Curriculum Planning for Black Public Education
Under an Education Voucher System

by

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ABSTRACT

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Under an education voucher system, given the correct conditions, a Black public educational system could be structured to provide the Black student with a diversity of settings all designed to provide quality education. This situation could be in effect, however, only after major restructurings of the present educational system had taken place.

The initial step in this restructuring would be to examine the inequalities both cultural and economic in the public schools. The success or failure of any institution in this country can generally be traced to its financial situation. The public schools are no exception but the crucial factor here is the allocation of funds rather than the amount of money involved.

The second step is to physically make the situation equal and the most feasible means of doing so would be an education voucher plan. Of course this plan would have to be operated under certain regulations assuring equality of opportunity.

Once the problem is stated and the situation is then corrected, what kinds of philosophies should guide the formation of an educational setting to provide Black students with a viable education? The National Black Political Agenda, rati-
fied May 6, 1972, has stated that "The real educational is-
sue for the Black community is how do we get supreme quality
education for all our youngsters?"

Finally, this Black educational setting would emphasize
diversity, though any of the educational processes which could
exist under such a setting would adhere to the goals of under-
standing Black humanity and realizing Black self-determination
A model course curriculum is presented to demonstrate the in-
corporation of these goals in a classroom setting.

Thesis Supervisor: Mel King
Title: Associate Director of the Community Fellows Program
Acknowledgements

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Introduction

The real educational issue for the Black community is how do we get supreme quality education for all our youngsters.

--The National Black Political Agenda

This thesis examines the public school system in the United States today on four levels. Initially a discussion is presented which indicates the inequalities, both cultural and financial, which exist under this system. These inequities have proved to be major hardships for Black children in securing a viable education. The effect of these disparities on the cultural and financial levels is nowhere more glaringly apparent than in the inner cities. The cultural and racial biases of the materials, curriculum, teachers and staff are merely reflective of biases existing throughout the nation. The measurable differences between slum and suburban schools, for example, is one aspect of the failure of the schools to provide a worthwhile education for Black children.

In correcting these inequities this thesis proposes the establishment of an education voucher system. This system would provide parents with the option of where to send their children to school -- an option which today is reserved principally for affluent families. In addition, the voucher plan would make the schools dependent on the vouchers for their existence as the tuition provided by the vouchers would replace public funding for education. Consequently, schools would be forced to compete in terms of quality of education they offered.
Chapter II discusses the operation of the voucher system and how guidelines could be established to prevent further discrimination and segregation. The proposed plan would maximize the options available to Black students.

Chapter III discusses the implementation of this plan in a Black educational setting and focuses on the various aspects of community control. The National Black Political Agenda adopted by the National Black Political Convention is used as the basis for determining Black educational objectives. It is important to note here that this thesis does not propose any particular political ideology. Rather, it assumes that under the proposed system, Black people will be free to pursue any type of education they desire with the basic goals of self-determination and Black humanism serving as guiding principles. Any educational setting involving Blacks should recognize and support these two goals.

Finally Chapter IV presents a model course curriculum which would operate under such an educational system. This course is an example of the diversity which could be effected under an education voucher plan; tailoring the curriculum to meet the needs of particular students.
I. Background of Inequities in the Public Schools: Cultural and Financial

In every phase of our history in America, the human development of the Black community has been seriously impeded because of the essential commitment in the general society, and because we did not control the instruments and institutions for our social, cultural and educational development. We have been -- and are now -- a colony, living in the midst of a society committed to values other than the development of the human spirit.

--The National Black Political Agenda, Final Ratification, May 6, 1972, Greensboro, North Carolina

In discussing the success or failure of any institution in this country, the deciding factor is invariably finances, and public school education is no exception. Generally speaking, the amount of financing can be critical in the operation of any concern -- housing, health, transportation, etc. -- but in the case of education, the allocation of funds is of overriding consideration. The problems of the public schools cannot be blamed directly on the amount of money invested since education comprises major proportions of the federal and state budgets.

In 1969 education was the second largest federal expenditure at a total of $50,377,000. In addition, education was the major slice of state and local expenditures, totalling 40.5% of their budgets. These federal expenditures include funding for compensatory education programs, that is, programs designed to correct some deficiency or fill a need not realized by the pub-
lic schools (See Appendix).

Despite the vast sums of money involved, public school education for Blacks is by and large a dismal failure. To say that the public educational system in the United States is destructive and useless for its Black students is to reflect a conclusion which actually has become almost axiomatic: the system destroys creativity, self-awareness, self-reliance, motivation, and self-esteem, and in so doing prevents the acquisition of any academic skills to any truly useful extent.¹

The guiding philosophy behind the education of the Black man has been to protect the position of the white man as oppressor -- oppressor in that white America controls in a major sense the very lives of Black people (the oppressed) and has used this control in its own very best interests.

The fault lies in two areas -- institutional racism and inequality of resources, though the two are not mutually exclusive -- inequality of resources exist because of institutional racism. The National Black Political Agenda characterizes institutional racism by "their [the institutions'] single-minded dedication to profits for some and white supremacy above all." Those institutions of American life, such as business, churches, schools which adhere to racist policies (official or unofficial) constitute institutional racism.

