



League of Women Voters of Minnesota Records

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Eliminating Sex Bias In Education

*A Statement of Policy
and Proposed Action
by the*

**MINNESOTA STATE
BOARD OF EDUCATION**

**THE MINNESOTA STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
ST. PAUL**

SEPTEMBER 1972

THE MINNESOTA STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

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Additional copies of this brochure may be obtained from the Publications Section, State Department of Education, 715 Capitol Square, St. Paul, Minnesota 55101.

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FOREWORD

The State of Minnesota is committed to providing equal educational and employment opportunities for women. Despite some progress in assuring women equal protection under state and federal laws, there is still deep-rooted discrimination against women in our society.

In this position paper by the Minnesota State Board of Education, adopted September 11, 1972, affirmative action is proposed to provide equal opportunity for women and to eliminate sex-biased practices in our educational system. The board's proposals focus on recruitment and promotion of women in professional and managerial positions in education; ending sexual stereotyping in the elementary and secondary schools through changes in instructional material, in-service training of educational personnel, and assuring that there will be equal programs available for both boys and girls; and providing equal opportunity for women as students and faculty members in higher education.

I join with the State Board of Education in urging the educational community in Minnesota to take the initiative now to extend to women their full share of educational and employment opportunities.

HOWARD B. CASMEY

*Minnesota State Commissioner
of Education.*

Eliminating Sex Bias In Education

The State Board of Education believes that our educational system has helped perpetuate the division of the sexes into predetermined roles and has failed to provide freedom from discrimination because of sex and marital status.

The practice of stereotyping and socializing men and women into "masculine" "feminine" roles has resulted in prejudice, dominance, discrimination and segregation harmful to the human development of both sexes.

While there is awareness among many people of racism and its debilitating effects on our society in the wastage of human potential, there is not the same awareness of the harmful effects and the extent of discrimination and stereotyping due to prejudices concerning gender.

The State Board of Education asks the Department and the public schools to assume leadership in eliminating bias and discrimination so that the many practices based on sexual stereotyping can be ended and the assumptions changed with evolvement of new values.

To implement this policy, the State Board of Education requests the Commissioner and the Department to act as follows:

Consider including a component on sex bias in the Human Relations Certification Regulation (Edu 520-521). Human relations training should include a study of the effects of sexual bias.

The State Board of Education is concerned about four areas in particular: discrimination in hiring and promoting, sex requirements for boys and girls to participate in sports and extra-curricular activities, sex bias in curricular and teaching materials, and providing in-service training for administrators and teachers to overcome the habits and practices of teaching stereotyped social roles.

Discrimination in hiring and promoting on the basis of sex and marital status has been a damaging and long-standing practice in Minnesota's educational system. Although women teachers still outnumber men, the number of women has been steadily declining for several years.

Promotion bias against females shows in the low number of women who are principals or superintendents. In 1971, only 24.6% of the elementary principals were women, .5% of the secondary principals, and there were no women superintendents in Minnesota.

The State Board requests the State Department to:

Review all Department job descriptions and eliminate all sex-based requirements for employment or promotion.

Develop a program within the Department which provides equal opportunity for promotion to higher level positions regardless of sex or marital status.

The State Board requests local boards to:

Provide equal opportunities for employment and promotion regardless of sex or marital status.

Make known to hiring officials and local personnel committees the pertinent laws on sex discrimination and to assure adherence to these laws.

Extra-curricular activities have too long been typed as masculine and feminine, resulting in exclusion of female students from the majority of sports activities. Certain courses are also presented as being for males or females, limiting the educational opportunities and destroying the motivation of all students for gaining a full education.

School counselors should encourage students to consider careers in accordance with their interests and abilities regardless of the traditional roles or careers.

The State Board requests the State Department to:

Review all State Board rules and regulations and take steps to eliminate all sex-based requirements for courses and extra-curricular activities for students.

The State Board requests local school boards and administrators to:

Provide equal access for all pupils to local school facilities, programs, equipment, staff services, and financial resources.

Some textbooks now used reflect stereotyped concepts of masculine and feminine roles. Some elementary textbooks show male adult roles as fireman, policeman, milkman or predominantly, a man in a business suit and tie who returns home to a wife who has spent the day doing dishes and housework.

These stereotypes lead children to believe that their parents are somehow unusual, because the majority of men in the state are not businessmen and many women work and support a family.

Boys in these books are shown as inventive, adventurous and capable while girls are shown as passive, negative influences who are preparing for a life in their hoped-for future household. These stereotypes discourage young girls from developing their basic personal potential and withholds them from the motivation gained from outside reinforcement that is granted to males.

The State Board requests local school boards and administrators to:

Select books which promote elimination of sex bias.

Books and other materials for raising consciousness of the patterns of existing bias and containing information on employment and promotion should be available to all people in the school system.

The State Board requests the State Department to:

Arrange a collection of appropriate books, materials and media on sex bias to be available in the State Department Professional Library and to inform staff of available information.

Arrange for preparation of an annotated bibliography on sex bias to be distributed to all school districts in the state.

Career education programs are now being developed in elementary grades and junior high. In these programs and in existing senior high programs, the careers must be presented as available for both male and female students.

Though programs are nominally open to both, the large part of young women presently in post-secondary vocational training take clerical, secretarial or practical nursing courses, showing that little consideration has been given to less traditional roles. Girls should be encouraged to explore non-traditional courses in line with their particular interests.

The State Board requests the local boards and administrators to:

Develop career education programs for all students which recognize the need for equality of opportunity in career choice regardless of sex.

The fourth major concern of the State Board of Education is to provide in-service training for teachers, counselors and administrative and supervisory personnel to help them recognize practices of stereotyping and prejudice and readjust their teaching methods and values to end the harmful practices.

The State Board requests the State Department to:

Arrange staff meetings to raise the level of awareness of all staff members.

Include components on sex bias in education in the conferences and workshops sponsored for local administrators and school board members.

Encourage teacher-preparing institutions to include information about sex bias in pre-service and in-service programs and courses.

The State Board requests local school boards and administrators to:

Provide in-service training for professional and supporting staff members on elimination of sex bias.

The State Board of Education hopes these steps will bring Minnesota's schools closer to the goal of equal education and employment opportunities for all.

*Adopted by the Minnesota
State Board of Education
September 11, 1972*

Action Alert

APR - 9 1984

SPOTMASTER: For the latest development on League issues, call Spotmaster (202) 296-0218 from 1 p.m. on Friday to 5 p.m. on Monday (EST).

This is going on DPM
April 4, 1984

TO: State and Local League Presidents; State Social Policy Chairs

FROM: Dorothy S. Ridings, President; Julia A. Holmes, Action Chair; and Janet Otwell, Social Policy Chair

RE: Legislative Response to Title IX Supreme Court Decision

ACTION URGENTLY NEEDED

Prompt legislative action is needed to overturn the recent Supreme Court decision in the case of Grove City College v. Bell. This decision substantially narrows the application of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 which prohibit sex discrimination in any educational program or activity receiving federal assistance. The League of Women Voters is responding to this decision by working with legislators and other concerned organizations to draft legislation which would clarify Congress's intent in passing this law. We are also concerned about the implication of the Grove City decision on other civil rights laws. The 1984 session of Congress will be a short one and it is essential that legislation passes both House and Senate before Congress adjourns this fall.

TITLE IX

"No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving federal assistance...."

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 is the only federal law prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex in federally assisted education programs and activities. It covers students and employees and bars discriminatory policies in academic and extracurricular activities, counseling, athletics, housing, faculty and staff employment and other activities carried on or benefits provided by educational institutions. Since Title IX's passage twelve years ago, there have been substantial gains in educational opportunities for women and girls. Much of the overt discrimination in education, particularly that characterized by official policies, has disappeared. However, discriminatory practices remain, including discrimination in the hiring and promotion of women faculty and staff, counseling which discourages female students from studying for and entering non-traditional fields, and limited opportunities for women's participation in athletic programs. In addition, the progress achieved in recent years has come largely because of the broad application of Title IX; narrowing the law could result in the reinstitution of past discriminatory practices.

GROVE CITY COLLEGE V. BELL

On February 28, 1984, the Supreme Court handed down its decision in the case of Grove City College v. Bell. Grove City College, which receives federal assistance only through the financial aid given to its students, had argued that it was not covered by Title IX. The League filed an amicus brief in this case, arguing that Grove City College was covered by Title IX and that Title IX applied to the institution as a whole. The Court agreed that Grove City was a recipient of federal funds and was covered by Title IX, but then limited that coverage to the specific program or office receiving the federal funds, in this case the financial aid office.

The Supreme Court reached this decision by narrowly interpreting congressional intent in putting the "program or activity" language into Title IX. The Court determined that Congress intended the statute's prohibition to be limited to the particular program or activity receiving the funds, leaving the rest of the institution free to discriminate on the basis of sex.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE GROVE CITY DECISION FOR TITLE IX AND RELATED CIVIL RIGHTS STATUTES

Grove City College v. Bell threatens equal access in education and employment in education for many women and girls. The decision substantially narrows the application of Title IX and will result in spotty enforcement of Title IX, depending on the particular institution and the federal funding it receives. The Court's interpretation will limit many opportunities for girls and women in the classroom.

The Grove City decision may also endanger the protections against discrimination now afforded under federal statutes to minorities, the handicapped and senior citizens. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color or national origin in programs receiving federal aid; Sec. 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (as amended in 1978), which prohibits discrimination on the basis of disability in federally funded programs; and the Age Discrimination Act of 1975, which prohibits discrimination based on age; all have language similar to that in Title IX which was narrowly interpreted by the Supreme Court in Grove City College. Thus the federal enforcement scheme for all these laws is now in doubt. Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights William Bradford Reynolds has stated that he believes that since Title VI and Sec. 504 were drafted on the same model as Title IX, they could be subject to the same narrow interpretation.

LEGISLATIVE RESPONSE

Since the decision in Grove City centered on a question of congressional intent, it is now up to Congress to clarify its intent in passing Title IX and related anti-discrimination laws. A broad coalition of organizations, including the League, the National Women's Law Center, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the NAACP and the National Coalition of Women and Girls in Education, is working on a comprehensive legislative response to the Grove City College case which would clarify Congress's intent that Title IX, Title VI, Sec. 504 and the Age Discrimination Act be applied broadly to prohibit discrimination in an entire institution or entity receiving federal funds. This legislation will not expand on existing laws, but will be confined to specific word changes and new definitions. It is crucial that this bill pass without any substantive amendments which would

alter or change any one of these laws.

It is expected that this legislation will be introduced in the House by Representatives Don Edwards (D CA), chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights; Hamilton Fish (R NY), ranking Republican on the Judiciary Committee; Paul Simon (D IL), chairman of the Education and Labor Subcommittee on Post-secondary Education; Claudine Schneider (R RI), a strong advocate of Title IX; Patricia Schroeder (D CO), co-chair of the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues; and Barber Conable (R NY), ranking Republican on the Ways and Means Committee in the House. Senators Edward Kennedy (D MA) and Bob Packwood (R OR) are expected to introduce the bill in the Senate.

The purpose of this legislation is to clarify congressional intent and return Title IX, Title VI, Sec. 504 and the Age Discrimination Act to the scope and coverage originally intended by Congress. The League will be supporting this comprehensive, four-statute approach and will not support any attempts to amend only one or two of the statutes, since this would leave the other laws unclarified.

It is also important to note that the League, along with the other concerned organizations, will not be supporting any attempts to substantively amend any of the four statutes. We will oppose any amendments to the legislation. 1984 is an election year and Congress will be in session for a limited number of legislative days. It is imperative that this legislation get through both houses of Congress as quickly as possible. Any attempts to amend this legislation could endanger its chances for passage.

WHAT YOU SHOULD DO

1. Please write or call your representatives and senators to urge their support for these bills. If a legislator has not signed on as a cosponsor try to arrange a visit for your League with the representative or senator. Senate and House members will be returning to their districts for the Easter recess from April 13 - 23 (Senate) and April 16 - 24 (House); the House and Senate will be in recess for Memorial Day from May 25 - 30.
2. Contact your local newspapers, radio or television stations and use the attached model letter to the editor to bring attention to the Grove City College case and the legislative response to it. It is important for all those concerned about education for women and girls and the civil rights of all Americans to be aware of the impact of the Grove City College decision.
3. Include information from this Action Alert in state and local Voters. While we would like this legislation to pass through Congress as quickly as possible, the legislation may not get through both houses before Congress recesses for the political conventions. Therefore, there is time to alert many League members to the need for action on this legislation.

4. Continue to check Report From The Hill and SPOTMASTER for bill numbers and updates on the progress of the legislation and additional opportunities for action to secure passage of this legislation.
5. Ask representatives to cosponsor the Edwards-Fish bill and ask senators to cosponsor the Kennedy-Packwood bill.

POINTS TO EMPHASIZE

1. Prompt legislative action is needed to overcome the effects of the Grove City case. There are Title IX cases pending in the courts and the entire federal enforcement scheme prohibiting discrimination against women and girls in education, and minorities, the handicapped and senior citizens in federally funded programs, is now in flux. It is up to our representatives and senators to restore these laws to the broad scope and coverage that was originally intended by Congress.
2. Title IX has brought about many changes in women's status in education: there are no longer admissions quotas, and the number of women in graduate schools has increased greatly.

However, there is still much to be done -- women are still encouraged to enter traditionally "female" fields, the salaries and chances for promotion of academic women are still lower than men and there is still disparity in the funds given to intercollegiate sports for men and women. Moreover, the Grove City decision has the potential to turn back the clock, causing women and girls to lose many of the gains they have made in the past fourteen years.

3. This proposed legislation would only change specific words and definitions in the four statutes, working within the framework of the laws as they now read, to clarify congressional intent. We are not attempting to expand any of the statutes and would not support any substantive amendments to the legislation.

LOBBYING TIPS

1. If your representative or senator has a particular interest in the rights of minorities, handicapped or senior citizens, highlight the impact that this decision could have on them as well as on women and girls in education.
2. If your senator or representative has agreed to cosponsor or support this legislation, ask for his or her assistance in persuading other legislators to support the bill.
3. Encourage community awareness of the dangers inherent in the Grove City decision and the importance of the legislative response to it by using guest columns, letters to the editor and public affairs spots on radio and television. The media can be of great help in getting the message to concerned citizens and legislators.

Sample letter to the editor or editorial comment for radio or television.

The Supreme Court has dealt a serious blow to the cause of equality in education for women and girls in its recent decision in the case of Grove City College v. Bell. This decision substantially narrows the application of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, which prohibits sex discrimination in federally assisted education programs. Grove City could have an equally serious impact on similarly drafted anti-discrimination laws including Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, which prohibits discrimination based on race, color or national origin; Sec. 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, which prohibits discrimination based on disability, and the Age Discrimination Act of 1975 which prohibits discrimination based on age.

With the help of Title IX, female students and employees have made a start in gaining equality of treatment in schools and colleges around the country. It is essential that Title IX continue to be the catalyst for sex equity in education. Women are still encouraged to enter traditionally "female" fields, the salaries of academic women are still lower than men as are their chances for promotion, and there is still disparity in the funds given to intercollegiate sports for men and women.

The issue in Grove City centered on the question of congressional intent. Therefore, it is now up to Congress to clarify its intent and remedy the damage done by this decision. Legislation to clarify congressional intent and restore Title IX, Title VI, Sec. 504 and the Age Discrimination Act to the broad scope and coverage that was originally intended by Congress is being drafted in both the House and Senate. The League of Women Voters supports this legislation and its quick passage through Congress. We ask all citizens concerned about

discrimination against women and girls in education and concerned about discrimination against minorities, the handicapped and senior citizens to contact their members of Congress and urge their sponsorship and support of this legislative response to Grove City College v. Bell.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
ABOUT
TITLE IX AND GROVE CITY COLLEGE V. BELL

What is Title IX?

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 is the only federal law against sex discrimination in education. It covers both students and employees in all federally-assisted education programs and activities.

Title IX has been the catalyst for dramatic gains in the educational opportunities of women and girls. Before Title IX, it was both legal and common for female students to be excluded from admission to professional schools, be denied access to vocational education opportunities, encounter gross disparities of opportunity in men's and women's intercollegiate athletics, and suffer many other educational inequities. Enforcement of Title IX has made a start toward changing the status of female students and employees in schools and colleges across the nation.

Does the Grove City decision of the Supreme Court narrow Title IX?

Yes, substantially. The ruling holds that student financial aid money, which had been considered general aid to the entire college since it is used to pay tuition, will be considered aid only to the financial aid office. Even if 90 percent of the students at a college or university finance their education with federal grants, as long as no other federal assistance goes to the school, the institution can discriminate in all activities and functions other than student financial aid.

Is Title IX still needed?

Yes. With the help of Title IX, female students and employees have made substantial progress in gaining equality of treatment in schools and colleges. But there is still much to be accomplished. Girls are often channelled into vocational education programs that train for a few low-paying, traditionally female occupations. Educational institutions still discriminate in their hiring, pay and promotion of women. While women are numerous in the teaching profession, they are still rare in higher administrative posts, including the job of high school principal and school superintendent, and in tenured faculty positions. Sexual harassment of students and staff at all levels of education is a significant problem, the dimensions of which are just now becoming apparent. In athletics, the resources devoted to women and girls and the opportunities for their participation in athletics are still substantially less than those provided for men and boys. Female students are often excluded from working with computers. These are just a few of the hurdles that remain before sex equity in education becomes a reality.

How often have federal agencies terminated federal funding for a violation of Title IX?

Never. Although Title IX was enacted twelve years ago, not a single school, college or university has lost federal funding due to violations of Title IX. In virtually all cases, if a violation is found during the investigation, the conciliation process that follows resolves the issue with a corrective action

plan designed to eliminate the discriminatory practice. The recipient institution or district is then deemed to be in compliance as long as it carries out the terms of the corrective plan.

What are the implications of the Grove City decision for other federal laws against discrimination?

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color or national origin in programs receiving federal assistance. Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 as amended in 1978 prohibits discrimination on the basis of disability in federally funded programs. The Age Discrimination Act of 1975 has a parallel prohibition against age discrimination. All three laws have language similar to that in Title IX which was interpreted by the Supreme Court in Grove City. The operational language of Title IX was expressly patterned on that of Title VI (though coverage was limited to education), and was in turn tracked by Section 504 and the Age Discrimination Act.

Prior to enactment of Title IX, court cases had already given a broad interpretation to the "program or activity" language of Title VI. The Congress was aware of this interpretation, and incorporated it into the language of Title IX and Section 504. However, despite preexisting court precedent giving broad coverage to Title VI and Section 504, the Supreme Court's Grove City decision will probably result in interpretations of these three statutes that are just as restrictive as that given to Title IX. The Department of Justice has stated that it will apply the Supreme Court's narrow interpretation of "program or activity" to other civil rights statutes. Therefore, after the decision, the protection from discrimination available to the elderly, minorities and the disabled in all kinds of federally assisted activities is likely to be as spotty and inadequate as that offered to women and girls in education.

TIME FOR ACTION

Re: H.F. 6 (Enebo, Kahn, St. Onge, McCarron and I. Anderson)

To: Local League Presidents/Action Chairmen and Human Resource Chairmen (3 copies enclosed)

From: Lois DeSantis - Human Resources Chairman

March 1, 1977

Status of the Bill - H.F. 6 has passed the House and is now being considered by the Senate Employment Committee. Senator Allen Spear is handling this bill as it is the companion to his S.F. 192 (Spear, Dieterich, Milton, S. Keefe, and J. Keefe). The bill was considered by the Employment Committee for the first time on February 25. It will be considered again on Monday, March 7, 1977.

Background: **LEAGUE POSITION:** *Support of policies to ensure equality of opportunity - for all persons.*

The bill would eliminate "age" as a factor of discrimination in education and employment. "Age" was not included as a discriminatory factor in other areas - such as housing, public services, and public accommodations - because no one wanted to jeopardize the positive programs we now have available for the elderly.

When the bill was introduced in the House and heard in its Labor and Commerce Committee, an amendment was proposed to delete a section which would have allowed an age restriction established by a bona fide apprenticeship or on-the-job training program prior to some specified age. The proponents of the amendment felt that apprenticeship programs should not have an age limitation any more than any job should, and that a person should be able to enter an apprentice program beyond the usual age of 26. The amendment passed, and the section was deleted.

Now, in the Senate, there seems to be strong pressure to reinstate the section about apprenticeship programs. The LWVMN opposes putting this back into the law. Our position is to leave the bill as it now stands regarding apprenticeships.

Also, there seems to be strong pressure in the Senate to amend the bill so that it will apply only to persons aged 40 to 65. Again the LWVMN opposes this amendment. We feel that equal opportunity for all persons means just that - all persons, and not just those aged 40 to 65.

WHAT TO DO: Please contact your Senator on the Employment Committee before the next hearing Monday, March 7th. State our support of the bill and oppose amending it.

Members of the Senate Employment Committee:

Laufenburger, Chairman	235 Cap.	296-4181
Milton, Vice Chairman (author)	235 Cap.	-4168
Bang	136 SOB	-4122
Brataas	139 SOB	-4848
Frederick	125 SOB	-4123
Keefe, S. (author)	301 Cap.	-4190
Kleinbaum	326 Cap.	-4173
Luther	306 Cap.	-8869
Nichols	23A Cap.	-4474
Pillsbury	130 SOB	-4121
Purfeerst	323 Cap.	-4167
Staples	23G Cap.	-4137
Vega	24E Cap.	-4101
Willet	205 Cap.	-4147



*filed
Education*

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

January 7, 1980

Mr. Daniel A. Ferber
1568 Summit Avenue
St. Paul, MN 55105

Dear Mr. Ferber:

Thank you for your information on the Minnesota Center for the Older Learner. After a full discussion on the issue, our Board concluded that the League did not have a position which would allow us to act with you in supporting what we all agreed was a most interesting and worthwhile project.

Although our organization does not permit us to act on subjects which we have not studied, we will follow with interest an issue which is of increasing interest to our aging population.

Sincerely,

Pamela Berkwitz
President

Joan Higinbotham
Human Resources Co-Chair

B/H:M

Testimony before House Judiciary Subcommittee on Human Rights
by Mary Ann McCoy, State President
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
February 27, 1973
Room 21, State Capitol, St. Paul, Minnesota

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota has been involved in studying civil rights since 1949 and as a result of the study League members throughout Minnesota believe that to achieve equality of opportunity for all the Minnesota State Act Against Discrimination should be amended to prohibit sex discrimination in the areas of housing, education, public services and public accommodations. The League also supports amending the Act to prohibit discrimination in employment because of ~~sex~~ ^{AGE}.

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 555 Wabasha, St. Paul, Minnesota 55102
March, 1973

Testimony before House Judiciary Committee
by Mary Ann McCoy, State President
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
March 15, 1973 - 12 noon
Room 15, State Capitol, St. Paul, Minnesota

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota has been involved in studying civil rights since 1949 and as a result of the study League members throughout Minnesota believe that to achieve equality of opportunity for all the Minnesota State Act Against Discrimination should be amended to prohibit sex discrimination in the areas of housing, education, public services and public accommodations. The League also supports amending the Act to prohibit discrimination in employment because of age.

Testimony presented to the
General Legislation and Veterans Affairs Committee
in opposition to H.F. 2026
by Joyce Lake, Action Chair
League of Women Voters of Minnesota

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota is opposed to H.F. 2026 which modifies the state's veterans' preference law. We support policies to ensure equality of opportunity in employment. And, we support the principle that the state is responsible for all its citizens by all levels of governments. We believe that these positions are best served by a merit system of employment and the League of Women Voters has consistently worked for employment on merit since the 1950's.

The proposed amendments to MN Stat. 43.30 will serve to erode that merit system of employment. Passage of this bill will place limitations on state employment procedures designed to ensure the hiring of the best person for the job. We urge you to reject this proposal.

The Letter of the Law

The Education Amendments of 1978 (P.L. 95-56) to Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act

On November 1, 1978, the Education Amendments of 1978, which extend Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 through September 30, 1983, were signed into law.

Title I is the largest federal education aid program. Under the new statute, its main purpose remains the same: providing federal funds to local educational agencies (LEAs) in order to help them meet the special educational needs of children from low-income families. Funds are allocated to states through a formula based on poverty, then distributed to LEAs. Most of the nation's local school districts get Title I funds, which must be used to supplement the regular education programs funded with state and local resources. Most Title I funds are spent on basic skills, specifically remedial math and reading.

Safeguards built into the legislation in order to maintain the categorical, compensatory nature of Title I programs have been retained, although LEAs that operate state-funded compensatory programs with goals similar to those of Title I will now have more leeway in spending Title I funds.

The 1978 amendments modify the way funds are distributed to states and within LEAs. They also significantly strengthen parent involvement, state and federal administrative and enforcement requirements and complaint procedures.

Distribution of funds to states

Formula for basic grants Two changes have been made in the way basic grants are distributed to states: 1) Half of the funds in excess of the total fiscal year (FY) 1979 appropriation will be distributed according to a formula using the Census Bureau's 1975 Survey of Income and Education (instead of the 1970 census) to estimate population and one-half of the national median to define poverty (instead of the poverty level); 2) Starting in FY 80, the basic formula will count 100% of the children from families receiving AFDC rather than only two-thirds.

State incentive grants States that establish compensatory education programs directed to school districts with high concentrations of poor children are eligible for additional payments up to 10% of the state's basic Title I allocation or 50% of the state's compensatory education expenditures, whichever is less.

Concentration grants \$400 million is authorized in FY 79 (and such sums as necessary for the four succeeding years) for grants to school districts in counties with concentrations of low-income children above 20%, or with 5,000 or more low-income children. Each state will get at least 1/4 of 1% of the national appropriation, and within each county funds will be distributed to LEAs according to a weighted formula that gives more money to districts with higher proportions of low-income children.

Distribution of funds to school attendance areas

School attendance areas continue to be eligible if they have more than the district-wide average or percentage of low-income families. If the school district's funding level is insufficient to provide programs for all the educationally deprived children in eligible attendance areas, as has been the case since Title I's enactment, then officials must rank all of the eligible areas according to their relative degree of poverty and serve them in the order of their ranking.

However, the 1978 amendments contain the following excep-

tions to the ranking procedure:

☐ If an attendance area is not eligible but the school servicing that area has an actual enrollment of children equal to or greater than the district-wide number or percentage used to determine eligibility, it may be designated as a Title I school.

☐ A hold-harmless feature provides that an area that might be ranked too low to receive funds but that did receive them in either of the two preceding years will retain its eligibility.

☐ A particular attendance area in a school district may be "skipped over" in the priority list for receipt of Title I funds in favor of a lower-ranked area that has more children who need Title I programs (see *Which children are eligible*).

☐ An attendance area may be skipped over if all the educationally deprived children in that area are already receiving, from non federal sources, the same type and quantity of services that Title I would provide.

☐ Under the 1976 regulations, an eligible area was defined as one having 30% of its children from low-income families. Under the new law, any area in which 25% of the children are from low-income families can be targeted to receive funds. But the poverty eligibility can be lowered only if the total amount of funds received from Title I and similar state programs equals or exceeds the amount of such funds spent during the previous year in Title I schools.

☐ An LEA may distribute Title I funds to attendance areas according to educational deprivation rather than according to a poverty measure, but only if the district-wide parent advisory council consents and the state education agency (SEA) agrees that this shift would not substantially impair the delivery of Title I services to educationally deprived low-income children.

Program and administrative requirements for LEAs

Which children are eligible? Title I programs may be provided only to those educationally deprived children most in need of services, as identified through a mandated annual educational needs assessment. The needs assessment is also used to determine the areas of instruction for the Title I program. Children who were once identified as the neediest eligible children, but who no longer are, may continue in Title I programs if they are still "educationally deprived." A school district may continue to provide services to a Title I recipient who is transferred in midyear (e.g., for purposes of school desegregation) to a school without a program.

Private school children will continue to be eligible for Title I services. The new law includes a provision requiring equal expenditures for private school children, taking into account the number of children served and their educational needs.

School-wide projects The new law allows a Title I program to serve all children in a school in which at least 75% of the children are from low-income families. To operate such a program, the LEA must develop a comprehensive plan to meet all the special educational needs of the children and must consult with parents, teachers and students. Also, the school's average per pupil expenditure must be at least as great as in the previous year.

Applications and evaluations School districts will no longer have to submit annual applications to the state for fund-

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ing. Instead, they will submit applications for a three-year period and will update them as necessary. Correspondingly, LEAs will be required to evaluate programs only once every three years, rather than annually.

Program and administrative requirements for SEAs

Monitoring local school districts For the first time, SEAs are required to give technical assistance to local school officials. The statute specifies that if an LEA fails to meet statutory requirements, then the state must withhold funds and require the payment of misspent funds. Before approving an LEA application, an SEA must consider the results of federal and state audits and monitoring reports, complaints filed by parents or other individuals and evaluations conducted by the LEA.

Reports to the Office of Education (OE) Each state must submit a monitoring and enforcement plan to OE at least once every three years. This plan must be made available to parents, state and local auditors and others. However, the requirement for filing an annual state Title I plan has been eliminated. Now states may submit a one-time plan with the necessary assurances.

Administrative costs The amount paid to states for administrative costs has been increased from 1% to 1.5% of their allotment. The increased ½% must be used for monitoring, audit resolution, enforcement or similar compliance activities.

State Title I programs With only slight modifications, states will continue to operate programs for migrant children, handicapped children and children in institutions for neglected or delinquent children.

Parent involvement

Besides mandating a role for school boards and teachers in planning and evaluating Title I projects, the new law greatly strengthens parent involvement in Title I programs. The law specifies that parents must be permitted to participate in setting up Title I programs, informed of the programs' goals and given a chance to make recommendations about those goals. Parents also must be advised of their children's progress and must be allowed to assist in carrying out Title I programs.

Parent advisory councils (PACs)

But by far the most significant parent involvement is through parent advisory councils (PACs). The law outlines new requirements on how PACs should be set up and how they should operate. There are two kinds of mandated PACs: district advisory councils (DACs) and school advisory councils (SACs).

Role of PACs DACs and SACs will be responsible for advising school officials in the planning, implementation and evaluation of Title I programs and projects. Each member of a DAC or SAC must be given a free copy of the Title I law, federal regulations and guidelines for Title I and relevant state regulations and guidelines. The SEA must give each DAC a copy of any reports resulting from state or federal auditing, monitoring or evaluation activities in the DAC's school district. Also, if an SEA withholds funds from an LEA, the DAC must be informed.

Training for PACs The new law requires school officials to train PACs for effective participation in Title I programs. The training program, to be developed in full consultation with the PACs, must be described in the LEA application for funding. And Title I funds may now be used for PAC training, including expenses associated with PAC members attending training sessions.

District Advisory Councils (DACs) Each school district receiving Title I funds must establish a DAC that:

- ☐ has as a majority of its members parents of children participating in Title I;
- ☐ includes individuals representing children and schools eligible for Title I but not receiving funding;
- ☐ is composed of members elected by parents in the school district (the regulations will spell out whether the electorate consists of parents from Title I-served schools, project attendance areas or all parents);
- ☐ allows teachers who do not live in the school district but who teach in Title I schools or project areas to be eligible for election to the DAC;

☐ allows parents of children who live in a school attendance area that is eligible for Title I funds, or attend a Title I school, to be eligible for election to the DAC (even if a parent has a different residency).

School Advisory Councils (SACs) Each school or project area that has a Title I project serving more than 40 students and having at least one full-time staff member (or the equivalent) paid with Title I funds must have a SAC that:

- ☐ has as a majority of its members parents of children participating in the project area or school;
- ☐ makes teachers who do not live in the school or project area but who teach there eligible for election to the SAC;
- If a school or project area serves as many as 75 students, then the SAC must:
 - ☐ have at least eight members;
 - ☐ elect members for two-year terms (after which they may be reelected);
 - ☐ elect its own officers after members are elected;
 - ☐ meet a sufficient number of times during the year to carry out responsibilities according to a schedule set up by the SAC and at locations chosen by the SAC.

OE and parent involvement For the first time, OE is mandated to sponsor workshops for local school officials on how to work more effectively with Title I parents and PACs. The National Institute of Education (NIE) will also assess parent involvement, including an examination of training programs for PACs. NIE will report on the results to Congress and make the assessment available to the public.

Complaint resolution

The new law requires LEAs, SEAs, and OE to develop procedures for investigating and resolving complaints. The procedures must include:

- ☐ time limits for complaint resolution, (local limit, 30 days; state limit, 60 days);
- ☐ an opportunity for the complainant (or a representative) to present information about the complaint and question the relevant officials;
- ☐ an appeals process;
- ☐ publicity about and distribution of the procedures;

OE must develop written procedures for receiving and resolving appeals of complaint decisions, receiving complaints directly and conducting independent investigations. These procedures must include:

- ☐ a time limit of 60 days for complaint resolution (barring unusual circumstances);
- ☐ a chance for the complainant (or a representative) and local and state officials to give information about the complaint;
- ☐ notification to the relevant DAC and SAC, the complainant and state and local officials of both the decision about the complaint and the right to appeal—within 10 days of the decision. The notification must include an explanation of why the complaint was resolved as it was and of the federal complaint procedure.

Federal administration

The new amendments expand OE's authority for enforcement and administration by requiring OE to:

- ☐ adopt procedures to assure the timely and appropriate resolution of audit findings;
- ☐ prepare and disseminate to SEAs, LEAs, PACs and others a Title I policy manual;
- ☐ put in writing specific findings relating to the approval of state applications;
- ☐ report to Congress, in conjunction with the mandated biennial evaluation report, on enforcement of Title I.

In addition to continuing OE's authority to withhold funds, the new law permits OE, alternatively, to enter into compliance agreements with SEAs that are out of compliance with Title I, provided that parents and interested parties do not object.

Researched and written by Marlene Provizer, Human Resources staff coordinator, LWVEF.

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The Letter of the Law

THE CETA AMENDMENTS OF 1978 Public Law 95-524

The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) is the nation's primary program of job training and job creation. Reauthorized in October 1978, the program has been revised to focus services more to the poor and unemployed. The 1978 amendments also single out public assistance recipients as a group to receive special attention. With the future of comprehensive welfare reform uncertain, CETA will undoubtedly remain the primary alternative to welfare dependence provided by the federal government for many years to come.

CETA has undergone a series of shifts in emphasis since it was created in 1973. Originally enacted to replace the Manpower Development and Training Act, a program to train the long-term unemployed, CETA shifted from a training focus to a job-creation focus as it became an antidote for rapidly rising cyclical unemployment during the recessions of 1973-75. The program also underwent rapid expansion—the original \$2 billion annual appropriation was increased to \$12.7 billion by 1977.

When it reauthorized the program in 1978, Congress sought to clarify CETA's dual functions by separating programs to train the "hard-core" unemployed from the one designed to employ those out of work due to recession. The resulting legislation creates a permanent employment and training program for the long-term, or "structurally," unemployed, and a "countercyclical" program designed to vary in size in relation to changes in the unemployment rate.

Other important changes in the 1978 amendments seek to promote citizen participation by expanding the role of the CETA planning councils (see below) and strengthen provisions requiring CETA to serve significant segments of the unemployed population (including women, single parents, displaced homemakers and public assistance recipients) equitably.

Administrative structure, or what is a prime sponsor, anyway?

CETA is administered at the national level by the Department of Labor (DOL). It is carried out locally by a *prime sponsor*—usually a local government with a population over 100,000—or a state.

In order to receive CETA funds, a prime sponsor must submit to DOL a *comprehensive employment and training plan*, consisting of a *master plan* and an *annual plan*. The master plan, which must be submitted only once, outlines local economic conditions and the prime sponsor's programmatic and administrative arrangements for serving the area. It must include:

- a detailed analysis of the area, including demographic characteristics of *significant segments* of the unemployed population;
- an analysis of the local labor market, including an assessment of occupations with growth potential;
- the prime sponsor's plan for improving job opportunities and economic conditions;
- a description of plans to ensure that:
 - services are provided to those most in need;
 - programs provide equal employment opportunities and do not discriminate;
 - programs include training and job opportunities in nontraditional jobs; and
 - programs seek to remove artificial barriers to employment.

