Clayton Powell (D-NY), had attempted to attach amendments mandating that eligibility be predicated on desegregation, a requirement that contributed to the lack of passage of those bills, as Southern Congressmen would not vote for a bill containing that mandate. The *Civil Rights Act* was a separate piece of legislation that allowed the Commissioner of Education to discontinue federal aid to segregated schools, obviating the need for such an amendment to be included separately in the education legislation and removing this impediment to its passage in 1965.⁵¹³

The question of federal control still remained but the result of the 1964 elections was a heavily Democratic Congress that was willing to vote for Johnson's programs. Johnson himself won in a landslide with 61 percent of the popular vote. In the Senate, the Democrats increased their majority by two seats, and the House Democrats won an additional 38 seats. The House Subcommittee on Education and Labor added five Democrats and one Republican.⁵¹⁴ Congress's Democratic majority was so strong in fact, that they were able to pass most of Johnson's programs without

⁵¹² Jeffrey, *Education for Children of the Poor*, 76.

⁵¹³ Eidenberg and Moray, *An Act of Congress*, 24; Jeffrey, *Education for Children of the Poor*, 67; Vinovskis, *The Birth of Head Start*, 79.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid*, 79; Vinovskis, *The Birth of Head Start: Preschool Education Policies in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 79.

requiring the help of liberal Republicans.⁵¹⁵ In addition, the passage of the *Economic Opportunity Act*, another large-scale federal program designed to aid those living in poverty, in the previous year set a precedent that eased the passage of ESEA in 1965.

Although these issues were being debated on Capitol Hill, the two journals examined in this study, *Educational Leadership* and *School Management Magazine*, paid little attention to them prior to the 1965 passage of ESEA. In the early 1960s, *Educational Leadership*'s regular issues focused on such topics as curriculum and pedagogy, usually selecting one topic around which articles revolved in any given issue. For example, the issue devoted to mathematics included articles such as "Mathematics in the Elementary School," "Mathematics in the High School," "Mathematics for Gifted Children" and "Preparing Elementary Teachers in Mathematics" in addition to other articles that discussed the many aspects of curriculum and pedagogy that were linked to successful teaching of mathematics.

During these years, however, a very small number of *Educational Leadership* articles referenced the discussions on Capitol Hill, albeit indirectly. Published just one month after Kennedy's Third State of the Union Address in February 1963, the issue on *Disaffected Children and Youth* referenced the problems of dropouts, and featured articles such as "The Dropout—Our Greatest Challenge," "A Portrait of Blight" (a look at the negative impact of poverty on learning) and "If Johnny Doesn't Care . . ." which discussed the difficulties in teaching children who are uninterested in learning and school. Coming so closely on the heels of President Kennedy's speech, it is unlikely that the articles were in direct response to it; however, the overlap of

⁵¹⁵ Eidenberg and Moray, *An Act of Congress*, 35.

topics suggests that the impact of poverty on learning was becoming a topic that educators found worthy of discussion and concern.

School Management Magazine was organized under different principles. Instead of a monthly theme as in *Educational Leadership*, *School Management's* issues were more eclectic, and provided information that would enable administrators to solve problems faced in their every day practice. For example, articles provided information on how to organize summer programs, how to save money on purchasing, and information on whether or not schools should teach science at the elementary level.⁵¹⁶ Three articles in this time period did, however, weigh in on the idea of federal aid-to-education legislation. The first article, "Can All of Our States Support Good Schools" took an "objective look" at federal aid, noting in the editors' preface that the journal's purpose was not to advocate for or protest against federal aid. That caveat notwithstanding, the article went on to argue persuasively for federal aid to education, as the author set up and then demolished arguments against such aid, including the resultant rise in national debt, the 'freight charge' of sending money to the federal government and back again, and federal control.⁵¹⁷ The second article, which ran in the December 1961 issue, was an interview with Sterling McMurrin, the then-Commissioner of Education, in which he discussed two topics: NDEA and federal control of education. In his discussion of NDEA, McMurrin focused on the one area in which the United States Office of Education worked directly with school

⁵¹⁶ "How to Organize a Summer Reading Program" *School Management Magazine* Vol. 7, No. 2, February 1963; "How to Save Money Through Cooperative Purchasing" *School Management Magazine* Vol. 4, No. 3, March 1961; "Should Your District Teach Science in Elementary Schools" *School Management Magazine* Vol. 6, No. 4, April 1962.