Of this institutional racism there is truly little which can be done which has not already in the past been attempted. The controlling forces in this country have realized that it is
in their best interest to keep the oppressed divided and ill-equipped to change their situation. Paul Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* states that "What is to his [the oppressor's] interest is for the people to continue in a state of submission impotent in the face of oppressive reality."² Realizing this, the educational system has conspired (along with the other controlling systems at work in this country) to deny the Black man any sense of his heritage or even his humanity. This has resulted in schools where education is a sham, and Black students waste meaningless hours.

The system has been total in its destruction. Fanon says in *The Wretched of the Earth*:

_It is not enough for the settler to delimit physically, that is to say with the help of the army and the police force, the place of the native. As if to show the totalitarian character of colonial exploitation the settler paints the native as a sort of quintessence of evil. Native society is not simply described as a society lacking in values. It is not enough for the colonist to affirm that those values have disappeared from, or still better never existed in, the colonial world. The native is declared insensible to ethics; he represents not only the absence of values, but also the negation of values. He is, let us dare to admit, the enemy of values, and in this sense he is the absolute evil. He is the deforming element, disfiguring all that he has to do with beauty or morality; he is the depository of maleficent powers, the unconscious and irretrievable instrument of blind forces._³

In discussing institutional racism and methods of solving the public school crisis, the initial step is to discard the old canard that integration is the solution. Integration in the context of this paper refers to the addition of a few Blacks to an all-white situation. In the case of the public schools
such a concept is meaningless in terms of effecting any widespread, viable improvement for the majority of Black children. Integration assumes a morality which white America, by and large, does not possess:

It is hopeless for the Negro to expect complete emancipation from the menial social and economic position into which the white man has forced him, merely by trusting in the moral sense of the white race.... However large the number of individual white men who do and who will identify themselves completely with the Negro cause, the white race in America will not admit the Negro to equal rights if it is not forced to do so. Upon that point one may speak with a dogmatism which all history justifies. ⁴

True, studies such as the oft-cited James S. Coleman report have shown integration of minority children into superior nonminority schools to have a significant "positive" impact. ⁵ This conclusion proves absolutely nothing -- it would seem likely that integration of any student from a poorer educational background into a "superior" school is very likely to produce a significant positive effect. The positive effects of such an arrangement do not preclude the possibility of educational benefits resulting from other arrangements.

The truth of the matter is that the benefits of integration are dubious, as "the literature of educational research does not uniformly support such an educational ideology (that there is an automatic improvement in Black pupil performance in integrated schools)." ⁶ In addition, integration (defined by the Supreme Court as "an educational setting in which Black children are clearly in the minority and likely to remain so") ⁷ is an unlikely reality in the foreseeable future:
... The demography of American life makes it clear that most Black children in the United States will not attend integrated schools in the foreseeable future unless the most extreme measures, such as metropolitan bussing, are taken to bring about integration: Metropolitan bussing describes mixing Black city students with white suburban students by bussing.

The nature of desegregation litigation makes it clear that even if metropolitan desegregation is ordered in some cities, it will be many years before it could be ordered in all cities. Therefore, demography and the educational assumptions of the Supreme Court compel the conclusion that Black children are condemned to improper public instruction for the foreseeable future, unless metropolitan integration becomes nationally pervasive.

Predictions of a future of racial isolation in public schools, together with inadequate and improper instruction for Black children does not bode well for the future of Black people in particular and the American people in general. Pessimism occurs because no large-scale effort to improve pupil performance in integrated schools has been satisfactory. Those who believe that the only way to improve the lot of Black children is to improve their schooling and that the only way to improve Black schooling is to integrate, are understandably discouraged because the prospects for pervasive educational integration seem dim. That pessimism is justified only if integration, as defined by the Court, is the most effective educational ideology for Black Children.

What integration becomes then is not a blending of cultures with appreciation and respect but rather the assimilation of Black values into white. The popular myth of "the melting pot of America" remains a myth for as each new group has come to America they became assimilated into the white Anglo-Saxon culture. Though each has had some effect on American culture, each has had to nevertheless surrender their uniqueness and conform.

Joseph Pentecost in an article in The Black Liberator says that "Integration as a theory is basically a willingness to give up one's own attributes and lose racial self-identity
by merging with the dominant group." 9

Why then, this feverish commitment by some, both Black and white, to integration? Because the idea of integration is presumably embedded in the American ethic, and Americans are loathe to admit they cannot (by choice) live up to these ideals. "Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all" are empty words.

The resistance to integration and equality for all citizens is so deeply entrenched as to be intractable. Richard Nixon, who, despite whatever else he may be is a shrewd judge of American temperament, has become the spearhead of this resistance. In March of this, an election year, he said on national television and radio that he would ask Congress for legislation to impose a moratorium on the federal courts to prevent any new ordering of racial balance bussing.10 In addition, some recent court legislation has upheld this reluctance to initiate bussing.11

Even those institutions and the legislation which do approve bussing place the onus directly on the Black student:

Access by minority pupils to superior public schools, especially those with unused capacity, should not be restricted.