Each year the prime sponsor must submit a detailed annual plan for the coming year, including:

- a description of the eligible population according to race, sex,

national origin and age; and planned services for these groups;

- a description of services to be provided to those experiencing severe difficulties in finding jobs;
- a description of the prime sponsor's performance and placement goals;
- the proposed budget and a summary of expenditures for the previous year;
- a description of how the prime sponsor plans to coordinate its efforts with other training and employment programs in the area;
- a description of efforts to involve the private sector;
- a description of wages to be paid for public service employment; and
- methods for determining priorities for selecting participants. The priorities must take into account employment and household status, handicap, veteran status, age, race, sex or other factors the prime sponsor considers relevant.

These plans must be given to the governor, the prime sponsor planning council, local governments and other interested groups for review and comment. The comments must be forwarded to DOL along with the annual plan. The prime sponsor must also give the general public an opportunity to comment on the plan via public hearings or newspaper announcements. States applying for CETA funds must submit a comparable *coordination and special services plan*.

DOL reviews the plan to determine whether it adequately carries out the purposes of the act. In particular, DOL assesses the adequacy of each prime sponsor's performance and placement goals. If, after giving a prime sponsor the chance to modify its plan, DOL determines that it does not comply with all CETA requirements, it must disapprove the plan and withhold funds.

If its plan is approved, a prime sponsor is required to submit annual reports to DOL containing: 1) a detailed comparison of actual versus planned performance; 2) cross-tabulated participant characteristics; 3) average cost per participant; and 4) participants' post-participation job experience.

The role of the planning council

Each prime sponsor is required to establish a planning council, which must include representatives of the eligible population, organized labor, nonunionized employees, community-based organizations, veterans' organizations, public assistance agencies and other interested groups. The prime sponsor must provide a professional, technical and clerical staff. The council is to help develop the prime sponsor's plans, monitor employment and training programs in the area, analyze the area's employment and training needs, and examine efforts to reduce artificial barriers to employment. Prime sponsors must give special consideration to the recommendations of the planning council. States acting as prime sponsors must set up a state employment and training council, with membership and responsibilities paralleling those of the local planning council.

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Title by Title

Title I. Administrative requirements

All CETA programs must help to eliminate artificial barriers to employment and advancement. Prime sponsors must make services available "on an equitable basis . . . among significant segments of the eligible population, giving consideration to the relative numbers" in each segment. Prime sponsors are to take into account household obligations, giving special consideration to alternative working arrangements such as flexitime, work sharing and part-time jobs. All programs are supposed to contribute to occupational development, upward mobility and the elimination of sex stereotyping. They must also be designed to enable participants to increase their earned income and to become economically self-sufficient.

Public service employment (PSE) jobs created under CETA are to go to those most severely disadvantaged in terms of length of unemployment and prospects for finding jobs on their own. Special consideration is to go to public assistance recipients, eligible Vietnam-era and disabled veterans, and others facing particular labor market disadvantages: offenders, persons of limited English-speaking ability, the handicapped, women, single parents, displaced homemakers, youth, older workers, public assistance recipients, and those lacking educational credentials.

Prime sponsors are also charged with revising job requirements, including local civil service requirements, with a view toward removing artificial barriers to public employment.

Except in certain circumstances, no one can hold a PSE job longer than 18 months in any five-year period. The wage ceiling for Title II jobs is \$12,000 and for Title VI, \$14,400 (to be adjusted according to the area's wage rates and updated annually). The goal for average PSE wages is \$7,200 nationwide. CETA trainees are to be paid at least the local, state or federal minimum wage, whichever is highest. Public service jobs are to be created in fields that are most likely to expand, and they should be intended to meet community needs.

Title II. Employment and training services for the structurally unemployed

Eligibility is limited to persons who are economically disadvantaged—that is, public assistance recipients and those with incomes below the poverty line or 70 percent of the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) lower living standard—and unemployed, under-employed or in school. Services include job search assistance, outreach, supported work, education and institutional skill training, on-the-job training, work experience, supportive services (including day care), and an upgrading and retraining program. A transitional PSE program provides entry-level jobs, which must be combined with training to enable participants to move into unsubsidized jobs.

Title III. National programs

■ DOL is to create and administer *national* programs for certain groups experiencing particular hardships in finding employment, including displaced homemakers, single parents, women, youth, older workers and public assistance recipients.

■ DOL is authorized to undertake research on employment and training issues, including a study of the feasibility of job sharing, work sharing and flexitime.

■ DOL may set up demonstration projects, including: supported work programs, vocational education projects, experiments to test the Carter administration's welfare reform proposal, projects to test the feasibility of providing vouchers to encourage private employers to hire and train poor unemployed persons, and a program to test the feasibility of linking local CETA programs with efforts to stimulate private economic development.

■ DOL is to establish a nationwide system of labor market information, including a computerized job bank to match qualified jobseekers with available jobs.

Title IV. Youth programs

■ *Youth incentive entitlement pilot projects* test the efficacy of guaranteeing part-time jobs during the school year and full-time summer jobs to all poor high-school youths in designated communities.

Authorization levels (In Billions)

	FY 79	FY 80	FY 81	FY 82
Title II	\$5 billion	***	***	***
Title III	20% of total authorization excluding PSE funding			
Title IV	\$2.25	\$2.4	***	***
Title V	***	***	***	***
Title VI	Funds sufficient to provide jobs for 20% of unemployed over 4%, 25% when unemployment exceeds 7%			
Title VII	\$5	\$525	\$525	\$525
Title VIII	\$35	\$4	***	***

*Open-ended

■ *Youth community conservation and improvement projects* give unemployed poor youths one-year, labor-intensive jobs.

■ *Youth employment and training programs* give unemployed low-income youths between 16 and 21 work experience related to their education and career goals. Programs can include those to overcome sex-stereotyping and to increase labor-force participation by minorities and women. Such programs must have a youth council, with responsibilities analogous to those of the planning council.

■ *Discretionary projects* test innovative programs dealing with youth employment problems, including a "social bonus demonstration program" to provide incentives for private industry to hire poor youths without previous job experience.

■ *Job Corps* is an intensive program to provide education, vocational training and work experience in a group setting for poor youths between 14 and 22. A new provision requires DOL to take immediate steps to increase Job Corps participation by women to 50 percent.

■ *Summer youth program* gives poor youths useful work, basic education and institutional or on-the-job training during the summer months.

Title V. National commission

The *National Commission for Employment Policy* advises Congress and the President on national employment and training issues.

Title VI. Countercyclical public service employment

Intended to give temporary PSE jobs to those who become unemployed due to recession, this "countercyclical" program has less stringent eligibility requirements than Title II—participants may have an income of up to 100 percent of the BLS lower living standard or be members of families receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) or Supplemental Security Income (SSI). Participants must be unemployed for at least 10 out of the 12 weeks before application. The number of jobs authorized under Title VI varies according to the national unemployment rate.

Title VII. Private sector opportunities

Under this title, prime sponsors receive funds to encourage private business and industry to increase employment and training opportunities for the economically disadvantaged. "Private sector initiatives" can include on-the-job training subsidies, apprenticeship programs or job upgrading. Any prime sponsor receiving Title VII funds must establish a private industry council composed of representatives of industry and the business community, organized labor, community-based organizations, educational agencies and CETA participants.

Title VIII. Young adult conservation corps

DOL and the Departments of Agriculture and Interior will jointly administer a program to give conservation work on public lands to unemployed youths from all social, economic and racial groups.

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LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

Testimony before House Education Committee
Regarding H.F. 298 relating to
Equal Opportunity in Athletics
by

Jeannette Kahlenberg, State Board member
March 19, 1979

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

One of the League of Women Voters' most fundamental positions is for equal opportunity regardless of sex. We therefore strongly support H.F. 298 which spells out very clearly the requirement that schools and public services in Minnesota provide equity in their athletic programs. This bill contains exactly what we would have liked to have seen emerge from the rule-making process of the Department of Human Rights, when they dealt recently with the subject of sex discrimination in athletics.

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota this year has undertaken a statewide project to monitor compliance with laws relating to equal opportunity for girls in the athletic programs of our local school districts and public services. The results of the project are not yet gathered, but monitoring is now occurring in about 50 local school districts across the state, including most of the largest ones. As a result of this project, we on the state level of the League have been very active in looking at the overall picture, identifying the issues, trying to clarify the present status of the law, talking to interested parties on all sides of the issue, and seeking to apply the League's equal opportunity position to the questions at hand. The result has been a great deal of discussion on our State Board and with our state action committee, testimony by the state League at the Department of Human Rights' public hearing on their proposed rules on sex discrimination in athletics, several articles in state League publications, and generally a great deal of attention, energy, and thought on equal opportunity in athletics this year. Thus, the League does not approach this subject this morning casually or uninformed.

We would like to examine H.F. 298 with you in further detail. Basically, we strongly support the first three sections of the proposed bill, although we oppose subd. 4 of section 3, which delays the effective date for programs for younger children and we have no position on sections 4 and 5.

Section 1 setting out state philosophy of the value of equal opportunity in athletics is, of course, a statement with which we heartily concur. Separation is indeed defined as discrimination, and so we agree that the conditions under which separation is allowed must be carefully defined. On the other hand, when we look at athletic programs for students grades 7 and up, most girls would not be able to compete in a totally integrated program, due to less height and weight and historically less emphasis on skill development. We therefore concur that separation is under certain circumstances the only way in which to provide equal opportunity for participation.

The second section of the bill which defines equal opportunity is badly needed. This definition is clear, fair, and positive. It takes into account the fact that girls and women make up over half the population of the state and of the schools of Minnesota and so ought to be proportionally served by our athletic programs. The definition also takes into account interest. We cannot force girls to be interested in athletics. But if athletics do indeed teach significant values and enhance physical fitness, then girls ought to be encouraged to be interested in participation. If athletic programs are not particularly valuable, then they ought not to be encouraged for boys either. At least, there ought to be the encouragement of interest equally for both sexes.

The definition of equal opportunity also takes into account the interpretation of M.S. 126.21 handed down by Judge Ronald Hachey in 1976. This held that if a school district provides a sport such as football which does not interest girls, then it needs to provide a balancing sport such as volleyball as an equalizing opportunity for participation by girls. Currently many districts are doing just this, but many do not have any offering to correspond to wrestling, soccer or ice hockey, three other popular sports which at present are reaching boys almost exclusively. This bill spells out in its definition of "equal opportunity" the need for a sufficient number and variety of sports to meet the needs of each sex. It is thus an improvement over present law, unless clear and equitable rules can be written for M.S. 126.21. It is also certainly an improvement over the proposed H.F. 455 which not only does not define equal opportunity but even deletes two major references to it and in effect does not require school districts to provide equal opportunity at all.

The need for calling for equal opportunity by law is apparent. The League of Women Voters has been analyzing the figures available from the Department of Education and from the Minnesota State High School League. We will share a copy of our analysis with this committee. It is clear that at the present time there is not equal participation by boys and girls in our schools' athletic programs. The current participation rate by high school boys and girls is roughly two to one. This is a tremendous improvement over five or ten years ago, but it is not equal. This bill would help remedy that situation through its definition and requirement of equal opportunity. The girls of this state deserve equitable treatment.

The third section of this bill deals with separation of athletic programs on the basis of sex. The League of Women Voters of Minnesota supports the first subdivision restricting certain teams to girls, in order to provide them with equal opportunity to participate. We believe that it is legitimate at this point in history to allow these teams to be restricted to girls. Otherwise the teams would likely be quickly taken over by stronger, bigger boys. The League also agrees that only the girls' teams should have restricted membership. This permits exceptional girls who find themselves able to compete with boys and who are interested in the tougher competition to participate on either team. A significant case in point is Paula Macdonald, the unusually fine swimmer in Burnsville, whose skills declined when she was restricted to a less challenging girls' swim team after having competed very successfully on a boys' team in junior high. In 1977, Hearing Examiner George Beck ruled against both the Burnsville School District and the Minnesota State High School League in Paula's case. We wish to point out quickly, however, that this is a very unusual case. Most girls will probably not be able or be interested in participating on the unrestricted team. So boys need not feel threatened. Also having the possibility of girls moving onto the unrestricted team will be an incentive for the girls' programs to remain challenging and competitive.

We also support subdivision two which deals with equality when separate teams in the same sport are provided for girls and boys. We hope that no one will disagree with the provision of equal budgets per participant and other equal treatment of the two teams. (This is not to imply that all school districts are now in fact complying with this present requirement. In the Department of Education's recent on-site compliance visits to twenty Minnesota school districts, several were found in non-compliance with this very provision.) But surely no one will object to the basic principle of requiring

equal treatment of girls' and boys' teams. It is a matter of simple justice.

One of the more controversial aspects of this subdivision relates to possible coeducational practices for the girls and the unrestricted teams in the same sport. The League of Women Voters of Minnesota supports the concept of coeducational practices where that makes sense, especially in individual sports. This offers the chance for financially hard-pressed school districts to expand their sports programs, including their opportunities for girls, by having joint coaching, practices, and bus travel to meets. Shared coaching and training are already the practice in a number of school districts in the state: golf and cross country being examples. We believe that boys and girls working together on some of the same skills can be healthy and to the advantage of both, particularly in the individual sports of tennis, golf, swimming, skiing, gymnastics, track and field, and cross country. Coed physical education classes are now required in all our high schools and have worked well. Coed practices in athletic programs similarly can be positive experiences. Furthermore, the proposed law does not absolutely require coed practices, so that teams which need to practice together and are separate by sex can still practice as a team. H.F. 298 also specifically does not prohibit competition events separated by sex, and we agree that this is a logical provision.

The League of Women Voters supports the provision for all sports being offered in the same season for both boys and girls. The economies and advantages of coed practices are clearly not possible without this requirement. Presently most sports are already offered that way, so H.F. 298 will not cause enormous disruption for school districts. At this time, however, three sports have separate seasons: gymnastics, swimming and tennis. Some school districts will complain about shortages of facilities, but this problem can be solved by having junior high and senior high programs in separate seasons or possibly junior varsity and varsity programs separately, by season. At any rate, convenience is not an excuse for inequality. Often in our society, we are able to change and to work out inconveniences for the sake of a higher goal. This is a chance for school districts to demonstrate the creativity and flexibility they showed when, several years ago, they set the girls' basketball season in the winter. We need not be prisoners of past practice when our goal is equal opportunity in the future.

We also support subdivision three, since there is an historic lag in skills and interest in athletics among girls and although this is rapidly changing, the kind of separate remedial program allowed in this subdivision appears to be furthering equal opportunity rather than curtailing it.

Subdivision four, as mentioned earlier, causes us problems. We do not see why the date for integrated athletic programs for children 11 years of age and younger should be postponed until 1981. We presume that since present law required this by July 1 of last year, school districts and park recreation programs are already in compliance, and this provision is entirely unnecessary.

Section four deals with restructuring the Minnesota State High School League. The League of Women Voters has made no study of the High School League although some have suggested it, as we have become involved in our monitoring project and have come to realize how much power the High School League wields in promoting or hindering equal opportunity for girls. We believe that there may be merit in the provision to place governance in the hands of elected school board members rather than being shared with appointed athletic directors and superintendents. However, we leave general discussion of this section to others.

Section five deals with mandating coeducational tournaments and may be a logical extension of the provisions which the League of Women Voters has earlier supported. However, we believe it is more specific than we are comfortable supporting based on our position on equal opportunity.

Finally, we support repeal of M.S. 126.21 as provided in the final section, but only if the significant portions of that law are retained in the final version of this one. We believe that this bill is a significant improvement over present law in that it spells out legislative intent much more clearly. The same purpose could have been accomplished had reasonable rules been promulgated by the Department of Human Rights. Since that has not occurred, we strongly support this bill.

We are confident that you in the legislature agree with the League of Women Voters of Minnesota in supporting equal opportunity for the girls and women who make up half of our state's population. We know that you want progress toward the American ideal of equality and justice for all. We therefore urge your favorable consideration of H.F. 298.

Thank you.

League of Women Voters of Minnesota
Analysis of Participation of Girls in Interscholastic Athletic Programs
 Based on MN Department of Education report of data filed
 by over 400 school districts, School year 1977-78

Junior High Schools

<u>Sport</u>	<u>Team Numbers</u>		<u>Participation Numbers</u>	
	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>
Football	-	346	1	20,588
Hockey	-	10	136	685
Wrestling	-	193	6	6,412
Volleyball	249	-	8,918	-
Soccer	10	16	320	2,033
Basketball	342	365	11,840	14,672
Track and Field	257	263	9,641	10,449
Swimming	55	45	2,688	1,987
Tennis	79	69	2,633	2,421
Gymnastics	93	14	5,432	593
Golf	75	108	713	2,166
Skiing, downhill	4	5	63	74
Skiing, cross country	58	76	513	1,225
Baseball/softball	69	169	3,397	6,481
Curling	1	1	16	16
Total:	1,296	1,683	46,352	69,839
Percentage:	44%	56%	40%	60%
Total expenditure:	Girls - \$1,900,881		Boys - \$3,204,200	
Percentage:	37%		63%	
Ave. cost/participant:	\$41.00		\$45.88	

Analysis of Participation of Girls in Interscholastic Athletic Programs (cont.)

Senior High Schools

Sport	Team Numbers		MSHSL Teams *		Participation Numbers (Dpt. of Ed.)	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Football	-	395	-	504	6	24,360
Hockey	-	81	-	148	3	4,130
Wrestling	-	278	-	366	-	9,933
Volleyball	370	-	483	-	12,184	-
Soccer	4	18	-	48	244	2,038
Basketball	402	408	504	514	11,728	14,215
Track and Field	367	353	474	461	10,983	17,057
Swimming	81	79	122	127	3,102	2,992
Tennis	130	116	188	180	3,169	3,112
Gymnastics	136	22	172	45	4,210	713
Golf	133	221	160	306	1,509	3,855
Skiing, downhill	23	25	65	60	455	800
Skiing, cross country	27	25	-	-	567	685
Skiing, jumping	-	8	-	-	7	64
Cross-country	124	181	179	264	1,358	3,562
Baseball/softball	123	319	161	424	4,421	10,291
Curling	1	2	-	-	22	36
Total:	1,921	2,531	2,508	3,447	53,972	97,843
Percentage:	43%	57%	42%	58%	36%	64%

Total expenditure: Girls - \$6,214,000
 Percentage 34%
 Ave. cost/participant \$115.13

Boys - \$11,991,000
 66%
 \$122.55

Seasons	Participation		Percentage		Percentage of Year's Participation/Season	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Fall	20,063	30,673	40%	60%	37%	31%
Winter	16,996	32,855	34%	66%	32%	34%
Spring	16,913	34,315	33%	67%	31%	35%
Total:	53,972	97,843			100%	100%

* Minnesota State High School League (MSHSL) figures include private senior high schools which are not included in the Department of Education figures. Source: Document furnished to League of Women Voters Workshop on Athletics, Oct. 17, 1978, by the Minnesota State High School League.

File



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

To: Ms. Natalie Gaull
Office of Hearing Examiners
Room 300
1745 University Avenue
St. Paul, Minnesota 55104

From: League of Women Voters of Minnesota
Helene Borg, President
Jeannette Kahlenberg, Human Resources Chair
Elizabeth Ebbott, Girls' Athletics Project Chair

Date: February 22, 1979

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota requests that the following comments be accepted as additional written testimony and entered into the record In the Matter of the Proposed Rules Relating to Sex Discrimination In Athletic Programs which has been submitted for hearing by the Minnesota Department of Human Rights.

The attached data provide a very good base line for looking at the level of girls' participation in athletics in Minnesota junior and senior high schools in 1978. The figures we have used are taken from the Department of Education report, "Opportunities and Discrimination in Interscholastic Athletics in Minnesota Public School Districts," October 1978, which was presented to the State Board of Education in December 1978. A copy of this report is attached. The data in the report was compiled from "Junior High and Senior High Interscholastic Student Athletic Activities Program Report," submitted to the Department of Education by over 400 of the state's 438 public school districts in July 1978, covering the 1977-78 school year.

The League of Women Voters put together these figures in new ways to provide more meaningful data. We have used these statistics to give a total picture of girls' participation by team opportunities. The participation numbers are also provided. The Department of Education figures do not give line totals of dollars being spent on each sport, so only the total program dollars are given. The "Unitary" category in the Department of Education report is prorated by the girl/boy ratio of participation in this category. A comparison with Minnesota State High School League figures on numbers of teams is also provided. Here the reported team opportunities also include private schools which are members of the MSHSL. The source of the MSHSL figures is the attached document provided by the MSHSL to a League of Women Voters workshop on October 17, 1978. The 1978-79 figures are not indicated as estimates but they are tentative, since this material was furnished to the LWV in October, when students were not yet committed to winter and spring sports. For purposes of comparison, we have indicated the figures from

the MSHSL for the 1977-78 school year.

The figures show that at the high school level, both the MSHSL and the MN Department of Education indicate 42-43% of the high school teams in the state are for girls; 56-57% for boys. From this point on, the statistics gap widens. The Department of Education shows:

Junior High Schools: 40% participation by girls using 37% of the reported money.
Senior High Schools: 36% participation by girls using 34% of the over \$18,200,000 reported spent on senior high sports.

In 1977-78, there were 54,000 girls reported in senior high sports, 98,000 boys. The 44,000 difference represents the number of boys participating in the four sports of football, wrestling, ice hockey, and soccer, with still over 3,000 more boys involved in athletics than girls. The MSHSL team opportunity figures show 2508 girls' teams and 3447 boys' teams, so that boys in the state have 939 participation opportunities in excess of girls, represented by football, ice hockey, soccer, and 239 more teams.

Season participation shows that girls are 40% of those involved in the fall in senior high schools, but for winter and spring sports, the percentage is down to 33% and actual numbers have declined by 3,000 each of those seasons. This is why the LWV urges attention be given to the seasonal placing of sports.

It should be noted that the report by the Department of Education explains that they are missing 30 to 40 schools districts. Since this includes Minneapolis, at least one of the major school systems of the state, this may make those figures somewhat distorted. For instance, comparing teams with those reported by the MSHSL, the Department of Education figures show they have received reports of 78% of the football teams but only 23 of the MSHSL's 65 girls' ski teams and only 18 of the MSHSL's 52 boys' soccer teams: a 35% response in these sports to the Department of Education. Ice Hockey is only 55% reported to the Department of Education. There is also no report of badminton, a sport played in all 10 of the Minneapolis high schools. The almost \$900,000 that Minneapolis spends on high school sports is not reflected in the financial totals.

The summary of the report figures prepared by the Department of Education poses problems for anyone trying to understand how many girls are participating in inter-scholastic sports; what money is being spent for them; the dollars spent on the total sports program. The report narration effectively obscures the significance of the data. It appears that the intent has not been to inform the public of the status of equal opportunity for girls in Minnesota.

These are the reasons why the League of Women Voters believes that the filing of reports should be required by rule; that they should be required of the state's private secondary schools; and that it be clearly understood that the purpose of the reporting is to evaluate compliance with M.S. 363 and M.S. 126.21.

The League believes that this kind of analysis is important since it shows where sports stand today and it forms a most valuable base line to see what future compliance means. The figures demonstrate the distance we have yet to go to reach equality and they show the need to proceed with compliance. Final adoption of rules will assist in this process.

Again, we emphasize that the League of Women Voters of Minnesota is basically in support of these proposed rules. We believe it is time to move ahead toward defining clearly, once and for all, the rights of girls in the athletic programs of this state. The public and the cause of equality require timely promulgation of rules on equal opportunity.

League of Women Voters of Minnesota
Analysis of Participation of Girls in Interscholastic Athletic Programs
 Based on MN Department of Education report of data filed
 by over 400 school districts, School year 1977-78

Junior High Schools

<u>Sport</u>	<u>Team Numbers</u>		<u>Participation Numbers</u>	
	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>
Football	-	346	1	20,588
Hockey	-	10	136	685
Wrestling	-	193	6	6,412
Volleyball	249	-	8,918	-
Soccer	10	16	320	2,033
Basketball	342	365	11,840	14,672
Track and Field	257	263	9,641	10,449
Swimming	55	45	2,688	1,987
Tennis	79	69	2,633	2,421
Gymnastics	93	14	5,432	593
Golf	75	108	713	2,166
Skiing, downhill	4	5	63	74
Skiing, cross country	58	76	513	1,225
Baseball/softball	69	169	3,397	6,481
Curling	1	1	16	16
Total:	1,296	1,683	46,352	69,839
Percentage:	44%	56%	40%	60%
Total expenditure:	Girls - \$1,900,881		Boys - \$3,204,200	
Percentage:	37%		63%	
Ave. cost/participant:	\$41.00		\$45.88	

Analysis of Participation of Girls in Interscholastic Athletic Programs (cont.)Senior High Schools

<u>Sport</u>	<u>Team Numbers</u>		<u>MSHSL Teams *</u>		<u>Participation Numbers (Dpt. of Ed.)</u>	
	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>
Football	-	395	-	504	6	24,360
Hockey	-	81	-	148	3	4,130
Wrestling	-	278	-	366	-	9,933
Volleyball	370	-	483	-	12,184	-
Soccer	4	18	-	48	244	2,038
Basketball	402	408	504	514	11,728	14,215
Track and Field	367	353	474	461	10,983	17,057
Swimming	81	79	122	127	3,102	2,992
Tennis	130	116	188	180	3,169	3,112
Gymnastics	136	22	172	45	4,210	713
Golf	133	221	160	306	1,509	3,855
Skiing, downhill	23	25	65	60	455	800
Skiing, cross country	27	25	-	-	567	685
Skiing, jumping	-	8	-	-	7	64
Cross-country	124	181	179	264	1,358	3,562
Baseball/softball	123	319	161	424	4,421	10,291
Curling	1	2	-	-	22	36
Total:	1,921	2,531	2,508	3,447	53,972	97,843
Percentage:	43%	57%	42%	58%	36%	64%

Total expenditure: Girls - \$6,214,000
 Percentage 34%
 Ave. cost/participant \$115.13

Boys - \$11,991,000
 66%
 \$122.55

<u>Seasons</u>	<u>Participation</u>		<u>Percentage</u>		<u>Percentage of Year's Participation/Season</u>	
	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>
Fall	20,063	30,673	40%	60%	37%	31%
Winter	16,996	32,855	34%	66%	32%	34%
Spring	16,913	34,315	33%	67%	31%	35%
Total:	53,972	97,843			100%	100%

* Minnesota State High School League (MSHSL) figures include private senior high schools which are not included in the Department of Education figures. Source: Document furnished to League of Women Voters Workshop on Athletics, Oct. 17, 1978, by the Minnesota State High School League. (copy attached.)

File 1
ORGANIZATIONS CONTACTED FOR
COALITION OF ORGANIZATIONS TO MONITOR
IMPLEMENTATION AND COMPLIANCE OF SEX REGULATIONS
IN MINNESOTA'S SCHOOL DISTRICTS.

PAGE 1

HOME WORK

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN

MS. NANCY SELBY
PRESIDENT
MINNESOTA STATE DIVISION
719 - 18TH AVENUE SW
ROCHESTER, MINNESOTA 55901

AREA 507
288-3315

REPRESENTATIVE:

MS. PATRICIA A. KERNAN
COMMITTEE ON WOMEN
1041 BURTON STREET
RED WING, MINNESOTA 55066

AREA 617
388-6882

Maynard Sweeney

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

MS. HELENE BORG
PRESIDENT
555 WABASHA STREET
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

472-2674 224-5445

REPRESENTATIVE:

MS. JEANETTE KAHLENBERG
2338 SOUTH SHORE BOULEVARD
WHITE BEAR LAKE, MINNESOTA 55110

429-6070 ✓

MINNESOTA DFL FEMINIST CAUCUS

MS. JANET SIGFORD
STATE COORDINATOR
1987 BEACON
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55113

645-5689

Pat McCart

MS. LINDA DONALDSON
ASSISTANT COORDINATOR
4940 TENTH AVENUE SOUTH
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55417

822-2984

MINNESOTA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

MR. DONALD HILL
PRESIDENT
41 SHERBURNE AVENUE
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55103

227-9541

MS RUTH LYSNE
CHAIR WOMEN'S CAUCUS
ROUTE 5
NORTHFIELD, MINNESOTA 55057

AREA 507 AREA 507
645-5146 334-5527 ✓

ORGANIZATIONS CONTACTED FOR
 COALITION OF ORGANIZATIONS TO MONITOR
 IMPLEMENTATION AND COMPLIANCE OF SEX REGULATIONS
 IN MINNESOTA'S SCHOOL DISTRICTS

HOME WORK

MINNESOTA ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS ASSOCIATION

MR. ROBERT ARNOLD
~~PRESIDENT~~ *Exec. Director*
 55 SHERBURNE AVENUE
 ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

55103

227-7209

MINNESOTA FEDERATION OF BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.

MS. MARY HAWKINS
 PRESIDENT
 4227 ZENITH AVENUE NORTH
 MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

55422

535-1836 533-360

REPRESENTATIVE:

MS. KAREN BJORKMAN
 2355 - 148TH LANE NE
 ANOKA, MINNESOTA

55303

786-6300



MINNESOTA GOP FEMINIST CAUCUS

MS. DEBORAH MOSS
 STATE COORDINATOR
 3513 DUPONT AVENUE SOUTH
 MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

55408

827-4545

MINNESOTA FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

MR. RICHARD MANS
 PRESIDENT
 175 AURORA
 ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

55103

427-2645 227-8583

MS. KATHY STERK
 CO-CHAIR WOMEN'S RIGHTS COMMITTEE
 108 1/2 EAST HOWARD
 HIBBING, MINNESOTA

55746

AREA 218
262-1587

MS. MARY KRANTZ
 CO-CHAIR WOMEN'S RIGHTS COMMITTEE
 LAKE TRAILS
 OAK ISLAND, MINNESOTA

56741

MINNESOTA METROPOLITAN COUNCIL OF ADMINISTRATIVE WOMEN IN EDUCATION

MS. ANN DANAHY
 PRESIDENT
 1457 ELEANOR AVENUE
 ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

55116

699-8813 377-8900

ORGANIZATIONS CONTACTED FOR
COALITION OF ORGANIZATIONS TO MONITOR
IMPLEMENTATION AND COMPLIANCE OF SEX REGULATIONS
IN MINNESOTA'S SCHOOL DISTRICTS

PAGE 3

HOME WORK

MINNESOTA PARENTS, TEACHERS AND STUDENTS ASSOCIATION, INC.

MR. CHARLES AGNES
PRESIDENT
215 NORTH FOSS AVENUE
FOSSSTON, MINNESOTA 56542

LOCAL OFFICE:

55 SHERBURNE AVENUE
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55103 224-4841 →

MINNESOTA WOMEN FOR EDUCATION EQUALITY

MS. JOAN SORENSON
CO-CHAIR
449 DESNOYER
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55104 644-2905

MINNESOTA WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION

MS. GERRI PERREAULT
PRESIDENT
3224 HARRIET AVENUE SOUTH
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55408 823-7516 ~~243-9558~~

MINNESOTA WOMEN'S POLITICAL CAUCUS

MS. ELIN SKINNER
PRESIDENT
1834 PRINCETON AVENUE
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55105 698-1834

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN

MS. LINDA LAVENDER
PRESIDENT MINNESOTA DIVISION
13317 YORK AVENUE SOUTH
BURNSVILLE, MINNESOTA 55337 890-8748

MS. VIRGINIA WATKINS
MIDWEST DIRECTOR 938-8342 871-3103

WOMEN'S EQUITY ACTION LEAGUE

MS. MARGARET J. HOLDEN
PRESIDENT MINNESOTA DIVISION
1711 LAUREL AVENUE
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55104 644-2739 298-2469 ✓



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

January 4, 1979

Mr. Earl Olson, Chairman
Board of Directors
Jennie-O
Willmar, MN 56201

Dear Mr. Olson:

It's getting cold in Willmar again, and those women from the Citizens State Bank are still outside picketing. On December 16th it was one year since the strike, based on sex discrimination in employment practices, began. In this year these women have certainly demonstrated a strength and resourcefulness that ought to make them prized employees anywhere.

Minnesotans are embarrassed by this king of labor-management dispute going on for so long unresolved. Whatever compromise can be worked out, the League of Women Voters urges that there be no more delays. We encourage you, as an employer of so many people in the Willmar area and as a depositor in the Citizens State Bank, to encourage the bank management to settle this dispute. The dispute has already generated too much ill feeling in the community, and everyone suffers from this. It's time for reasonable men and women to arrive at a just settlement.

Sincerely,

Ruth Armstrong, Director
League of Women Voters of Minnesota

A:M
Copies to Governor Quie, Senators Durenburger and Boschwitz



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

January 4, 1979

The Honorable Albert Quie
Governor of the State of Minnesota
130 State Capitol
St. Paul, MN 55155

Dear Governor Quie:

It's getting cold in Willmar again, and those women from the Citizens State Bank are still outside picketing. On December 16th it was one year since the strike, based on sex discrimination in employment practices, began. In this year these women have certainly demonstrated a strength and resourcefulness that ought to make them prized employees anywhere.

Minnesotans are embarrassed by this kind of labor-management dispute going on for so long unresolved. The National Labor Relations Board held a hearing in Willmar last spring and still has not handed down its decision. Whatever the decision, the League of Women Voters urges that there be no more delays. These women are entitled to a reasonable and prompt settlement.

Sincerely,

Ruth Armstrong, Director
League of Women Voters of Minnesota

A:M

Same letter to Senators Durenburger and Boschwitz



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

January 4, 1979

Mr. O. B. Augustson, Editor
West Central Daily Tribune
Willmar, MN 56201

Dear Mr. Augustson:

It's cold in Willmar again, and those women from the Citizens State Bank are still outside picketing. On December 16th it was one year since the strike, based on sex discrimination in employment practices, began. In that year these women certainly demonstrated a strength and resourcefulness that ought to make them prized employees anywhere.

Minnesotans are embarrassed by this kind of labor-management dispute going on for so long unresolved. Whatever compromise can be worked out, the League of Women Voters of Minnesota urges that there be no more delays. The dispute has already generated too much ill feeling in the community of Willmar. It's time for reasonable men and women to arrive at a just settlement.

Sincerely,

Ruth Armstrong, Director
League of Women Voters of Minnesota

A:M

Same letter to Minneapolis Star and Tribune, St. Paul Pioneer Press-Dispatch

Xeroxed for J.K.

FEB 1 1979

*4 files
sent to E.E.*

Cannon Falls, MN.
January 31, 1979

Ms. Elizabeth Ebbott
League of Women Voters of Minn.
555 Wabasha
St. Paul, MN. 55102

Dear Ms. Ebbott:

We really appreciated the time and effort you made to evaluate our last year's study of compliance with Title IX and the Kahn Act. It was most helpful to us. We were aware that we did soft-pedal some of our evidence in order to make it more acceptable; we tried to be as positive as possible as we felt we needed to make friends with the school and the board. It can be very difficult to be truly objective in a small community. We do feel that we have the school administration with us this year and do not anticipate any difficulties in getting the information we need--last year, we had quite a bit of difficulty there.

Our committee has decided to concentrate on developing some community awareness of the laws dealing with equality in education for girls in athletics. There is always a lot of misunderstanding and antagonism toward change and we feel that we need to work mostly in the area of attitudes. After we had checked with the Northfield League (we had read of their attitudinal survey) we decided that this sort of thing could be useful for us, too. We basically used the same type of survey, but altered in ways to be of more direct concern for Cannon Falls. We are using this survey for personal interviews, telephone interviews, and mail surveys.

Our biggest problem (that of every League, I'm sure) is the money for projects. Mail surveys cost about 50¢ apiece, so we feel sort of limited. Faye Sargeant, our League President of the Red Wing League, has suggested that perhaps the Minnesota Department of Human Rights may have made some monies available to help in this year's study. If so, we could enlarge our mailing and be more effective.

We would appreciate it very much if you will let us know if any help is available. Thank you again.