⁵¹⁷ "Can All of Our States Support Good Schools?" *School Management Magazine* Vol. 5, No. 2, February 1961, 16-23.

districts (Title VII, which covers educational television and other teaching media). The balance of the article focused on McMurrin's insistence that any federal aid to education would not result in federal control of education; indeed he emphasized that the Kennedy Administration had no desire to choose educational materials on the local level, and in fact was opposed to a national curriculum.⁵¹⁸ Finally, in the April 1962 issue, *School Management Magazine* published an article that recounted the American Association of School Administrators' criticisms of then-Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Abraham Ribicoff. Ribicoff had attacked the American Association of School Administrators' call for \$8 billion in federal education aid because he believed that such demands actually hurt the Administration's efforts to provide aid to education. The article, while clearly in favor of federal aid to education, noted that emotions ran high when it came to federal aid, and emphasized that the federal government would provide funds without strings.⁵¹⁹

In 1964, the year prior to ESEA's enactment, the articles in *Educational Leadership* continued to explore topics concentrating on curriculum and instruction; however, in a change from previous years, many issues frequently addressed the curricular and pedagogic needs specific to children living in poverty. A number of issues more directly addressed the issues of poverty and educational, social and emotional needs of disadvantaged children without much of the attention to curricular or pedagogical problems. This change in the journals lagged behind the actions of the politicians. In fact, only one *Educational Leadership* issue in this time period

⁵¹⁸ "The Office of Education: What's In It for Your Schools?" *School Management Magazine* Vol. 5, No. 12, December 1962, 44-45.

⁵¹⁹ "\$8 Billion in Federal Aid?" *School Management Magazine* Vol. 6, No. 4, April 1962, 46-50.

(November 1964) directly addressed issues of federal funding of education. This issue, *Politics and Education*, specifically examined federal education laws in an article entitled “Private School—Public School: What Are the Issues?” In this article, author Edgar Fuller made a case for federal funding for public schools while arguing against such funding for private schools. This article echoed the arguments used by politicians prior to 1964, as they grappled with the idea of public funding of private and parochial schools. Although the White House Task Force had already issued its recommendation to tie funding to disadvantaged students rather than schools, sidestepping the church-state issue, this recommendation was not evident in the article, perhaps a consequence of the lag between writing and publication of *Educational Leadership* or a lag in the publication of the politicians’ deliberations until after ESEA had been officially proposed, if not passed.

In this same time, 1964, *School Management Magazine* for the most part remained focused on helping its readers solve the problems that occurred in their administrative practice, unrelated to federal education legislation. However, there were two articles that did relate to federal education measures, “What the Poverty Program Will Mean to Your Schools” and “What Four Districts are Doing About Desegregation.” The former article was written in two parts, an interview with Sargent Shriver, who provided information on the *Economic Opportunity Act*, especially how schools operating in impoverished areas could receive funding under it, and specific information as to how administrators could apply for and use the funding provided by the EOA.⁵²⁰ The latter article addressed desegregation by

⁵²⁰ “What the Poverty Program Will Mean to Your Schools” *School Management Magazine* Vol, 8, No. 9, September 1964, 66-71.

providing four examples of school districts that were dealing with mandates for desegregation in different ways, and noted that such information would be useful to administrators struggling with this issue in their own districts.

Following ESEA's passage in 1965, both journals changed to include many articles that addressed the topics of poverty, educational disadvantage and federal education law. Although neither changed completely—*Education Leadership* continued to offer many articles focused on pedagogy and curriculum, and *School Management Magazine* remained attuned to practical issues in administration—both broadened their focus to include such topics.