A pupil willing to endure the discomforts of a longer trip to and from school, willing to put out the effort required to bring himself (with as much professional help as possible) up to the superior academic standard of a better school, and willing to brave the uncertainties of a new social adjustment, should certainly be permitted to do so. To discourage such initiative and courage on the part of minority groups is to place yet another artificial obstacle in their path.12

Such a patronizing description of the Black student involved in the bussing situation is cause enough to make sus-
pect the end results of this proposal.

This thesis, however, does not condemn integration as a concept in total. Integration is meaningful on two levels:

1. Integration is a necessity at all levels in all the seats of power. There must be effective minority clout in every institution which affects Black life which becomes ultimately virtually every institution in America. This representation must be at the basis of power.

2. Integration is a viable concept whenever it will achieve quality education for Black students. There are situations where the most effective education can only be secured in a majority white setting and as such integration is feasible.

Obviously, however, institutional racism is here and here to stay because it is merely a reflection of the individual racisms harbored in this country. Attempting to change people's attitudes and sensitivities is a painfully slow and often fruitless effort. Consequently what is needed is for the manifestations of institutional racism to be attacked, i.e., there are sufficient* amounts of money being allocated for education, it is the inequality of those resources which causes the problems.

What has caused this inequality of resources and how is it demonstrated? The resource inequities which exist in the public schools are merely reflections of the inequality of the inequality of wealth existing in the nation in the general. A recent article in *Business Week* titled "Who Has the Wealth in

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*Sufficient in the sense that it is not the amount of money being spent which is at issue here but how the money and on whom the money is spent. Obviously it would be better if more money was spent on education and considerably less, say, on defense allocations.*
America?" stated that "The best available current estimate, supplied by James D. Smith of Pennsylvania State University, is that the rich -- the top 1% of adult U.S. wealthholders -- own roughly 25% or more of all personal property and financial assets. This comes to $1-trillion in the hands of roughly 1.5 million people.... The clear implication of these findings is that the gap between the poorest and the richest Americans continues to widen, even though the population in general has grown much richer since World War II."

In 1969 31.1% of Blacks and other races (other than white) were below the poverty level vs. 9.5% of white families (See Appendix). In the central cities, 24.7% of Blacks were below
the poverty level vs. 10.2% of whites (See Appendix).

The large percentage of Blacks concentrated in the central cities is historically due to the Black migration from the South caused by the technological revolution and reinforced by patterns of housing and employment discrimination. This emigrating population traditionally have no or few skills but they still have needed essential city services. Randy Blackwell, director of the Southern Rural Action Agency, has estimated that by 1980 every major city will be Black and Brown in population and all these cities will be bankrupt.\textsuperscript{14} Traditionally education for Blacks has been one of the first of these services to suffer.

As the population of the central cities changed, two major problems developed in regard to the schools. First, it is historically apparent that the mechanisms of city bureaucracy operate best in response to pressure. Those people left in the cities -- principally Blacks and/or the poor -- have had until very recently neither the expertise or the organization to exert pressure for the type of schools they wished. Even when this organization did exist, it has been traditionally easy for city bureaucrats to ignore demands from this section of the population. Historically, then, the city's political mechanism has operated to distribute city services, including education, in response and in proportion to demand; the higher the demand, the higher the services.\textsuperscript{15}

The second factor affecting the schools is that the cities
rely heavily on property tax for revenue and this tax base has not kept pace with the rising costs of all services of govern-
ment including education. Major areas of the central cities are tax exempt -- churches, universities, etc. In addition, tra-
ditional sources of revenue such as industry are leaving the cities for the suburbs. The tax base provided by the middle class has disintegrated as they too have fled the cities for suburbia. In addition there is a tendency in many states to place more stringent limitations on property tax levies in cities than in other school districts.

Another factor affecting the schools is that the suburbs generally receive more money than the cities. Charles E. Hane-
sen, author of Central City and Suburb, says that "... In terms of actual taxes, a larger proportion of the total tax dollar goes to education in the suburbs. This difference can be ex-
plained by the fact that city dwellers are required to pay for services not offered in the suburbs. The cost of these services is largely a function of the immigration of suburbanites during the working day." 17

This condition exists despite the fact that city dwellers often pay more taxes than the suburbanite: 18

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fiscal Variables</th>
<th>Central City</th>
<th>Suburb</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Property valuation</td>
<td>$25,000</td>
<td>$25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assessed valuation</td>
<td>$6,250</td>
<td>$6,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total tax rate (mills)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax levy</td>
<td>$625</td>
<td>$500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiscal Variables</td>
<td>Central City</td>
<td>Suburb</td>
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<td>---------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent school income of total local income</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local school revenue derived from household</td>
<td>$250</td>
<td>$300</td>
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</tbody>
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Thus many families of lower incomes are taxed at a higher rate than their more wealthy neighbors to provide fewer educational dollars.

Compounding all of these difficulties, the current expenditures per pupil by the cities is less than expenditures in 1930:20

<table>
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<th>Current Expenditure per Pupil in Selected Cities Shown as a Percentage of Mean State Expenditure per Pupil in 1930 and 1960a</th>
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<td>0 25 50 75 100 125 150 175 200</td>
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<tr>
<td>New York</td>
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As the cities become more and more pressed to maintain essential services, education has become the step-child in big-city budgets: "The reduced capabilities of the school districts to finance education have resulted in most of the cities in relatively lower expenditures for education, when compared to the average expenditures of the states in which they are located." In Philadelphia, for example, it was recently decided to eliminate sports from the high school curriculum to curb expenditures.