Sincerely yours,

Fern Peterson

Fern A. Peterson
R.R. 1, Box 3



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

January 30, 1979

Mr. David Tatel, Director
Office for Civil Rights
U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare
330 Independence Avenue Southwest
Washington, D.C. 20201

Dear Mr. Tatel:

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota wishes to express concern over the proposed policy interpretations relating to the athletic section of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. We represent 4000 members, many of whom are currently engaged in a statewide project to monitor local compliance with Title IX and with our even stricter state law on equal opportunity in athletics.

Our concern is with the new loopholes which are provided in the policy interpretation of Title IX released by HEW on December 6, 1978. We take exception to the "exceptions" which this would allow.

Specifically, the "nature" of a sport (IA3a, IB2), "scope" (IA3b), and "level of competition" (IA) ought not be acceptable excuses for perpetuating present inequality. Men's football and basketball programs should not be sacrosanct in a society supposedly dedicated to equality.

We also respectfully point out that "programmatic decisions" (IA1, IA2) may be made by administrators motivated by many factors other than that of providing equal opportunities for women. This latitude in claiming that decisions are "non-discriminatory" is too broad.

Our goal is equality, and we would hope that such is the goal also of HEW and particularly of the Office for Civil Rights. We believe that women ought no longer to be treated as second-class citizens in the athletic programs of our nation's colleges and universities.

We urge reconsideration of the proposed policy interpretation.

Sincerely,

Helene Borg

Helene Borg, President
League of Women Voters of Minnesota

B:M



Facts & Issues

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES

Rights of "Another Nation"

Discrimination in education is the basic cause of the other inequities and hardships inflicted upon Negro citizens. The lack of equal educational opportunity deprives the individual of equal economic opportunity, restricts his contribution as a citizen . . . creates an atmosphere of frustration, resentment, and unrest which does not bode well for the future.

—John F. Kennedy, 1963

In far too many ways American Negroes have been another nation, deprived of freedom, the doors of opportunity closed . . . freedom is the right to be treated in every part of our national life as a person equal in dignity and promise to all others . . . We seek not just freedom, but opportunity . . . equality as a fact and equality as a result.

—Lyndon B. Johnson, 1965

A President's eloquent words may give little immediate comfort to individual Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and others who daily face the consequences of discrimination in employment and education. Yet in recent years such words have meant more than they did earlier, for Congress has passed an unprecedented amount of legislation directed toward creating equality of opportunity. The most important federal law is the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and as it is beginning to take effect various questions can be raised. How effective are its provisions on education and employment? Are they adequate to the need throughout the country? What is the difference between compliance with the letter of the law and compliance with its spirit and with a national search for "opportunity . . . equality as a fact and equality as a result"?

One way to look for answers to these and similar questions is to survey briefly some of the conditions that led to the legislation, the provisions of the Act itself, and developments since it became law in July 1964.

STATISTICS TELL A TALE

Discrimination in jobs and schooling has affected the lives of many minorities; but Negroes form the largest racial minority in the United States and the history of all recent federal civil rights legislation is basically a Negro story. Much of it can be told through statistics:

U. S. Department of Labor figures show that the present unemployment rate of Negro workers is about twice as high as that of the working force as a whole. Although Negroes account for only 10 percent of the labor force,

they represent 20 percent of total unemployment and 30 percent of long-term unemployment. Among Negro teenagers unemployment has been even higher, hovering around 23 percent as compared to 13 for white teenagers. Moreover, the Potomac Institute has estimated the actual unemployment rate of Negroes both adult and teenage to be even higher because these figures cover only those actually seeking work and do not include the thousands who have given up after fruitless effort to find jobs or those who as products of generations of deprivation are too apathetic to try.

In addition, comparative income figures reveal that the relative economic position of even the employed Negro is not improving but is falling further behind that of the white. For example, since 1947 the number of white families living in poverty has decreased 27 percent while the number of nonwhite families in poverty has decreased only three percent.

The social and economic effects of discrimination against the Negro and other minority groups were cited in the 1965 Annual Report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. The report estimated that employment discrimination combined with poorer educational opportunities for nonwhites costs society up to \$20 billion a year in potential production.

BEHIND THE JOB ISSUE

Basic to the problem of employment opportunities is equality of opportunity for education, particularly since modern technology threatens the existence of many jobs for the untrained. So schooling is intrinsically bound up with all the Negro's aspirations for equality—in jobs, in income, in the growth of every individual and the development of his responsibilities as a citizen.

Since 1954, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal," high priority has been given to pressing for equal opportunity through school integration. Yet a decade later this effort had attained only spotty success. By mid-1964 only a few more than 30,000 of the 3,000,000 Negro children in the 11 states of the Confederacy were in classrooms with white children—one percent. In the rest of the nation, where school segregation has resulted from *de facto* residential segregation rather than from state or local laws requiring segregation, the situation was little better. Ninety percent of Negro children in Chicago, New York, Boston, and other comparable ghetto-ridden cities throughout the country were in schools as segregated as those in the South. In summary, only about 15 percent of all the nation's Negro children were in nonsegregated schools in 1964.

This record, 10 years after the Supreme Court decision, contributed to increased Negro discontent and to greatly intensified pressures to move against all forms of racial discrimination. Federal civil rights legislation was passed in 1957 and 1960. The far-reaching Civil Rights Act of 1964 was signed into law by President Johnson on July 2, 1964. It contains 11 sections—Titles—of which four are directly related to equality of opportunity in education and employment.

TITLES TO EQUALITY

- Under Title IV the U.S. Attorney General has new authority to file civil suits to bring about desegregation of public schools. Desegregation is defined as the assignment of students to and within public schools without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin. The Act specifically states, however, that desegregation shall not mean the assignment of students to overcome racial imbalance and that no order may be issued under Title IV requiring the transportation of students between schools or school districts to achieve racial balance.

The U.S. Office of Education is directed to conduct institutes for special training of teachers and school personnel to deal effectively with desegregation problems, and to provide technical assistance in preparing and carrying out integration plans when requested by states or school districts. Finally, the U.S. Commissioner of Education is required by this section of the Act to complete by July 2, 1966, a nationwide survey of equal educational opportunities in all public schools.

- Title VI provides that no person may be subjected to discrimination or denied benefits in any federally financed program on the ground of race, color, or national origin. Where discrimination is found, federal agencies are empowered to terminate assistance after a fair hearing. Rulings of agencies are subject to judicial review.

Among the most far-reaching of the sections of the Act, Title VI has had the most immediate effects. More than 190 federal programs in education, employment, agriculture, business, housing, health, and welfare are covered by it. In 1964 over \$15 billion was spent on these programs. This figure will increase greatly as a result of two recent Acts—the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (anti-poverty act) and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 which will provide over a billion dollars in its first year with the lion's share going to low-income areas. Other educational programs which are covered by Title VI are National Defense Education activities, impacted area school construction and assistance programs, school lunch and milk programs, vocational education activities, and loans to college students.

A NEW RIGHT

- Title VII establishes for the first time through federal action a broad right to equal opportunity in employment and creates a five-member bipartisan Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to help implement this right. Employers, labor unions, and employment agencies are required to treat all persons equally without regard to race, color, religion, sex or national origin in all phases of employment—from application for a job to firing. This section bars unions and employers from discriminating in apprentice and training programs and prohibits unions from keeping segregated seniority lists. Employment agen-

cies come under the Act if they supply employees to employers covered by the Act.

Unlike the other Titles, Title VII goes into effect in stages. The first stage began on July 2, 1965, a year after enactment, when employers of 100 or more workers and unions with 100 or more members were brought under the Act. Coverage will be expanded each year until July 2, 1968, when employers and unions with 25 or more workers or members will come under the terms of the law.

When it is in full operation Title VII is expected to cover some 30 million of the nation's work force. Not covered by the law, however, are 1) agencies of federal, state, and local governments (except the U.S. Employment Service and state and local employment services receiving federal funds); 2) private clubs; 3) educational institutions with respect to employees working in educational activities, religious educational institutions with respect to all employees; 4) employers on or near an Indian reservation, with regard to preferential employment treatment to Indians; 5) religious corporations, institutions, etc., with regard to employees working in connection with religious activities. Also excluded are employers with 24 or fewer employees.

If an individual believes he has been discriminated against he may within 90 days bring his complaint to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The Commission will handle the complaint directly unless the state or community in which the alleged discrimination occurred has a fair employment law. If so, state and local officials are allowed up to 60 days to resolve the matter; 120 days are allowed during the first year after enactment of a new state or local law. If there is no satisfactory conclusion in that period, or if the state or locality rejects the complaint before the time is up, the complainant may go to the Commission, which is authorized to settle complaints by conciliation and persuasion but which has no power to compel compliance.

The Commission has 60 days to investigate, make a determination in the case, and achieve voluntary compliance. If its efforts to secure compliance fail, the individual may then take his case to a federal court. The court may appoint an attorney and exempt the complainant from certain court costs. In its discretion, the court may allow the U.S. Attorney General to enter the case if he certifies that it is of general public importance. The Attorney General may also actually initiate a suit if he has reasonable cause to believe there is a pattern or practice of resistance to Title VII.

If the court in either kind of action finds discrimination it will order the employer, employment agency, or union to take corrective measures, which may include hiring or reinstating employees with or without back pay.

- The Community Relations Service is an implementing and conciliating agency established by Title X to help local communities and individuals resolve disputes and difficulties arising out of discriminatory practices based on race, color, or national origin. This new agency may offer its services to both public and private agencies either upon its own initiative or upon request by a state, community, or individual. Its objective is to seek voluntary compliance with the law by establishing liaison with and among local officials, individual citizens, civil rights organizations, and federal agencies. Persuasion is the main tool of the service.

IMPACT ON SCHOOLS

According to the White House report on the first year's progress of the Civil Rights Act, compliance with the letter of the law was perhaps being achieved faster than had been hoped. The next step, the report said, "is to achieve compliance in spirit. . . . Reluctance to make the Negro feel welcome is now being expressed increasingly in the North, perhaps in reaction to pressures for open occupancy in housing. It is this dimension of the problem—the psychologically imprisoning aspects of prejudice—that needs to be attacked next, on a massive scale." The report also noted that the "process of change" taking place throughout the South is "often a difficult one . . . no one pretends that desegregation is a simple matter for a community."

The U.S. Office of Education has held more than 25 institutes for over 2,000 teachers, counselors, and school administrators from 16 southern states, and in the fall of 1965 some 20 in-service training programs were supported by grants from the Office of Education to school districts. In many of these communities the institutes and programs offered the first opportunity the participants had ever had to discuss the problems of desegregation—e.g., community reaction, teacher understanding of minority group children and the relationship of their heritage and environment to the learning process, academic adjustment of Negro pupils in formerly all-white schools, integration of faculties, and relations with PTAs.

The nationwide survey of the educational opportunities of Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Indians, Puerto Ricans, Orientals, and disadvantaged whites got under way in the fall of 1965. Intended to serve as a base from which educational progress can be measured, the survey will cover questions concerning race and color, as directed under Title IV, and will seek to discover the relationships between these factors and the effects of environment on pupil achievement in all schools.

TITLE VI IN THE CLASSROOM

An increase of slightly more than one percent took place in the classroom integration of Negro and white school children during the first year of the Civil Rights Act, but a greater increase was expected in the fall of 1965 when the impact of Title VI was first felt.

Regulations issued in April 1965 by the Office of Education provide that school districts will receive no federal money unless they either promise to comply with any court order outstanding against them or submit new desegregation plans with assurances that the proposals will be implemented. Desegregation plans must at least meet the standards set forth in the Office's "General Statement of Policies under Title VI," which states that school districts must desegregate all grades by the fall of 1967; that pupil assignments and transfers must not be made on the basis of race, color, or national origin; that teaching staffs, transportation, and other services must be desegregated; and that "all practices characteristic of dual or segregated school systems" must be abolished.

A "substantial good faith start" must have been made by the fall of 1965. According to the policy statement, this means that at least four grades must have been desegregated by the opening of the school year—the first

grade of elementary and of junior and senior high schools, and the last grade of high school. Other requirements of the "good faith start" apply to all grades: assignment of new pupils without discrimination, no use of public funds to maintain segregation by sending pupils to schools outside their district, and steps toward desegregation of faculties—at least to the point of providing for joint faculty meetings. Furthermore, desegregation plans must have been made known to pupils and parents "in sufficient time to enable them to understand and take advantage of their rights."

The Office of Education has approved the two most frequently used methods of desegregation: 1) the *freedom-of-choice* or open-enrollment plan, whereby parents must have a genuine choice of placing their child in any school within the district (up to the point where the school is full); and 2) the geographic or *zoned-attendance* plan, which must be based on a single nonracial system of attendance zones.

As the 1965 school year began, it was evident that Title VI is having some effect on school desegregation in the South although less than many had anticipated. Integration of classrooms is more than double that in previous years, but the picture of school desegregation is contradictory. Looked at one way, Office of Education figures show that 93 percent of the more than 5,000 school districts in the southern and border states have submitted compliance plans and have had them accepted by the Office of Education.

Looked at another way, however, Office of Education figures show that only about 7.5 percent of the Negro children in the 11 southern states are now actually attending integrated elementary or secondary schools. (And this estimate is criticized as too high by the Southern Regional Council, which calculates that only 5.2 percent of such children are in integrated schools.) In one predominantly Negro county, for instance, a freedom-of-choice plan on paper allowed integration of all grades immediately, but only seven Negroes were admitted at the start of the school term. In another community, comparatively few Negro parents have submitted applications for their children to enter the white schools and only 77 out of 3,600 Negro children are integrated with the 2,400 white children in the district's three previously all-white schools.

Seven and one half percent is certainly an increase over the two percent classroom integration which had been achieved from 1954 to the end of the 1964-1965 school year, but that figure does not seem to paint the same picture as the 93 percent figure of school districts which have had their compliance plans accepted. The answer appears to be a combination of token compliance plus hesitation, for various reasons, by Negro parents to enroll their children in all-white schools. In some cases all parents did not receive the required notices informing them they could select the school for their child to attend. Newspapers report some answering letters were voided because they were received "too late" or were incorrectly filled out. Parents have been intimidated through threats of job loss, mortgage foreclosure, or cancellation of credit. Negro children have been informed that they cannot go out for sports if they attend an all-white school or that they cannot have transportation. In some cases, white children have been bussed to an all-white school in an adjoining district to avoid sharing a school with Negroes.

The Office of Education (which expects to publish revised guidelines by January 31, 1966) has been aware that "freedom of choice" places the burden of integration on Negro parents rather than on school officials and that "tokenism" might become a serious problem. Believing that more integration will result under the "zoned attendance" plan, the Office has pressed for adoption of this plan by school districts and is considering the possibility of requiring zoned areas in 1966. Firm opposition already has been expressed by some southern school board members, however, especially those in states which have repealed compulsory school attendance laws. They fear white children will be withdrawn from public schools and either kept out of school altogether or sent to private schools. This fear may be well founded as many new private schools opened this fall in almost every southern state.

Despite widespread "tokenism" and the spotty picture of integration, many observers feel that a milestone in the Negro's search for equality of opportunity has been reached under Titles IV and VI. For the first time some integration has been achieved in wide areas of the Deep South, notably in small cities and rural areas where there is a large Negro population and where white opposition has been greatest. And, although integration plans are not always working, it appears that *de jure* segregation has been effectively weakened.

DE FACTO SEGREGATION

While public school segregation previously sanctioned by state or local law is slowly receding, public school segregation resulting from a concentration of a homogeneous racial population in a particular neighborhood and its schools is increasing. This *de facto* segregation, in which school district lines adhere to racial housing patterns, exists in urban areas throughout the United States.

The *de facto* issue has been appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court and as of November 1965 the Court had refused five times to rule specifically on the question. In one instance (Gary, Ind.) the Court refused to review a lower court decision which upheld neighborhood schools even though *de facto* segregation might result. It let stand a decision that the New York City Board of Education could draw the boundaries of a Brooklyn school district in order to minimize racial imbalance. It let stand a decision regarding Kansas City, Kansas, which said that "although the 14th Amendment prohibits segregation, it does not command integration of the races in the public schools and Negro children have no constitutional right to have white children attend school with them." Also, the Supreme Court refused to review a case upholding the authority of the New York State Commissioner of Education to order Malverne, N.Y., to eliminate racial imbalance in its schools. Finally, the Court let stand New York State court rulings upholding the right of the New York City Board of Education to "pair" schools in Queens in order to achieve better racial balance. (The Board had required all children in two districts to attend a formerly predominantly Negro school for the first and second grades and a formerly predominantly white school for the third through sixth grades).

There has been growing pressure from civil rights and other citizens groups in northern and western cities for the U.S. Office of Education to take action against *de facto*

segregation under Title VI. The Office is investigating complaints of discrimination from several northern communities, among them Boston, Chicago, San Francisco, and Chester, Pennsylvania. (Federal funds for Chicago were temporarily "frozen" in the early fall of 1965 because of complaints of school segregation, but were "thawed" after protests from local officials.) The Office may investigate for discrimination in schools if there is reason to believe that segregation has been deliberately created or perpetuated by such devices as arbitrary site selection, gerrymandering a school district, manipulating transfer policies, under-utilizing certain schools, or if teaching and facilities in Negro schools are inferior to those in white schools.

AGREEMENT—BUT SOLUTIONS?

A number of studies of *de facto* segregation and its effects on education have been made under auspices of governmental agencies, among them the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, the states of New York and Massachusetts and the cities of New Haven, Conn.; Mount Vernon, N.Y.; Boston, Mass.; and New York City. The studies show many areas of agreement but also point to unsolved problems.

There is widespread agreement in the reports that racially segregated schools are incompatible with the democratic concept of a free society and equal educational opportunity for all. Even when the educational facilities of racially segregated schools are not inferior, as they are in many cases, the segregated child—Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American—is subject to educational handicaps of impaired confidence, a distorted self-image, and lowered motivation. Negro experience in the United States, from the destruction of familial ties in the days of slavery to today's demoralizing ghetto environment, has led to a lack of self-esteem and a low level of aspiration that are perpetuated and reinforced by segregated public schools. Finally, racial imbalance encourages prejudice within children, regardless of their color, and ill prepares them for life in a multiracial community, nation, and world.

A great deal of research and experimentation has been carried out on methods to achieve wider integration. The reports include recommendations about enrollment patterns, size and location of schools, integration of faculties, improvement and expansion of compensatory interracial educational programs and learning experiences outside school itself. Experimental programs in a number of school systems have produced startling results in upgrading the performance levels of disadvantaged children and there is evidence that the performance of Negro children improves in schools with a good racial balance.

Despite broad agreement in the reports that integrated learning experience is fundamental to equal educational opportunity, there are a number of areas of disagreement, and problems for which no answers have been found. The most difficult problem is at the elementary level and is caused by the adherence of many school districts to the system of assigning children to schools according to the neighborhood in which they live. There is disagreement over the educational priority of the neighborhood school, of racial integration, and of quality education.

The issue of racial balance is the basis of the political controversy related to the neighborhood schools—"to bus

or not to bus" children to school. The neighborhood school and the bussing controversies have become politically polarized into "all or nothing" situations in which a school committee, often after bussing children for years to relieve overcrowding or for other educational reasons, may suddenly find itself opposing all bussing. In such situations, rational discussion of solutions to the educational problem of racial imbalance has become virtually impossible.

Some observers believe the neighborhood school has important values, such as more effective participation by parents and other citizens in the support and guidance of the schools. Yet on the basis of educational, psychological, and sociological research, they believe the educational need to integrate schools has a higher priority. When a neighborhood school is in effect reserved for certain groups or when it results in a ghetto situation, it does not serve the purpose of democratic education.

Other observers argue that although present schools in slum areas appear to support the assumption that only integrated schools can be good schools, research to date does not support the assertion that only integrated education will provide either quality education or equality of opportunity. Therefore they believe much more emphasis must be placed on promoting quality education regardless of the racial composition of the schools.

However, even if there were overwhelming agreement on the overriding interdependence of racially balanced schools, quality of education, and equal opportunity for all children, another hurdle would have to be overcome. The existence of very large Negro ghettos in many cities, coupled with the increasing movement of whites from the city to the suburbs and of white children from public to private schools, creates technical problems in bringing about racial balance. It is clearly impossible to create anything approaching racial balance if there are relatively few white children living in the city or attending public schools. Solutions are not easy to find, and some urban areas do have greater problems than others, depending on the relative size of the white and Negro populations and on their concentration in residential areas.

The experience of a number of urban school systems shows that when the proportion of Negroes in a particular school reaches a "critical point," the decrease in white enrollment accelerates, teachers seek assignments in other schools, and there tends to be a lowering not only of general morale but also of pupil motivation and achievement. Professor Kenneth B. Clark briefly summarized the intricate problems of education in an urban ghetto when he stated: "If children go to school where they live and if most neighborhoods are racially segregated, then the schools are necessarily segregated, too. If Negroes move into a previously white community and whites then move away or send their children to private schools, the public schools will continue to be segregated. If the quality of education in Negro schools is inferior to that in white schools, whites feel justified in the fear that the presence of Negroes in their own school would lower its standards. If they move their own children away and the school becomes predominantly Negro, and therefore receives an inferior quality of education, the pattern begins all over again." (From *Dark Ghetto, Dilemmas of Social Power.*)

IMPACT ON EMPLOYMENT

If the total impact of the Civil Rights Act on education is still to be felt, it is also too early to evaluate the effectiveness of Title VII in eliminating employment discrimination and in creating the conditions under which equality of opportunity can become a reality. Nevertheless, it is possible to gain a sense of what the future may hold by looking at the problems of labor and business and at the progress made during the past few years.

Labor's official position against discrimination in employment has been very firm. In fact, civil rights leaders have given organized labor much credit not only for the inclusion of the fair employment practices section in the Civil Rights Act but also for its passage. Historically, however, a wide gap has existed between the commitment of labor's leaders to equal opportunity and its implementation at the local level by the more than 130 unions and 14 million members. The industrial unions have generally taken a stronger stand in support of nondiscrimination than have the skilled craft unions which traditionally have exercised careful membership control.

The major root of the problem is anxiety over job security at a time in our economic history when automation is taking its heaviest toll of employment opportunities in the unskilled and even semiskilled job fields. The concern for job security is deepened by the common knowledge that even in prosperous times our economy does not automatically guarantee full employment. The built-in responsibility of the unions to defend the jobs of "those who are already in" complicates the problem still further.

Nevertheless, some marked successes had already been achieved voluntarily before Title VII went into effect. In a number of southern industrial areas, formerly segregated locals have been merged into one—e.g., the bricklayers, masons, and plasterers in Atlanta and Jacksonville, the machinists in Norfolk, and the painters in Charleston. In 1963 the presidents of the 18 building craft unions undertook a program to help eliminate racial discrimination in apprenticeship, union membership, and work referral. Some of the specific steps which have been taken on the local level since that time include the opening of apprenticeships to 300 Negroes and Puerto Ricans by the New York electrical workers and the agreement to accept qualified nonwhite craftsmen for membership in the Pittsburgh building trade unions.

Considerable criticism, however, has been aimed at labor from various quarters, including the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, the President's Council of Economic Advisers, and labor spokesmen themselves. The Council of Economic Advisers wrote in 1965 that one of the most critical remaining barriers to the employment prospects of nonwhites is the lack of sufficient openings in apprenticeship programs. "Until younger Negroes can acquire the skills necessary to compete in today's labor market," the Council said, "equality of opportunity will not be realized."

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reported in 1964 that Negro participation in apprenticeship training programs is "alarmingly meager." In a series of reports on various states the Commission found that "buck-passing" among labor, management, and government constituted a serious obstacle to opening apprenticeship programs to

Negroes. Equality of opportunity, the Commission said, may be the official policy of industry, labor, and government, but in practice the policy has been relatively meaningless in the absence of implementation by the three groups.

Finally, one labor leader said that organized labor has been making progress, but that it must do more—"you have to measure progress in terms of distance yet to go."

THE JOB OF BUSINESS

Business and industry are also making progress toward placing Negroes into more and better jobs, although according to a June 1965 *Business Week* survey what has been accomplished is a "drop in the bucket." Much of the success that has been achieved, the survey indicated, has been due to the efforts of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity established in 1961 to increase equal employment opportunities within the federal service and with government contractors. A closely related voluntary program, "Plans for Progress," has involved more than 300 companies.

In the North the emphasis has been placed on white-collar jobs; in the South, on opening up to Negroes formerly all-white production-line jobs. In seeking Negro employees, however, business has run headlong into the problems of poor education and inadequate training. Vast numbers of Negroes do not have the schooling or the technical background to qualify for more than menial jobs—and it is these jobs, of course, which are becoming fewer and fewer, year by year.

Some economists, civil rights and business leaders have urged that business, industry, and government undertake an intensive society-wide effort to help nonwhites reach a standard at which they would be qualified for better jobs. Government, under the many "war on poverty" programs, e.g., those of the Office of Economic Opportunity, is well launched on manpower training for both whites and nonwhites. Business and industry, despite public statements that a special program for nonwhites means "preferential treatment" or "discrimination in reverse," are in many instances giving Negro workers special training. The number of companies involved is small, but increasing. Programs are being conducted by business—alone and in conjunction with the Urban League—with local school systems or with government agencies. The Urban League in Chicago, for example, worked out a retraining program with the Yellow Cab and Shell Oil companies in cooperation with the public welfare department. In three months, 200 Negro men were trained to become taxicab drivers and service station attendants. Whitney Young, Executive Director of the National Urban League, has stated that this meant not only that 200 men were off the relief rolls and making \$100 a week but also that "their role in the family—as a parent, as a father—has changed."

A number of firms have undertaken on-the-job training programs in the 3-R's and in specific skills to enable Negroes to qualify for the job opportunities which are being opened to them. Some companies are giving Negro employees special training to help them qualify for high school equivalency certificates. Guidance programs for youths still in high school have been started by several business firms.

In San Francisco some companies on re-examining their testing procedures have often found that their employment tests and other criteria for hiring, such as "appearance," are not always relevant to job requirements or to performance. A Cleveland company put 32 Negro girls through an eight-week secretarial course (including classes on what to wear) and at the conclusion the company itself hired 26 of the girls.

Among other lessons business has learned is the need for a firm executive policy "at the top" and an effective follow-up system throughout all levels of the company so that all employees will know that the policy of non-discrimination is definitely to be implemented. In the North, for instance, one company reported that a top secretary objected to the hiring of a qualified Negro secretary and threatened to resign. She was urged to stay, but was told that the Negro would be hired regardless. She stayed.

In the South, according to the *Business Week* survey, the problems involved in upgrading jobs for Negroes and in providing more employment are usually more difficult. There the greater hostility of white employers and workers, and the firm opposition of some local politicians are added to the problems of inadequate education and training. But there has been change. Negroes now are working on production lines, as researchers, technicians, secretaries, clerks, and salespeople. The number is small—and in industries employing the most people (especially textiles) the gains have been minor.

Business in both North and South also has learned that many Negroes will not apply for jobs no matter how thoroughly they are advertised in help-wanted columns. Experience has shown the Negro so often, *Business Week* reported, that the advertisement "didn't mean me" that he frequently dreads to try for jobs where Negroes have never worked before. Hood Milk is one of the companies which have learned how to surmount this problem. In common with many other firms, Hood had generally found its employees through the referral system in which a present employee introduces a friend or relative to the personnel department. "A company that has few if any Negroes on its payroll won't change the racial balance by sticking to that system," the Hood personnel director said. So the company took a number of new steps: communication within the company to be sure that all managers knew a special effort was being made, and communication outside with the Urban League, the NAACP, CORE and with numerous individual leaders in the Negro community. The company advertised in the Negro press, and printed invitations which were delivered by its milkmen along with the morning milk in Negro neighborhoods of the New England cities it serves. Each week Hood's personnel people meet with Negro leaders to give them a list of job openings, counting on them to pass the word. Today, Hood has Negroes among its accountants, auditors, laboratory technicians, and personnel staff.

MORE TO BE DONE?

Despite the impressive number of programs being conducted by business and industry, it is apparent that only a small sample of American businesses had by 1964 dealt "firsthand with the forces of integration." According to studies conducted by the Harvard School of Business

Administration and the National Industrial Conference Board, Negroes generally are still being hired for the low-paying, low-status jobs.

The authors of the Harvard study wrote that the integration of Negroes in the productive force of the country is "the top priority issue for American business." The cost to the nation of preventing minority groups from obtaining jobs commensurate with their abilities is very high, they asserted, emphasizing that even a single company with a positive integration program can have a large impact in a community by reducing social unrest, encouraging new investment, and promoting prosperity and growth through expanding local employment opportunities for minority groups.

The Harvard report, which was written to help American management cope with integration, concludes: "The Negro movement is in many ways like a new union with which management must learn to cooperate. And this does not by any means suggest that the goals and policies of a business either should or must be compromised. Businessmen are not being bullied, but confronted. They have an opportunity to act with foresight and leadership in a current of change which is irrevocably sweeping the nation. In fact, the very tenor of the Negro movement in the future may be determined by the way in which the business community acknowledges, accepts, and acts to assimilate the Negro protest today."

TITLE VII COMPLAINTS

Confrontations of both labor and management with the Negro's search for equality of opportunity in employment will increase in number as time goes on. As Title VII is put into effect, administered, and enforced, citizens will want to evaluate its strengths and its shortcomings. A forecast of the activity which can be expected under the complaint provisions of the Title perhaps can be seen in the 1,383 complaints which were filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission by October 9, 1965—only three months after it began operation. The Commission determined it had probable jurisdiction over 966 of the complaints, which usually involved alleged discrimination in hiring, in promotion, or in wage differentials. Of the 966 complaints, 706 cited race as a basis of discrimination and, of these, 680 were from Negroes; 844 of the complaints were filed against employers, 197 against unions, and 31 against state employment agencies. (In some cases, both union and employer were charged).

Since enactment of the Civil Rights Act, the effectiveness of the new federal fair employment practices section has been assessed by various groups. Some areas may need particular attention. It may prove to be a weakness, for instance, that the Commission is not empowered to issue corrective and remedial orders. Civil rights groups are not satisfied with the provisions that require plaintiffs to appeal first to state fair employment practices agencies before turning to the Federal Commission, or with the provisions that require that enforcement procedures be handled through the district courts rather than in the Commission, which must rely largely on conciliation. This places a heavy burden on the complainant, although the onus may be mitigated to some degree by the provision that allows the court to appoint an attorney for the plaintiff. Nevertheless, the Chairman of the Commission, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., has argued that enforcement

should be strengthened by giving the Commission power to issue cease and desist orders. It also has been suggested that the law should be extended immediately to cover all employers with eight or more employees.

TWO-WAY COMMUNICATION

During its first two years, the U.S. Community Relations Service has conciliated disputes and disagreements arising out of allegations of discrimination and has also concentrated on coordinating federal programs affecting inter-group relations in the tension pockets of nine large northern cities.

Among the many activities undertaken by the CRS were helping the white community to move toward peaceful compliance with the law, interceding between white and Negro groups, servicing and staffing meetings between white and Negro business leaders, and assisting school board members with plans to meet desegregation requirements. Finally, the Service has helped to interpret Negro grievances to industrial leaders and the interests of industrial leaders to Negroes, particularly in the area of new plant locations.

The greatest barrier to successful conciliation, the Service reports, is the "appalling gap in communications between Negroes and whites." But once the communication process is established, the CRS Deputy Director has reported, "some interesting and wonderful things can happen. A meeting may begin in hostility, then settle down to an orderly exchange of ideas and . . . move from talk about race into consideration of needs common to the whole community." The bringing about of a new awareness on the part of the white man that the Negro doesn't want to be taken care of but wants to be in on the decision-making himself has been one of the primary efforts of the Service. As the Deputy Director said, "Through the work of our agency we see things change, sometimes rapidly."

WHAT'S AHEAD

In its first year the Civil Rights Act is believed to have eliminated more legally based racial discrimination than all previous court decisions, congressional acts, and presidential orders. But there are many deep-seated and unsolved problems in this urgent issue of equality of opportunity in education and employment. These are issues for which the citizens of our free society must find solutions.

The focus of attention on school desegregation has shifted from *de jure* in the South to *de facto* in the North and West. Racial balance will be an issue wherever there is a concentration of any racial minority. Although the nation unquestionably is moving toward greater economic, educational, and political equality for its Negro citizens, the explosion in Los Angeles in the summer of 1965 and the disorders in other cities show that little of this forward movement has yet penetrated to the lower depths of Negro deprivation. It seems quite clear that the new civil rights law and the related anti-poverty and educational programs have not yet greatly improved the lot of the Negro in the teeming ghettos of the cities of the North and West.

In fact, many observers assert that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is not even relevant to the predicament of the

northern Negro, who is not suffering from lack of laws but from the fact that he sees no progress, that despite the laws he continues to be discriminated against in employment, in housing, and in education. Vice President Humphrey has said there is a danger of creating two separate and distinct Negro Americas: one is made up of Negroes, entering the middle class, who have been the beneficiaries of the very real progress we see about us; the other is composed of Negroes who have been increasingly isolated from this progress and inhabit our urban ghettos and rural slums. Closely related to this problem is the population trend in our large cities, more specifically described as the "urban lag in desegregation." A higher percentage of Negroes than whites lives in cities and, in fact, 10 large cities in the North and West contain not only the overwhelming majority of Negroes in those regions but also 40 percent of the national Negro population.

The U. S. Labor Department recently concluded a study which states that behind the apparent amelioration brought by congressional acts and executive implementation of the acts lie spreading deterioration and mounting frustration. Frustration develops because the Negro sees that he has not begun to close the gap between what he is and what the white man is, and in some areas he sees this gap widening. The Labor Department's report states that as the Negro population grows, the ghettos become more confining; as general prosperity increases, so does the gap between the white and the Negro share in it. Progress, the Vice President said, will come not only with liberation from discrimination in education, housing, and jobs, but also with "liberation of the spirit." We must understand, he stated, that "generations of prejudice, deprivation, and subservience have sown among many Negroes the seeds of profound despair, apathy, indifference, and distrust."

EVERYTHING CORRELATES

Problems of urban desegregation and of education and their relation to employment were explored at the White House Conference on Education in 1965. The participants pointed out that much of the strife surrounding city schools results from disagreement over the function of schools in our society. Many school professionals believe that the function is to educate and only to educate; they think that schools should not become involved in larger social problems such as integration and community renewal. Other professionals hold that if the public schools are to educate effectively, they must cooperate actively with the city government and other agencies to achieve social and urban renewal and that they must develop programs of quality education and enrollment patterns that will attract middle-income people, white or Negro, to stay in the city. Furthermore, according to the latter view, it should be a part of the public school system's function to encourage both white and Negro to live in integrated communities; otherwise the effort at community renewal probably will fail.

Discussion at the White House Conference tied the employment problem directly to the issue of racially balanced schools. The "cycle of systematic neglect" of Negro school children, it was stated, often limits Negro youth through

both its "explicit and implicit curricula" to a future of low-skilled employment. If this country is to cope with the effect of automation on the labor force, massive educational advances for the Negro will be required in order to achieve the equally massive upgrading in Negro employment.

The problem of jobs for Negroes, moreover, is an integral part of all issues relating to employment in the United States. Economic opinion generally is in agreement that equality of opportunity in employment and the solution to poverty will be found only if we solve the problem of chronic unemployment. Many economists believe that national planning of priorities and expenditure of public funds are required to cope with this national problem of poverty. While there is disagreement among economists on how to achieve an expanded economy, there is no disagreement on the need for its steady expansion if America is to win the war for equality of opportunity for white and Negro alike. The efforts to cure unemployment will mean little unless an expanded economy provides jobs and unless the productive and consuming power of the poor is developed.

Thus it appears clear that huge efforts will be required in education and vocational training and in retraining. At the same time, the economy must expand or there will be no demand for labor and the training programs will have proved futile. On the other hand, if the needs of the poor are transferred into effective demand, more automation with less displacement of labor will be possible.

Willy-nilly, then, the civil rights aspects of equality of opportunity in education and employment are tied together not only with the war against poverty, but also with the urban problem, the age of cybernetics, and the problem of expansion and growth of the American economy.