The changes in *Educational Leadership* occurred fairly slowly. In 1965, there was very little direct mention of ESEA, possibly due to delays in the publication process, but there were many more general references to the federal government's involvement in education than prior to ESEA's passage. Advertisers were quicker off the mark, and began to directly cite ESEA as a funding source for their products, a change likely due to the publicity surrounding ESEA's enactment and implementation. The *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* had a larger presence in *Educational Leadership* in 1966 than in 1965. In the beginning of the calendar year, however, the journal's stance was very similar to 1965 in terms of ESEA references: very few articles made direct references to ESEA and a few made indirect references by discussing the impact of poverty on curriculum and/or pedagogy. The October 1966 issue, *Federal Funds: To Assist or To Control?* was the only one that departed from that pattern. In this issue, five articles addressed federal funding in general, and ESEA and Title I in particular. The authors were generally supportive of

the funding, but as a group they cautioned that providing funding was not enough to ensure improved education for disadvantaged students; schools, school districts and school administrators would have to change their practice in order to reach that goal. These articles, therefore, departed from previous ones whose topics focused on the propriety and logistics of federal funding of education. Instead, these articles presumed that such funding was appropriate, that the funding would continue; the key question was how to spend the money to do the most good.

The first article, O.L. Davis Jr.'s review of Title I's first year listed shortcomings in its implementation but concluded that overall American children were benefiting from it.⁵²¹ The second article, "Seduction By Federal Funds," which was described in detail above, took a critical look at the burden that Title I placed on school administrators in terms of the amount of time they had to devote to its administrative requirements, and advocated that at least some funding be released to allow administrators to hire someone to take care of the more routine tasks that were being ignored in favor of those administrative requirements.⁵²² The third article focused on how State Departments of Education would need to change in order to make the best use of the new funding that Title V of ESEA would provide for state-level development of educational programs. Like the authors of the previous two articles, author Nicholas Georgiady took federal aid-to-education as a given, but cautioned that it must be implemented with care.⁵²³ The fourth article, "The Regional

⁵²¹ O.L. Davis, Jr. "Title I: What a First Inning!" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 1, October 1966, 14-20.

⁵²² Norman H. Naas "Seduction By Federal Funds" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 1, October 1966, 21-24.

⁵²³ Nicholas Georgiady "The State Department of Education and Federal Funding" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 24, No. 1, October, 1966, 25-27.

Educational Laboratory: Implications for the Future,” was somewhat different as authors Robert S. Gilchrist and Frank W. Marcus wrote to encourage readers to support the renewal of the Regional Educational Laboratories, which, at time of publication, was being considered.⁵²⁴ Finally, Hugh V. Perkins’ “Federal Participation and Its Results” provided a synopsis of programs funded by ESEA in its first year, and gave suggestions for criteria to be used to assess programs funded by the federal government, including requirements for specific information on the program’s impact on children, the identification and prioritization of educational issues, and means for disseminating research in a timely fashion.⁵²⁵ In short, the authors of these articles were supportive of federal funding, and wrote with the expectation that such funding would continue. However, they all made the point that simply providing funding would not be enough—school administrators must consider *how* to best spend the money to reach the goal of better educations for disadvantaged children.

Educational Leadership advertisements in 1966 were somewhat different than in previous years. Some ads continued to cite ESEA as a funding source for already-offered products. Others, however, found new ways to use ESEA, offering their company’s products as solutions to the administrator’s quandary of how to better educate disadvantaged children. Still other companies offered school administrators access to their representatives who would help administrators select products that would comply with federal funding.

⁵²⁴ Robert S. Gilchrist and Frank W. Markus “The Regional Education Laboratory: Implications for the Future” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 1, October 1966, 28-32.

⁵²⁵ Hugh V. Perkins “Federal Participation and Its Results” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 1, October 1966, 43-45.