Extending all these conclusions to their logical end, in the final analysis Black public education will continue in its state of complete inadequacy unless a radically different approach is attempted. The facts, in summary, are:

1. First Black public school education is becoming synonymous with education for central city dwellers as the central cities are becoming increasingly Black.

2. As the central cities do grow more and more Black and poor, the tax base (the traditional support of the cities) is becoming increasingly weakened. Consequently the cities are strapped for

funds merely to provide those services which are necessary just to keep the city minimally inhabitable -- such as garbage collection, the police and fire departments, etc.

3. In the past the Black and the poor have been reluctant and unable to vocalize their demands for better schools and unable to maintain the steady pressure necessary to realize their wishes. This is changing as Blacks become increasingly aware of the state of their schools and the steps necessary to cause any change.

4. Integration must be discarded as the only answer to the school dilemma as it is completely unfeasible in the foreseeable future. Unless massive bussing programs are initiated (and this is unlikely in view of the present political climate) there is no real way to make integration a viable solution.
II. An Overview of the Educational Voucher System

... Therefore, if the development of the Black community is to lead to the creation of new levels of Black humanity, we must break the bonds of our colonization, we must create and direct new institutions, and we must wrest control of some existing institutions from the hands of white America. We must define the human development we need, and we must move to create the necessary conditions for its realization.

The only reasonable approach to public education for Blacks is operation of the system under an education voucher plan. This plan would accomplish several things:

1. It would eliminate the necessity for Black parents to send their children to schools which they fully realize are destructive -- that is, it would maximize the options educationally.

2. This plan would create competition among schools, raising the quality of education in the schools' quest for students.

3. It would provide ideological diversity for Black students. Given that many different philosophies exist among Blacks, a Black national agenda could nevertheless incorporate these beliefs to maximize Black effectiveness. The schools however could serve various political viewpoints.

Very simply an education voucher can be defined in this manner: "The government issues the voucher to parents. The parents take the voucher to the school of their choice. The school returns the vouchers to the government. The government then sends the school a check equal to the value of the vouchers. As a result, government subsidies for education go only to schools in which parents choose to enroll their children. Schools which cannot attract applicants go out of business."
Public schools would still be maintained and an Educational Voucher Agency (EVA) would be responsible for insuring enough places in these publicly managed schools to accomodate those children not wishing to attend a privately managed school.

Obviously this description of a voucher poses many problems. How would the system operate? Who would be admitted to the schools? Couldn't the voucher system merely reinforce patterns of racial segregation and school resource inequities?

In answering these questions it is first necessary to examine seven education plans:

1. **Unregulated Market Model:** The value of the voucher is the same for each child. Schools are permitted to charge whatever additional tuition the traffic will bear.

2. **Unregulated Compensatory Model:** The value of the voucher is higher for poor children. Schools are permitted to charge whatever additional tuition they wish.

3. **Compulsory Private Scholarship Model:** Schools may charge as much tuition as they like, provided they give scholarships to those children unable to pay full tuition. Eligibility and size of scholarships are determined by the EVA, which establishes a formula showing how much families with certain incomes can be charged.

4. **The Effort Voucher:** This model establishes several different possible levels of per pupil expenditure and allows a school to choose its own level. Parents who choose high expenditure schools are then charged more tuition (or tax) than parents who choose low-expenditure schools. Tuition (or tax) is also related to income, in theory the "effort" demanded of a low-income family attending a high-expenditure school is the same as the "effort" demanded of a high-income family in the same school.

5. **"Egalitarian" Model:** The value of the voucher is the same for each child. No school is permitted
to charge any additional tuition.

6. **Achievement Model**: The value of the voucher is based on the progress made by the child during the year.

7. **Regulated Compensatory Model**: Schools may not charge tuition beyond the value of the voucher. They may "earn" extra funds by accepting children from poor families or educationally disadvantaged children. (A variant of this model permits privately managed voucher schools to charge affluent families according to their ability to pay.)

Prior to discussion of these seven models relative to Black people, there are several basic assumptions which must be made about the economic context in which a voucher system would operate:

1. The first assumption would be that the level of tax support for education would continue to rise at about the same rate under a voucher system as it has done under the present system. In addition the amount of the voucher would be generally comparable to what the schools are now spending per pupil.

2. An anticipated gradual increase is expected in the federal share of education expenditures versus a gradual decline in local spending.

3. This discussion of vouchers is confined to "comprehensive" voucher systems in which the amount of public money received by any school (public or private) is almost entirely determined by the value of the voucher it receives.

The most feasible type of voucher plan for Blacks would be the regulated compensatory model. In the first plan, the unregulated market model, the effect on Black students is easily foreseeable. Middle class and wealthy parents would be able to add to the vouchers. In addition the schools are free to charge whatever "additional tuition the traffic will bear" and conse-
sequently those schools who wish to remain exclusive are easily able to do so by establishing high tuition supplements.