SOME QUESTIONS

Are more federal laws needed to cope with *de facto* segregation? with housing? Should there be stronger federal enforcement of laws already passed? How can the problem of the urban lag in desegregation be solved? Should suburban and city school boards attempt to solve these problems alone? together? Is our present system of local school autonomy adequate to the challenge of equality of opportunity in education? Does a system of priorities need to be established regarding excellence in education first, and then racial balance? Or is racial balance so tied up with equality of opportunity in employment that quality education and racial balance must be worked for simultaneously?

Are there unresolved issues, such as adequacy of the enforcement provisions in the 1964 Civil Rights Act? For instance, will an individual who wishes to bring a complaint of employment discrimination be able to do so without arduous, lengthy, and perhaps costly litigation?

Are new commitments by all citizens and within communities necessary to bring about genuine equality of opportunity? How, for instance, can the Civil Rights Act be made to come alive, to be "living law"? Is a broad base of community cooperation and action necessary to implement a policy of integration? Is there a greater role for governmental conciliation agencies?

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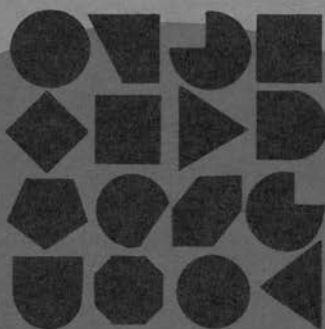
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PROSPECTS

FOR EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF THE UNITED STATES





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Mpls Tribune 6-26-79

Equity

Continued from page 2B

Casmev said that he thinks site visits are a necessary part of the compliance process, but that it may not be necessary to visit every school district. Rather, a random sample of 10 percent of the schools would give a good idea of areas of problems, he said.

"School districts could then be informed of areas where other districts have been out of compliance, and asked to check to see if they have similar problems" Casmev said.

Group says schools lag on sex equality

By Margaret Zack
Staff Writer

6/26/79

The East Grand Forks school district spent \$57.83 for each of the 34 girls on the basketball team, and \$105.96 for each of the 35 boys playing basketball.

for seeing that districts are in compliance, hasn't been given the staff or budget to work quickly to insure equity in education.

Margaret Holden, McOSEE president, said, "The department needs to be encouraged to monitor more districts at a faster rate.



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LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

To: Leslie Wolfe, Director of WEEA Program
From: Harriette Burkhalter, President
Ruth Armstrong, Education Chair
Joan Higinbotham, Human Resources Chair
Date: January 26, 1981

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota supports efforts by the State Department of Education to promote sex equity throughout Minnesota's educational systems.

Local Leagues throughout the state have monitored their school districts for compliance with Title IX. Some Leagues have also looked at employment patterns in their schools to determine how many women are employed and at what level.

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota, at the state level, has actively supported legislation to ensure equal opportunities for women in athletic programs and has worked in a coalition to promote sex equity in school administration.

Nationally, the League of Women Voters is currently involved in a project to monitor sex equity in vocational education. Although Minnesota is not among the five states directly involved in this project, the Minnesota League is alert to the problem in our AVTIs, particularly as it is delineated in the reports from the Council for the Economic Status of Women.

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota, continuing its interest in sex equity throughout education and government, supports the goal stated in this grant proposal and awaits its outcome hopefully.



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

PHONE: (612) 224-5445

MEMO

TO:

Ruth

FROM:

Vernelle

SUBJECT:

WEFA Grant

DATE:

1/22/81

Here's some info on our grant proposal. If you have questions please call me - at work ²⁹⁷⁻²⁷⁹² or home (378-1985). I appreciate your support. (Keep your fingers crossed or something to help get Lady Luck on our side.)

secret

- state - (1 - monitor Title IX
2 - employment pattern
3 - women's academics
4 - MOSOSEE
5 - AVTIS ...)

rationally

Statement of Need

While the Minnesota State Department of Education's commitment to equal opportunity in education regardless of sex is unquestioned, some virulent problems remain in Minnesota's education system. Chief among them is the lack of women in administrative positions.

Despite past efforts by the Minnesota State Board of Education, the Minnesota State Department of Education (SDE) and various outside pressure groups the recent trend in Minnesota has been toward the employment of fewer administrators who are female rather than more. In 1973, only 11.2% of the elementary principals were women, but by 1980, that percentage had dropped to 9.2%. For women holding the position of secondary school principals the percentages increased marginally from .5% in 1973 to 1.8% in 1980. This meant an actual numerical increase from three to twelve in 1980. The only administrative position in which women have gained ground is in assistant principalships: the secondary level increasing from a percentage of 1.2% in 1973 to 10.7% in 1980; the elementary level increasing from 22.8% in 1973, to 33.3% in 1980. In the superintendancy category the numbers are equally telling. In 1971 there were no superintendents who were female. Nine years later, after extensive equal opportunity and affirmative action legislation, there is one *Check this* Which gives Minnesota a percentage of .2% superintendents who are female and 99.8% who are male. According to a 1978, Peer summary, Minnesota ranked fortieth in the nation out of forty-four states reporting in the percent of superintendents, principals and assistant principals who are women.

The employment picture in Minnesota's vocational system is not any more encouraging. In 1980 the overall percentage of women in vocational administration was 11.6%. However, the statistics are skewed toward the most optimistic interpretation by the fact that all administrative positions, no matter how minor, are lumped together. Percentages by administrative level are not provided. Nevertheless, it is known that there are no AVTI directors who are female.

Proposed Grant Application to Women's Educational
Equity Act Program

Submitted by:

Donna Boben, Vocational Equity, Division of Vocational-
Technical Education

Laura Kiscaden, Career Education, Division of Instruction

Karen Knutson, Affirmative Action, Office of Personnel,
Labor Relations and Staff Development

Vernelle Kurak, Sex-Desegregation, Equal Educational
Opportunities Section, Division of
Special Services

Pat Tupper, Library Supervisor, Executive Division

Proposed Grant Application To Women's
Educational Equity Act Program

Goal: Increase numbers of women in educational administration positions in K-12 and post-secondary vocational schools, and in the Department of Education.

Target Groups: School board members, elementary and secondary administrators, AVTI administrators, and State Department of Education supervisors and managers.

Staffing: Two full-time professional staff. One administrative assistant.

Budget: \$150,000 grant monies (no match).

Method: Seminars/workshops/institutes

Target groups will receive training in and familiarity with pertinent Federal and State laws, writing and implementing affirmative action policies and plans, creating career ladders and mentoring individuals in the protected groups.

It is our intention to recruit teams of participants from individual school districts consisting of at least two school board members, two K-12 administrators and, where applicable, two vocational administrators (secondary, post secondary or adult). The purpose of providing training to a team from an individual district is to maximize the impact on the individual district's employment policies and practices. As part of the training, each participant must complete an outside project which deals directly with that person's home district. The project would represent a component fitting with the projects undertaken by other team members from the same district.

The team approach will help implement changes in institutional policy and practice by influencing the attitudes and behaviors of more than one person in the school board and in the school district's administrative structure; thus creating a commonality of orientation and knowledge in the district that should provide both motivation for change and cooperative implementation.

The training provided to Minnesota State Department of Education (SDE) supervisors and managers would build upon the significant progress SDE has already made in instituting progressive employment practices and in integrating disadvantaged groups into the organizational structure. The training for SDE supervisors and managers would provide them with up-to-date information about employment concerns on the local, state and federal levels as well as training in such areas as

- 1) the Employee Relations System's involvement with job creation
- 2) position description and audits
- 3) approvals required
- 4) interviewing
- 5) evaluating individuals for promotion
- 6) affirmative mentoring within a civil service system

Outcomes: The hoped for outcomes of this project are:

- 1) to have those persons with authority for employment policy setting and implementation of same at both district and department level be knowledgeable about pertinent laws and fair employment procedures.
- 2) to have lowered the resistance to and misunderstanding of the issues of affirmative action-and equal opportunity.
- 3) to have an increase in the numbers of women holding administrative posts in Minnesota's Educational System.

DEC 2 1970

memorandum

The League of Women Voters of the United States

FILE COPY

November 13, 1970

TO: Local and State League Presidents (for Human Resources, Education and Housing Chairmen)

FROM: Mrs. Richard G. Miller, Human Resources Chairman

RE: Testimony for Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity (The Mondale Committee) on School Desegregation

This memo is a follow-up to my September 16 memo to all Leagues.

The Mondale Committee has rescheduled the League's testimony to January, 1971 (a change from November). We have received several excellent statements from local Leagues for this Committee and realize that many more would be forthcoming if more time were available. We now have that time and hope that all Leagues with a story to tell about school desegregation will submit statements for the Mondale Committee. The LWVUS statement will be most effective if we have back-up stories and statements from you.

No date has been set for the January hearings. The new Congress will be sworn in on January 4 and that first week will be very busy. Therefore, we are confident that the hearings will not be scheduled that early and any material received by January 8 will be useful in preparing the national League's testimony. We have been assured that the hearing record will be kept open for some time, so even if you cannot make the January 8 deadline but want to go on record, please do submit a statement whenever possible.

Send all statements in duplicate to the national League office. They should be double-spaced and not too long (but long enough to tell the story!), and in regular "testimony format" -- heading should include name of the League, date, name of Committee being addressed, and subject.

FILE COPY

memorandum

The League of Women Voters of the United States

This Memo is going on DPM
September 16, 1970

TO: Local and State League Presidents for Human Resources, Education and Housing Chairmen

FROM: Mrs. Richard G. Miller, National Human Resources Chairman

RE: Testimony for Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity

The Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, chaired by Senator Walter F. Mondale (D., Minn.), has asked the League to testify sometime in November. (See R/H, 91-II-8, 5/23/70, p. 6.) The Committee would also like written testimony from local Leagues.

By January 31, 1971, the Committee will file its report of recommendations and testimony. This is an excellent opportunity for Leagues who have been working for school and housing desegregation to make a significant contribution to this important report.

Extensive hearings underway periodically since April of this year, have included statements from key national figures on the educational effects of segregation and desegregation; education for the urban poor; the relationship between housing, jobs and education; and on the economics of equal education opportunity.

All contributions from Leagues should be in the standard form of testimony, prepared for the use of the Mondale Committee, and should be sent in duplicate to the national LWVUS office. One copy will be forwarded to the Committee for their records. Exceptionally relevant, well-worded and pertinent portions may be excerpted for use in the official LWVUS testimony.

The time is short and your workload is already heavy but if you have any spare time, please do try to write a brief but descriptive statement. The Committee is most interested in community attitudes, the stance of school boards and how they respond to the needs of all the community during the desegregation process, and instances of successfully implemented desegregation plans as well as examples of plans that have failed with evaluations, where possible, of what was right or wrong with the plan and its implementation.

They want some real reporting on the emotional responses to school desegregation--positive and negative. Illustrate your report with examples where possible, and relate the League's work in housing, employment and education. Press clippings will be valuable too.

We look forward to hearing from you soon.

YEAR OF THE
VOTER

League of Women Voters of the U.S.
1200 - 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

June 20, 1969

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF THE EXTENSION OF TITLE I
OF THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT
BEFORE THE EDUCATION SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE COMMITTEE

BY

MRS. RICHARD G. MILLER, HUMAN RESOURCES CHAIRMAN,
THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES
June 20, 1969

I am Mrs. Richard G. Miller of Carson City, Nevada, Human Resources Chairman of the League of Women Voters of the United States. I am here today representing our 157,000 members from more than 1200 communities in the fifty states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, to testify in behalf of federally supported programs for compensatory education.

The League applauds the chairman and the members of this subcommittee for the realistic tone you set in opening these hearings last week. You were so right in emphasizing that what is accomplished legislatively is of little consequence indeed unless it is accompanied by adequate appropriations. When the time for funding comes, in spite of pressures for appropriations from all other areas of national and special interest, we know that you will continue to exert your leadership to encourage giving the priority it deserves to equality of opportunity for education. In these efforts, I can assure you, you will have the support of the League of Women Voters.

Equality of opportunity for education is one of the most important needs of Americans as individuals and of our country as a whole if it is to develop into a truly free society for all our people. Meeting this need requires the active interest of all levels of government and of private citizens and requires commitment of resources and of talent. Most important and perhaps above all, it requires conviction that the goal of equality of opportunity in education can and must be achieved.

Strong Federal Leadership is Needed to Achieve Equality of Opportunity in Education

Strong federal leadership must be exerted if our country is to succeed in bringing disadvantaged people into the mainstream of American life. We must respond to the educational needs of every American so that each can develop his full potential as a citizen, a wage-earner, and a contributor to our national society. Federal leadership must be committed to this end so that our society, with all of its diversities, can be unified and really free for all of our people.

Education is Only One Remedy to Poverty and Discrimination

League support for equal opportunity for education derives from an intensive study by local League members of the facts about poverty and discrimination in their communities and in the United States. Education is not the only remedy for poverty and discrimination, but our study has convinced us that it is an essential and basic component of any solution. Moreover, we firmly believe that the pursuit of equal educational opportunity must be conducted simultaneously on several levels. We must continue to press forward vigorously to integrate our schools, both in the North and in the South; we must remove the barriers of housing discrimination so that children of minority populations now locked into separate spheres of existence will be integrated in our schools in the normal course of community life for the enrichment of all of us; we must see that equal opportunity for employment and advancement exists -- not just in policy statements but in reality; and we must also continue to equalize educational opportunity by means of support for compensatory programs.

Funding of compensatory programs is beyond the single-handed capacity of the cities from which so many affluent people have fled and in which so many of the poor and discriminated against are trapped. Funding of compensatory programs in rural areas -- in many cases without the resources to provide the kinds of school programs needed -- is also extremely difficult. Therefore continuing federal help is needed.

Leagues Report Some Successes of Title I Programs

We believe also that there must be, on a national scale, thorough research to find ways and means to provide relevant, meaningful, effective education for those who have not found in our schools the kinds of challenges or training beneficial for their needs. There must be change, innovation, experimentation, evaluation -- all of which require money, patience, trial, and allowance for error. The school systems which must effect change to fulfill their responsibilities for providing equal educational opportunity are least able to find sources of local revenue. They need a long-range federal commitment as well as adequate and advance appropriations so that programs can be planned and developed and staff assigned with the assurance that title I projects will continue. Our local Leagues frequently report as a major handicap the fiscal uncertainty which results in school administrators' inability to coordinate the school planning schedule to the appropriations schedule: that school programs can't get started on time or sometimes rush into operation before mechanisms have been well set up, with the result that "we don't get a dollar's worth of program for a dollar." For example, the League of Women Voters of Hinsdale, Clarendon Hills, and Oakbrook (Ill.) reports "Local (federal) programs have been limited to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which the school districts are using very capably. School libraries have had their budgets for materials increased substantially without an increase in staff to handle the extra work, which has caused some distress. The short term, erratic nature of grants of federal money is certainly a weakness."

Leagues have observed and continue to watch the operation of title I programs in their communities. They are not equipped, of course, to evaluate on a scientific testing basis the effectiveness of federally funded title I programs. In fact, it is still probably too early to evaluate in terms of acceleration in reading ability, or other immediately measurable gains. However, other effects, not so quantifiable, have been observed by many of our Leagues. For example, the League of Women Voters of Sudbury (Mass.) reports of a special summer corrective program:

- "1. The teachers felt that they learned more about how children learned than they had anticipated and all feel that they will never again teach in quite the same way.
- "2. There was a marked change in the attitude of the children toward their own capabilities."

And a September 1968 report from the League of Women Voters of Cheyenne (Wyo.) says of title I programs in its schools:

"Significant accomplishments were as follows: 1. created a happier feeling and desire to learn among the participants; 2. eliminated many of the barriers to learning; 3. improved self-concepts and confidence; 4. helped to improve attitudes of parents toward education in general."

These samples of many reports in similar vein indicate that perhaps the impact title I programs have on not only the educationally disadvantaged but also on the schools and the parents will not be immediately measurable. Nonetheless these are important and long-range gains.

Four-year extension

When the League testified earlier this year in the House in support of title I of ESEA, we supported its extension for five years. We did so because we believe that compensatory programs should have the assurance of long-range federal commitment. In view of the flow of events since then, however, we are now asking this committee to recommend a 4-year extension. (This seems a more realistic request in face of the facts: the House approved only a 2-year extension -- through FY 1972; the Administration similarly is asking for a 2-year extension only, in order that it might review the legislation after the 1970 Census data are available; and S. 2218, the bill introduced by the chairman for himself and the majority members of this subcommittee calls for a 4-year extension through FY 1974.)

The Administration arguments for a 2-year extension only have merit; limiting extension to 2 years would assure review of the programs before 1972. However, we believe that these evaluations can and should take place irrespective of the length of time for which ESEA authorization is extended. Furthermore, equally important as having assurances that evaluations will be made are assurances of long-range commitment. The only way to express long-range commitment is in terms of extension of authorization. We ask therefore that this subcommittee recommend a 4-year extension of authorization for title I of ESEA.

Payments for Children from Public Housing

We are pleased that the bill passed by the House provides an amendment to the impacted areas program, for payments to local school districts to cover roughly half the local cost of education for children who live in public housing. We ask this subcommittee to support such an amendment. It has merit on at least two significant counts. First of all, it would bring needed additional funds to school districts that sorely need them. Secondly, it can have a salutary effect in relieving citizens' opposition to public housing in their own communities. Such opposition -- Anthony Downs, a consultant to the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, calls it "fiscal self-defense" -- is often based on the fear that public housing will strain the capabilities of local schools and local taxes which support them.

Our critical housing shortages pose a serious threat to the nation, of this there can be no doubt. Nonetheless, "fiscal self-defense" at the local level often clouds this realization, and weighs heavily in deciding whether or not a given community will agree to provide housing for lower income families. Additional federal help to local school districts based on their numbers of public housing children can thus help to remove one important obstacle standing in the way of achieving our national housing goal of a decent home in a suitable environment for every American.

Citizen Involvement

Last week, Secretary Finch talked to this committee about the importance of title I of ESEA and described it as HEW's largest single education program, that has "focused over \$3 billion since its passage on perhaps the most crucial problem challenging educators today: how to educate successfully the children of America's poor." It is a large program ~~reaching some 9 million children in about 16,000~~ school districts -- and it is also a flexible program, in that decisions rest with local school administrators to use the program funds for a variety of special services

The League would like to stress the importance of involving in these decisions about the use of title I funds, the parents of the children for whom this legislation was designed. If there is one thing that we can be sure of, it is that we do not yet know what are the most effective ways of meeting the educational needs of all children. Furthermore, educators alone are not likely to come up with all the answers. Parents and community representatives must be allowed to have their say, along with the educators, in making decisions about programs to be supported with title I funds.

Their involvement in these decisions is important not only because it can help to screen the most effective programs, but also for a reason enunciated earlier this year by the Administration. Preserving control and policy formulation at the local grassroots level would "...help channel valuable community energies toward the improvement of title I and encourage the accountability of title I administrators to those whom title I serves."

In closing, I would like to thank the chairman and members of this subcommittee for your persistent efforts to help provide equal educational opportunities to all American children and to assure you that the League is likewise working vigorously to support these efforts.

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League of Women Voters of the U.S.
1200 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Price: 10¢

February 17, 1969

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF THE EXTENSION OF TITLE I
OF THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT
BEFORE THE HOUSE EDUCATION AND LABOR COMMITTEE
BY MRS. BRUCE B. BENSON, PRESIDENT OF THE
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES

I am Mrs. Bruce B. Benson of Amherst, Massachusetts, President of the League of Women Voters of the United States. I am speaking today for our 150,000 members from more than 1200 communities in the fifty states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

It is a pleasure to appear again before this committee to urge you to respond to one of the most important needs of Americans as individuals and of our country as a whole if it is to develop into a truly free society for all our people. That need is equality of opportunity for education. Meeting this need requires the active interest of all levels of government and of private citizens as well. It requires commitment of resources and of talent. Most important and perhaps above all, it requires conviction that the goal of equality of opportunity in education can and must be achieved.

I last testified in behalf of federally supported programs for compensatory education in April, when I appeared before the House appropriations subcommittee to urge full funding of programs authorized under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This was shortly after the disorders which had convulsed many of our cities and it was obvious -- and we said so -- that there must be strong federal leadership if our country is to succeed in bringing disadvantaged people into the mainstream of American life. Today, as the first anniversary approaches of the report of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders, its warnings and recommendations are still uppermost in our minds. I am here today to restate the League members' belief that federal leadership must be strong if we are to respond to the educational needs of every American so that each can develop his full potential as a citizen, a wage-earner, and a contributor to our national society. Federal leadership must be committed to this end so that our society, with all of its diversities, can be unified and really free for all of our people.

League support for equal opportunity for education derives from an intensive study by local League members of the facts about poverty and discrimination in their communities and in the United States. Education is not the only remedy for poverty and discrimination, but our study has convinced us that it is an essential and basic component of any solution. Moreover, we firmly believe that the pursuit of equal educational opportunity must be conducted simultaneously on several levels. We must continue to press forward vigorously to integrate our schools, both in the North and in the South; we must remove the barriers of housing discrimination so that children of minority populations now locked into separate spheres of existence will be integrated in our schools in the normal course of community life for the enrichment of all of us; we must see that equal opportunity for employment and advancement exists in reality; and we must also continue to equalize educational opportunity by means of support for compensatory programs.

In our studies of poverty and discrimination, we have learned that the communities which are most educationally deprived are the very ones which are the least able to fund schools suited to the needs of those who live there. Federal programs are needed, and we vigorously support adequate and advanced appropriations for such

programs in order to help bridge the gap in educating young people in poverty areas in both city and rural communities. Funding of compensatory programs is beyond the single-handed capacity of the cities from which so many affluent people have fled and in which so many of the poor and discriminated against are trapped. Funding of compensatory programs in rural areas -- in many cases without the resources to provide the kinds of school programs needed -- is also extremely difficult. Therefore continuing federal help is needed.

We believe also that there must be, on a national scale, thorough research to find ways and means to provide relevant, meaningful, effective education for those who have not found in our schools the kinds of challenges or training beneficial for their needs. There must be change, innovation, experimentation, evaluation -- all of which require money, patience, trial, and allowance for error. Again, the school systems which must effect change to fulfill their responsibilities for providing equal educational opportunity are least able to find sources of local revenue. They need a long-range federal commitment as well as adequate and advance appropriations so that programs can be planned and developed and staff assigned with the assurance that Title I projects will continue. Our local Leagues frequently report as a major handicap the fiscal uncertainty which results in school administrators' inability to coordinate the school planning schedule to the appropriations schedule: that school programs can't get started on time or sometimes rush into operation before mechanisms have been well set up, with the result that "we don't get a dollar's worth of program for a dollar." The League of Women Voters of Hinsdale, Clarendon Hills, and Oakbrook (Ill.) says, for example, "Local (federal) programs have been limited to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which the school districts are using very capably. School libraries have had their budgets for materials increased substantially without an increase in staff to handle the extra work, which has caused some distress. The short term, erratic nature of grants of federal money is certainly a weakness."

Leagues have observed and continue to watch the operation of Title I programs in their communities. They are not equipped, of course, to evaluate on a scientific testing basis the effectiveness of federally funded Title I programs. In fact, it is still probably too early to evaluate in terms of acceleration in reading ability or other immediately measurable gains. However, other effects, not so quantifiable, have been observed by many of our Leagues. For example, the League of Women Voters of Sudbury (Mass.) reports of a special summer corrective program:

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"Significant accomplishments were as follows: 1. created a happier feeling and desire to learn among the participants; 2. eliminated many of the barriers to learning; 3. improved self-concepts and confidence; 4. helped to improve attitudes of parents toward education in general."

These samples of many reports in similar vein indicate that perhaps the impact Title I programs have on not only the educationally disadvantaged but also on the schools and the parents will not be immediately measurable. Nonetheless these are important and long-range gains.

Therefore we applaud this committee for early consideration of extension of authorization for Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. We urge you to extend the programs under it for at least 5 years, as proposed by H.R. 514.

Although the matter of appropriations does not, of course, come before this committee, we would like to say that an extension of Title I is of little value and in fact it is only a gesture unless the appropriations measure up to the needs and are made in advance to allow for good planning. Reporting H.R. 514 favorably will open the way for advance funding. When the time for funding comes, and pressures for appropriations come in from all areas of national and special interest, we urge you to exert your leadership to encourage giving the priority it deserves to equality of opportunity in education. The domestic problems we face today have burgeoned to their astounding proportions because of a long backlog of neglect. The fruits of our belated current and our future efforts will take time to mature before we can appraise the harvest. We in the League believe you have a responsibility to work actively and in every way you can for a large investment in the future. We will vigorously support you in this effort.

#

August 15, 1967

League of Women Voters of the U.S.
1200 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

STATEMENT TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, SENATE LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
COMMITTEE ON THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION AMENDMENTS OF 1967 (S. 1125)

By

Mrs. William H. Wood, Director
League of Women Voters of the U.S.

I am Mrs. William H. Wood, a member of the National Board of Directors of the League of Women Voters of the United States. It is a great pleasure for me to appear before this Committee today representing members of the League of Women Voters from all parts of the country. We appreciate the opportunity you have given us to speak to you about the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1967. There are just a few areas related to this legislation you are considering to which we will address ourselves.

For the last three years, in all fifty state, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico, Leagues have been examining the basic issue of equality of opportunity for education in the United States. After looking both at the national scene and at the situation in their own communities, League members in the spring of 1966 agreed on a strong position in favor of federal funding of compensatory programs for disadvantaged children from the pre-school level through secondary education.

We believe that the serious handicaps faced by many children already in school mean that the highest priority should be given to the categorical assistance which has been directly available to school systems under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Our Leagues have reported that new awareness has developed in local school districts of the special problems of poor pupils, and local school officials are eager to move ahead by providing remedial and enrichment programs. I am attaching to my statement some examples of local League comments on programs in their own communities. We strongly urge a continuance of federal funds specifically designated for such purposes. Education of this kind is often more expensive than individual school systems can afford. In order to redress the serious national problem of inequality in the education provided to poor children in this country compensatory programs should be guaranteed federal support. They should not have to compete with other projects for funds from block grants to the states.

We also urge the extension of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act through fiscal year 1969. Early extension will make possible better and more meaningful planning by state and local school systems, since it will remove any doubts that might develop next spring over the continuation of ESEA programs through the 1968-69 academic year.

Finally, we do not wish the present policy of withholding federal funds for noncompliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to be weakened in any way. We feel the guidelines developed by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare are fair, and their application should not be hampered by restrictive amendments which go beyond the limitations set by the Congress last year. We support integration of the public schools and believe these guidelines are an effective way of helping schools move toward this goal. We, therefore, urge you to reject any proposed amendment to the Act which would prevent the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare from vigorously carrying out the mandate laid down by Congress when it passed Title VI. The Fountain Amendment to HR 7819 preventing temporary deferral of funds for new programs seems to us to have just such an effect. We hope this committee, the Senate as a whole, and the Conference Committee will strongly oppose this move to water down the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964.

#####

APPENDIX

Samples of Recent Comments from Local Leagues on Programs under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

From the League of Women Voters of Fresno, California

We are aware of the need for compensatory programs in Fresno County due to the large numbers of minority groups with deprived backgrounds. During the short year-and-a-half operation of various programs, significant progress has been demonstrated in many programs. Pre-school programs resulted in an increase of 15 to 18 points in testing scores. Significant gains were made in the special reading programs. It was possible to employ 139 teacher's aides in the Edison and Roosevelt schools. The student-teacher ratio was reduced to nineteen to one with twelve additional teachers in English at Edison High School with good results.

From the League of Women Voters of San Francisco, California

San Francisco has had compensatory education since 1962, supported by local and state funds. However, only since ESEA funds became available has it been possible to provide the special educational opportunities that this city - like so many other urban areas - desperately needs to cope with its changing population. During the past year, 500 children participated in the pre-kindergarten program set up in target areas, but it has been estimated that five times that number can be enrolled when funds are found.

Under a Comprehensive School Age Compensatory Program, certain schools receive "saturation" services, which include lowered class size, compensatory teachers, speech therapy, community teachers, social workers, after-school tutorial centers and cultural enrichment materials. Some students are bused to other neighborhoods, thus improving the racial balance of the receiving schools. However, the present allotment of compensatory teachers is inadequate to provide help for all the students who need it. The answer, again, lies in additional funds.

From the League of Women Voters of Greater Wilmington, Delaware

In the Wilmington area Title I has provided many needed services for the education of poor children, which would never have been possible with just local and state funds. The way in which funds were designated by the Act has insured that funds went into areas where the need was greatest and, at least here, local fund-raising ability inadequate.

From the League of Women Voters of Metropolitan Dade County, Florida

We here in Dade County are very proud of our mobile reading clinics and our special reading teachers who taught 13,000 children from disadvantaged areas of the county last year. We understand that these fine Title I programs resulted in as much as two years improvement in reading ability over a one year period for many of these youngsters. We are also pleased that 150 Junior High School teachers are being trained in Dade County to design proper curriculum sequences for disadvantaged children. We realize that special programs to be effective must continue over a span of years as recent follow-up studies of Headstart have demonstrated.

From the League of Women Voters of Georgia

The State of Georgia received under Title I grants totaling \$37,494,891 for FY 1966 and \$34,725,066 for FY 1967. The "frequency" compensatory education programs made possible under these grants in Georgia have included pre-school and remedial training, special classes for the handicapped, food, clothing and health services, in-service training for teachers of special groups and teachers' aides (clerical help, etc.). These programs have been--and will be--of great value to Georgia's children and have increased the average daily attendance in schools throughout the state.

From the League of Women Voters of Salina, Kansas

Many of our League members have been working as volunteers with Salina's Headstart program. Through this contact with children of low income families, they have become more aware of the need for programs which will correct the educational deprivation so apparent in these children. The Reading Readiness Rooms, Learning Resource Centers and Enrichment Programs in existence in Salina under Title I and Title II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act are corrective measures so necessary to insure equal opportunity for all children.

From the League of Women Voters of Lexington, Kentucky

Both the Fayette County Schools and the Lexington City Schools have had programs funded by ESEA this past year. Perceptual motor readiness classes in Title I schools reached over one hundred (100) first graders. Remedial reading classes were held for grades one through twelve. This summer over four hundred county students with reading difficulties are receiving special classes in reading and mathematics. Since physical coordination seems to enter the reading difficulty syndrome, special types of physical exercises are being supervised for these students. School personnel and parents are noting progress. The self-image of the child is improving as his skills increase.

From the League of Women Voters of Worcester, Massachusetts

Under Title I of the ESEA, Worcester has several particularly effective projects. Twenty one of our schools have after school sessions for tutorial and enrichment programs for our economically deprived children in our "Target Areas." Particularly, the Pilot Program on the Performing Arts as they relate to the school curriculum is very new and exciting.

From the League of Women Voters of Southfield, Michigan

In the Ferndale schools, where there is much poverty, the amount of equipment and the ingenious ways they were used to stimulate learning and prevent boredom were marvelous. Although there was a remedial reading program before, increased aid now permits the teacher to see each student every day, which was impossible before because of the large number of students needing help. The teachers are now able to work with one to five students at one time.

From the League of Women Voters of Poughkeepsie, New York

Title I funds have been used in a variety of projects by school districts in the Greater Poughkeepsie area, including improvement of reading skills, curriculum study and reorganization, addition of social work personnel, early identification of potential dropouts and special efforts to meet their needs. School administrators are enthusiastic about being able to add these needed programs. Poughkeepsie used Title I funds to provide an after school program for 850 elementary school children from October to April when it was suspended because of lack of federal funds. We believe these compensatory programs are an essential counterpart to school integration in the move toward greater equality of opportunity.

From the League of Women Voters of Middletown, Ohio

We have a pre-school program of eight elementary schools with a total of 253 children enrolled. It was felt last year that this program had been successful in helping to orient the pupils to kindergarten and in increasing their attention span.

In grades three through six we have a remedial reading and math program with over 500 pupils in it.

On the junior high level we have two language arts programs with a total enrollment of 218 pupils. After similar programs last summer, according to national tests, significant progress had been made.

Administrators felt that all these programs for the disadvantaged children in Middletown had been helpful, successful, and well worth continuing.

From the League of Women Voters of Murfreesboro, Tennessee

In Rutherford County, strides are being made toward the achievement of quality education for many disadvantaged children under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. As an example, we have a summer program operating in the McFadden area benefiting 180 children. The fact that this area has a population of 3,275 with 60% of its residents earning less than \$3,000 a year, bears witness to the need for a federal program of this type to help children whose efforts to learn have been hampered by poor health and hunger.

From the League of Women Voters of Bellevue, Washington

The Bellevue School District with a grant of \$58,000 under Title I has initiated a summer reading program which trains elementary teachers in reading techniques and methods. It has proven beneficial to teachers and students alike. The District hopes to expand this successful reading program to the secondary level in the future.

The Lake Washington School District is pleased with the results of an individualized reading program which has enabled the District under a \$60,000 Title I grant to hire specially trained teachers to help poor readers on an individual basis. Spokesmen for both school districts feel the programs have proven highly successful and would be impossible to maintain or expand without federal help.

STATEMENT ON H.J.RES. 620 and other ANTI-DESEGREGATION AMENDMENTS BEFORE HOUSE JUDICIARY SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 5, by Lucy Wilson Benson, President, LWVUS, March 2, 1972

I am Lucy Wilson Benson, President of the League of Women Voters of the United States, an organization with members in over 1,300 communities in all 50 states, and I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you today in their behalf. I speak in opposition to all proposed constitutional amendments which either would prohibit outright the use of busing as a tool for school desegregation or would in other ways effectively limit the various means to achieve the goal we seek: integrated, quality education for all children.

The League's commitment to equal educational opportunity runs deep. Our principles state explicitly: "The League of Women Voters believes that...every citizen should... have access to free public education which provides equal opportunity for all...". From these principles stems our position in favor of integrated, quality education. And we affirm that integration is an integral part of educational excellence. Furthermore, we support any reasonable method for reaching this goal.

Leagues do more than examine issues and take positions. They are working hard and effectively, in all parts of the country, with every tool available to citizens, to bring this desegregated, quality education into being. For example, in the metropolitan areas of Boston, Massachusetts and Hartford, Connecticut, local Leagues have supported METCO and PROJECT CONCERN, programs to transport children from the inner city to suburban schools, to correct racial imbalance and improve the children's educational opportunity. Many state Leagues, including California, Florida, New York, Indiana, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, have urged their states to play more constructive roles in providing solutions to school segregation and to show more leadership to local communities.

Grassroots operations of our local Leagues have a tremendous impact on their respective communities. League members of Charlotte-Mecklenburg are not militants; nevertheless, they were vehement in their fight to see that their own and other children received better quality education.

The League of Charlotte-Mecklenburg was not alone in its efforts. The entire League has, after intensive study and evaluation, committed itself to pursue actively those means which would guarantee quality education. With this common obligation in mind, the League of Charlotte-Mecklenburg, the LWVUS, and the LWV of North Carolina joined the James E. Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg case as amici in June 1970.

Their decision to submit amicus curiae briefs in this case came only after the Charlotte school board's failure to draw up desegregation plans in compliance with a court order of April 1969. League members of Charlotte sent a statement to the school board in May encouraging them to formulate a workable plan for desegregation. The school board still did not formulate a plan for the Charlotte area, so the judge secured outside help to do so. Two plans were eventually drawn up. The Court approved a plan involving two-way busing to be effective April 1, 1970, and the school board immediately appealed the decision.

In their efforts to curtail opposition to busing, League members talked to school board members, city and county officials, the Chamber of Commerce and the Superintendent of Schools. They also held open meetings daily during the summer of 1969 to keep citizens informed.

Guided by the belief that education must be improved in the Charlotte area, the League compiled yet another report in January 1970 in which they found "that segregated schools lead to cultural deprivation of all children." Furthermore they said that "it was not enough to have a good educational opportunity for a portion of our

children...Charlotte-Mecklenburg County /must/ make excellence in education her prime goal."

League members saw themselves as an effective information center to help dispel fears harbored by parents in opposition to busing. They actively encouraged the positive responses of other organizations such as the Jaycees, the Ministerial Association and the PTA Council. League members also sponsored a candidates' meeting on educational television, and in numerous ways involved themselves in paving the way for orderly desegregation of their schools.