School Management Magazine's response to ESEA's enactment was more overt. In line with its mission to provide practical advice to management problems, *School Management Magazine* provided background information on ESEA's enactment, reassured readers that federal funding would not lead to federal control, and gave advice on how to plan and examples of successful programs. Its first response to the new law was a special section in the June 1965 issue that included an interview with Senator Wayne Morse (D-OR) in which he discussed federal control, separation of church and state, the speed of the bill's passage and the methodology for determining who should be counted as a child from a low-income family and thus eligible for Title I funding.⁵²⁶ The second article in this special section, an interview with Education Commissioner Francis Keppel, explained that the goal of the USOE was to fund local efforts, again reassuring readers that the federal government was in no way attempting to reduce local control of education.⁵²⁷ The bulk of this special section, however, was devoted to Buckman Osborne's "A Schoolman's Guide to Federal Aid," the first of four in a series that provided administrators with information about ten major sources of federal aid to various aspects of education, including ESEA, NDEA, *School Assistance to Federally Affected Areas* and the *Vocational Education Act* among others. Each section described the pertinent law and what it could fund, as well as providing specific direction for school administrators to follow in order to attain funds.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁶ "Why Congress Passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act" *School Management Magazine* Vol. 9, No. 6, June 1965.

⁵²⁷ "How the Office of Education Will Implement ESEA" *School Management Magazine* Vol. 9, No. 6, June 1965.

⁵²⁸ Buckman Osborne "A Schoolman's Guide to Federal Aid" *School Management Magazine* Vol. 9, No. 6, what?

Part II of the “Schoolman’s Guide” was published in the December 1965 issue, and began with an interview with Arthur L. Harris, Associate Commissioner of Education in charge of USOE’s Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education and John Hughes, director of Program Operations in that bureau. In line with *School Management’s* purpose of providing practical information to school administrators, the editors asked a series of practical questions about Title I that focused on the administrative, economic and logistical aspects of the Title I program, giving administrators the wherewithal to propose and implement their programs although in no way suggesting what curricular or pedagogical aspects those programs should have. The second section of this “Schoolman’s Guide” provided examples of twenty-four projects designed to meet the needs of educationally deprived children to aid administrators in designing programs to fit the needs of their own districts.

Part III of the “Schoolman’s Guide” was published in the May 1966 issue of *School Management Magazine*, and was subtitled “Title I ESEA Where Do We Stand? Where Are We Headed?” The first section gave sixteen examples of Title I projects, suggesting that readers could adapt such programs for use in their schools and school districts.⁵²⁹ The second gave an abridged transcript of an interview conducted by *School Management* editors with then-Commissioner of Education Harold Howe II in which Howe praised the implementation of Title I while acknowledging that there were areas for improvement, especially in terms of more creative use of Title I funding than simply purchasing new equipment. In addition, he acknowledged that a major difficulty for school administrators was finding qualified

⁵²⁹ “A Schoolman’s Guide to Federal Aid—Part III Title I ESEA Where Do We Stand? Where Are We Headed?” *School Management Magazine* Vol. 10, No. 5, May 1966, 157-161.

personnel to implement the new programs.⁵³⁰ The final section of Part III of “A Schoolman’s Guide” presented general ideas that they suggested readers use as a template for programs in their own districts.

Part IV of the “Schoolman’s Guide” appeared in the December 1966 issue of *School Management*. This article primarily brought the reader up-to-date on the revisions to federal aid-to-education due to the amendments to education legislation that had been debated in the renewal process in the preceding months, emphasizing changes made to Title I in terms of the funding formula. The article also suggested that school administrators be more specific in their identification of the needs of “educationally deprived children” in their Title I applications. Subsequent sections of Part IV provided information on sources of funding for equipment, aid to federally impacted areas, supplementary services, educational research and adult and vocational education.