In the unregulated compensatory model, poor children would still be at a disadvantage. Though the value of the vouchers would be higher for low income students, the schools would still be permitted to charge whatever additional tuition they wished. Consequently affluent parents would easily be able to pay the tuition for their children whereas poor parents may not. In addition this would foster the development of elitist schools designed to keep the poor out.

The compulsory private scholarship model is somewhat more of a fair solution, yet it produces unnecessary administrative problems. True the EVA would establish the requirements for eligibility for the scholarships. However this seems like an awkward method of insuring low-income participation. The awarding of scholarships poses all sorts of administrative hassles -- committees, meetings, unnecessary paperwork, etc. There is always the very real chance that personal prejudices in the awarding of the scholarships might evade or misconstrue EVA guidelines. Such events have not been unknown in numerous other educational programs.

The effort voucher is unjustified for Blacks in that its initial supposition is erroneous: that, in theory, the "effort" demanded of a low-income family attending a high-expenditure school is the same as the "effort" demanded of a high income family in the same school.\(^5\) The ability of a high-income family
to afford a high-expenditure school is considerably less than the effort of a low-income family to afford the same school even where tuition is geared to income level. Though tuition may be established at a certain percentage of income, this percentage takes a good deal more from the low income family than the high income. This system too would foster the establishment of elitist schools designed to serve only the affluent.

The "egalitarian" model approaches a position of fairness except that it offers schools no incentives for seeking out Blacks, the poor, slow learners; basically, those students considered just tolerable by the public schools.

The achievement model is totally out of the question for Black students given all the inequities in the factors affecting learning. It is sufficient to say that there are vast amounts of literature documenting those conditions which affect learning -- home environment, parent education, school resources, teacher attitude, and so on almost infinitely.

The regulated compensatory model is the most viable form of the education voucher plans in terms of Blacks. This model provides for equal vouchers for everyone, and no one would be allowed to supplement the vouchers with additional funds. The schools under this plan would be eligible for extra funds by accepting poor or educationally disadvantaged children.

This model maximizes and enhances the chances for Black children. They are provided vouchers equal in value to those of affluent students, and the schools are further compensated
for accepting these children.

Though this model would maximize the chances for Black students, its positive effects could be negated by biased and discriminatory admission procedures. Consequently it is important to find the correct admission policy which when coupled with the regulatory compensatory model would provide Black students with the maximum number of options.

There are seven possible rules for regulating admissions procedures:

1. No Regulations Whatever: Assuming a regulated compensatory model, schools would have considerable incentive to attract and admit low-income students. There would, however, be no special incentive to admit hard-to-educate children. Most voucher schools would therefore try to select poor children who were also bright and well-behaved.... Over-applied schools would probably end up segregated by ability and behavior, which would also mean some segregation by race. Disadvantaged parents would see their schools as bastions of privilege, to which only "token" low-income children were admitted.

... The Supreme Court has indicated that vouchers cannot legally be used to aid private schools which exclude children on the basis of race, and consequently the courts may declare these rules unconstitutional.

2. Fifty Percent Lottery: Under this system a school with more first-choice applicants than places is allowed to fill up half its places by any criteria it wishes, so long as these criteria do not discriminate against any racial minority. It must then fill its remaining places by a lottery among all first-choice applicants not already admitted, ... Ideally, schools should be free to admit selectively so long as their criteria do not reinforce other patterns of "invidious" discrimination in the school system or in the larger society. The idea of favoring cellists over pianists (for a musically inclined school), for example, seems harmless because it does not aggravate any of the more general problems of the educational system. The
idea of favoring Spanish-speaking or Black applicants seems acceptable to us for the same reason.

... It seems administratively simpler to allow all schools up to 50 percent free choice on all matters but race and to require all schools to admit at least 50 percent by lot.... The lottery, in other words, maximizes the choices actually open to disadvantaged parents by limiting the schools' ability to reject parents' choices.

3. Near Complete Lottery: This model allows schools to admit siblings, children of official founders, and children of staff automatically. All others would be admitted by lot. If a school wanted special kinds of students, it would have to get them by selective recruitment.

This model has the advantage of reducing the possibilities for discrimination in the admissions process and encouraging disadvantaged parents to feel they have a fair chance. It might, however, prevent the development of certain desirable types of program diversity.

4. First Come, First Served: Reduced to its logical absurdity but practical reality, "first come, first served" would mean that really popular schools would begin registering children at birth. If children were registered at birth, the next question would be what class they could register for.

This would probably work against the interests of the parents whom a voucher system is supposed to help.

5. Quotas Based on the Characteristics of Applicants: This model regulates admissions by making a rule that schools cannot discriminate against applicants on the basis of certain characteristics which would be specified by the EVA (or by state or federal legislation). Discrimination based on race, income, IQ, religion, and sex would be obvious candidates for elimination.

Having established these rules, the EVA would require parents to send it duplicate copies of their applications to schools. The applications would include information about each of the characteristics for which discrimination was forbidden. The EVA would then compute the average level of "advantage" of applicants to each school by various criteria. The average level of the students actually admitted to the school could not exceed the level of those who applied by a significant margin on any criterion.