Prior to and after its decision to join as amicus curiae in the Swann case, the League stressed the positive aspect of bettering education for all children, with desegregation being only a part of the total program. Following the Supreme Court's ruling upholding the District Court decision for busing, the League issued a statement in support of public education saying that "the agonies of adjustment are behind us and now is the time for Charlotte-Mecklenburg to make excellence in education her goal."

At bottom, it is quality education for all that is the real national issue - not busing.

Excellence in public education is a widely shared American goal, and has been for a long time. What keeps growing and changing is our understanding of what it takes to provide it -- for everyone. We keep learning which past customs have been depriving children of a good education -- and depriving the nation of the fruits of that education.

The nation has just been through an 18-year learning process to grasp a single fact: Separate can't be equal. And the League of Women Voters stands firmly with the arguments set forth by the Court in Brown v. the Board of Education.

Our courts have continually reiterated the Brown decision of 1954 in which it was declared that separate school systems are inherently unequal. This decision was of historic significance in that it declared illegal a nationwide attempt to segregate black and white public school children because of race.

It knocked down the notion that segregation by race in public schools was desirable or even beneficial to black or white youth.

Its application meant that each child should have equal access to the educational resources of the school system in which he resided, regardless of his racial or socioeconomic background.

In giving life to the Fourteenth Amendment as it pertains to school desegregation, the Brown decision reinforced Thomas Wolfe's statement that the right "to become whatever /one's ability/ and vision can combine to make...is the promise of America."

But the courts have continually had to reaffirm the original principle spelled out in Brown. They have also had to deal with sophisticated and invidious artificial barriers to school desegregation -- gerrymandered school attendance zones, discriminatory zoning practices in housing, tracking and ability grouping of students, and assignments of faculty and staff on a racial basis.

In Brown II (1955) the Court addressed itself to the question of implementing the principles outlined in Brown I. Essentially the Court said that school systems should work out local problems created by deeply entrenched dual school systems with "all deliberate speed."

Thirteen years later in Green v. County School Board of Kent County, Va. the Supreme Court ruled that the "freedom of Choice" method of desegregation was no true freedom. The Court ordered the school board to devise a plan that would promise to

convert promptly to a system without a "white" school and a "negro" (sic) school. Green added another important ingredient in that the Court not only sought a desegregation plan that would work, but one that would work without further delay. Another lesson in Americanism learned.

In Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education (1969) the Court ruled that it was the "obligation of every school district...to terminate dual school systems at once and operate now and hereafter only unitary schools." One more lesson.

Recent court cases -- and one decision -- are now challenging the property tax as the base for public school support. Plainly, a basic injustice has surfaced to worry the public conscience: as long as schools are mainly financed by property taxes, poor neighborhoods (minority and white) will generally have worse schools than wealthy neighborhoods. For years we thought that was just the way it had to be. Now we don't. Still another lesson -- though not all the homework is done.

Let us return now to the historic Swann decision. Swann challenged the nation to go beyond a narrow position of self-interest in considering, once and for all, whether we really want quality education for all our children.

The 1971 Swann decision went further than any other previous decision in laying out instructions for dealing with the realities of implementation. Speaking to the issue of attendance zones and the issue of residence and "neighborhood schools" the Court said: "All things being equal, with no history of discrimination, it might well be desirable to assign pupils to schools nearest their homes. But all things are not equal in a system that has been deliberately constructed and maintained to enforce racial segregation. The awkwardness of the remedy cannot be avoided in the interim period when remedial adjustments are being made to eliminate the dual school systems." The Court spoke directly to the issue which ostensibly provoked these hearings: busing. In its unanimous decision, the Court found "no basis for holding that the local school authorities may not be required to employ bus transportation as one tool of desegregation."

This lesson, it appears, some would have us unlearn.

Since 1954, the Court has been our chief teacher -- a classic role. It has consistently maintained that dual but separate schools are inherently unequal. The principle of equal access to quality education for all children stems from that initial decision, refined by later decisions about mechanisms. Clearly the court decisions have not been capricious in nature; they have declared unalterably and without doubt that not only must children be afforded every means to obtain equal educational opportunities, but that blocking this effort is illegal.

We find it sad to be here today recapitulating the Court history. Yet, the need to do so points up one very obvious fact. Those who want to see the law on school desegregation upheld have consistently had to go to the courts, even though administrative enforcement powers exist under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and have proven to be effective when exercised.

But the Administration, federal agencies and legislators have been reluctant to use these enforcement powers and to set forth positive legislation which transcends partisan politics and parochial emotionalism. As a result, the decisions made by the Supreme Court and District Courts stand as the most binding national policy this Nation has regarding school integration. And it is to the courts we have had to turn for reason and guidance. The League affirms the Swann decision in maintaining that busing is a tool that must be held available to remedy serious inequities in education. We hold, with Swann, that it is a permissible, though not a required, tool, in dismantling a dual educational system.

Perhaps it is not the best tool. It certainly is not the only tool -- and emphatically, it is not a new tool.

The proposed amendments appear to speak to the desires of many parents, both white and black, who argue that busing destroys the right to neighborhood schools and denies freedom of choice. Admittedly, there are arguments in favor of neighborhood schools. Children can easily participate in after-school activities. Parents can readily attend PTA. Inclement weather becomes less of a problem. The position of the school as an integral part of the community is established. Parents feel more comfortable, less fearful, knowing their children are in a school close to home.

Yet at the same time we all know that busing has been the tool of choice for many years, to get rural children out of their neighborhoods with their one-room schools and into consolidated schools where, presumably, they could have better facilities, a more varied program, better qualified teachers, and a less isolated school experience. Even now in suburbia, the high school where no bus pulls up to the door is a rarity. From personal experience, I might add, as a second-grader in Dallas, Texas I was bused clear across town and no one was disturbed about whether or not this was too much for me to endure. Furthermore, neither my parents nor I had any say whatsoever about the decision. So busing can't be all bad.

Total miles traveled have not increased as a result of desegregation, even though, as is to be expected, the number of children traveling has grown both as a result of a larger school population and greater consolidation of school districts.

In the 1960-61 school year 13,106,779 public school children out of a total public school population of 36,281,000 rode a total of 1½ billion miles on buses. Some 186,000 vehicles were used at a total public expense of \$505,754,515. Ten years later, in the 1970-71 school year, some 19,617,600 public school children out of a total public school population of 45,905,000 rode a total of 2.2 billion miles. Some 256,000 vehicles were used at a total public expense of \$990,000,000.* Last year the national picture showed 40% of our public school children--65% when you include those using public transportation--rode to school each day for reasons that have nothing to do with school desegregation.

We can only conclude that the neighborhood school, though desirable as an aid to quality education, is not a precondition for it. Nor do we discover much of a history of freedom-of-choice attendance on the American public education scene.

And in all this we have not yet mentioned the long years that black children, North as well as South, were bused past one public school to a more distant and often inferior one. Where were the outcries then, the constitutional amendments, the tender sensibilities about neighborhood schools and parental rights and freedom of choice?

The members of the League of Women Voters are deeply concerned over the hysteria developing around the question of busing school children. Studied reason appears to have been lost to the pressure of emotional reaction sweeping the country. Both the Administration and Congress have responded to this hysteria with an equivalent emotion rather than with the responsible leadership one would hope for in view of the desperate need to heal the divisions among Americans rather than to exacerbate them. Parents' fears are real that their children will receive an inferior education or suffer violence at the end of the bus line. The level heads among us share a responsibility for calming those fears by encouraging every citizen to play a role in his community to carry out our constitutional goals.

* Figures obtained from Vance Grant, HEW, and David Soule, Pupil Transportation, Department of Transportation.

There is so much that can be done to reduce these fears, and many school districts have handled it very well. If two-way busing requires temporary use of an older building, there is no reason for the quality of the curriculum or the teaching to be inferior if the local school board insists upon uniformly high standards. The problem of confrontation and violence also can be reduced to a low minimum if there is careful preparation, good leadership, and good will in the community. And let us remind ourselves that there is virtually no problem of racial violence among young school children. The deep-seated anxieties of many Americans concerning busing and racial integration can best be reduced by a new dedication to quality education and not by setting the clock back.

And setting the clock back is exactly what these constitutional amendments do. They aren't just about busing. Some require courts and agencies to accept "freedom of choice" which was rejected by the Supreme Court and Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. These amendments would effectively repeal Title VI. Other amendments attempt to preserve the "neighborhood school" principle, thereby legalizing segregation (and dual school systems) which occurs as a result of residence patterns. Others prohibit requiring transportation to achieve integration or the use of public funds for this purpose. These amendments, as they apply to federal agencies, would effectively repeal Title IV and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act by prohibiting the Departments of HEW and Justice from applying current constitutional standards.

The League contends that the proposed constitutional amendments offer only a non-solution to a very real educational problem: that we as a Nation have failed to provide quality education to all children regardless of residence, race, class, creed, sex, or national origin. Nor do the Green, Broomfield and Ashbrook amendments attached to the House-passed Higher Education and Quality Integration Act address themselves to the problems of providing quality education or equal access to it. These are called anti-busing amendments but in reality they are anti-civil-rights amendments. Not only do they not address the problem; they propose to roadblock possible attempts to solve it.

A closer look at H. J. Res. 620 makes this readily apparent. This proposal, couched in pseudo-civil-rights rhetoric, provides that no public school student shall, because of his race, creed or color, be assigned to or required to attend a particular school. This proposal runs directly counter to the whole thrust of law developing since 1954. Especially is it contrary to Green in that it seeks to resurrect a false freedom of choice that perpetuates old wrongs that spring from segregated residential patterns. For it is not enough to create a unitary school system in which no person is to be effectively excluded from any school because of his race or color.

Besides opposing H. J. Res. 620 for its substance and intent, we oppose it and others like it because we share the alarm of leaders like Governor Reubin Askew of Florida, who warns: "It is very dangerous under emotional circumstances to tamper with the U. S. Constitution."

The members of this Committee do not have to be given a lesson in constitutional theory. We all know that a constitution is designed as a statement of broad principles omitting details, especially those born of particular controversies. The U. S. Constitution has worked well for nearly 200 years with few alterations because it does not contain provisions which become outdated.

To be sure, busing as a means to correct racial imbalance is late to the scene. But in evaluating its use, it is well to remember that as more years go by without effective school desegregation, the need for shortcuts increases. What might have satisfied in 1955 cannot satisfy now. The accent has had to shift from deliberate to immediate speed, particularly in those places where an entire generation has

been born and has finished high school with pretty much the same segregated and inferior schooling that was imposed on their elders.

Besides which, over the years our perceptions grow keener, not dimmer, in these matters. We discern the inferior and the subtly segregationist and racist where we may not have perceived it fifteen or even ten years ago.

Residential integration would, of course, obviate this kind of busing. But a whole generation or more cannot wait. The six-year-old child starting first grade in a poor neighborhood, a minority neighborhood, has only that one year to be in first grade, only one childhood in which to claim his birthright to a good public education. While the struggle to open the gates of suburbia with its invisible but sturdy walls of class and race exclusivism goes on, today's poor children must go to good schools. Busing offers one immediate access to better education.

Unpopular though busing may be, it is the only alternative within the means of some communities to achieve a measure of integration for this generation. The question is: Will we become mired in the busing issue or do we turn our energies toward raising the level of public education offered to every child in America?

Leadership must be exercised by our elected public officials to guide the present discussion along rational lines. To act favorably on H. J. Res. 620 or similar amendments could only imply withdrawal of congressional support, under emotional pressure, for efforts undertaken already to integrate our schools. The League of Women Voters therefore urges the members of this Committee and of the entire Congress not to be party to such a disaster.

League of Women Voters of the U.S.
1730 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

September 5, 1969

STATEMENT TO THE LABOR SUBCOMMITTEE
OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
IN SUPPORT OF
S. 2453

THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES ENFORCEMENT ACT
SUBMITTED BY
MRS. BRUCE B. BENSON, PRESIDENT
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES

The League of Women Voters of the United States is deeply aware -- and deeply concerned -- that this nation is not moving as speedily as it should to fulfill the promise of civil rights legislation. We are determined to do our utmost to bring an end to poverty and discrimination in this country and to promote equality of opportunity for all Americans in the areas of education, employment and housing.

On a national level since 1964 we have been studying the extent and depth of poverty and discrimination. Ours is a grass roots organization of nearly 160,000 members in the 50 states, the District of Columbia, the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico who on state and local levels sought remedies to these problems for many years before the problems became a focal point of our national attention. Today all League members know that employment discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex or national origin clearly persists despite Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Admittedly there has been some progress -- but not nearly enough!

The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) has the principal responsibility for administering Title VII. Its chief function is to promote voluntary compliance with Title VII, but the EEOC is hampered in its efforts to fulfill its mission because there is no accompanying authority to enforce compliance.

The commission's record is impressive in one sense. In Fiscal Year 1968, according to the EEOC's latest annual report, it was fully successful in 283% more cases than in Fiscal Year 1967, and 28,600 individuals benefitted from EEOC's conciliation efforts in 1968 as against 8,500 individuals in 1967. But when surveyed as to failures vs. successes, the record is far less impressive. Sixty six successes were matched by 86 failures in 1967, and a year later, in 1968, 253 successes compared unfavorably to 334 failures.

The League believes that with authority to insist on conciliation, the commission will improve its success record, and the intent of Title VII will come closer to attainment.

The experience of states with fair employment practice agencies supports the idea that the EEOC record for gaining voluntary compliance will improve when strengthened with the capability to issue cease and desist orders. Based on experience with state agencies, the Civil Rights Commission, in its 1969 Report on Equal Opportunity in State and Local Government Employment, recommends that the EEOC should be conferred with the power to issue cease and desist orders to correct violations of Title VII.

"...Of the states presently having fair employment practice laws, the vast majority give the State commission administering the law power to issue cease and desist orders. Giving EEOC similar power would enhance its conciliation role by strengthening its bargaining power and make it a far more effective agent in ensuring equal employment opportunity."

The League supports the provision in S. 2453, as it has supported similar legislation in the last Congress, to give the EEOC authority to issue cease and desist orders.

The League also supports the provision in S. 2453 which would extend the commission's jurisdiction to companies hiring eight or more employees as against the 25-employee minimum in the present law, and to employees of state and local governments. This provision would extend the equal employment protection now enjoyed by 44 million workers to an additional nine million workers employed by businesses with more than eight but less than 25 employees.

Protection of state and local government employees against discriminatory practices is important. The total number employed at these levels is a significant number, and the Civil Rights Commission reports "definite discriminatory elements in state and local government personnel systems." The Civil Rights Commission states that in February, 1967, the country's 50 state governments, 3,000 county governments, more than 17,000 towns or townships, 18,000 cities and more than 21,000 special-purpose governments employed 4.4 million persons, exclusive of employment in the field of education.

The total of state and local employees has increased 83% since the early 1950's, while federal government employment has remained fairly constant during the same period. The increase of state and local public employment can be expected to continue as population expands, making increasingly important the protection of these employees.

We have all become more sensitive in recent years to the necessity for developing within government at all levels a greater responsiveness to the needs of citizens. As government employment discrimination lessens at all levels, hiring of minority groups' members obviously will increase. The experiences and backgrounds of these groups will help to develop this responsiveness within government. The League of Women Voters is convinced that expansion of EEOC's jurisdiction to include employees of state and local government can have a double benefit: The protection of the rights of the employees themselves and a positive effect on the government's responsiveness to the needs of all the people.

We hope for the enactment of these provisions of S. 2453 to give EEOC enforcement authority and to extend its jurisdiction, believing they will erase some of the Title VII deficiencies. The federal government has a special responsibility to ensure equal employment opportunity for all Americans. Simply to set up a commission with assigned duties does not fulfill this responsibility. The EEOC must have authority to carry out its assignment.

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League of Women Voters of the U.S.
1200 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

June 16, 1969

FILE COPY

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF APPROPRIATIONS REQUESTS FOR EDUCATION,
CIVIL RIGHTS AND MANPOWER PROGRAMS TO THE HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR, HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

BY

MRS. BRUCE B. BENSON, PRESIDENT
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES
JUNE 4, 1969

I am Mrs. Bruce B. Benson of Amherst, Mass., President of the League of Women Voters of the United States. The League is a nonpartisan, volunteer organization of nearly 157,000 members from more than 1200 communities in the fifty states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

I appreciate the opportunity to appear once again before this subcommittee. Of the appropriations that originate with this subcommittee, the League particularly supports those which affect equality of opportunity for education and employment. When I testified here a little over a year ago, I explained why the League supported appropriations requests for Economic Opportunity programs, Title I ESEA funds, National Teacher Corps, and manpower programs. We continue to support full appropriations for all these programs, but since FY 1970 authorizations have not yet been approved for OEO, it is premature to speak now, before this subcommittee, in support of its programs. The League would hope for an opportunity in the future to express support for OEO programs. My remarks today will be confined to ESEA, National Teacher Corps, Civil Rights, and manpower programs.

ESEA

Last year, Congress appropriated for Title I advance funding for FY 1970 in the amount of 90% of that appropriated for FY 1969. The League hopes that it will be possible now to remove the 90% limit and to appropriate funding for FY 1970 at least at the full level of FY 1969 appropriations. We are disappointed that the level of appropriations for ESEA falls far short of authorizations. However, we are pleased that this subcommittee has provided advance funding in order that school administrators can be sure in advance what funds will be available to them. Advance funding provides the ability to plan ahead and to use the money more effectively.

We were sorry to see funds cut for 1970 and hope they can be increased. We hope, therefore, that this subcommittee will remove the 90% limit.

We are pleased to note that attention is being given to evaluation of compensatory education programs. We believe that continuous evaluation is important, and that evaluation should be constructive, that is, it should seek out successful programs in order that they may be applied more widely. The 1969 report of the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children includes descriptions of successful programs in educating disadvantaged children. This is an example of the kind of constructive evaluation which we feel is very useful. We hope that this subcommittee will recommend sufficient funds so that the program planning and evaluation authorized in the 1967 ESEA Amendments -- to which the Advisory Council's 1969 report is an apt response -- can continue to be carried forward effectively.

Internal evaluation of compensatory education programs within the Office of Education itself as well as external evaluations, such as those reported by the Advisory Council -- both kinds of evaluations should be conducted. The League is not in a position to undertake evaluations in order to suggest which ones are the most constructive ongoing compensatory education programs. But the League is in a position to report some of the secondary results of Title I programs. Our members tell us, for example, that Title I programs have helped to stimulate a new awareness of the

special problems of poor children. We consider this to be an important development, because the inequities in educational opportunities will not be corrected unless the people who are actually in contact with the children are sympathetic to the special problems of the children they are trying to reach.

NATIONAL TEACHER CORPS

I would like also to say a few words about the National Teacher Corps. The FY 1970 Budget request calls for an increase in funding for the Teacher Corps to permit recruitment of additional interns and teachers, and support for larger numbers of corps members. These days, many very capable young men and women appear to be at a loss to find meaningful ways in which to express their support for positive efforts to bring about equality of opportunity for all. But the Teacher Corps is obviously very appealing to many of them. Many more young people apply to the Corps than can be accepted. It is impressive that in 1968 the number of applications and inquiries to the Teacher Corps program outnumbered by far the 1800 Teacher Corps members who served disadvantaged children during the 1967-68 school year; applications in that one year totaled over 7,000. I urge the subcommittee to meet the Budget request for the Teacher Corps so that this small but significant program can be strengthened.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Equality of job opportunities in America remains to be achieved. Job status of nonwhites is still far below that of whites, and the unemployment rate for nonwhites continues, as it has for many years, to be about double that for whites. The federal government itself can, through the Federal Contract Compliance and Civil Rights Program within the Labor Department, help significantly to relieve these inequities since an estimated one-third of the nation's labor force is employed by government contractors. Because these programs could have an important impact on equality of opportunity for employment, the League urges this subcommittee to recommend full funding of the Budget requests for Federal Contract Compliance and Civil Rights programs.

MANPOWER PROGRAMS

The League urges this subcommittee to recommend full funding of the manpower and vocational education programs requested in the FY 1970 Budget. Increasing the opportunities for employment, providing training and supportive services for individuals who need them in order that they may be prepared to take advantage of job opportunities, and bringing together the people who need and want jobs with the jobs that are waiting to be filled -- these are among the vital steps that can be taken to alleviate the growing tensions among the nation's unemployed and underemployed. Funds for programs to fulfill these goals should be among the nation's top priorities.

The League supports the concept that helping to provide equality of opportunity for employment is a function both of government and of the private sector. Government itself has a responsibility to help provide jobs, and to help the private sector to do the same. We are pleased to see the growth of government programs that will make more jobs available through the involvement of the private sector and through cooperation between the public and private sectors. Employment and training programs, residential as well as institutional training, vocational education programs -- all of these are needed.

It has been observed that among the most rapidly growing Federal programs have been those which represent investment in human resources -- through education, manpower training, and aid to the needy. We believe that this is as it should be if we are to make up for lost time. As a nation, we are quite late in coming to the realization that the needs for human resources programs have been accelerating faster than the remedies. Money alone is not a remedy; we are well aware of that. But we are convinced that our needs are major and there are few major remedies that do not require major expenditures.

League of Women Voters of the U.S.
1200 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

May 1, 1969

STATEMENT TO THE AD HOC TASK FORCE ON POVERTY
of the
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR
ON CONTINUATION OF PROGRAMS AUTHORIZED UNDER
THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964 (H.R. 513)

by

MRS. BRUCE B. BENSON, PRESIDENT
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES

and Panel

MRS. G. R. NUGENT, PRESIDENT, LWV OF WEST VIRGINIA (S. CHARLESTON)
MRS. MERLYN E. RICHARDSON, PAST PRESIDENT, LWV OF GEORGIA (ATLANTA)
MRS. ROBERT WARREN, DIRECTOR, LWV OF OHIO (ROCKY RIVER)
MRS. D. R. WATERMAN, PRESIDENT, LWV OF IOWA (MUSCATINE)

I am Mrs. Bruce B. Benson of Amherst, Mass., President of the League of Women Voters of the United States. It is a pleasure to appear again before this committee -- especially today when many of our state presidents and other state League leaders are here in Washington to discuss the progress and direction of our work on various national issues. I am especially pleased to have four of them testify with me.

BACKGROUND OF LEAGUE INTEREST: The League has been working for five years on studies of the extent and depth of poverty and of problems related to equal opportunity. Our members all over the country have followed with great interest the various programs developed and funded under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. We are interested in the federal legislation and in its implementation in the local community or neighborhood, and concerned for the establishment and successful operation of community programs to deal effectively with problems of the poor and of minority groups in our society. Our members have observed and evaluated poverty programs and poverty-related programs since the beginning and by this time they have acquired a considerable amount of first-hand experience on which to base their views.

The League has supported many of the programs which have been developed under the EOA. We believe the federal government must continue to assume a large share of responsibility for providing opportunities for education, employment, and housing for all persons in the United States -- and we believe there should be federal coordination of these programs. We believe state and local governments also have a vital responsibility. In fact, we are convinced that if all persons are to have an equal chance for education, jobs, and housing, maximum efforts are required at all levels of government as well as in the private sector.

The League has developed a number of criteria by which to evaluate both the programs and the total effort. Among them are that there should be no discrimination in any program; programs should be tailored to fit the needs of the people they are intended to reach and the people should be involved in their planning and implementation. There should be continuing evaluation and experimentation and there should be competent personnel to meet the requirements of the programs.

LEAGUE SURVEYS: Many of our Leagues have just completed and have reported to our national Board their own evaluations on how Community Action Programs are operating in their communities and what some of the problems have been. Their surveys reflect

a number of observations and nuances frequently lacking in purely statistical data. Impact on traditional community institutions; changes in community attitudes toward the poor and their problems; effect on the poor and disadvantaged in their goals, aims, and participation in other community institutions -- these are intangibles and they are hard to measure, but they must be taken into account when programs are being evaluated. Attached to this testimony are some representative excerpts from the lengthy reports containing League comments on the value of the programs to their communities, some suggestions for improvement, and some League concerns.

Overall, the surveys indicate that CAP agencies have achieved one of the most important first steps in the war on poverty -- public officials, civic organizations, community leaders, business men, and citizens have been confronted for the first time with some of the actual conditions of poverty as they exist in their communities and with some of the people who are poor. I think all of us here would agree that most of us have been painfully slow to recognize that in America some people suffer want and discrimination not only because of what we as a society have done, but also because of what we have ignored and neglected.

Our Leagues also report that the effort and money spent in CAP, while not enough, has been worth it, both in terms of accomplishment and promise for the future. Of course, some Leagues report failure and the disbanding of agencies in their cities and towns. Some Leagues report that, in spite of their community's working hard to establish an agency, lack of funds prevents a start.

There are a number of difficulties. One of them has been the problem of getting a quorum present at CAP board meetings. Some Leagues say that often public officials, now on these boards only because of their official positions, are not really interested and that, in some cases, the poor themselves fail to attend. It is not possible to tell if poor people do not come because of disillusionment, apathy, lack of hope, or timidity. Many Leagues have observed, however, that often poor people begin with diffidence and little initial participation but become more and more articulate and constructive as they gain experience and confidence. You will see, also, in several of the attached comments that in some instances public officials either have, or have developed through CAP involvement, a deep interest and real commitment.

The reports emphasize the need to reach more people who are poor. Those who have been involved have benefited -- many have risen out of poverty and now have jobs; many drop-outs have gone back to school and some to college; others have learned home-making skills for improved living conditions. Most important, these reports show the development of pride and dignity, hope, and leadership abilities. Over and over the surveys mention the benefits to poor people of their participation in decisions and programs that affect their lives.

Leagues also report that CAPs have had a noticeable impact on traditional agencies. There have been improvements in the approaches and in the attitudes of welfare workers. Head Start programs have sparked changes in techniques and methods used in schools and in the attitudes of teachers. There have been improvements in public services and decentralization of some of them and more participation of poor people in general community activities. The reports also mention an increased awareness by the community of its problems, increased participation by civic organizations, churches, community leaders, citizens, and local officials -- and a more receptive attitude to the needs and problems of poor people.

Some Leagues questioned earmarking of funds and expressed a wish for more flexibility so that funds could be used where the need is most evident. Short-term funding and lateness of commitment of money, Leagues said, creates problems of shortage of staff and personnel turnover (continuity in a job is important to directors and staff), and decreases possible effectiveness of programs.

In fact, in most reports, Leagues reported uncertainties about continuity and funding as a constant concern and handicap.

CONCLUSIONS: In spite of the short time OEO has been operating, in spite of the tremendous problems it is supposed to solve, in spite of the difficulties in coordinating the efforts of many different federal governmental agencies and of different levels of government, and in spite of funds inadequate for the job, we think the Office of Economic Opportunity has performed its task well -- particularly as an innovator and as an experimental agency. And, there continues to be a need for a federal clearing house for an exchange of solutions and ideas communities have found useful in efforts to combat poverty and discrimination.

We think it is very wise to recognize that all experiments cannot and will not be victories -- the history of research is replete with stories of the failures that preceded success. Americans seem to expect in those areas of research in which we are advanced -- in the development of machines, weapons, medicine, for instance -- to spend vast sums of money on what may be and many times are failures. However, in the area of improving the lives of people, in human relationships -- a field in which we are far from advanced -- Americans expect to make rapid progress and to have the money we spend produce quick and visible results. We must recognize that here, too, it is very important to find out what will not work -- because it is a necessary part of the process of finding out what will work.

We also recognize that coordination of the many approaches to the solution of poverty and discrimination is difficult. We know that working with a variety of governmental agencies and with many different governmental levels poses special problems. Mistakes, which might well be expected in a new agency created to help solve long-standing, long-neglected complicated problems, have all too frequently been overly publicized, and successes overlooked.

We believe that the coordinating and innovative role of OEO should be strengthened. We believe its authority should be extended to ensure that poverty programs administered by other agencies (including OEO delegated programs) have lead time for planning and for the continuation of successful and promising programs. Some of the recent efforts in improving fiscal accounting and office and personnel management in local CAP agencies should begin to bear fruit. Careful evaluation of administrative methods, to promote both accountability and room for flexibility, should continue, it seems to us, rather than drastic cuts in programs and abrupt changes before adequate alternatives are ready. If we are really serious about providing an equal opportunity to everyone for a good education, training for a decent livelihood, and a decent home, we must be willing to make changes and to try new and varied approaches, sifting out and then promoting what seems to work well.

Therefore we support H.R. 513 -- to continue authorization for five years programs authorized under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, so that lead time is available for planning and evaluation. We believe that changes and modifications are always in order, before the expiration of that time. We believe the amount authorized for fiscal 1970, \$2.18 billion, is a minimum; and we would like to see a larger amount, in view of the priority we believe should be given to the elimination of poverty and discrimination in the richest nation in the world and one of the world's leaders in free government.

The attached comments of local Leagues are arranged by states. We hope they will indicate to you why the League supports H.R. 513.

As the members of this committee may be aware, we in the League are concerned about the closing of Job Corps centers before the proposed "mini" skills centers have been established and operating. It took over a year to get the first eleven Job Corps

centers under way. We think it unlikely that the "mini" skills centers will be ready by July 1 to provide a viable choice for those young people now in centers to be closed. The League looks with favor on establishing and trying new approaches, but does not see the necessity for abrupt closing out of Job Corps centers.

Now we would like you to hear from some of the state leaders with me here, who see the OEO programs from the vantage point of their own states and their own communities.

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MRS. NUGENT:

The League of Women Voters of West Virginia has been involved during the past five years in a study of poverty and discrimination in the state. Many of our members have been working with the poor. They have come to know the depth and extent of the disabilities and despair that poverty brings. They understand why all fifty-five counties in West Virginia were judged depressed at the time of the passage of the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965.

Certain statistics tell our story. The unemployment rate for the state in March 1969 was 6.3 per cent involving 36,000 persons; a year earlier it was nearly 8 per cent. Half of our people have less than a 9th grade education and 45 percent or more of the public school students drop out before they graduate from high school. The per capita income is about \$2,000, about two-thirds of the national average. West Virginia ranks about 44th for all states in per pupil expenditure in elementary and secondary education. About 30 per cent of the housing is substandard.

Thus underemployment and low skill levels result in an income base which yields insufficient taxes to support quality education. In the rural and poorest counties, educational and job opportunities are severely limited. Outmigration results but the migrant is unfortunately neither educationally, socially, nor psychologically fit to compete in the more sophisticated urban centers. The ones who stay behind live on poverty incomes or welfare.

This is the backdrop against which the OEO programs are conducted in West Virginia.

All fifty-five counties in West Virginia have had summer Headstart programs; 14 counties now operate year-round centers. (Three are not funded by OEO.) Follow Through programs have been established on a pilot basis in three counties. They continue into the first and second grade the central concept of Headstart -- to develop the whole child, physically, mentally, socially, and emotionally. While it is generally agreed that the children have benefited, some observers feel that parent participation has not been as pervasive as it should be. Yet the parents must be involved to help sustain the spirit of hopefulness and to reinforce the motivation to study in the child. Headstart in West Virginia reaches only about a sixth of the children in need.

Those of us who have been in touch with the program can clearly see its impact. Many public schools have incorporated the idea of individual attention into their first and second year program designs. Use of teacher aides and counselors has increased. Health programs for school children have proliferated noticeably. Six colleges and universities in the state have added new teacher training programs in early childhood development. Private pre-school centers have quadrupled. In the southern part of the state where the black population is as high as 30 per cent, race relations have improved dramatically through the institution of federally funded child care centers and the work of the community action program.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps program in West Virginia has out-of-school programs in 15 counties; in-school programs in 14 counties. During 1968-69, 1,973 persons were enrolled in the year-round program; 5,905 in the summer programs. Again, most of the poorest of West Virginia's counties are untouched and the problem of the drop-out goes on unabated.

Our members have also worked with the staff and enrollees in the Job Corps centers in Charleston, Huntington and Harpers Ferry. We know, for example, that the Charleston center has a five-year placement record of nearly 80 per cent. The center is supported by both daily newspapers, the TV and radio media and has had the backing and help from many private citizens. Its program includes many innovations: a student government and a court system that has been a model not only for other Job Corps centers but the public school system as well. The counseling, residential and instructional programs have been watched by school officials, who are beginning to use similar methods and materials in their efforts to retain potential drop-outs.

Mr. Jay Rockefeller, the Secretary of State of West Virginia, stated recently: "The Huntington Job Corps Center ranks either at the top or in the first three of nearly every category when compared with other centers around the country. You simply cannot talk with the young people who come here, whom we have promised to help, who want to work, to earn their way -- you cannot talk with these young people and not be receptive to their cause." We agree with him. Yet the Huntington Center is scheduled to close.

It is easy enough to concentrate on the high cost to train a corpsman. However, the youths served come from the most hopeless environments. In the long run, the cost to the nation would be more if corpsmen were to become welfare clients. We think it makes little sense to dismantle centers which after five years of experimenting are working well only to start all over again with a new program.

The job training programs have not gone far enough. They have reached too few and the training in some programs has not been very useful for future employment. But they have served to underscore the serious lack of vocational and technical training programs in the state and have helped to move the public school system to develop a plan for the expansion of programs. For the first time in its history, the Division of Vocational Education has had a substantial increase in its budget and the first phase of the plan can go through. League members have worked very actively for these programs.

Mention should also be made of our "silent revolution" -- the excellent tutorial programs conducted by college and university students in West Virginia. Operating under very small OEO grants, more than 600 students in six West Virginia communities are giving voluntarily three hours a week to tutoring deprived children on a one-to-one basis. The importance of this giving to and sharing with the poor, in building bridges and in putting young people in touch with other people's needs, cannot be measured. Emerging now is an offshoot program in which potential drop-outs tutor younger disadvantaged children. Working in tandem with common purpose, both reap the reward of increased reading and language skills and the reinforcement of the incentive to learn.

The most controversial of all have been the community action programs. West Virginia has had its share of difficulties. In the beginning there was instability in the programs: OEO guidelines changed frequently, local and regional personnel worked at cross purposes, short-term funding prevented long range planning and the recruiting and retention of administrative personnel was difficult. The Green Amendment seemed to compound the uncertainty and instability. League members have worked with several community action groups. We have known frustration and disappointment. But we felt the obstacles were not insuperable. We, like many others, were perhaps looking for

quick results. We feel now that, as the programs have matured, they are finding new directions. It is gratifying to know, for example, that in West Virginia in McDowell County where poverty is very severe, the poor, the middle class, the businessmen, the school, welfare, social security and employment security personnel -- all are working together to operate a well rounded program. Here nonprofessionals were trained to run the child care centers and then went on themselves to take college courses to extend their education. If it happens this way there, we believe it can happen elsewhere.

Therefore, we think the federal government has the responsibility of making a long-term commitment to the sustaining of the present impetus of the OEO programs, to adequate funding, and to the search for new directions. The members of the League of Women Voters of West Virginia will continue to support you in your efforts.

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MRS. WATERMAN:

The Iowa League has 2,569 members in twenty-five Iowa communities. I believe this is the first time a member of the Iowa League has testified before a Congressional Committee, and in the name of all our members I wish to thank the committee for this opportunity to present our views.

Mrs. Benson's testimony in support of H.R. 513 accurately represent the position of the Iowa League. Our support is based on knowledge gained through forty-three meetings held in our local Leagues during the past year on problems of poverty and discrimination. These forty-three meetings represented 129 preparatory meetings of local Human Resources committees -- and as you veterans of the committee system know -- that's a lot of meetings! In addition, at present, fifteen of our Leagues have members serving on their local Community Action Agency Boards and every League has members serving on other commissions or councils which bring them into contact with OEO programs. I can vouch for the accuracy of this information because I culled it all myself from local League annual reports, and I have gone into this much detail in order to demonstrate that we do know about our local situations.

It seems to us that one of the great benefits of OEO programs is their humanizing force. Government becomes humanized in the eyes of the disadvantaged, instead of being an incomprehensible, non-responsive giant. People become other human beings instead of statistics at best, or antagonists at worst, such as welfare recipients versus the establishment, or blacks versus middle-class whites, to use two obvious examples.

Let me demonstrate what I mean by telling you briefly about three Iowa programs with which I am familiar. I chose them because they illustrate a successful spinoff and two programs very indigenous to Iowa -- a rural program and an outreach program centered in a small town.