In addition to the “Schoolman’s Guides,” *School Management Magazine* responded to the passage of ESEA with a monthly column that began in July 1965, “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid.” Although topics varied, the column generally reported on new developments in regulations and guidelines, happenings on Capitol Hill, education law reauthorizations or amendments (i.e. October 1965’s report of the amendments to NDEA that were being debated in Congress), reports on events such as the White House Conference on Education mentioned earlier, appropriations requests, changes and delays and logistical aspects of the laws such as November

⁵³⁰ *Ibid*, 166.

1965's description of the application process for Title I funding.⁵³¹ In 1966, the journal continued its monthly "Facts & Hints on Federal Aid" column, and, in the first half of the year, those columns tended to focus on ESEA. Information provided to school administrators in those months included deadlines, suggestions for applications, updates on the progress of ESEA's renewal, ESEA evaluation, and summer programs. In the latter half of the year, "Facts & Hints" columns were shorter, and made fewer references to ESEA and Title I, although there were still some references, especially in terms of providing information about the delays in the enactment of ESEA's renewal.

Similar to *Educational Leadership*, advertisers in *School Management* also cited federal aid-to-education legislation and, more specifically, ESEA as funding sources for their products. In 1966, one new type of advertisement was added. This new product was for a company called the "Federal Aid Information Service" which had been formed in response to ESEA and promised purchasers biweekly information on federal aid.

In *Educational Leadership*, issues in 1967 continued to mention of ESEA, although a larger percentage of these references were indirect, relating to topics of poverty or disadvantage rather than direct discussions of ESEA itself. The issues that directly referenced ESEA appeared in the first half of the year (the January, February and May 1967 issues), and each included one or two articles about ESEA. Like articles in the October 1966 issue, the January article "Needed: Diagnostic Attention in Defeating Educational Deprivation" argued that funding alone could not

⁵³¹ "Facts & Hints on Federal Aid" July 1965, 49; "Facts & Hints on Federal Aid" September 1965, 23; "Facts & Hints on Federal Aid" October 1965, 45-46; "Facts & Hints on Federal Aid" November 1965, 41.

and would not make a difference; educators needed to base their work on an assessment of students' current academic level and design an appropriate educational program based on that assessment.⁵³² The February issue had two relevant articles. In "Supervising Teachers of the Disadvantaged," authors Marcia Conlin and Martin Haberman described the negative impact that teacher prejudice could have on student progress and noted that although their article was not offering solutions to this problem it was an important one that warranted consideration.⁵³³ The second article, "Research in Review: 'Evaluating E.S.E.A. Projects for the Disadvantaged'" provided information about evaluation and recommended that administrators undertake their own review of ESEA projects in order to determine how to proceed with their ESEA programs and projects.⁵³⁴ The last article to directly reference ESEA appeared in the May 1967 issue. In this article, "Outdoor Education Can Help Unlock the School," author Morris Wiener advocated using nature study to increase learning, and cited Titles I and III of ESEA as sources of funding for such work.

The remainder of issues in 1967 all had articles that made indirect references to ESEA. For the most part, these references came in articles that discussed the impact of poverty on learning in some way. For example, Martin Haberman's "Materials the Disadvantaged Need—and Don't Need" advocated the purchase of materials that would promote language development, arguing that such growth was

⁵³² William W. Wayson "Needed: Diagnostic Attention in Defeating Educational Deprivation" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 325.

⁵³³ Marcia R. Conlin and Martin Haberman "Supervising Teachers of the Disadvantaged" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 5, February 1967, 393-394.