... Deciding what kinds of discrimination to out-
law would, of course, be politically and administratively difficult. In fact, quotas could never be established to cover every form of invidious discrimination. A quota system would have the virtue of allowing schools to discriminate in favor of disadvantaged children if they wished to do so. Another advantage of a quota system is that over-applied schools would probably prefer it to other systems of regulation.

6. Quotas Based on District Characteristics: Under this model, every school would be required to admit a mix of students which was "representative" of the district in which the school was located. Some definitions of the term "representative" would be laid down by the law or by the EVA. No school would be eligible to cash vouchers unless it came reasonably close to district-wide ratios.

Taken in the pure form stated above, this system is clearly unworkable, since few schools could meet such standards. Schools that were physically located in the ghetto could not possibly attract enough white applicants to qualify, and schools located in white residential areas would probably find it impossible to attract their share of ghetto residents, many of whom value convenience or solidarity more than integration.

... quotas based on anything other than the characteristics of applicants are unworkable and undesirable in the admission process.

7. Admission Based on Geographic Proximity: ... As long as residence is determined by factors over which families have relatively little control, and over which children have no control whatever, one cannot legitimately make residence the basis for school assignment. Most parents will, of course, choose schools near their homes even if they have a much wider range of choices, but that is no justification for eliminating the choice. Parents should be given the option of living in one place and sending their children to school in another place if that is what they want.

Using the regulated compensatory model, the Fifty Percent Lottery or the Near Complete Lottery would be the most advantageous means of selection for Black parents. The Fifty Percent Lottery allows a school to fill up to half its places by any
criteria as long as these criteria do not discriminate against any racial minority. The remaining places are filled by a lottery among all first choice applicants not already admitted. This would provide for two things: (1) it would allow for Black parents who wish to form their own schools and/or for the formation of schools with a particular ideology and (2) it would provide a fair chance for those Black students wishing to attend any other schools.

The Near Complete Lottery method would allow for siblings and children of official founders and staff to be admitted automatically. All others would be admitted by lot. If special students were desired, the schools would have to conduct selective recruitment. This model would be equally effective in the formation of Black schools and in encouraging minority participation in other schools. This does, however, leave the characteristics of the student body somewhat open to chance rather than selectivity.

In summary, then, the most effective form of the voucher system in terms of Black people would be the regulated compensatory model operating with an admissions policy of the fifty percent lottery or the near complete lottery.
III. Curriculum Planning for the Black Educational Setting

"... With such goals in mind, we put forward these elements of an Agenda for Black Human Development, recognizing the centrality of the Black family to all aspects of our growth."

--National Black Political Agenda, May 6, 1972

In a broad sense curriculum is more than the actual materials taught in a given educational setting for curriculum is a reflection of a school's values and philosophies. Using an education voucher plan, Black parents are free to choose the educational setting they feel will best reflect their own particular ideologies while providing a sound education.

It is crucial, however, that all the schools serving Black children adhere to the central philosophy of self-determination adopted by the National Black Political Convention.

In supporting this goal the adoption of the voucher system accomplishes three things:

1. The educational monopoly is dissolved.

2. Control of the schools is put in the hands of the clientele -- the parents and the community.

3. The options available to the Black student are maximized.

The Educational Monopoly is Dissolved

The public education system in this country operates on the basis of a monopoly -- its main concerns are unanimity and sameness of results.

There are three basic arguments generally used to justify
a monopoly:

1. "Competition would be technologically inefficient in this field."

2. "Consumers are not competent to distinguish between good and bad products in this field, so competition would lead only to more imaginative forms of fraud."

3. "Competition in this field would encourage consumers to maximize their private advantages in ways that are inimical to the general welfare."

The first argument is unjustified in that its initial assumption implies the technological efficiency of the existing schools. Large operating plants (swimming pools, football fields, etc.) are not necessarily determinants of an education which produces capable, civilized human beings.

In addition, competition would seem to be quite feasible in this field in that most Americans today live in densely populated areas which could easily support several schools. In this situation the arguments used to justify competition would seem more applicable. With schools competing with each other for students the quality of the product (the education) would necessarily be improved.

The second argument, that consumers are not competent judges, proves specious on several counts. Such an argument is obviously correct when speaking of medicines or when buying garden chemicals. In such cases the public must rely on expert opinion as presumably the experts have access to information not available to the general public.

However, this does not apply in the case of the schools.
The most direct clientele of the schools are, of course, the students but it is the parents who must make judgments about the education process. They are generally aware of what type of education they wish their child to receive and they are generally the best judges of the results. Consequently, the worst possible answer is an education monopoly which remains largely unresponsive to parental demands. The report on education vouchers states that:

... there is no evidence that "experts" really know any more than parents about the likely effects of specific schools on specific children. There is no consensus about what causes what in education, much less any scientific evidence to back a consensus.4

In addition the report states that:

Even if we were to accept the argument that "experts know best," it would not follow that the best solution would be to make education a public monopoly. We do not, after all, have a public monopoly on the production or distribution of drugs, even though we assume that "doctors know best." Instead, we have a publicly regulated market, in which the patient is free to choose both a doctor and a druggist. It would be perfectly possible to establish a similarly regulated market in education.5

The truth of the matter is that affluent parents have the widest range of options available to them. Though minimal standards are set by the state, affluent parents may generally send their children where they wish. Obviously this is not the case for poorer parents who are forced to rely on the public schools. Should affluent parents be judged better able to determine the type of schooling for their children simply on the basis of their affluence?