The successful spinoff is the Mothers Task Force, part of Waterloo's Head Start Parents. The group comprises only mothers who have children currently in Head Start classes -- but an auxiliary Head Start Alumni group has been formed -- shades of our own middle-class organizations! The mothers serve the program itself by helping with clerical work and enrollment, and other volunteer work. There are sixteen Head Start classes and one mother from each of the sixteen classes is on the Policy Advisory Committee. They use Waterloo's two neighborhood centers for their meetings and for cooking and sewing classes. They also publish a Newsletter, have a Speakers Bureau, arrange for baby-sitting and transportation in order to allow an interested mother to get to classes or meetings, have published a cookbook featuring economical recipes and tasty ways of using surplus foods, and run a clothing exchange store.

Now, some of these things are being done by almost every Head Start Parents group -- but these women are doing all of them -- and doing them on their own. They really write their Newsletter and they really run their clothing store.

I would like to quote two of these mothers, who attended a meeting in April, attended also by about forty League members. They were explaining their organization to us with a great deal of pride. One of them said: "Two years ago you couldn't have gotten me out of the house, much less to a meeting like this. But I'm not left out anymore." The other mother replied, "That's right. Here I am at this meeting, and I'm also on a housing panel which goes around town and speaks to groups and clubs about our housing here." She continued, "I can't stay all afternoon for this meeting because I have to go to my P.T.A. -- I'm hospitality chairman." Those simple statements said more about assimilation into society and better described the previous isolation in which those mothers had lived (and many still do) than all the books, lectures, television presentations or statistics.

Second example -- a rural program. Linn County, part of Hawkeye Community Action Program, a three-county CAP, has three centers in the rural area and two urban centers in Cedar Rapids. The rural centers have been highly successful; a major reason is that the center is the only available meeting place for rural poor people. (Cities and towns with other organizations can furnish meeting places at libraries, schools, and Y's.) All these centers provide the following programs: Story Hours for children, Adult Basic Education, High School Completion, Health Clinic, and Team Groups such as Boy Scouts, Tutoring, Band, and mothers' meetings. An extra service is provided for the rural centers. The County Department of Social Welfare sends a representative to spend a half-day twice a month in each of the centers, immediately following the issuance of ADC and Old Age Assistance checks -- to sell food stamps and do additional case work.

Rural centers have special problems -- the greatest of these in the areas of housing and health. They need more staff because there aren't as many volunteers available and it takes longer to travel from contact to contact. In spite of this, the total outreach contacts from these centers was 3,640 -- 1,505 first-time and 2,135 follow-ups. People who use the centers to participate in programs -- 1,188 people in various programs in the neighborhood centers -- also think of their centers as the first place to go in time of need. When a baby smothered in his crib, her center was where the mother went for help; the center contacted the father at work and the fire department. When the members of one family learned of a son's death in Vietnam, they came to their center; the center informed them of procedures, services available and the role of the Army.

My third example is an outreach program in a small town. There are three outreach workers and a large number of volunteers from Mr. Vernon, Iowa, a small community of 2,600 and the home of Cornell College. These three workers and their volunteer helpers service between 100 and 125 poor families, most of whom live in the country. This program demonstrates the cooperation among the agency, the local government, and the people of the community -- cooperation which may have meant the difference between survival or loss of the program. There is no available center, so the different churches have each furnished a room for a specific program or service. The Advisory Council meets once a month, and all members of the community are encouraged to attend and discuss common efforts and problems. Attendance has been spotty, but encouraging. In addition, the staff reports on a regularly scheduled basis to the City Council, to keep it informed of what's going on, so there is excellent rapport between the CAP and the City Council. A member of the Advisory Board is now attempting to set up the same kind of scheduled meetings between the staff and the Board of Education.

The possibilities of developing undiscovered potential have shown up very well in this program -- the sewing teacher is a member of a low-income family and two of the three paid outreach workers are former recipients -- they have graduated!

This program has served the community very well. The poor have been brought out of their almost total isolation in the rural area; they are learning some needed skills and using health services. They are also experiencing the simple pleasure of a cup of coffee and some companionship during, for example, a cooking class, something we all take for granted. On the other side of the coin, the Advisory Council includes a representative sampling of all concerned people; and the community knows it can attend the meetings to gain information, present ideas, or make complaints. And, because the program needs a large number of volunteers, a great many citizens of the community have become involved with other people. Since so many of the people in the target group live in the country, transportation alone requires many hours of volunteer effort. On those rides, people who might never otherwise meet learn something about each other.

To get back to where I started -- the humanizing force of OEO. In terms of some of the large urban problems and programs, I've been talking about little programs.

But how do you count all of the people in the community who have been touched? How do you evaluate the influence of better understanding on workable solutions? Since WE are the so-called power structure, the ones who must make the necessary judgments, write the legislation, administer the programs, and work in our communities as volunteers in many cases, it seems as if the learning experience is almost more necessary for us than for the poor. To the member of the City Council who tours the housing available for black families, to the school board member who arranges Head Start facilities and talks to Head Start parents, to the businessman who speaks to twenty-five poor young people about hiring practices, and how to apply for a job, to the volunteer who serves as a center aid, a poor person is no longer a faceless statistic but another human being struggling with a problem. Through contact, it becomes a common problem. We have the legislation. We hope it will be extended and funded. We believe the exposure of many segments of our society to each other, which is happening under OEO, given time, can make a powerful contribution to the elimination of poverty and discrimination in our society.

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MRS. RICHARDSON:

Although Georgia does now have a growing economy, she ranks seventh among the states in the number of poor. An estimated 39 per cent of the state's population is in the poverty bracket. Most of Georgia's poor live outside urban areas. Although expenditures per pupil on education have increased, the 1966-67 figure was \$408, still below the national average.

OEO programs operate in 134 of the 159 counties of Georgia. There are 25 Community Action Agencies, 18 primarily rural and seven basically urban. From late 1964 through December 31, 1969, a total of \$111,738,391 in OEO funds has been granted to Georgia with \$68,292,660 of that allocated to CAP programs, including Head Start. In 1968, the full year Head Start programs served approximately 3,200 children in 24 counties of Georgia and the Summer Head Start, about 17,500 children in 75 counties. There are emergency food and medical programs operating in 48 Georgia counties. Community Action Agencies operate commodity food distribution programs in 46 counties. This food in many cases is followed up by home management aides to teach the people how to use it, as well as by consumer education, homemaker training, etc. Many more of these aides could be used, if money allowed. The VISTA program has been most

helpful -- 94 volunteers are now working in Georgia, helping to introduce the poor to many services available from other agencies, doing family and job counseling, tutoring, organizing self-help programs, and a new area of CAP planning as they help to determine needs of the community and write programs. Many communities are asking for this sort of VISTA help.

Let me call to your attention some of the more innovative programs in Georgia. Parent-Child Center Projects in Atlanta and in La Fayette, Georgia, work with young parents with at least one child under three to develop competence as a family and in the art of child-rearing. They work with children and parents in groups in the center, with families in their homes, in all areas of need and counseling.

Senior citizens of low income are employed to care for children in a day care center and in a hospital in Atlanta, fulfilling a need for employment and an opportunity to use skills and experience for serving children who have little contact with adults.

The Concentrated Employment Program to recruit, train and place hard core unemployed and underemployed in permanent employment did have difficulties in the beginning but now is moving ahead and now has the help of the Chamber of Commerce. Last summer a Jobmobile, funded with OEO money and sponsored by the state Labor Department, went into the poverty areas and successfully recruited.

A comprehensive Health Center has been established in the midst of deep poverty in Atlanta. Three-fourths of the staff are residents of the poor neighborhoods. Some have been and more are now being trained to serve as community health workers and dental aides. La Grange, Georgia has submitted a grant application for a needed health center.

There are 15 neighborhood service centers in Atlanta-Fulton County. This past spring a Start Now Atlanta program conducted by the residents served by these Centers consisted of tours, still going on, by which volunteers have been secured, most from suburban areas. There are now 1,656 people trained by OEO serving in all kinds of areas of need.

In Burke-Richmond County area (Augusta), OEO will provide staff money and the Medical College of Georgia will provide services for a mobile health unit sponsored by Eastern Georgia Farmers' cooperative and labor union. The Southern Rural Project, sponsored by National Sharecroppers and funded by OEO, gives strong assistance to farmers' cooperative, private day care centers -- locally supported, sewing cooperatives in two counties, self-help housing, economic development projects, community organization.

There are Head Start Follow-Through programs in Walker, Pickens, and Fulton Counties. Funded by OEO money, the major emphasis is to insure that the progress made while in Head Start will not be lost as these children enter school. In Walker County, one of the first school systems in the nation designated for Follow-Through, approximately 100 children participate.

Among the prominent needs in Georgia is that of legal service programs for the poor. There are now four such programs with neighborhood offices in the low-income areas in Atlanta and Savannah. More are needed. In addition, Emory University School of Law is conducting a project to determine the extent to which law students can handle tasks in a neighborhood law office.

To promote community cooperation, the Georgia State Economic Opportunity Office has conceived an idea, now adopted by a number of Community Action Agencies in the

state -- to sponsor an annual meeting of the CAA. Invitations are issued to several hundred citizens of the area to attend a social time and dinner meeting. The speaker has been the Southeastern Director of the OEO. Response by citizens has been unexpectedly overwhelming. Expenses are often borne in large part by local civic organizations. Communication and understanding and respect for the work of the agency has increased.

I have highlighted but a few of the areas in which OEO has helped the poor of Georgia to help themselves in health, education, employment, a better family life. We do have a long way to go and many more poor to reach and to involve. We do feel other agencies such as welfare, labor, health departments, National Alliance of Businessmen have been affected by the CAP's. By working with the programs, they have become more responsive to the poor. The League and many citizens feel that the types of programs that the Economic Opportunity Act has brought to Georgia and prompted other agencies to sponsor and partially fund, that the participation of many segments of the community, including the low-income people, to alleviate poverty and its causes -- can be continued and increased only by the extension of the programs authorized under the Act. Georgia needs the assurance that the human development and equal opportunity which an extension of H.R. 513 will make possible can be counted on to continue.

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MRS. WARREN:

The privilege of speaking to you about the Economic Opportunity programs in Ohio carries with it the luxury of representing an organization which has no political axe to grind and therefore places no strictures on its spokesman's candor. The only axe I am enjoined to grind for the members of the League of Women Voters of Ohio is their conviction that poverty can and must be eliminated in our state and in the entire nation. Far from assuming this stance out of mere idealism, they regard it as the only practical position available to them.

The difficulty, of course, is to convince our obviously restless fellow-taxpayers of this practicality. The oft-heard complaint, "How can we be spending so much on welfare and still have such a big welfare load?" is echoed by "How can we be spending so much on poverty programs and still have a poverty problem?" The fact that approximately 20 million poor do not receive any public assistance -- and represent a full reservoir of unmet needs -- seems to have little or no credibility.

Economic Opportunity programs in Ohio run the gamut from Head Start to senior citizen programs. Good use has been made of the federal money (which has ranged from 44 to 50 million dollars), particularly with respect to the number and quality of its locally-devised, innovative programs. These experiments in community action, like others in the country, have set in motion certain easily observed social phenomena:

1. They have uncovered a vast, previously "undiscovered country" of human and community problems.
2. They have awakened large numbers of the poor to their rights, abilities and potentialities.
3. They have involved many individuals and groups in a brand new kind of common effort.
4. They have, by their "ferret-and-referral" activities, added to the responsibilities of our welfare agencies.

5. They have begun to reveal the true dimensions of poverty: How much of it exists, what contributes to it, what sustains it and how it affects the total community.

These developments, although clearly consonant with the original purposes of the Economic Opportunity Act, are often viewed with a certain uneasiness -- certainly a factor in periodic attempts to curtail community action prerogatives. Whether or not these originally intended corollaries of the 1964 act should be regarded as a Pandora's Box, it is our belief that it is now academic to fret about putting the lid back on. The previously invisible human problems are not going to disappear again until something very practical is done about them; the poor are going to remain aroused until their rights as citizens and their potentials as human beings are fulfilled; slowly but surely, "mainstream" Americans are beginning to sort out their values and to opt for contributing at least a little time and talent to the reduction of poverty and discrimination; public and voluntary health and welfare agencies will continue to reassess their effectiveness; and the dimensions of poverty will continue to emerge until the whole tragic vista is visible. It is also academic to argue whether or not we WANT to go on with finding out just how big the problem is. We can't solve something we refuse to look at; if we are afraid to see it - all of it - it would be better and less confusing for all concerned to simply admit we don't want to make the attempt, after all.

Almost all community action programs, by their very nature, turn up the need for other programs. A job training program is of no use to 70 per cent of the applicants because of health problems; a work-experience program falls far short of its goal because of lack of day care facilities; rural outreach workers discover whole villages without water and sewer facilities; a minister serving in a poverty area discovers a "hidden" pocket of rural poor among whom the functional illiteracy rate runs almost 100 per cent; an OEO-trained teacher-aide in a Spanish-speaking urban neighborhood finds there has never been any effort to teach the children English as a second language early in their public school experience (needless to say, achievement ran low and drop-out rate ran high); a neighborhood health center team turns up a big demand for family planning counselling and discovers there is virtually no such service available to welfare clients in their county, despite the mandates in both the Federal Social Security Amendments of 1967 and the Ohio Welfare Reorganization Act of 1965. Both rural and urban outreach services have brought to light the need for homemaker personnel.

Although some of these needs have been partially met in some localities by initiating new programs and by some adjustments in services offered by other agencies, there is nowhere near enough coverage in any of these areas on a state-wide basis. There is not an effective enough mechanism for duplicating needed programs on a scale which would, together with existing state and local services, have a state-wide impact.

In addition to fulfilling the OEO purpose of uncovering previously "invisible" facets of poverty and stimulating old line agencies to reassess their adequacy, the Ohio programs have done an exciting job of involving both poor and non-poor in community development and person-to-person service. College students have volunteered as tutors, drivers, painters and carpenters; lawyers, doctors, dentists, housewives, teachers, clergymen, businessmen and trade unions have helped to furnish the "in kind" share of Ohio's opportunity programs. In some cases community organizations have assumed full responsibility for programs begun under OEO auspices. For example, the Clermont County Head Start program was maintained by local effort and expanded into a full year program. The East Central Citizens Organization of Columbus, dependent on federal funds for two years, is now virtually self-sustain-

ing. It is resident-controlled and provides one of the most comprehensive neighborhood self-development programs in the state.

The Ohio community action agencies seem to be fiscally well managed. The administrative hang-ups they experience are mostly the result of delays in funding decisions, frequently aggravated by additional delays in delivery of the actual grants. Some agencies have had to negotiate bank loans to keep in business, a situation which has damaged their local image as good managers.

We are not sure whether to interpret it as a danger signal or not, but it seems evident that in some cases the non-poverty members of community action agency boards are not as interested or active as they were in the early days of the program. Public officials do not seem as anxious as they used to be to associate themselves with the poverty programs. There is also a disquieting tendency for some of the programs which could easily convert to all-local funding to become merely "automatic refunding" propositions. Local share upgrading should perhaps be required where resources are obviously available and community enthusiasm runs appropriately high. This would tend to diminish the danger of the local OEO agencies assuming the stance of "old line" agencies.

To promote improved skills in money management, home maintenance, consumer self-protection and preventive health, services continue to be needed. A de-institutionalized, neighborhood approach seems the most acceptable and successful.

It is our firm belief that none of the impetus of the OEO program aims should be allowed to die out in Ohio. There is still much to be discovered, many people to reach, a great amount of convincing of the thus-far uninvolved public that the War on Poverty is their war. Government by reaction will not fill the bill. We must capitalize on the fact that the economic opportunity programs have redefined poverty. We must not back away from our hard-won knowledge.

Decisions about the future of programs must be made with great care. We must not disrupt the continuity of person-to-person interest, which has given first-time hope and dignity to many of our disadvantaged people. In spite of the fluidity of American society, most of us have institutional roots which reassure us no matter how we may move about. The economic opportunity programs have just begun to give this kind of assurance to the people they are reaching.

Members of the League of Women Voters are probably not classifiable as "youth"; but we, like some of our young people too, are angry. We will continue to do battle against poverty and the public complacency which sustains it, but we suspect that our efforts will be wasted unless the national leadership is willing to call up enough resources and enough courage to insure the continuity of national commitment.

APPENDIX

Excerpts from recent surveys made by Local Leagues on the Poverty Program

Birmingham, Ala. "The training (in CEP) has been good for the enrollee but very few have found jobs. Racism is still such a problem here that a black typist can hardly be placed in private business. There must be more cooperation between the community and the CAA if there is to be any progress."

Florence, Ala. "The best thing about the CAA is that they can initiate programs in new areas and unique programs to fulfill specific needs. The Head Start and senior worker programs...There are no public kindergartens in our state and no previous programs for disadvantaged children...(nor) enlightened or beneficial public assistance for the elderly. The response from this neglected group to this program has been fantastic...Last week the CAA disclosed a flagrant overcharge on home improvement on a 60-year old lady who had paid \$450 for a \$75 roof job on a \$70 pension."

Tuscaloosa, Ala. "Employment: a striking demonstration of the capability and energy of the poor when given an opportunity to accomplish something concrete."

East Maricopa, Ariz. "Problems have been pointed up and brought out. The established agencies can no longer sweep them under the rug. The programs which have been developed are those that are needed. They need to be strengthened. Local CAAs needed to do the prodding."

Tucson, Ariz. "The Community Action Programs here fill a desperate need, are handled well, enjoy the backing of the community, and in many cases are (providing) imaginative ways of filling basic needs."

Camden, Ark. (influence on traditional agencies) "They have refused to be affected because they have resented federal 'interference.' Individual teachers, however, see the benefits of Head Start..."

Orange Co., Calif. (best program) "Head Start. The poverty groups like it; know about it; participate; and understand it."

Sacramento, Calif. (hard to evaluate attitudes) "but we feel that the fact that more mass media -- newspapers, radio, TV -- now cover SAEOC activities and in more depth is a point to indicate community awareness and concern, as well as acceptance. (effect on traditional agencies) Housing authority is now under qualified leadership of new executive director. School board was made aware of community needs in area of large Mexican-American density. Neighborhood Youth Corps involved 150 kids... Some members should be reminded to stop the quibbling and keep mind on long range goals. Perhaps the regional office could be of assistance here in giving direction."

San Francisco, Calif. (re attitudes of local officials) "Great controversy at first. Now that officials are serving on CAA board, they are involved in making it work... (influence on traditional agencies) Many are actual delegate agencies and/or have expanded services in target areas."

Ukiah, Calif. "Hope the CAA continues...Low income people need a voice in rural as well as urban areas...The main element in attracting low-income segment is hope of a job. If they are not selected because of inability to qualify, they become discouraged and drop out."

Denver, Colo. "Some (members in the target area) have found employment in business through their training and experience in DO agencies. Those involved have become a source for the community to contact and have dialogue with...provided leadership for Model Cities in their program planning."

Danbury, Conn. (suggestions for improvement) "Only that funds continue to come-- the effectiveness of action is first being felt and cut backs would be devastating to the efforts that have been started."

Stamford, Conn. (influence on traditional agencies) "It is often difficult to separate the influence of the OEO-CAA from the entire climate of social change in the past decade. With that in mind, it is possible to note some changes."

"The most direct example is the pre-kindergarten program instituted this year by the local Board of Education. This enables children who are over-income by national poverty standards -- which are very low for this area -- to receive the benefits of the Head Start program. The Board of Education's program is run by the same director who runs the Head Start program and incorporates many of the same features. A police-community relations center has been instituted in several neighborhoods. The business community has set up a job-training program using the CAA for the functions of recruiting, counseling, giving pre-job orientation and some basic education when needed. The basic approach of going into the neighborhoods with services, of listening to the poor, etc., has been adopted by many traditional agencies and groups. Since the discovery by Head Start medical doctors of high levels of lead in the blood of the poor children, a Health Department program has begun and the public schools cooperate in detection."

Central Brevard, Fla. "...need to enlarge ALL the programs -- Head Start for 1,000 poor children -- Day Care needed for working mothers -- more job opportunities, training, etc. -- special help for those who are behind and about to drop out. CAA staff must use all community resources -- planning, action -- government and non-government."

Belleville, Ill. (League in St. Clair county) "East St. Louis has a population of more than 80,000 people and has been going downhill for a long time. Of the business and manufacturing establishments left in the city, most are owned by people who live in St. Louis or Belleville...the population is between 60 and 70 percent black...East St. Louis has been milked dry. Industry has moved out, and the tax base has fallen so low that the public school system is bankrupt and could not sell its bonds last year...The Metro-East Journal is an excellent newspaper which seems to have faith in the city. The best hope of everyone is the success of the EOC and the Model Cities programs. These people, with so little to hope for, are accomplishing miracles. Southern Illinois University has a new branch in this area, too...I hope this...letter will give you a vision of the importance of the Economic Opportunity Commission in our area. The poverty program and other programs through which federal funds are available offer the only hope for East St. Louis to make a comeback...but the city has an obvious potential. Located on the Mississippi River directly across from St. Louis, which is undergoing a renaissance, one would expect that the same factors that have made St. Louis grow would work for East St. Louis...the executive director of the Economic Opportunity Commission...grew up in one of the most wretched areas near East St. Louis, attended a segregated school, and somehow got a good education -- MA in Social Work from the University of Missouri. He has been the reason for the great success of the EOC, but none of its activities could have been carried out without the federal funds...both state and federal agencies now seem to have concentrated their attention on East St. Louis."

Freeport, Ill. "Our first project, a demonstration mental health and counseling clinic, was successful in publicizing the great need here for such services. As a result, a county wide referendum approved a mental health tax and we now have a mental health clinic giving a full schedule of counseling and treatment services, support by public funds including state grant -- will continue next year if clinic becomes two-county like the CAA, with all the accompanying difficulties of combining two disparate counties and hazards of travel. Head Start has been a huge success -- no criticism except that not enough money is approved to do all the dental work needs for these children -- excellent cooperation from parents of children. Neighborhood Youth Corps has provided badly needed work for these young people sometimes with good supervision and sometimes with poor supervision, depending on agency asking for help...The tutoring center in the ghetto school has been much appreciated by the school system and the parents...hard to get OEO approval...they say it should be funded under ESEA.

"...(an organization) which has done family welfare work here for more than 85 years was spurred on to start its Day Care center after it ran Head Start the first summer. The PTAs have thereafter sponsored Head Start and many more programs as a result, directed toward an understanding of the causes and conditions of poverty here. The schools are sponsoring their own preschool program under Title III in the school year, not the summer, which does not compete with Head Start nor eliminate the need for it...(workers) in Head Start found new techniques and continue to apply them in (private agency, schools)...Illinois State Employment service office cooperated with vigor in CEP...good cooperation with the Illinois Division of Rehabilitation social worker here."

Gary, Ind. "Schools, under ESEA programs, have adopted the OEO concept of community involvement."

Mt. Pleasant, Iowa. "...only concern is that Congress fight inflation by cutting back on highways, dams, post offices and armories instead of...OEO."

Waterloo-Cedar Falls, Iowa. "As the community has become more aware of the needs, there has been more understanding and volunteer help. Presenting the picture has been a huge hurdle: the League has formed a panel of recipients to present the need -- about 25 programs have been presented."

Kansas City, Kans. (suggestions for change) "More emphasis on positive aspects of people in target areas instead of trying to counsel them and educate them into the same kind of life white middle-class America is experiencing -- changes such as using funds to organize groups to change institutions which keep people poor... training for Head Start teachers...to help parents feel more adequate instead of very inadequate and failures...people do not organize around their failures."

Lexington, Ky. (how governmental and private resources have been coordinated with CAA programs to help the disadvantaged). "Examples: park area -- badly needed -- was donated by the city commission in a neighborhood. The city floated a bond issue for road improvement, sewers, sidewalks, gutters, water and lights. The Lexington Beautification committee worked with residents in cleaning up and improving the physical appearance of their homes. Local business firms contributed paint. The city closed an uncovered sewer which had been in one poverty area for over thirty years. Cost -- approximately \$30,000.

"A neighborhood center is located in a public housing project...secured through cooperation with the Municipal Housing Authority.

"Our community badly needs low cost housing. The Housing Action Committee secured the cooperation of a local builder to build a demonstration house. The city has offered to improve the street and enforce a regulation against truck traffic on the street...the Lexington-Fayette Housing Aid corporation has been formed. They will attempt to make more readily available adequate housing for those who need it by building and rehabilitation. Within the last month a local bank, Bank of Lexington, has made available to the corporation a fund of \$40,000 -- at no interest -- to begin a rehabilitation program.

"Through a summer Neighborhood Youth Corps Program, private nonprofit corporations and federal officers assisted in making summer employment possible for about 480 young people. An additional 125 youths gained employment through the Youth Opportunity Campaign...

(effect on target groups of CAP involvement) "Before the formation of C.A.L.F., there was no directed effort toward organization of the poor. There was a lack of communication between them and the power structure or decision makers. Through community action they have learned where and how to present problems and seek effective solutions. The small rural community of about 125 persons, known as Jimtown, was able to secure water. This was a combined effort of local government officials, private agencies and individuals. Jimtown, located in the heart of the best horse farming region of Kentucky, existed for over 100 years without running water.

"About two years ago the delegate agency for Head Start, Fayette County Schools, objected to the guideline which required involvement of the Head Start Policy Advisory Committee in the selection of the director and decided not to have Head Start. Hundreds of residents, including a great many from the target groups, effectively petitioned and obtained a reversal of the decision.

"Three neighborhood groups are threatened by the encroachment of industry upon their residential area. Much of the area has been rezoned industrial for several years. Great numbers of the homes are substandard; many have been condemned and razed but it is impossible to build new homes because of the zoning. The groups sought a meeting with the Planning Commission and city officials and are now (late February) in the process of officially requesting rezoning to residential, as it is now being used. The people were very articulate in presenting their case to the officials."

Baton Rouge, La. "Mrs. _____ informed us that for the first time this year CAI has a planning committee; until now theirs has been a crash program of necessity; they hope to plan for five years....

"School board started summer kindergartens as an effect of CAI activity. Intentional interlocking of boards and people (a good thing). Legal services (have been) greatly expanded: legal information and law reform through Legal Aid Society. Legal Aid Society had minimum function previously largely due to lack of funds."

Jefferson Parish, La. "...a year-round Head Start would jolt school system into implementing kindergarten."

Baltimore Co., Md. "Genuine community organization is a long-term process uncovering many hidden needs in addition to the obvious ones. Monies needed for increased staff; also for expanding and initiating programs."

Frederick Co., Md. (influence on traditional agencies) "Yes, through CAC many inadequacies of other agencies have become apparent to those involved. They have often improved the quality of their services due to the threat of CAC doing them better."

Springfield Area, Mass. "The League in Springfield has worked closely with our CAA and feel that it is a vital needed program in the community. Almost every area of weakness in any program or service of the Springfield action commission has been directly due to lack of adequate funds and funding policies. Some of the negative attitudes of low income residents have been traced to the cutting off or dropping because of cutbacks in funds of good programs that were filling a need. This has unfortunately but understandably caused some feeling of distrust or outright animosity. For example, mothers of young children trained for employment and then gainfully employed, many (were) previous welfare recipients, placed their children in the Head Start program or day care centers only to have these services reduced this past year because of lack of funds. The one-third representation from our local city government are often negative influences at board meetings and on policy decisions. They do not understand the problems of truly poor people...their attitudes seem to be that of policing the whole program rather than improving or advancing it."

Worcester, Mass. "Now that they are represented on the CAC board (local governmental officials), their objections have been quelled. This involvement of government officials has, contrary to the expectations of many, been beneficial to the CAC."

Detroit, Mich. "Target area citizens who became involved in CAA at its start are still active leaders -- they tend to monopolize policy-making -- have become a 'power group - very vocal'. They want to keep status quo and like own patronage."

Flint, Mich. "More than half of the staff of the Head Start program is drawn from below the poverty line: teacher aides, food aides, etc.... The needs of this community (Genesee County) are basically jobs, education and child care -- all inextricably bound up together. How one separates the all-encompassing needs from the shotgun programs which attempt to do something about all three with limited funds and time would be hard to speculate. The programs do come from the OEO, but the manner in which they become a part of the community and try to meet the needs of the 'consumers' is planned by those very consumers. Head Start is very popular; so is Legal Services. The summer programs have become rather a summer fixture; however, all these approaches are band-aids temporarily covering great wounds which need intensive care."

Grand Traverse Area, Mich. "Our own reaction would seem that the goals are good but the multiplicity of programs and agencies, the overlapping of what does which and why, the proper contacts to be made and how to go about what, is utterly confusing and bewildering."

Warren, Mich. "...consideration by the federal government of programs proposed by the CAA is important since they know where the problems are and where help is needed."

Fridley, Minn. (coordination of CAA with local, state and private resources) "This has been an up-hill task. It must be accomplished, however, if the OEO programs are to fulfill their responsibilities in meeting the needs of economically disadvantaged groups. These programs do not duplicate but run parallel to others in the community."

Minneapolis, Minn. "The increased community activity has brought resident participation to an unprecedented level, with determination to receive a hearing, to make a 'dent' in stereotypes and established patterns of agencies, to bring about changes -- such as the AFDC Mothers' League, which has developed along with CAP activity.

(effect on traditional agencies) "...relaxation of some welfare investigative procedures, greater approachability of personnel by clients, more receptivity toward client-expressed needs and opinions are all attributable to the climate of community awareness which has accompanied CAP development in Minneapolis. The schools began and have expanded use of indigenous personnel in this context. The United Fund is currently re-evaluating its agency-admission policies and the direction of its fund distribution in terms of the needs of the total community and the predicament of the inner city...the general awakening and increased articulateness of many poverty area people, coupled with their demand to be heard in their own terms and their own neighborhoods, have had an irretrievable impact on our community. This is resulting in re-examination of and changes in recruiting and hiring policies by businesses; in increased accessibility of governmental officials and responsiveness of department personnel; in reassessment of their responsibilities by the additional private social agencies; and in increased awareness of the needs of the poor by the unpoor."

Roseville, Minn. "Need very strong national guidelines to insure participation of poor, the uneducated, and minorities."

Shoreview, Minn. "...if OEO is broken up and programs put under other existing departments, (fear) that the 'maximum participation' concept will get lost and the programs will degenerate back into more centrally decided, 'do-for' programs."

St. Louis, Mo. "The employment programs -- CEP, NYC, and Comprehensive Manpower -- got jobs for 7,000 last year. Two-hundred fifty passed the high school equivalency test as a result of the adult basic education classes."

Billings, Mont. (Board fulfilling its policy making role?) "In the first few years, yes. During the period following passage of the Green amendment and difficulties with county commissioners, the whole board was not always involved. Situation has improved considerably and continues to do so with active efforts to involve all members of the board in policy making...Schools have probably been most influenced by CAA...instituted adult basic education, employ senior citizens in classrooms and at crosswalks, will be providing tutoring services. Employment office cooperative..."

Missoula, Mont. "Some Head Start mothers have become much more self-confident -- involved, articulate, informed -- following experience gained in this program...the CAA here has been effective in getting some low-income people actively working toward solving their problems. For instance, a low-income organization here is very active in trying to get minimum wage legislation for Montana."

Reno, Sparks, Carson City, Nev. "CAA should be allowed to continue. Three years is not enough for evaluation and action...Outreach centers have brought confrontation between black students and white teachers and help keep lines of communication open...Minority children are no longer forced into special education classes whether this service was needed or not."

Keene, N.H. "All of these programs -- Head Start, New Careers, REFER -- have uncovered problems in our area which can be and are being solved. They all contribute to awakening some pride and responsibility in the participants...The schools have certainly backed Head Start Summer programs all the way and have used some of the information gained in Head Start experience in developing and inaugurating reading readiness testing, etc. Welfare agencies have been able to look at the needs of their clients from a different perspective, which has been to the advantage of both sides."

Atlantic Co., N.J. "Great mobility has resulted from local community employees moving on to greater opportunities."

Lawrence Township, N.J. "Participation in these programs has encouraged a new sense of pride in some of these people and in their children. There is a developing sense of community, socially and politically. People who never dreamed of such a thing are saving money in the Credit Union. An increasing group of people is getting specific help in the form of jobs, academic tutoring, etc."

Linden, N.J. "More funds are needed. Don't stop these programs. I'm on the Board of R.C.A.D. and see what's being done. The whole community has been uplifted."

Middlesex Co., N.J. "In a general way we feel the programs have been well run, staffed and structured but almost universally funded at a level too low for them to really make a substantial dent in the problems they are directed to."

Albany Co., N.Y. (influence on traditional agencies) "Yes. Welfare challenged; police, fire department, code enforcement have had to reevaluate attitudes and procedures. Head Start has challenged the status quo of the schools. Bank has opened a branch in the area."

Bellport, N.Y. "I think more and more white and black poor are coming to recognize the program as helpful to them. Among those who know they are eligible but who would prefer not to admit it there is the usual kind of antagonism and bitterness, but the variety of approaches toward people needing different kinds of services seems to be gradually helping this area."

Eastchester, N.Y. (influence on traditional agencies) "Yes. They have been jolted into realizing that traditional methods of solving problems of the poor are no longer effective. Bureaucracy has been threatened. Attitude of the school has improved. Problems in the community that have always been there have been uncovered and dealt with."

Roslyn, N.Y. "...wish we could still have one (CAP agency) -- many good things are happening because people got together and talked to one another."

Asheville, N.C. "As with all organizations, (OEO) stands the chance of becoming too rigid, too solid an institution, with lack of regard for new ideas and innovations, especially from the poor. Since the very existence depends upon... Congress, there is a natural caution."

Burlington, N.C. "Acceptance and participation has been higher among black low-income families than white. Those eligible represent 60 per cent white, 40 per cent Negro. Those participating are 60 per cent Negro, 40 per cent white. This is better than the experience of most such agencies in the state."

Raleigh-Wake Co., N.C. (suggestions for change) "Greater awareness of failure to get people and services together -- both transportation problems and sheer knowledge of services available. New swing toward community organization makes CAA less a service arm to welfare, health, etc., programs. Head Start has helped convince schools of need for public kindergartens."

Lima Area, Ohio. "All programs funded in Allen County are vitally needed here if for no other reason that the people they are serving were practically cut off from services other than the Welfare Department in the past. Outlets the area served are now available down where the people live to give (the people) access to services which are provided by other community organizations, as well as those funded by OEO. The programs simply need to reach more people."

Oxford, Ohio. "It is somewhat difficult to find qualified poverty people to employ. In the large city there are 15 classes with a total of 225 children enrolled. However, there are 1700 children who could benefit from such a program. The yearly lag in funding causes...delay in starting the programs each fall."

Norman, Okla. "Something very good has happened to this community as a result of CAA. Indian community has its own full time nurse. Staff people have had contact, have been to, top level. Small and almost invisible effort and action (has developed) -- the kind of thing that does not lend itself to statistic making. There is evident a new attitude of respect for the individual in the poverty or minority group."

Muskogee, Okla. "Yes (the board fulfills the policy making role). With a dynamic board president...elected from one of the 13 community centers, (board members) hardly dare be absent from meetings...some probably fear as well as well as respect her ability and leadership; she keeps them on their toes."

The Dalles, Oreg. "Guidelines are sometimes a problem. An example of this is that our Board would have preferred to put additional money into Day Care to extend the program rather than begin an older people's program. We also had a difficult time having our Day Care Centers accepted as they now are, but through perseverance...have developed a program appropriate to our needs. By earmarking money, Congress takes the initiative away from local people."

Allegheny Co., Pa. "General community seems to be actively hostile to the OEO program. It resents the implication that poverty exists in the borough."

Beaver Valley, Pa. "The centers have accomplished many things. There is real competition, almost, in trying to outdo each other!...scout troops, sewing class, youth corps...establishment of small 'library outposts'...involving the poor is a real problem -- apathy is everywhere...in all classes of people. People want tangibles, e.g., jobs, day care centers, better transportation, better housing..."