⁵³⁴ J. Richard Harsh "Research in Review: 'Evaluating E.S.E.A. Projects for the Disadvantaged'" *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 5, February 1967, 453-461.

necessary to academic success.⁵³⁵ Some references were a bit more direct than that, such as the article in the March 1967 issue entitled “Private Schools—Public Money.” Author Robert C. O’Reilly addressed ESEA without mentioning it by name, discussing Title I’s provisions for using public funds to provide services to private school children.⁵³⁶

By 1968 a third category of articles had been added. In this year, although some issues continued to contain articles that made direct reference to ESEA and articles that made indirect reference to ESEA, there were also some issues in which no mention was made of ESEA whatsoever. In fact in this year only two issues contained articles making direct reference to ESEA, the November and December 1968 issues. The first reference was made in the context of an article whose author described his district’s experience with desegregation, and the use of ESEA funding to create programs that helped remedy the difficulties brought about by economic barriers between black and white children, a dearth of black staff members and a lack of acceptance of the black children by the white children.⁵³⁷ The article in the December issue reopened the issue of public funding of private schools, and argued that if it were challenged in court the author felt that the finding would have a large impact on the way in which ESEA would be executed, although subsequent challenges proved him wrong.⁵³⁸ Only one article indirectly referenced ESEA, James A. Reynolds’ “Curriculum Reform and Social Behavior,” in which the author

⁵³⁵ Martin Haberman “Materials the Disadvantaged Need—and Don’t Need” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 6, April 1967, 611-617.

⁵³⁶ Robert C. O’Reilly “Private Schools—Public Money” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 24, No. 6, March 1967, 491-492.

⁵³⁷ Tom F. Park, Jr. “Promising Developments in Integration” *Educational Leadership* Vol. 26, No. 2, November 1968, 126-128.

⁵³⁸ E. Dale Doak “Public Money for Parochial Schools” *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 26, No. 3, December 1968, 246-249.

encourages readers to consider the overall educational picture rather than simply implementing a series of disparate projects.⁵³⁹ The remainder of the issues in 1968, slightly more than half of the year's issues, made no reference whatsoever to ESEA. These issues discussed other topics, including education in other countries, technology in the classroom, the use of evaluation and ways to address the differences between schools and students' home lives.

As compared to the preceding time period, the 1967-1968 issues of *Educational Leadership* had fewer references to ESEA. Furthermore, although quantitatively the issues can be divided evenly into the three categories (direct ESEA reference, indirect ESEA reference and no ESEA reference), in truth over the time period the references to ESEA declined. In 1967 each issue made some sort of reference to ESEA whether direct or indirect, but by 1968 less than half of the issues did so. Advertisements followed a similar pattern. Although advertisers continued to cite ESEA as a funding source, references to other federal aid-to-education legislation virtually disappeared. Furthermore, like the articles, more advertisers referenced ESEA in 1967 than in 1968, echoing the downward trend.

In this time period *School Management Magazine* also ran fewer articles devoted to federal aid-to-education legislation. Like *Educational Leadership*, *School Management* issues can also be classified into three groups: those whose only reference was in the monthly "Facts & Hints" column, those that contained at least one article referencing ESEA in addition to the column and those with no mention of ESEA whatsoever. The majority of issues fell into the category of issues whose only

⁵³⁹ James A. Reynolds "Curriculum Reform and Social Behavior" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 25, No. 5, February 1968, 397-400.

mention of ESEA was in the “Facts & Hints” column. The majority of these columns did reference ESEA, providing readers with information, mostly concerning appropriations and the difficulties faced by administrators in the wake of the allocation of less funding that was originally appropriated for ESEA’s various Titles. Only one of these columns discussed ESEA in a different context: the July 1967 issue which cited John F. Hughes, then-director of USOE’s Division of Compensatory Education, who stated that as of that time ESEA projects had been too scattershot and that states and localities needed to push for more innovative approaches to education for disadvantaged students.⁵⁴⁰

Three issues contained articles that referenced ESEA in addition to the monthly “Facts & Hints” column. One such article, embedded in the January 1967 “Annual Cost of Education Index” discussed the question of federal control, commenting that although the federal contribution was large in absolute terms, the amount of funding per pupil was vanishingly small, less than 2% of most school districts’ budgets, and implying that such a small percentage could not result in large amounts of control.⁵⁴¹ The article in the February 1967 issue provided one district’s solution to the quandary presented by federal funding of parochial schools, a new school that would offer vocational, academic and parochial instruction in the same building.⁵⁴² This article, although presenting a prototype for a school that had not yet been funded or built, indicated that administrators continued to grapple with the issue of federal funding of parochial institutions. Finally, the August 1967 issue contained

⁵⁴⁰ “Facts & Hints on Federal Aid” *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 7, July 1967, 25.