The final argument in justifying the educational monopoly
is that "Competition would encourage consumers to maximize their private advantages in ways inimical to the general welfare."

This would be a convincing argument in an unregulated voucher system and could easily lead to even more segregation by race and income. The report on education vouchers says that:

... a completely free market would also result in a redistribution of educational resources from disadvantaged to advantaged children.... These changes would probably leave students from low-income families further behind students from high-income families than they are now. This increase in inequality would in turn tend to widen the gap and intensify conflict between racial groups, between economic groups, and between political interests.

The answer to this argument is that monopolistic control is not the only solution to these problems (and obviously has not succeeded in the past in correcting them). Under a carefully regulated voucher system such as outlined in Chapter II, these problems could be averted.

It Puts Control of the Schools Squarely in the Hands of the Clientele -- the Parents and the Community

The primary effect of the dissolution of the education monopoly would be the establishment of community control. This control ultimately decides every other concern -- curriculum, staffing, resources -- all are determined by control of the finances. Under this ideal voucher system, parents would have the jurisdiction as the schools would be dependent on their vouchers for financing.

This community control would extend to every facet of the schools as the parents and the community would take part in the
decisions formerly reserved for school boards and administra-
tive staffs. This would include such areas as:

1. Full employment of community residents. All
available positions to be filled by residents
first.

2. Abolition of all testing until tests can be de-
veloped which are relevant and geared to the require-
ments of individual communities.

3. Control of all school construction and maintenance
funds.

4. Establishment of educational programs that teach
an awareness of the real world. This includes Puerto
Rican, Black and Chinese culture and history, prob-
lems of unemployment, poor housing, malnutrition,
police brutality, racism, and other forms of op-
pression.

5. Establishment of student participation in the
decision-making process at junior high and high school
levels.

6. Immediate changes in the teacher and supervisory
licensing and certification procedures so as to
eliminate practices which have been used to ex-
clude minority group persons from teaching and super-
visory positions.

7. Free access to their children's records for all
parents, as is their legal right. Nothing to be
put in children's records unless approved by parents.

In one sense the idea of the voucher system and community
t control become synonymous. The vouchers not only involve parents
in the decision-making process, they increase the cash flow in
the community thus creating jobs and making the schools a viable
part of community life.

The four basic elements of community control, in summary,
are:
1. Decision-making in regard to the procedures and processes of education must be responsive to the community.

2. There must be organization for absolute administrative and fiscal control of the school.

3. The function of education must be redefined to make it responsible and accountable to the community.

4. Supporters must be committed to complete control of the educational goals as they relate to the larger goals of community development and self-determination.

Perhaps the most effective way to illustrate the values and ideals which would be a part of a community-control setting is to draw a comparison to the public school system as it now exists. Preston Wilcox breaks down the differences in his article "On the Way to School Community Control -- Some Observations."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLE</th>
<th>FROM: CENTRALIZATION</th>
<th>TO: LOCAL CONTROL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principals</td>
<td>Agent of system</td>
<td>Agent of local community</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Teacher control</td>
<td>Teacher development</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Completes forms</td>
<td>Understands function</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>Transmits curriculum</td>
<td>Develops curriculum</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Advocates of system</td>
<td>Advocate of the students</td>
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<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>Targets of system</td>
<td>Reason for the system's existence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School &amp; Community Delivery Patterns</td>
<td>Separate entities</td>
<td>Single entities</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>Spectators and reactors</td>
<td>Participants and enactors</td>
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<td></td>
<td>&quot;Trouble-makers&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Constituents&quot;</td>
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The Options Available to the Black Student Are Maximized

"The single institution which carries the heaviest responsibility for dispensing or promulgating those values which identified a group's consciousness of itself is the educational system."  

The present education system emphasizes sameness. The education system under this voucher plan would provide diversity for the Black student yet would maintain commitment to the goal of self-determination -- "We must define the human development we need, and we must move to create the necessary conditions for its realization."  

This educational system would recognize all the diverse ideologies -- the Panthers, the Muslims, integrationists, etc. -- under this one basic goal.

Consequently the curriculum of any school involving Black children must include certain elements. The curriculum must pre-
sent as Freire has stated that consciousness does not mean simply being aware but includes being engaged in the transformation of contradictions.\textsuperscript{11} School, then, becomes not merely a preparation for the student must not become conscious and then act; the two are inseparable.

Hilda Laka, author of \textit{Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice}, says that "... schools function on behalf of the culture in which they exist. The school is created by a society for the purpose of reproducing in the learner the knowledge, attitudes, values and techniques that have cultural relevance or currency ... the school is the one \textit{educative agency} which specializes in inducting youth into the culture and is thus responsible for the continuity of that culture."\textsuperscript{12}

Since the curriculum is the basic agent involved in this transfer of values several specific comments about curriculum can be applied to the Black educational setting.