Pittsburgh, Pa. "Involvement of target groups -- due to informational programs, people are more aware of their rights and are learning how to be politically effective. As a former coordinator has stated, 'The decision-making process has changed. No one can make plans for the North Side without involving the grass roots people.' The result has been salutary in general. It is apparent, however, that some of the more vocal and able are siphoned off into the establishment, thereby enhancing their own personal positions but weakening the general program."

Wilkes-Barre, Pa. "From a search for new methods to solve the problem of poverty there has been a retreat to known programs of proven value. This has been the result of too little money available to mount a massive program from which definitive results could be secured."

Sumter Co., S.C. "More effort could be made to reach the hard core -- director (conscious) of not offending the power structure at the risk of the betterment of the community or sincerely helping the poor."

Chattanooga, Tenn. "Schools through the Head Start Program is a very definite example (of change in traditional agencies). The canvassing activities of the Neighborhood Service Centers have produced referrals to the DPW, Health Dept., etc....At this time a rather full spectrum of services are represented in Chattanooga. These, of course, should not be static, but expanded or reduced according to need. New programs or refinements of old ones should always be open for consideration. Unsuccessful programs should be revised or dropped."

Murfreesboro, Tenn. (effect on traditional agencies) "Direct quote from the Department of Public Welfare: 'Neighborhood Service Center Program is the best thing that has happened to us in 1968. Children in Head Start are the best thing to have happened to public assistance recipients'...CAA's are doing a good job. Considering the shortage of funds made available to them, there would be little chance for change -- unless more funds can be allocated."

Dallas, Tex. "The Community Organizations have given voice and a sense of responsibility to target area people...has brought out leadership and created a line of communication between these communities and the larger Dallas community. It has made the invisible poor visible -- often as many as 150 spectators at DCCAC board meetings when they are held in the target areas.

"The Legal Services in Dallas has been outstanding as a source of help for the ill educated who have often been victimized...uncovered loan and home improvement rackets in 1968 and helped bring about a city ordinance to require reasonable standards in advertising and performance by trade schools in Dallas....

"Some (programs) should be expanded, others become more and more part of local agencies, doing the same work, but incorporating the unique personal approach and use of target area employees. The aim of the total program should be to become a part of the community structure, not perpetuate a federal ~~bureaucracy~~."

El Paso, Tex. "Head Start is the most successful program so far. If they (CAP) are successful in bringing in new industry; it appears that one large manufacturing plant will definitely relocate...This will be of great benefit to all of the community...need more industry to provide more jobs for target area residents...(the general community) does not really understand the programs and purposes."

Houston, Tex. "Funding on a year-to-year basis is death to planning. Of course, now no one has any secure feelings about planning. Money, planning and adequate trial are needed to prove out some of the programs."

San Antonio, Tex. "Association between the OEO-CAA and traditional agencies has generated considerable change in their approach and method of operation. For instance, services previously proffered through formal bureaus now have become more 'people-oriented' and decentralized. Personnel...making a greater effort to understand the complex poverty situation and target groups involved. Employers

are evaluating job qualification requirements to make jobs available to the poorly educated and inexperienced worker. The schools are beginning to implement programs and furnish courses that related directly to poverty groups. Settlement Home Boards have increased decision-making participation by the poor. The City Council finally adopted Food Stamps at the urging of neighborhood councils...

"To single out particular programs and indicate that they most nearly serve specific needs is an impossibility since the need here in San Antonio in all program areas is so terribly great. There is room in most programs for tightened efficiency of operation, more outreach activity -- certainly expansion. In most programs, even the best-run, most generously funded, only the surface has been scratched -- our unemployment and subemployment figures don't even realistically fit within national percentages. It would appear that Community Organization efforts need to be given greater resources to develop the lasting framework from neighborhood resident participation in self-help training and efforts. Economic development and employment efforts which will eventually increase target area resident income may be the only long range solutions to the problems..."

Wichita Falls, Tex. "The (CAP) has proven a catalyst that has moved them to seek to help themselves. 113 families have been helped out of the poverty class so far and 153 individuals have been trained through the NYC out of school. It has given them hope."

Montpelier, Vt. (about staff) "We have a policy of taking in low-income people, giving them training in the administration of the agency and trying to give them opportunities elsewhere when they are ready, so we can take in more at the entry level."

Richmond, Va. (influence on traditional agencies) "Yes. In some cases forced healthy reevaluation. Provided voice for previous unheard poverty problems. Brought needed programs and awareness to problem target areas....Many individuals have broken out of the poverty cycle because of involvement in the Richmond CAP... whole families have also benefitted. Numbers are hard to find but there are significant numbers."

Roanoke, Va. "Any organization which has to depend on annual funding from Congress and therefore is unsure of its continued existence from year to year is necessarily severely limited in its efficiency -- programs, staff recruitment, etc...(on effectiveness) Yes. First grade teachers complain that Head Starters always asking questions; won't sit with hands folded on desk."

Clallam Co., Wash. (involvement of target area people in decision making) "This is an on-going process -- it is exciting to see it develop!...see a new sense of dignity, a new awareness of their potential on the part of some of the members of the target groups...see some who have learned how to communicate their concerns better. But this is still in specific instances only; there are a lot more to be reached yet."

(influence on traditional agencies) "It is such a long, slow process. Two years ago one school board did not even answer the letter requesting Head Start, now it haggles over taking part in a program that will cost only a few hundred dollars. Some welfare workers are...now more knowledgeable about their (clients') problems ...The junior college is quick to see potential for change but a long lived bureaucratic institution resists every change. Our city council just created a Human Relations Commission, which two years ago would have been almost unheard of."

"(we are) of the opinion that the worst thing that could happen in this community would be to cut off CAP. This in effect would convince those who have been resisting CAP's goals that they were right and that low income people had no reason to try to solve their problems. Resistance would be further strengthened...low income people are now thinking in terms of improvement and changes in their way of living and being treated."

Tacoma-Pierce Co., Wash. "If the CAA is to ever reach its desired goals in our community there will have to be a very large educational program for the entire citizenry. There is a great deal of confusion, opposition and apathy generated, at this time at all levels, from the disadvantaged, the general community and the government officials...have not the time, space, nor energy to explain all the reasons why. I'm sure there are other areas in the United States facing the same communications gap...The multiservice centers have served well to identify poverty and needs and to make the poor aware of possibilities. Changed emphasis to more direct action to remove families from poverty are needed and being planned -- employment-oriented with total family supportive services to make employment above poverty level a reality."

Madison, Wis. "The Community Welfare Council's report was favorable toward the CAC and the Council now has recipients on its board. The Library Board also now includes low-income people. Persons familiar with the City Health Department indicate that related changes have occurred there. As a direct result of participation of CAC advisory council there are low-income persons running currently as candidates for mayor, alderman, and school board....Programs have been diverse, meeting needs of all ages. Head Start has been the most successful program... best administered and best received. Serving 180 children, it reaches only one-tenth of the eligible. NYC is also successful, serving about the same proportion. However, the Outreach Community Development programs using a neighborhood-centered concept have been uniquely meaningful to the residents involved and have stimulated real grass-roots neighborhood interest and action."

APPENDIX

To Statement of Mrs. Denison R. Waterman, Muscatine, Iowa.

Two other programs in Iowa which I believe show great promise, if given time to develop, are the summer youth employment programs and an integrated Head Start program in Muscatine County, which will include migrant children.

The Head Start program in Muscatine County has really included two programs, operated under two different delegate agencies; the local CAP operated the "regular" Head Start and the Muscatine Migrant Council the migrant Head Start. This has not been in any way because of a philosophical belief in segregated programs, but because of language difficulties and because many migrant children come to the community after Head Start programs have begun. Conditions are changing, because each year more and more migrant families leave their mobile, crop-following life and remain in the county, but they have not yet been successfully assimilated into the community. In response to this change, the local CAP, which is part of a multi-county CAP, has drawn up a proposal and asked for funding for an integrated Head Start and has planned for the transportation requirements of getting children from migrant camps into classes and for hiring bi-lingual teachers. This program, involving both community and migrant families, should make a great difference in how fast, and how well, migrant families become functioning, contributing members of the community.

Another encouraging program is Summer Youth Employment -- particularly because it has developed great cooperation among governmental agencies, the private sector and young people from disadvantaged families. Three or four of our largest Iowa communities started pilot programs two years ago, under the leadership of former Governor Harold Hughes, now a member of the United States Senate. Several more cities instituted variations of the plan last summer. The major contribution of OEO has been to help in selection by furnishing guidelines so that the young people who most needed the jobs and the educational enrichment programs were the ones who signed up. Local Community Action Agencies also helped by processing applications and furnishing clerical help. This encouraging spinoff is one which can become completely self-sustaining if given sufficient time.

The Iowa League would also like to express its concern about the closing of the Womens Job Corp Center in Clinton. Many of our Leagues have made tours of the Center; Center personnel have visited our local Leagues and presented programs. I have visited the Center, in my capacity as state Human Resources Chairman, many times. We have been favorably impressed with the operation of the Center, and with the students themselves. We are concerned about the effect on the lives of the students if the program is dropped.

In a telephone conversation on April 22, Dr. William Atkins, present Center Director, told me that seventy percent of the students at the Clinton Center come from cities under 250,000 and sixty percent from the South -- an area defined as east of Texas and south of the Ohio River. Will facilities of their choice be ready for all these young women in time so that their training will not be interrupted and they will not be disillusioned?

We also believe that the environmental training in the residential centers for young women, training in home skills such as cooking, sewing, health habits and money management -- human rehabilitation -- is highly important but its effects difficult to measure with statistics.

FILE COPY

League of Women Voters of Minnesota - 555 Wabasha Street, St. Paul, Minnesota 55101

April 1968

Mr. Daniel J. Flood
Chairman, Appropriations Subcommittee
on HEW
The Capitol, Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Flood:

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota wishes to state in the strongest manner possible its conviction that provision of full appropriation requests for anti-poverty **programs** as made by President Johnson for fiscal 1969 is necessary.

We refer in particular to his request of \$2.18 billion for the Economic Opportunity Programs, 1.2 billion for Title I funds for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, \$31.2 million for the National Teachers Corps, and the special request on January 23 for \$2.1 billion for all manpower programs.

Many of our local Leagues have been observing the operation of these programs in their own communities and report that many people have been helped. Their most frequent criticism was the irregularity and uncertainty of funding. Failure to fund adequately for 1969 would not only waste much money already spent because programs which are just getting well under way and beginning to show results would be curtailed or discontinued, but also would turn to bitterness the hopes of many who have just begun to feel that there might be a chance for them to work their way out of poverty.

At this critical point in our nation's history, we feel that the President's requests are the very minimum which should be made available for these programs.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Kenneth Brown, Chairman
Development of Human Resources
State Board

(Address to President Lyndon Johnson)

June 1968

FILE COPY

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota takes this means of expressing to you our support of several of your positions; we are concerned that they be translated quickly into legislation.

We are much concerned that the job training, employment opportunity, and special educational programs for the disadvantaged be continued with adequate funds. Sufficient funds for enforcement of the ~~Executive Order~~ Equal Economic Opportunities Act must also be provided.

Programs to provide incentives to eliminate water pollution must not be dropped.

Foreign aid appropriations for economic and technical assistance must be kept flowing.

Our country is now the most affluent that any nation has ever been in the history of mankind. To say that we cannot afford these critical programs is a form of escapism. In our judgment the long-run costs of our nation of not acting will far exceed the immediate tax increases necessary.

You have our strong support for these critical programs.

League of Women Voters of the U.S.
1200 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

June 4, 1968

FILE COPY

LETTER FROM MRS. BRUCE B. BENSON, PRESIDENT, LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE U.S.
SENT TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEES JUNE 4, 1968

In the League of Women Voters of the United States the members are deeply concerned and alarmed about the bleak outlook for adequate funding of federal programs they consider vital for the future of our nation's human and natural resources. At the League's recent national convention in Chicago, the more than 1400 delegates expressed over and over again that this country must cope positively with its major domestic and international problems and that there is no time to lose.

On the domestic scene, providing equal opportunities in education and employment, long neglected and begun so recently, takes both time and money. To fail to take the necessary forward step now in programs for upgrading education and job training, which offer hope for so many, might well push us toward an irrevocably divided society. The country cannot afford now to shut the door on those seeking job training and employment opportunity. We cannot afford to further postpone making available to all citizens the economic and social benefits of a democratic, prospering society.

In the same way, the physical environment of all of us is threatened by the continuing problems of pollution of our lakes and streams and the quality of our water supply. There have been good beginnings. These programs must continue; to do so, they must have federal help. It would be wasteful to let the effort that has gone into setting water quality standards be lost because too little federal money is invested in incentive grants for sewage facility construction and research.

On the international scene, the United States must also be concerned about sustaining progress already begun in achieving development and social progress in the developing nations around the world.

U.S. support for the multilateral lending institutions -- the International Development Association (IDA) and the Asian Development Bank's Special Funds -- is crucial. Foreign aid appropriations for economic and technical assistance, also so important in moving less developed countries toward economic viability, cannot be further cut. This country has too big a stake in what happens elsewhere, not only in terms of our own national welfare and economic growth but also of the peace of the world.

This is no time to lose perspective, no time to lose momentum, no time to waste past efforts. These programs are all top priorities. They represent a commitment of the American people. They are an investment in sound fiscal planning, an investment in the future of our society. If additional revenues are needed to pay for them, we believe that taxes must be raised.

A move to "cut expenditures" is appealing; it makes sense to those convinced there is "waste" in government spending, to those worried about expenditure levels and the size of the national debt. "Cutting back" has a widespread appeal to the taxpayer. Confronted with the balance-of-payments problem abroad and with inflation on the domestic front, Congress and the Executive have difficult decisions to make. But we in the League believe that at this juncture in the nation's history, the United States must not underfund those federal programs which are geared to cope constructively with our human resources, our natural resources, and our relationships with less developed nations.

We urge you to provide for the full funding of these vital domestic and international programs in which this country has made modest and overdue beginnings. We urge you, as statesmen, to consider the future costs to all of us of cutbacks in these programs so fundamental to the development and prosperity of the United States.

PRESS RELEASE ISSUED FROM NATIONAL OFFICE JUNE 6, 1968

LEAGUE URGES CONGRESS
APPROPRIATE FUNDS FOR
HUMAN AND NATURAL RESOURCES
... ALSO FOREIGN AID

Washington, D.C., June 6, 1968 -- The League of Women Voters of the United States today urged Congress to move full speed ahead in providing adequate funds for federal programs League members consider vital to the preservation of the nation's human and natural resources.

In letters to members of the Senate and House Appropriations Committees, Mrs. Bruce B. Benson of Amherst, Massachusetts, newly elected President of the League, made a special plea for full funding of legislative programs that provide equal opportunities in education and employment.

"The country cannot afford now to shut the door on those seeking job training and employment opportunity," she pointed out. "To fail to take the necessary forward step now in programs for upgrading education and job training, which offer hope for so many, might well push us toward an irrevocably divided society."

The League's president also stressed the need for appropriating federal monies to combat the serious pollution problems that threaten our country's lakes and streams and the quality of our water supply. She made clear that League members who have worked throughout the country for high water quality standards fear that efforts to reach these standards will be to no avail if sufficient federal funds are not forthcoming in the form of incentive grants for badly needed sewage facility construction.

The third area of special League concern, Mrs. Benson emphasized, is foreign aid. She stressed the importance of appropriations for economic and technical assistance to less developed countries and for U.S. support of the International Development Association (IDA) and the Asian Development Bank's Special Funds.

"This country," she stressed, "has too big a stake in what happens elsewhere (to cut such assistance), not only in terms of our own national welfare and economic growth, but also of the peace of the world."

Mrs. Benson pointed out that although "cutting expenditures" has an appealing ring, League members firmly believe that at this time in the nation's history the United States cannot afford to cut back on federal programs that are crucial to the overall development and prosperity of the nation.

"These programs," she emphasized, "are all top priorities. They are an investment in sound fiscal planning, an investment in the future of our society. If additional revenues are needed to pay for them, we believe that taxes must be raised."

League of Women Voters of the U.S.
1200 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

April 23, 1968

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF APPROPRIATIONS' REQUESTS FOR EDUCATION,
EMPLOYMENT AND MANPOWER PROGRAMS TO THE HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR, HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

BY MRS. BRUCE B. BENSON, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES

I am Mrs. Bruce Benson of Amherst, Massachusetts, Second Vice President of the League of Women Voters of the United States, and Chairman of the League's national program on Development of Human Resources. The League is a volunteer citizens' organization of nearly 150,000 members from more than 1200 communities in the fifty states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico. The League is nonpartisan and is concerned with government and governmental issues at all levels.

Our national position in human resources is support of policies and programs in the United States to provide for all persons equality of opportunity for education and employment. This position is an outgrowth of intensive study by local Leagues of the actualities of poverty and discrimination in their own communities and in the country as a whole. From this experience League members all over the country developed a knowledgeable background on which to base their consensus for this national position in 1966. Support for or opposition to specific measures is based on the collective consensus of our members.

I appreciate the opportunity to appear before your subcommittee today to present the position of the League in support of a number of appropriation requests:

- \$2.18 billion for the Economic Opportunity Programs
 - 1.2 billion for Title I funds for FY 1969 for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (which is less than half of the authorization of \$2.6 billion)
 - 1.2 billion for ESEA Title I funds for FY 1970
- 31.2 million for the National Teachers Corps, administered under the Education Professions Development Act
- 2.1 billion for manpower programs for FY 1969

The members of the League believe that the Federal government must continue to assume a large share of responsibility for providing equal opportunities in education and employment. Further, in the aftermath of the disorder which has convulsed many of our cities in the past three weeks, the League believes that it is even more obvious that there must be strong federal leadership if our country is going to succeed in bringing disadvantaged people into the mainstream of American life. Americans must deal with the economic plight of this nation's poor, but we must also deal with the exclusion of Negroes from American Society, and the attitudes of the white Americans which continually nourish this exclusion. Our president, Mrs. Robert J. Stuart, has sent to each of you a copy of the statement which she issued for the League upon the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., urging that "Now is the time for vigorous and constructive action by the Congress, the state legislatures, and by every community to see that Negro citizens take their rightful place in American life."

Gainful employment is one of the most effective ways to enable people to live with a sense of dignity and accomplishment. The League agrees with the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders in its urgent recommendation that there be immediate action to provide thousands of additional worthwhile jobs. It is now an accepted fact and if it is not it should be, that the problem of finding

or creating jobs and training the hard-core unemployed and underemployed is a task of such massive proportions that resources of both the business sector and the federal government must be utilized if we are to mount programs of the scale required. Programs must be authorized and funds must be appropriated at unprecedented levels in order to deal with the unprecedented gap in our society between the people who have and the people who do not have.

The League of Women Voters of the United States strongly supports full budget appropriations for all the manpower programs including (1) the JOBS program which brings the private sector into partnership with the federal government to provide on-the-job training for the untrained, unemployed and underemployed, (2) the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended, which will provide for the cooperation of the Labor Department in the JOBS program, (3) the Concentrated Employment Program, which will be a supporting arm, under the OEO, to the JOBS program, (4) the Job Corps for poor youngsters who need to have a different environment from their homes and the Neighborhood Youth Corps out-of-school program for those who will require somewhat less intensive training (both programs funded under the OEO), and (5) work and training programs funded through the Office of Economic Opportunity as well as other agencies.

The League of Women Voters of the United States also supports full appropriations for other programs which are administered and/or funded through the Office of Economic Opportunity; one of these is the Community Action Programs. May I refer your committee to the Hearings before the House Committee on Education and Labor on the Economic Opportunity Act Amendments of 1967, which contain letters from a number of local Leagues over the United States detailing the many successes which they have observed in their work with these programs. The Community Action Agencies not only offer employment to approximately 50,000 disadvantaged people, but also enable members of the community to participate in the planning and administration of the program. The League of Women Voters of the United States believes that this kind of participation is extremely important in lessening the gulf which has existed for a long time between people who are poor and their government. We believe this participation helps to build good community relationships and establishes a better line of communication in our widely divided society.

Although the League is well aware that not all the community action agency programs nor all other programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity or of other agencies have been entirely successful, we do believe that progress is very definitely being made. We are also convinced that not only a great amount of time, but a greater commitment of ideas, energy and funds, will be required before we begin to get the upper hand over the root causes which continue to generate poverty.

In the field of education, the League of Women Voters of the United States urges full budgetary appropriations for a number of programs which aim to promote equality of opportunity for all children from the pre-school level through high school. Included are \$1.2 billion for Title I funds for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for FY 1969 as well as \$1.2 billion for FY 1970 which provide compensatory programs for the disadvantaged children from the pre-school level through secondary education.

Our Leagues have reported that school officials are becoming more aware of the nature of the special problems of poor people and of people who have been and who continue to be discriminated against because of their color. These officials are becoming more anxious to move ahead in remedial and enrichment programs. Since such programs extend beyond the financial ability of most local communities -- especially those where the need is the greatest -- the League believes that

full federal support should be guaranteed. Further we urge the full appropriations for both years be approved so that local school districts will be able to plan their programs well in advance of each school year and therefore better utilize their allotted funds. The League also strongly supports the Head Start and Follow Through Programs which are administered and/or funded through the Office of Economic Opportunity and recommends full appropriations for these programs, as well as the National Teachers Corps which was authorized under the Education Professions Development Act.

I would like to add at this juncture a point which the members of the League of Women Voters of the United States believe is very important. That is: All these programs (Title I-ESEA, Head Start, Follow Through, National Teachers Corps) are directed at improving the quality of education for children who have great need for help. The League believes, however, that if we are to achieve the goal of quality education and equal educational opportunity we must also have integrated education. There is overwhelming evidence to date that compensatory education programs as provided under Title I-ESEA are not and cannot be substitutes for the racial integration of our schools. The League of Women Voters of the United States believes therefore that we must work for both quality and integrated education.

Even as the League urges full appropriations for these programs, we are ever mindful of the highly competitive demands on the federal budget at a time when austerity is required. We all know that the Administration's appropriations requests for the programs to combat poverty and discrimination represent only a very small fraction of the total need. The League of Women Voters of the United States does realize that many people feel that high appropriations are not advisable. We believe, however, that the national crisis which we are in the midst of makes passage of less than the full budgetary appropriations unjustifiable. That is, it is not justifiable if we really mean to give assurance to the twenty per cent of our citizens who are outside the mainstream of American life that we want them to be a part of that mainstream, in reality.

Same to: Senator McCarthy

September 8, 1967

Honorable Walter Mondale
443 Old Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Mondale:

The League of Women Voters is pleased with the recommendations by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee on the Economic Opportunity Amendment of 1967. The League supports this bill as reported by the Committee and urges the Senate to pass these amendments in essentially the form recommended by the Committee.

The League believes that progress is being made under the poverty program and approves the addition of the Emergency Employment Act, which authorizes the Department of Labor to establish an emergency program for slum residents.

We urge your support for this bill when it reaches the floor of the Senate.

Sincerely,

Mrs. O. J. Janski
President

Mrs. Kenneth Brown, Chairman
Developing Human Resources Committee

ANCHER NELSEN
HUTCHINSON, MINNESOTA

2d DISTRICT COUNTIES:

BLUE EARTH	MURRAY
BROWN	NICOLLET
CARVER	NOBLES
COTTONWOOD	PIPESTONE
FARIBAULT	ROCK
JACKSON	SCOTT
LESUEUR	SIBLEY
MCLEOD	WASECA
MARTIN	WATONWAN

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

Washington, D.C.

June 22, 1967

COMMITTEES:
INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

OFFICE:
ROOM 1211
LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BLDG.
TELEPHONE: 225-2472

Mrs. Kenneth G. Brown
1216 Highland Avenue
Mankato, Minnesota 56001

Dear Mrs. Brown:

I have received your letter commenting on various aspects of the so-called anti-poverty program administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity. I have received similar letters from members of Leagues throughout the Second Congressional District.

At the present time the House Committee on Education and Labor is continuing its hearings on H. R. 8311 and other proposals to amend and extend the Economic Opportunity Act. At this time there are reports to the effect that the Committee does not expect to report legislation to the Floor of the House until possibly about the middle of August. One of the central questions confronting the Committee in its deliberations of course is the extent to which various specialized agencies of the government should be vested with administrative control over the various aspects of the poverty program. As is usually true there are arguments both pro and con on this issue but I have observed a good deal of administrative confusion in the handling of project applications submitted by local community action councils. The directors of the various councils active in the Second Congressional District have contacted my office on numerous occasions to ascertain the status of filings they have made. Some of this may be attributed to what appears to be the policy of federal officials, both at the regional and national level, to interfere unduly with decisions made by the local community action groups. I have come to feel that federal officials in processing these applications should place greater emphasis on the decision-making process at the local level. For instance, the Minnesota Valley Action Council under the direction of Mr. Carroll Stenson may have worked long and hard on a particular project proposal only to have it modified at upper echelons to the extent that it becomes almost unacceptable to the local Council.

Just what all the answers are to the problems which have emerged from mal-administration in the poverty program it is difficult to say at

Mrs. Kenneth G. Brown
June 22, 1967
Page 2

this point but I think we will all agree that many changes have to be made in order to bring the assistance to those who are in the greatest need. I would hope that the Committee after due deliberations will come up with an acceptable bill which would merit the support of all who are concerned with the well being of their fellowman.

Thank you for giving me the benefit of your comments. They will be most helpful to me as we proceed with final action on the proposals to extend the poverty program.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,



Ancher Nelsen
Member of Congress

AN:d1

June 16, 1967

The Honorable Ancher Nelsen
Congressman, Second District, Minnesota
1211 Longworth Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Nelsen:

We in the League are much concerned about the proposed disbanding of the OEO or "spinning off" major programs to the departments of Health, Education & Welfare, Agriculture, and Housing & Urban Development. We feel strongly that this would be a serious mistake and a move backwards. Our reasons are:

1. For the first time, the United States has a centralized agency to develop and coordinate activities to break the cycle of poverty. Let's not go back to continuous welfare. The OEO programs emphasize special education and job training, so necessary if the poverty groups are to stand on their own feet economically and socially. This is what we have always said we wanted. The regular governmental departments have so many areas to administer that the poverty groups, not being politically articulate, are left out. Emphasis under OEO on the Community Action Program gives the poor a channel to work with a central agency dealing with their problems directly. If this channel is closed, the only channel they will see remaining is that of protest demonstrations and rioting. In our opinion, we face a serious situation. Our choice is not between the present OEO type of program and a slow-moving, orderly, money-saving program administered strictly by the middle-class. We Had time for this but we missed it. Now a crash program of some sort is necessary OR serious, violent disturbances will be even more frequent. We must provide the poverty groups with a fast-moving action program in which they participate actively in policy making.
2. There has been much criticism of effectiveness of current programs. We agree that many corrections need to be made. We are in favor of amendments requiring both internal and external evaluations by professionals—and by the poverty groups, too. But there has not been time to find out whether such a direct attack on poverty will work. To disband OEO or seriously cripple its activities at present would be like ripping out strawberry plants after the first year because they were not bearing. Weed and prune, yes, maybe even transplant some, but give the strawberry bed a little time before plowing it under.
3. Also, we believe that stringent earmarking of funds is premature. These programs should be regarded as experimental research, not as established programs. Many are really pilot projects, to find out what will work and what will not. No experimenter in agricultural crops could get anywhere if Congress stipulated that a fixed percentage of his funds had to be spent for fertilizers, another percent for sprays, another for cultivation, another for seed development, etc. When the researcher is trying something new, he cannot know such percentages, and neither can anyone else. Arbitrary restrictions may destroy the effectiveness of the whole program.

These programs are expensive, we know. But in the long run, if we can find out how to break the cycle of poverty and make some progress in doing this, we will save money. The old pattern of continuous welfare, plus the new pattern of riots may turn out to be far more expensive than a crash anti-poverty program. By all means let's give OEO an adequate trial. This should not be a partisan matter since it is of such tremendous importance to our country.

I noted somewhere that you had been quite instrumental in the establishment of a four-year college in Washington, D. C. This is very good, and we commend you for it.

Sincerely,

(Mrs. Kenneth G. Brown)
1216 Highland Avenue
Mankato, Minnesota 56001
(Former president of Mankato League)

DSJ
COPY

FILE CC.

July 24, 1967

Mrs. O. J. Janski, President
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
State Organization Service
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

Dear Mrs. Janski:

Thank you very much for your letter concerning congressional action on the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

I am very much concerned about all of the items which you mentioned. I believe that we have not given Title III an adequate opportunity under the present structure, and I am not in favor of distributing the funds to state education agencies on a general basis. At the same time, the states must be very deeply involved in a project if they are to have influence within state organizations.

I oppose the proposal to eliminate the 15% set-aside of Title V funds because I think there is ample evidence of the effectiveness of this program.

I am also concerned about the delaying action that might come from a prohibition of withholding funds for not complying with the Civil Rights Act for the reasons you suggest. I hope we will find some way to resolve this problem. I am also hopeful that we can get substantially improved appropriations in a number of the programs under ESEA. It seems to me that we must be careful that we do not destroy what has begun by being unwilling to provide funds for really good programs.

COPY

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I am pleased to have your backing of the philosophy under which elementary and secondary programs have been operating, and I consider your position a tribute to the good sense and careful analytic approach of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Walter F. Mondale

Same to Walter Mondale

FILE CC.

July 18, 1967

The Honorable Eugene McCarthy
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator McCarthy:

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota is aware that you share our positions that there should be no discrimination in education and that there should be additional compensatory programs for disadvantaged groups. We have been following House action on amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and are concerned about Senate action.

The first Green amendment adopted by the House provides that, beginning in fiscal 1969, funds under Title III for elementary and secondary education centers and services shall be distributed by state education departments according to their plan rather than directly to local educational agencies under federal standards as has been the policy. The second Green amendment orders deletion of the provision to set aside 15% of Title V funds for the U. S. Commissioner of Education to use as grants to state educational agencies for experimental projects which show promise of contributing to solution of problems shared by several states. Although the League has no official stand on these amendments, we do believe that exploratory projects should continue and that there should be some form of central coordination of such efforts. For example, without federal leadership the principles applied in Head Start, which has been widely accepted, would have been buried as description of an approach which a few pioneers advocated and perhaps operated in a limited way in a few places, and these descriptions would have been largely in educational journals. As these programs have been set up, they have provided both a pilot project and a national demonstration of the principle that reaching disadvantaged children before school age shows real promise as an effective approach. The League of Women Voters is convinced that new approaches are necessary to solve many of our educational problems, and that a major contribution of the federal government can be to encourage and demonstrate effective new methods.

Another amendment which concerns us is the Fountain Amendment passed by the House. This would prohibit the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare from withholding funds for new programs on grounds of noncompliance with the Civil Rights Act until there had been a hearing and official finding that the school district was practicing racial discrimination. The League's position is that this amendment would be a step backwards. A hearing for each and every school district could provide the base for a massive delaying action. Ability to grant or defer funds on the basis of demonstration of good faith in Civil Rights compliance has been an important "carrot" possessed by the federal

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government. Progress in the area of school desegregation needs "carrots" as well as "sticks," in all areas, North or South, where the problem exists.

The League also strongly supports adequate appropriations for programs set up under the Elementary and Secondary School Act. We are convinced that the national interest (and Minnesota interest) are vitally involved in immediate and measurable progress in eliminating school segregation and in discovering and establishing educational programs which will elevate disadvantaged groups. These programs must be given top financial priority--from a citizenship standpoint because equal treatment of all citizens is long overdue, and from a humanitarian standpoint because minority groups have lost patience with our lack of real concern for their plight. The U. S. cannot afford not to afford these programs.

You have our full backing in active support of continuance of Elementary and Secondary Act programs, following the philosophy under which they have been operating.

Sincerely,

Mrs. O. J. Janaki
President

Mrs. Kenneth Brown
Human Resources Chairman

League of Women Voters of the U. S. June 8, 1967
 1200 - 17th Street, N. W.
 Washington, D.C. 20036

STATEMENT TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT MANPOWER AND POVERTY
 of the
 SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
 ON THE POVERTY PROGRAM AND THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967 (S.1545)

by

MRS. BRUCE B. BENSON, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
 LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES

I am Mrs. Bruce B. Benson, Second Vice President of the League of Women Voters of the United States and Chairman of the League's national work on Human Resources. I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you today to present the position of the members of the League of Women Voters -- in fifty states and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico on the poverty program and on the proposed Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967.

Since 1964, when League members first began to study the problems of poverty and equality of opportunity in education and employment, they have explored with great interest the Economic Opportunity Act and the programs developed and funded under it in their local communities across the United States.

After a two-year study, League members in 1966 agreed on a position of strong support for a whole range of programs, many of which have been developed under the Economic Opportunity Act.

The members of the League of Women Voters of the United States believe that the federal government must continue to assume a large share of responsibility for providing opportunities in education and employment for all persons in the United States. Local and state governments have important responsibilities in this area. However, we believe the federal government must provide leadership and increased funds if we as a country really mean to carry out a commitment to overcome poverty by making it possible for all persons to have an effective opportunity to get an education and to find employment.

Since employment opportunities in modern, technological societies are tightly related to education, we therefore support federal programs to greatly increase the education and training of disadvantaged people -- of all races and ethnic groups.

During the course of their two year study, League members developed a number of criteria by which to evaluate both the total effort the United States is making and the individual programs. I have already mentioned two of these criteria -- that government at all levels, as well as private institutions, should participate in the nationwide effort to achieve equality of opportunity, and that there should be no discrimination in any program. In addition the League believes that programs should be carefully tailored to the education or employment needs of the people they are intended to reach. Further, programs should enable people to become self-supporting and contributing members of society. We believe, finally, that the people for whom programs are intended must be involved in the planning and implementation of those programs, if their needs are really to be effectively met.

The League supports a number of different kinds of programs to provide greater educational and employment opportunities. For instance, we support programs to provide basic education, occupational education and retraining when needed at any point in an individual's working career; apprenticeship and on-the-job training programs; day care centers for disadvantaged pre-school children to give parents the opportunity for employment; compensatory programs for disadvantaged children beginning at the pre-school level and extending through secondary education; and federal financial aid to help needy students remain in high school and to take advantage of post high school training and education.

I know that you have heard testimony or received statements during the field hearings which you have been holding during the past months, from a number of local and state Leagues concerning their experiences and evaluation of equal opportunity programs in their own communities. As a spokesman for the League on the national level I would like to present to you an overall picture of the assessment which the League has made as a national organization of the poverty program -- based on many reports in various forms which have come to us from our more than 1200 local Leagues. We are attaching to our statement a number of comments on the poverty programs from our local Leagues. I will also comment generally on the proposed Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967.

At the outset I should like to stress that the League of Women Voters of the United States strongly supports the efforts which have been undertaken by the federal government following the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. We believe that progress is very definitely being made, but that we have a long way to go before we can begin to feel that we are getting the upper hand over the root causes which continue to generate poverty. The job we are trying to do -- to remove inequalities and to actually create the conditions under which equality of opportunity will be a reality for all persons -- not only is going to take a great deal of time, but also it is going to require more -- not less -- commitment of ideas, energy, and funds.

Among the programs established by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 Community Action has attracted the widest interest within the League of Women Voters. Our members support its basic goals of encouraging local initiative and innovation. It has enabled many poor people for the first time to work to solve their own problems and to plan their own lives. It gives them an important part in defining their own needs, in suggesting priorities and in devising ways to meet them. By offering people who have never before had the opportunity a chance to develop leadership, Community Action has added a vital and fundamentally constructive new element to the local political scene. We have heard a great deal from our local Leagues about the Community Action Program as it has been implemented across the country. There has been a variety of successes and problems. Some of the Community Action Programs were started relatively smoothly, some not. There have been -- and there undoubtedly will be -- conflicts with established agencies and with local government. There will probably continue to be problems in implementation and of coordination. It will continue to take time for local Community Action Agency councils or boards to analyze and agree upon priorities and upon ways in which to meet them. People who have not worked together before as members of a group need to learn how, and the poor and the non-poor have to learn to communicate and to work with one another in terms of mutual respect. We would like to stress the need for time to allow Community Action Programs to develop and to work out solutions to the many problems involved in organizing.