⁵⁴¹ “Federal Aid: Can You Be Bought for \$8 Per Pupil?” *School Management Magazine* Vol. 11, No. 1, January 1967, 130-131.

⁵⁴² “Public School Vs. Parochial School: Is Consolidation the Answer?” *School Management Magazine* Vol., 11, No. 2, February 1967, 85-91.

an article “Can You Afford to Take That Government Grant?” which encouraged school administrators to consider carefully whether or not to take a government grant that could be withdrawn if future events should result in the need for educational allocations to be reduced.⁵⁴³ Finally, a small amount of issues made no reference to ESEA whatsoever. In three of these issues, no “Facts & Hints” column appeared; in others the “Facts & Hints” column spoke of other topics related to Capitol Hill.

Overall, in this time period, like *Educational Leadership*, *School Management Magazine* offered fewer articles relating to ESEA than in the preceding time period. Although the importance of the continuing “Facts & Hints” column should not be overlooked, similar to *Educational Leadership*, there was a decline in the number of the issues with articles making reference to ESEA over the 1967-1968 time period. All of the issues making reference to ESEA were found in 1967, and all of the issues with no mention whatsoever of ESEA occurred in the latter half of 1967 and 1968. The same is true for advertisements: the percentage of advertisements referencing federal aid-to-education legislation in general and ESEA specifically decreased from the 1965-1966 time period to this one. From this change, it is apparent that the idea of federal funding for educational products had become commonplace—advertisers no longer saw any reason to waste valuable advertising space on the statement that their products could be funded through those laws when readers could be presumed to know this and act accordingly.

In a very short time period, therefore, the attitude in both Congress and the journals towards federal education legislation underwent a sea change. Prior to

⁵⁴³ “Can You Afford to Take That Government Grant?” *School Management Magazine* Vol. 11, No. 8, August 1967, 38.

ESEA's enactment, federal aid-to-education legislation was hotly contested in Washington, D.C., and largely ignored in the journals. After ESEA's passage, however, federal aid-to-education legislation became a topic of much discussion in the journals, and reauthorization was a quieter affair in Congress. By the end of this time period, in 1968, there were many fewer articles and advertisements referencing ESEA than in the period just after its passage, and the reauthorization of the law was expected by legislators and administrators alike. In three short years after ESEA's passage, therefore, federal aid-to-education legislation, so controversial in the previous years, had become commonplace and an expected part of the educational landscape.

Changes in Attitude Towards the Education of Disadvantaged Children

Although ESEA did not close the achievement gap between middle- and upper- class and their disadvantaged and minority peers, its passage brought about a major change in the way education was viewed in general, and in the role that the federal government should play in education and educational reform. The *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* shone a spotlight on the needs of disadvantaged children, and insisted that all children had the right to a high quality education. In addition, ESEA symbolized a complete change in the role that the federal government should play in that process. Prior to ESEA, the federal government played very little role in education, but its passage changed that. ESEA stated that the responsibility to rectify the discrepancies caused by poverty and the

resultant disadvantages suffered by children born to low-income families should belong to educators and be supported by the federal government.

Prior to ESEA's passage, articles in *Educational Leadership* discussed pedagogy and curriculum, and articles in *School Management Magazine* discussed administrative and business matters. Authors in articles in both journals referred to "children" and "schools" as if members in each group were all the same. For example, in the July 1963 issue of *School Management Magazine*, Lester E. Goodridge, Jr. and Richard G. Woodward's article "How to Substitute For Kindergarten" described a suburban district's use of a six-week summer school/orientation program used in lieu of a kindergarten program. The article provided a thumbnail sketch of the curriculum covered during the six week time period, as well as a breakdown of the program's overall cost and cost per pupil, and indicated that other schools could benefit from such a program as well.⁵⁴⁴

After the passage of ESEA, there was a noticeable change that is linked to the debates on ESEA's enactment and initial implementation. Regardless of the topic being discussed, authors began to talk about disadvantaged children, including children from a low-income background, minority children, and other groups of children who might require additional assistance in some way, as well as the needs specific to "slum" schools and the administrators charged with running such schools. After ESEA, unlike the article referenced above in which all children are treated as if they had the same needs, in almost every article that discussed a program or project in both journals, authors and editors included information about the needs of these

⁵⁴⁴ Lester E. Goodridge, Jr. and Richard G. Woodward, *School Management Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 10, October 1963.

specific populations, assuring that every program included specific components that would enable their success as well.

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As noted earlier, the 1960's was a decade of incredible change – socially, governmentally and educationally. At the beginning of the decade, educators focused on curricular and management matters, although politicians such as President Kennedy were beginning to call for increased funding to mitigate some of the inequities of schooling practices of the day. Kennedy's proposal to provide federal funding for K-12 education, while not completely novel – some funding had been previously provided through the *National Defense Education Act of 1958* – was an unprecedented intervention by the federal government into education, an area that had been traditionally left to the states. Kennedy's plan was complicated by questions of the constitutionality of providing federal funds to parochial or segregated schools on the one hand, and the likelihood of deadlock in Congress if some funds were not provided for the education of children attending those parochial or segregated schools.

President Kennedy was assassinated before he was able to put his education funding legislation in place, but in 1965, President Johnson signed the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* into law as part of his Great Society, a larger plan to reduce poverty and improve the lives of average Americans. This law provided federal funding for almost all schools, with a portion of the allocations reserved to

provide additional funds for schools serving poor and minority children, and allowed federal dollars to be spent on children attending parochial schools, although not on the schools themselves. Need transition sentence. But the question remains: did that funding actually make an impact on the administrators charged with implementing ESEA? And if so, how?

In many ways, this story of administrators' reactions to ESEA as seen in their journals is a disheartening one. Prior to ESEA's enactment there was little-to-no mention of federal education law, there was a good sized spike in such mentions in 1965 and 1966, but by 1968 although there were still some mentions of federal aid to education, especially in *School Management Magazine's* monthly "Facts & Hints on Federal Aid" columns, references were fewer and went into less depth. The same pattern can be seen in the advertisements: little-to-no mention of federal education law prior to 1965, a spike in 1966 and 1967, and a reduction in 1968 and 1969. Concurrently, on Capitol Hill, attitudes about federal aid to education had gone from a highly contentious and highly debated topic before ESEA's passage to a presumption that such aid would be forthcoming; the only discussion was around the amount of money that would be allocated. If one wanted to look at it this way, such a reduction in attention could indicate that once legislators had passed the law and educators had the funding, it was business as usual for both groups.

In some ways that perception might be true. On the other hand, this apparent return to previous attitudes can be seen in a different light. Prior to ESEA, the quality of education received by American children depended very much on circumstances of birth, particularly those of race and income—minority and low income children

received poor educational opportunities indeed. Although ESEA did not solve this problem overnight, and, in fact, it is one that we are still grappling with today, with the passage of ESEA a new idea was born: not only do all children have the right to a high quality education but the responsibility to rectify the discrepancies caused by poverty and the resultant disadvantages suffered by children born to low-income families should belong to educators and be supported by the federal government. ESEA has been reauthorized many times since 1965, and each time the parameters have changed somewhat, but one thing has remained constant: the purpose of this law is to promote equally high quality educational opportunities and outcomes for all children, regardless of race, ethnicity or financial background. Although no one ever overtly stated that low-income children should NOT do well, their existence was virtually ignored prior to ESEA's passage in 1965. After that time, however, regardless of the topic being discussed, administrators and other educators have been required to consider the needs of this specific population, tailoring their work to enabling the success of all children under their care.

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