Many of our Leagues have reported difficulties and bitter disappointments as a result of the drying up of funds, especially as a result of the stringent earmarking resulting from the 1966 amendments. While the League supports "national emphasis" programs, such as Head Start, which receive earmarked funds it is extremely

important that there be enough available unrestricted money for locally developed programs and experimentation. Another widespread problem is difficulty with red tape, overly complicated administrative procedures and long delays in funding. We recognize, of course, the need for proper oversight of the expenditure of funds, but we hope that the Office of Economic Opportunity -- with the help of the Congress -- will continue to push for simplified and consistent guidelines and procedures for applications.

Parallel to our interest in local Community Action umbrella agencies, we think it is necessary to have a single federal agency to concentrate on the needs of the poor and to be responsible for the difficult and indispensable job of originating, coordinating, and evaluating programs to meet those needs. The League therefore strongly supports the continuation of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

We think that the Office of Economic Opportunity has, by and large performed its job well -- particularly as the innovator of programs aimed at finding solutions to a multi-faceted and very complicated problem.

We do recognize that coordination of the various poverty programs run by different government agencies is difficult and has not always been smooth. At the same time we think there is little reason to see why disbanding the Office of Economic Opportunity or "spinning off" major programs would improve relationships between, for example, Health, Education, and Welfare and the Departments of Labor, Agriculture, and Housing and Urban Development.

In fact, we believe that -- if anything -- the coordinating role of the Office of Economic Opportunity should be buttressed in order to better insure that poverty programs administered by other agencies (including delegated Economic Opportunity Act programs) actually are directed to the needs of the poor. I do not mean to imply that League members believe current Office of Economic Opportunity Administration or programs are perfect, but it seems to us that now is the time for continued and sophisticated evaluation of results and for adaptations based on those evaluations rather than drastic changes and cuts.

Our comments regarding the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967 can be relatively brief. Basically, we see it as a conservative bill, in the sense that it seems to make no major changes in the present program. We understand that the \$2.06 billion requested by the Administration would allow for a modest increase in all programs. We think \$2.06 billion is the absolute minimum and we would be far happier with a larger sum, considering the magnitude of the need.

We do note with approval that the bill would not earmark Title II funds. Our experience has been that earmarking funds for certain programs limits the freedom of local initiative, limits the flexibility of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and inhibits and frustrates innovation at the local and federal level. In the interest of flexibility we also question the wisdom of writing out in the law many detailed regulations which are already administratively in operation. Those on the Job Corps, for instance, seem to us rather rigid -- especially in view of favorable reports on the Job Corps we have received from Leagues near Job Corps Centers.

Finally, the League supports the amendments to the present Act which provide more specific provisions for evaluation both by the Office of Economic Opportunity itself and outside professionals. The League also supports increased funds for research and pilot demonstration projects.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, none of us knows as yet if the poverty program will, in fact, be successful in removing the root causes of poverty. It is clear, however, that progress is being made. The League of Women Voters believes we should continue to maintain -- and indeed increase -- the momentum of this country's effort to provide equality of opportunity for all its people.

APPENDIX

Samples of Recent Comments from Local Leagues on the Poverty Program

From the League of Women Voters of Iowa City, Iowa

Opinions about the local CAP program differ greatly. "In business" only since June 1966, CAP has already received a whole range of appraisals from its complete lack of purpose and ability to work with other agencies ... to enthusiastic approval of the program. It is being judged by a wide variety of standards.

Many low-income people have entered enthusiastically into CAP activities. The 13 low-income members of the CAP board seem to be giving themselves and others who identify with them a real feeling of participation in local affairs. The low-income aides employed by CAP to identify, survey and aid other low-income families evidently are building good relationships between CAP and its "target" people.

[We are] concerned over Congress's appropriations for the poverty program in its last session. They earmarked great amounts for Head Start, NYC and other socially acceptable programs, but greatly curtailed the more free-wheeling activities of the Community Action Program. We feel it is much too early to stop experimenting and creatively trying to find new ways to solve problems of poverty in the U. S.

From the League of Women Voters of Gainesville, Florida

Alachua County's efforts to implement a community action program under the provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act date from February 1965, when the Board of County Commissioners established a Community Action Organization that was unique. Known in some quarters as "the three-headed monster," it featured an appointed Board of Directors, and a Policy Advisory Committee which was to be broadly representative of community groups concerned with poverty. Considerable responsibility for program development was delegated to these two bodies, while ultimate responsibility for projects approved and funded by OEO remained in the hands of the County Commissioners.

When it became clear that the "monster" could not move ahead with clogged lines of communication, responsibility, and authority, two of its heads, the Board of Directors and the Policy Advisory Committee, voted themselves out of existence and returned full control to the Commissioners.

A list of the accomplishments of this defunct creature will perhaps surprise you. In spite of the troubles it had:

1. obtained a year's grant (\$23,000; 10% locally funded) to support a research director (Dr. Madelyn Kafoglis) and a staff of five to survey the county and identify "target areas;"

2. approved and supported 1966 Summer Head Start, directed by Cornelius Norton under the county school system;
3. undertaken volunteer projects, including an adult basic education program and day care centers in Newberry, northwest Gainesville, and Hawthorne;
4. brought VISTAs to the county and put them to work;
5. conducted a highly successful 8-week "Medicare Alert" campaign early in 1966;
6. prepared project proposals for submission to OEO: a. neighborhood development centers, b. legal aid machinery, and c. year round Head Start-type child development program.

Action on these was suspended by OEO, however, until our local organization could put its house in order.

Reorganization got under way in the fall of 1966, when the County Commissioners called a public meeting to consider the plan they had submitted and OEO had approved during the summer. As accepted at the meeting and established, we now have a Policy Advisory Board whose membership is to be open ended, starting with a minimum of 60 representatives. Of these 1/3 are to be from the target areas, chosen by the poor; 1/3 from major public and private agencies concerned with poverty; 1/3 from other important elements in the community, i. e. religion, labor, business, civic interests, civil rights. (LWV is presently represented by the chairman of this national item committee.) No representatives are to be appointed by the County Commissioners or by the PAB itself. As of this writing, there are still only 56 members, although more than 60 have been invited. The number is expected to grow quickly.

The Policy Advisory Board is empowered to advise the County Commissioners on all matters pertaining to development of anti-poverty programs. Its support is required for any such program. It will be identifying areas of unmet need in the community, acting as a forum for citizen groups wishing to propose changes, establishing program priorities, exploring proposed projects. Its committees are currently working on by-laws, organization and membership regulations, day care for pre-schoolers, and additional recreation facilities for all. Its elected chairman is Dr. J. Anthony Humphreys (Gainesville Tutorial Association), its secretary Dr. Madelyn Kafoglis (Human Relations Council).

The Board of County Commissioners continues to serve as grantee, sponsor, and administrator of all programs developed under the Act of 1964. It acts as fiscal agent for all project funds, employs all program personnel, manages and administers all phases of the program.

As the new order became a reality, word was received that The Neighborhood Development Project had been funded for one year, until September 1967, at \$95,000, 10% to be provided locally. It calls for "multi-service" neighborhood centers in target areas, their purpose "to develop an environment in which families can find inducement and initiative to break the cycle of poverty."

Project Director is Mrs. Esther Lane, who describes her headquarters at 429 NW Second Street as "two cubicles in a corner of the building used by the Friends Society and known as Neighborhood House." Its central staff includes Employment and Vocational Counselor Edward Jennings, Family and Home Management Counselor Mary Ellen Mardis, Coordinators of Volunteers Rosa Williams and John C. Thomas, Jr., and Secretary Evelyn Smith.

Neighborhood aides are being hired to bring information to target areas and to link neighborhoods with central staff and the agencies of the community. VISTA workers provide important help for the new Centers.

Already in operation are the day care centers in Newberry and Hawthorne, adult education and general recreation center at Waldo, and after-school study hall at Alachua. Several other neighborhoods have plans under discussion.

Things are moving along.

From the League of Women Voters of Cherry Hills Village, Colorado

Locally in our Arapahoe County, after several years of organizational difficulty, a meaningful CAP program was established. However funds are not available to begin the program behind which the community has united. The Arapahoe Opportunity Foundation, the Interfaith Church Council, the Tri-County Health Department and the Welfare Department have worked earnestly to establish a Multi-purpose Center that would coordinate the functions of the various county and local organizations at one central point located in a target area whose people have shown a desire for such a center and program. It is discouraging to have strived for so long to finally organize a practical program only to realize it may not have a chance to be productive.

From the League of Women Voters of Yonkers, New York

While the programs now being conducted in Yonkers are for the most part worthwhile in their intent, we feel particular emphasis should be placed on the work-training programs as embodied in the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the Multi-occupational Training Center. ... Project Enable, under the direction of its dynamic and dedicated Director has developed a program of self-help, successfully reaching the poor in his area, and helping them to establish communication with the "power structure". The multi-service centers too are reaching out and involving the poor. These programs are helping the disadvantaged they service to develop a sense of worth and a hopeful outlook for the future.

From the League of Women Voters of Champaign County, Illinois

It is a sad fact that in our community funds are being cut back or denied just when interest in the E.O.C. has been established and participation of the poor is beginning to be a reality. This will create bitter frustration and suspicion, and will leave the community more divided than ever.

Another real stumbling block is the utter chaos in our Chicago Regional Office. Personnel turnover is high, agreements made with one administrator may be annulled by his successor; decisions seem often arbitrary and irrational.

From the League of Women Voters of Reno, Nevada

Washoe County has been woefully lacking in enlightened leadership. What programs have been funded are of the "canned" variety: Head Start, Foster Grandparents, a "Y" summer program. There has been only one indigenous proposal and it has not been funded. An affirmative commitment and program for reaching the poor has not

been worked out. ... In terms of the Federal relationship here, there is too big a gap between the submission of proposals and even reporting back to the local association, much less getting them funded. The philosophy of Community Action implies imperativeness, which gets lost in months of red tape.

From the League of Women Voters of St. Louis, Missouri

We feel that HDC which is our local agency carrying out the Economic Opportunity Act is a distinct asset to the community, especially in its establishment of neighborhood stations which are located in the midst of the poor. The programs developed in the stations are of varied importance, but they have given people in these areas hope, a voice in their own affairs, and services which formerly were too far removed from their lives. There are administrative difficulties, some duplication of services, etc., but we are beginning to make some headway in this fight against poverty. More jobs for people, especially those with few or no skills are needed. Longer range financing, largely federal in nature, with the fewest possible restrictions attached is another vital need.

From the League of Women Voters of Missoula, Montana

We feel that the local CAP program has done an excellent job of (1) surveying needs of low income families in the community and (2) setting up citizen advisory committees and with their help formulating plans to strengthen existing programs and institute new ones for the low-income families to improve their economic status. A number of programs are in progress. We feel the office has been very ably administered and that criticisms found in the news media as to graft, inefficiency, political involvement, etc. do not apply here.

From the League of Women Voters of Wichita Falls, Texas

The local programs under Titles I and II of the Economic Opportunity Act have seemed to work quite successfully under the sponsorship and guidance of the Wichita Falls public school system. Alas, at the moment funds have run out for carrying on the Basic Adult Education classes but they may be resumed again in September if federal funds become available. It is our League's considered opinion that these local programs are needed and well worth the cost, generally speaking. We deplore the loss of time from now until such time as additional federal funds become available. The time is NOW.

From the League of Women Voters of Denver, Colorado

The Neighborhood Health Center has been a true "community action program" in that it was locally created. It operates on an essentially new medical concept of total health service to a whole family which is essentially preventive rather than a response to a crisis situation. The center was organized to handle 400 outpatient cases a month and is currently seeing 1600. Denver Opportunity has now applied for funds for a second health center.

A secondary purpose of the Neighborhood Health Center has been to employ disadvantaged neighborhood residents. This is aimed at (1) providing specific training in various health disciplines to improve the aides' vocational potential; (2) providing an adequate wage to help lift the aide out of the poverty status; (3) serving as a communication bridge to other neighborhood residents; (4) helping provide the

manpower necessary to operate the center.

This system has worked out well so far as an "on-the-job" training program. From 6 to 10 of the clerical help have gone into private industry. Arrangements have been made with the Denver Career Service for the clerical help to be certified for eligibility for appointment after working for the Health Center for approximately six months. Arrangements are now being made with the Career Service to have a new "subprofessional" category in Mental Health and Social Welfare so that the trained aides can find jobs with the city. Some of these workers have been employed as "psychiatric technicians" by private institutions, but if the city had a classification for them and employed them, it would help to establish this field in the community.

From the League of Women Voters of Lewiston, Idaho

One portion of the Homemaker program under CAP that is a success without planned intent is the nursery school experience provided for the 30 to 45 pre-school children while mothers are participating in the Homemaker classes. The children's delight with this school more than insures attendance of the mothers to the classes. No one is typical, but I would like to cite the experience of M. B which might reflect the help that many have received from the Homemaker program. M. B is 28 years old, a drop-out from school at the seventh grade. She has three children aged five to nine. She is separated from her husband. Her income is Department of Public Assistance. Though she has an evident need for dental care, her most serious handicaps were a feeling of friendlessness and shyness. Homemaker classes changed this. She developed a warm, friendly attitude and a concern for other people. At the present time she is employed part time to conduct surveys for CAP. She is using the money she earns to get her needed dental care. Her own words portray her development: "I never was the first person to speak before, and now I can speak first."

From the League of Women Voters of Victoria, Texas

The League has become concerned at the growing discouragement of the local members of the Neighborhood Councils formed by our Community Action Committee. Citizens of the poverty areas of our county have spent a great deal of time since December organizing these councils and planning projects to meet the needs of the individuals living in their neighborhoods. The delay in funds for the Multi-Purpose Center which will aid them in solving some of their problems is not understood in these Target Areas. One of our Councils is disintegrating because of this sense of frustration.

The Councils have acted as referral sources for candidates for the Neighborhood Youth Corps, students and teacher aides for the Head Start program, and have recruited individuals interested in job training. In addition, they have become centers for the starting of local projects which can be accomplished through local resources.

From the League of Women Voters of Des Moines, Iowa

The most noteworthy accomplishment of our CAP in this short time is the involvement of the poor and their effort to improve themselves. I have been astonished at the individual development of the neighborhood leaders, many of whom came to first CAP meetings dirty, shouting, and waving their fists. These same people have acquired dignity and self-respect when they realized their ideas would be listened to with respect. Many of the natural leaders have been employed by CAP, and are

replaced as spokesmen by a new crop who have developed the sense of community responsibility.

In Des Moines CAP has proved to be the purest example of democracy, and a training ground for people who were unaware of the proper channels for voicing their opinions. It is interesting that when race riots occurred last summer, CAP staff members were the first to propose evening activities for Negro youth. VISTA workers are already planning to recruit young people to staff "Drop-In" centers for youth activities each day and evening until midnight, in the hope of preventing further riots this summer.

From the League of Women Voters of Phoenix, Arizona

The South Phoenix Community Service Center is serving an average of 700 families or individuals per month, even though it is barely two months old. Gradually the hope is to be able to serve upwards of 2,000 each week. In an effort of necessity to keep operating expenses at a minimum, a good deal of the work will be done by volunteer workers from the community.

This is an example of a CAP service which is in its infancy here, certainly will and must expand in services rendered, and will prove the concretely positive results of a program which has community approval, city sanction and federal assistance.

From the League of Women Voters of Savannah, Georgia

Project Enable, federally funded as a one-year demonstration project, came to an end March 31, 1967. Under the direction of the Savannah Family Counseling Center, it operated as a special detail of social workers and aides hired from the ranks of the poor to serve in EOA's War on Poverty in Chatham County. There have been cut-backs in this program. Since the 1967 appropriations for EOA were so severe, the national program of ENABLE from Washington on down was totally dissolved. In Savannah, the whole structure of ENABLE was taken and moved from the supervision of a delegate agency (Family Counseling) to a newly established division known as Human Services. Although the service that was being provided under Project ENABLE is now being provided by the Social Service Division of Human Services, it yet has to be proven whether or not the service can be provided in depth under this new format. Hopefully, it will achieve depth as well as added breadth but only time will tell.

This was an ongoing program when the project was stopped because of the cut-backs in funds. It was able to be absorbed in the new division and the staff who wished came along with this project. We were able to have an orderly transition period of two months so only minor interruptions of service for the people for whom this program was intended to reach. Savannah was able to absorb the program this year, but if any major cutbacks in appropriations come in 1968, services will have to be discontinued for there won't be any money to hire staff to handle this program.

From the League of Women Voters of Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Our local CAP agency in Baton Rouge, Community Advancement, Inc. has proved itself to be an honest and effective effort in the war on poverty. The director and the staff have shown themselves to be able and dedicated people.

Although this agency has been operating for only ten months, it already has many accomplishments, to list a few:

1. Fifteen thousand people have been contacted.
2. Six hundred fifty people have been taken off the welfare rolls.
3. Three thousand people have been referred to the proper agency.
4. Eight Neighborhood Service Centers have been set up in poverty areas.
5. Thirty-six social action organizations have emerged from these centers such as a Merchants Association, a Clean-up Campaign, parents groups, etc.
6. Last summer CAI ran a very successful Headstart course which reached twenty-five hundred children.
7. Presently several year-round Headstart classes are being conducted.
8. Currently in the planning stage, with the money already funded is a \$1500,000 skill center.

This whole program was needed in the Baton Rouge area. In a survey CAI conducted, they found that approximately 25% of the population could be defined as living in poverty. Of this 25%, 83% are Negro, and the remaining 17% are white. On the whole the Negro community has received the program enthusiastically. Unfortunately, CAI has been able to make few inroads into the white community, but plans are presently underway to try to overcome their objections.

The government cutback has affected this program in two ways. It is now more difficult to obtain qualified personnel to fill the staff positions because of the uncertainty of career opportunities. But even more important, the cutback has discouraged long-range planning and sorely-needed expansion plans.

From the League of Women Voters of Grand Traverse Area, Michigan

Early in 1965, the County Agricultural Agent of Leelanau County called together a representative group of citizens to explain the possible programs under the Economic Opportunity Act. Father Henry Dondzila, pastor of an Indian mission agreed to be chairman. Several meetings followed, exploring the county's disadvantaged population and their needs. It was early admitted that the county's most obvious pocket of poverty was the Indian settlement at Peshawbestown.

This group of Indians, both Chippewa and Ottawa, live scattered along a State highway skirting Grand Traverse Bay. The planning committee explored many ideas on what were the chief needs of these native Americans, not living in a reservation. They are generally regarded by the "establishment" as second-class citizens, whose family life, dependency, alcoholism, work habits, make them employable only in the lowest sort of jobs. Although they have more self-pride in their race than have Negroes, they are still the most despised and neglected group here.

Most of the committee believed that a return to their native crafts was unrealistic; they needed to take their place in industry. One skilled weaver wanted to secure a SBA loan to set up a weaving center for the women. Such fabrics sell at a high price. However, lack of funds, plus a real lack of a building in which any activity could be held, heated throughout the winter, presented a stumbling block to any plans. Not only were meetings held with representative Indians, but with representatives of the Governor's Commission on Indian Affairs and the Indian Affairs regional office in Wisconsin.

Because these Indians live separated from the various villages in this rural county, their need seemed primarily to be a building where any activities to be developed could be held in their neighborhood. A gift from the Roman Catholic Diocese of Grand Rapids of a community building, to be leased to the county CAP, and used by all citizens, brought into reality the project. It is modern, well-lighted, and heated with central heat. It has two bathrooms, a kitchen, a spacious recreational room on the first floor, and upstairs a study center and library.

Once the building was ready for use, the CAP funds made possible the maintenance, a director (a leading Indian in the community), an arts and crafts teacher, and teachers for evening study. During 1965 the project was benefitted by the assignment of two VISTA girls; during the second year, two others succeeded them. Their leadership, and identification with the community brought to the Community Center the kind of imagination and interest which was invaluable.

It is difficult to imagine to dwellers in large metropolitan areas what the geographic and social isolation, as well as economic, of such Indians as the Peshawbestown group face over the years. They have high unemployment, their houses are run down, only four of the families have any running water, most have electricity but a community well furnishes most of their water supply. They have no reliable private transportation, there is no public transportation, and what cars they own are almost always in disrepair. The children do not have bicycles, for example. They attend a public school several miles away, to which they are transported by a school bus.

Although these Indians had a certain feeling of unity through their common race, their chief characteristic was apathy and complete hopelessness. Their isolation seemed complete. With the establishment of the Community Center, and the assignment of the VISTAs, a self-pride, a feeling of purpose and unity became possible. They elected a board of directors, 9 of whom were Indians. They held pot luck suppers. One sent in news to our county newspaper, a sort of society column. Large gifts of clothing were sent them through various news media, and they held sales in the summer to migrants. They had a booth in the Northwestern Michigan Fair, at which they sold Indian handicrafts. Of enormous help were the evening tutoring sessions for the school children. The great ability and devotion of the art teacher made these creative activities broaden the cultural life of the children.

Adolescents were given sewing lessons by the VISTAs, and the boys used the Center for games, such as pool, skittles, record-playing, etc. The skill of the director in keeping strict control of the behavior of the children has kept the place from getting a bad reputation among the white community.

The League of Women Voters from the first, giving strong citizen support to this CAP program, made possible a voter registration evening at the Center, to which the township clerk came, and some very old Indians were registered for the first time. An AA group, begun by Fr. Dondzila, faded out, but will make a fresh start later.

The joy which the League of Women Voters and others have felt at the first two years of this CAP project is now decreased because of a down-grading of the financial support by OEO. First, the very necessary staffing by VISTAs has not been continued. For approximately four months, the Center has expected new assignments but none has arrived. Second, the funds for maintenance, rental, and program have decreased so that the art teacher has had to use her own money to buy clay and other art supplies. Third, the support by OEO was discontinued in August of 1966, and after applying without success for a small grant from two Michigan charitable foundations to keep the Center open until funds from OEO would be forthcoming, the day was saved by the Michigan Migrant Opportunity Agency, who granted minimum, but very necessary support.

But this Agency and its funds, will be discontinued permanently May 31, 1967.

What has been the effect of these deprivations on the Indians themselves? Not becoming in a short two years as responsible, self-directing, citizens, they have, without the support of the VISTAs, and with uncertainty as to their future, gone back somewhat to their usual apathy, whose symptoms are fewer community suppers, less attendance on the part of the children, no more society news in the paper, no board meetings and losing what contact they had made with the outside world, (the whites) and through the League, the VISTAs, and the school (through the ESEA). Such brave starts as were made by OEO and our county CAP for the benefit of these citizens will be just another demonstration to them of the hopelessness of their situation, if it is decreased -- a real tragedy, even for a relatively small segment of our deprived poor.

This project needs to be increased in CAP funds. The art teacher, for example, has served for two years, has given both day and night service, has taken an Indian boy into her home, when he needed to be sheltered, and has kept the community in touch with needs. She earns only \$2.50 an hour, for 18 hours of scheduled duties, but works actually about 40. She needs a raise. The Center should have a full-time group or community organization leader, if no VISTAs are available. CAP has been important to these people. They will need it for years to come.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF THE UNITED STATES
1200 17TH STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

State
FILE COPY

October 31, 1967

The Honorable Albert H. Quie
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Quie:

C
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Y

On behalf of the members of the League of Women Voters, may I express to you our concern for the Committee decision on the Green Amendment to Section 210 of Title II in H.R. 8311. We are keenly aware of the task which confronted you and your colleagues in the mark-up of this complex and controversial piece of legislation; we are also aware of the general temper of the House of Representatives as it relates to anti-poverty legislation during this session of the Congress. It is this awareness, in part, that causes us so much concern for the future of the anti-poverty programs and the Office of Economic Opportunity as the anti-poverty agency.

Community Action Programs, in our opinion, are a vital thrust in the war on poverty. We believe U.S. citizens at all levels must be made cognizant that needs of both the urban and rural poor are each day becoming more acute; that failures in the Community Action Programs do not reduce the needs, but necessitate an even greater commitment of efforts and monies if the disadvantaged are really to be helped. Concomitantly, we hope the legislators will view failures in achievement of CAP goals as a faltering in the long range plan, rather than a requirement for dismantling of the Office of Economic Opportunity or radical changes in its programs.

The Office of Economic Opportunity has presented some well-conceived and refreshingly innovative approaches to the erosion of poverty. We are aware that a few of the CAP programs over the country have received some adverse publicity because of poor administration or other irregularities. However, we think that the concept of maximum involvement of the poor and the long-term advantages to be realized from their participation will far outweigh any disadvantages which may arise from such irregularities; also that such irregularities can be corrected without scuttling the agency and the programs.

Since its beginning in 1964, League members throughout all 50 states have followed the growth of the self-help approach to mitigation of poverty; many have been directly involved in the programs in their communities. They have been encouraged by how well this concept has been accepted by the disadvantaged, and how its implementation is increasing. For example, our Boulder, Colorado, League writes: "There is a freshness

10/31/67

of approach in helping the poor to help themselves, and we think that the small portion of the national budget which goes into this program is well worth giving these ideas a chance for fruition. The program is very young -- it must have an opportunity to go on to further successess."

We know that this program has enabled many people to attempt to solve their own problems and to begin to plan their own lives. It has given them an important role in defining their needs, and in developing ways to meet them. By offering these disadvantaged people an opportunity to develop their leadership abilities, community action has added a vital and constructive new element to the local scene in many urban as well as rural areas.

We believe that the expectations of the poor and disadvantaged, if opportunities promised are now withheld, will certainly not diminish, but rather through frustration may be diverted to less constructive ends. Therefore, we must reiterate our concern for what may happen when the Economic Opportunity Act comes to the floor of the House of Representatives.

We are convinced that the Committee amendments will change the self-help concept of community action adversely, and will alienate many of those for whom the Bill is written. While we believe that all levels of government -- local, state and national -- have a responsibility in providing equality of opportunity for all citizens, we think that the procedures for establishing and running community action programs should be flexible in order to meet the needs of the wide variety of situations around the country. Too, the funding requirements should be flexible so that those communities with very limited resources could be eligible for assistance through the Community Action Program.

We are also of the opinion that the impoverished can best be served by the retention of Community Action and related programs within the Office of Economic Opportunity, rather than by fragmentation or spin-off into various Departments which may have less interest in these programs.

Further, we object to any decrease in funding for the Economic Opportunity Act for 1967. It is our firm conviction that cuts should not be made at the expense of those least able to help themselves.

We hope you will keep our concern for this important piece of legislation in mind when it comes to the floor of the House.

Sincerely,

Julia D. Stuart

Mrs. Robert J. Stuart
President

League of Women Voters of the U.S.
1200 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

This is going on
Duplicate Presidents Mailing

March 15, 1967

LEAGUE ACTION CAMPAIGN -- WAYS AND MEANS

WHAT	An LWV community campaign to support CAP
WHEN	NOW and until the 1967 Economic Opportunity Amendments are enacted and funded
WHERE	Across the country in every League community
BY WHOM	Local and state DHR Chairmen and Committees Local League Boards League members The community
TO WHOM	All members of Congress
HOW	See below

It is no news to League members that the Community Action Program (CAP) is in deep trouble less than three years after it was born and well before it has been fully tested in many towns, cities, and rural areas throughout the country. As Mrs. Benson points out in detail in the enclosed Memo of March 15, 1967, the mood of Congress is not at the moment generally friendly. It is therefore crucial to let Congressmen know there is a broad basis of support in their constituencies for CAP and its innovative encouragement of local initiative, experimentation, and giving "target" groups a voice in programs designed for them. Local Leagues have an important role to play in stimulating this kind of community support for the work this program is doing to provide greater equality of opportunity.

As every League Chairman who has been involved in an action campaign knows, there are two main jobs to be done. The first is to bring the members up to date on the problems and issues involved so they will understand the current situation and become committed to action. The second is to reach out into the community to gather support for the program the League supports from people in various walks of life. What follows are some suggestions for a community campaign on CAP. Needless to say, we know you can't do all these things at once -- planning and carrying out an action campaign takes time. The important thing now is to analyze your own local situation, see what kinds of things are best for your League to do, plan how to do them, and GET STARTED.

The campaign will need to be tailored by each local League to fit its own community. For instance, a League which has a well-operating CAP in its community will have an easier job of building support than will a League in a community where the CAP has been surrounded by difficulties or where there is no CAP. Regardless of your local situation, however, the League's job is to get the word spread around as widely as possible. Beginning now and during the next several months you will need to create a "climate of interest" on the part of different groups or "publics" in CAP and to translate that interest into active support communicated to Congress.

WHO ARE THE VARIOUS PUBLICS WE NEED TO REACH?

Government officials -- elected and appointed, on both the local and state levels

Community leaders -- people who are heads of organizations
people who are influential behind the scenes --
e.g., a local banker or garage man, a newspaper editor,
real estate man, and neighborhood "opinion leaders."

The poor -- the people who have been reached and helped by the programs

Political party leaders

Business and industrial leaders, labor union leaders, professional men and women

Social action and civil rights groups

Church leaders and organizations

Service organizations -- Kiwanis, Rotary, Knights of Columbus, neighborhood groups,
Junior Chambers of Congress

Other groups of influence in your particular community

HOW TO GET TO THESE VARIOUS PUBLICS

Personal contacts -- people-to-people

At a strategy session it might be a good idea to discuss the contacts the League and its members have with influential persons, the attitudes those men and women have toward CAP, how best the League could approach them.

Speeches to organizations

Your League could set up a Speakers Bureau of both League and non-League members who are knowledgeable about EOA programs and CAP; it might include people directly involved in CAP. Try to get a speaker on the program of meetings of organizations. If organizations have already scheduled their meetings and have no open time left, try to get at least a few minutes at a meeting.

Planned publicity through the media

-- through newspapers via:

- 1) straight news stories in local papers with solid information about what CAP is doing in your town, city, or county; news stories reporting the progress of economic opportunity legislation in Congress (keep the stories as uncomplicated and as untechnical as possible);
- 2) editorial support;
- 3) letters to the editor citing solid examples of the work being done or of programs which were planned and had to be stopped because of lack of federal funds; letters alerting people -- at the appropriate times -- to write their Congressmen;

-- through radio and television via:

interviews by League members, station personnel, or prominent citizens with people involved in CAP; exploring with CAP staff and with radio and TV managers the possibility of news programs on local CAP;

-- through talk shows on radio via:

organized League and non-League listeners and callers to these programs which are burgeoning in many areas and which have a very wide audience.

Cooperation with other organizations in your community

The more we can work together with other organizations the greater number of people we will reach and the greater the potential for increased numbers and variety of communications with Congress. Quite a few Leagues have already established contacts with other groups in connection with the January SAV-CAP campaign initiated by the Urban League. They are now maintaining those contacts with a view to a longer-term effort in the coming months.

WHAT PEOPLE NEED TO KNOW ABOUT CAP

Information about CAP in general, its nature, purpose, and general accomplishments

Information about CAP programs in your community -- what are the programs? who are they reaching? are they effective?

Information about the opposition to CAP -- what the arguments are; what the answers are

Know what the opposition is saying, for example

the "war on poverty" is too costly; the U.S. can't wage war on poverty and fight the war in Vietnam at the same time

the programs are ineffective, not reaching the poor, not helping people find jobs in the cities or on the farms

CAP is wasteful, and badly organized and administered; programs should be turned over to older, established education and employment agencies.

How do you answer these arguments?

With statistics and concrete examples of what has been accomplished. Tell the story of who has been reached and how. Bolster with close-to-home examples, if possible. If not, use examples from other communities. When appropriate, mention effects of 1966 appropriations cuts on planned and on-going programs. (In this connection you might contact neighboring Leagues or your state DHR Chairman to see if they have information that might help you.)

With general arguments, such as:

Why should the costs of the war in Vietnam be borne by the poor especially when the prosperous majority is feeling no economic hardship?

CAP has stimulated the active participation of formerly apathetic groups in the planning of their own lives -- it takes time to launch something new and to work out solutions to problems we have never been able to solve before. It is much too soon to give up or to seriously cut back.

One reason the "war on poverty" was launched was that established agencies had failed to do the job. A certain amount of administrative untidiness is probably an inevitable result of the local and national "gadfly" role of CAP. But in less than three years a whole series of innovative programs (Head Start, Upward Bound, Foster Grandparents, Neighborhood Services, etc.) has been initiated and is evidence that CAP has become a successful and vital ingredient of the American scene. Is this the time to dry up through limiting unearmarked funds this new source of ideas on how to solve a critically important problem? Other agencies have already been delegated the administration of appropriate programs. The point is to maintain the coordinating and initiating role of CAP on the national and local level.

Waste is a relative concept. It may, for example, be more expensive to put a boy through the Job Corps than through Harvard; but is it more expensive than the cost to society of that boy's turning into a lifetime welfare recipient or jail inmate? The Job Corps and other poverty programs are aimed at a tough "hard core" that has never been reached by more traditional programs. It is not surprising the individual treatment that "hard core" needs at a crucial stage of life is expensive.

(You will be able to develop and elaborate on these arguments and to add new ones based on your own knowledge of local programs.)

WHAT YOUR CONGRESSMEN NEED

Your Congressmen need to hear from your community. They need to understand that CAP has broad community support, not only the support of the League of Women Voters or of the people who run the CAP but also of a cross-section of people and groups.

Congressmen need to hear from this cross-section regardless of their position on CAP. If they are already for CAP, they need your strong support to strengthen and back up their position. If they are "on the fence," they need to be brought over to the "pro" side. If they are opposed, they need to be persuaded to change their minds, if possible, or at least to soften and be less aggressive in their opposition.

Congressmen need letters and they need personal visits -- at home or in Washington whenever the opportunity arises

from the League in an official sense -- providing them with information, concrete information and urging support of CAP

from League members and their husbands as individuals

from the poor -- the people directly affected by CAP programs (your League might arrange a delegation to meet with a Congressman)

from public officials

from party members and party officials

from businessmen and labor leaders

from other organizations and their members.

WHAT YOU CAN EXPECT FROM THE NATIONAL OFFICE

Analyses of legislation, as soon as we can get them to you, and continued information about the progress of the Economic Opportunity Amendments in Congress.

OEO statistics on programs; if we can get them we will send them to you.

Times for Action alerting you to particular times when letters and personal contacts with Congressmen would be most useful

Help whenever you need it -- just write to us and/or your state Chairman.

WHAT WE NEED FROM YOU

News about what you are doing

Information about your campaigns, successes, problems.

COPY

February 27, 1967

The Honorable Eugene McCarthy
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

FILE COPY

Dear Senator McCarthy:

I am sure you are aware that the League of Women Voters of the United States supports policies and programs in the United States to provide for all persons equality of opportunity for education and employment. I know that you, too, support such programs. It is for this reason that I am writing you to express our concern about the future of the Economic Opportunity Act in the 90th Congress.

Members of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota have been looking at programs in their local communities, talking to program directors, to those benefited by the programs and to their local officials. We have found some administrative snafus, some slow starts, but on the whole we feel the record is impressive.

Three programs seem of particular merit: The administration of the Work Experience Program under Title V in Ramsey County, the excellent use of federal money - both OEA and 89-10 - made by the Minneapolis school system, and the CAP programs on Indian reservations.

We feel the Home Builders' Training program at the Red Lake Indian Reservation is an excellent example of a local Community Action Program, combining local initiative, innovation, and a joint solution of problems of inadequate housing and unskilled labor. The project, involving the training of 30 local Indian residents in construction skills, is jointly financed by the OEO and MDTA. The Red Lake Council contributed for materials and instructors' salaries, and when the homes are completed, the Public Housing Authority will assist in their acquisition. We understand this project is being adopted at other Indian reservations throughout the country. Such a program could not have been designed in Washington, nor could it have been accomplished without help from Washington. It exemplifies true cooperation of federal, state, and local governments in a needed program.

We feel there is a great need for unrestricted CAP funds. We hope the 90th Congress will reverse the pattern of the 89th Congress which drastically reduced the money available for locally developed projects. We are not arguing for a reduction in funds for the more popular programs such as Headstart, for they too are needed. Rather we would hope that there would be more money available for funding all the OEA programs.

The members of the League of Women Voters will appreciate your continued support of all these economic opportunity programs.

Sincerely,

Mrs. William Whiting
President

(Senator Mondale received an identical letter.)