Curriculum consists of two things -- the content and the learning experiences or the mental operations employed by students in learning content.\textsuperscript{13} "If the curriculum is to be useful for learning, its content and the outcomes it pursues need to be in tune with the social and cultural realities of the times."\textsuperscript{14}

Consequently, a Black curriculum must reflect this commitment to the goal of self-determination. The content must emphasize awareness of the Black past in order to understand the present. The curriculum must present Black culture in a posi-
tive way which will emphasize sharing rather than competition. Julius Nyerere in "Education for Self-Reliance" felt that education was for the service of many and that schools must be mirrors of society; students must be aware of society's problems.\(^{15}\)

Another essential element of curriculum is that it is important to cultivate the type of mental processes which strengthen the capacity to transfer knowledge to new situations as opposed to rote memorization of routine problems and their solutions. The Black student, then, must become equipped to deal with the constantly changing exigencies of life in this society. The curriculum must provide the tools for the Black student to determine his own destiny rather than to have this destiny completely formed by outside and alien forces. In so doing, Black people become actually the principal hope for survival of this society as a whole. Paul Henry, author of "Memo to Walter Palmer: The Massive Decline Curve," says:

> The moral imperative involved is apparent. When a society is organized to destroy other cultures and it is also willing to destroy its own culture to save the system, this madness must be stopped. Therefore, it is the Afro-American who must oppose this dehumanizing policy simply because it is Black people who are first to be annihilated.\(^{16}\)

The duty of Black education then is clear: "To fail to educate for Black humanism is merely to gradualize the destruction of Black people and to turn Black people against each other. To fail to respond to this imperative is to educate Blacks to participate in the destruction of their own identities and cultures -- and to substitute the oppressors' values for their own."\(^{17}\)
IV. A Model Course Curriculum

The Black Agenda assumes that no truly basic change for our benefit takes place in Black or white America unless we Black people organize to initiate that change. It assumes that we must have some essential agreement on overall goals, even though we may differ on many specific strategies. --National Black Political Agenda, May 6, 1972

Assuming that the ideal voucher system as described in Chapter II was in operation, control of the schools would rest in the hands of the parents and the community. Under such a system and operating within the framework of the National Black Political Agenda, the goals of self-determination and Black humanism would serve as the basic tenets of the Black educational system. Chapter IV attempts to demonstrate then the operation of a curriculum supporting these goals through the development of a model course.

One of the greatest advantages of an educational system under the voucher plan would be the diversity of educational offerings. Since schools would not be interested in turning out a mass product, the emphasis would more likely be on producing the best (and/or most unique) education to meet the competition. Consequently schools would be able to offer certain courses tailored to meet the needs of their particular students. An outline for such a course is presented here to demonstrate how curriculum can operate under this new system to fill the gaps left in present-day public school education. This course is unique on the high school level in that it meets the needs
of a particular group of students; a situation which would be possible only under the proposed voucher plan.

This course, termed a language and culture class, would present an overview of Black written communication and Black culture. The course would be designed to give the student an overall appreciation of his Black heritage rather than attempting critical study of specific areas. In reality the terms language and culture are inseparable as all forms of communication are integral parts of Black culture and consequently Black heritage. The terms are used to provide some specific definitions for the two sections of the course. Obviously language and culture are not exclusive of each other and one form could not be explored without covering the other to some degree. Language in this instance refers to written communication and oral communication -- literature, periodicals, poetry, newspapers and television -- and culture refers to drama, music, and art. Obviously the range of any culture embraces far more than these forms of expression, but for the purpose of this course discussion will be confined to these areas.

Designed for the senior high-school level (ages 15-17), this course would serve as a replacement for traditional English classes. The importance of introducing a course such as this on this level can best be explained in this excerpt from Crisis in the Classroom by Charles E. Silberman:
The growth that occurs during adolescence makes possible substantial changes both in what is learned and how it is learned. Since their growing command over language, abstraction and metaphor enable high school students to transcend their own experience and environment, high school, even more than elementary school, is where they can begin to come into possession of the culture, which is to say, the world created by the perceptions, discoveries, creations, imaginations, and thoughts of men. In a way and with a subtlety and sophistication that the elementary school cannot attempt, the high school can concern itself with the transmission of culture....

This course is designed to provide the Black student with an overall view in the hopes of encouraging further exploration. By no means will this course attempt a quickie wrap-up of Black heritage; hopefully under the proposed voucher plan, the entire educational process will serve to reinforce appreciation of and pride in the Black heritage.

As Paulo Fréire has said consciousness does not simply mean being aware but includes being engaged in the transformation of contradictions. Consequently this course would not operate in a vacuum. While not proposing any particular political ideology, this language and culture course should enable the Black student to use this understanding of his heritage to effect change for himself and present and future generations of Blacks. Such a course then could not afford to be a mere academic exercise and must operate in response to the realities of present day life.

This course then would have three purposes:

1. To provide the student with an overview of Black culture through the forms of communication:
literature, art, music, drama, and the media with the express aim of encouraging further investigation.

2. To sharpen basic analytical skills -- critical reading and writing, analysis of propaganda, and analysis of methods of speech used to persuade or sway opinion.

3. To provide the student with a feeling for the necessity of commitment to other Black people and the realization that individual survival is dependent upon survival of the whole.

This course would especially utilize two of the teaching resolutions proposed by the Teacher Training Center of the Congress of African People in Newark, New Jersey. These resolutions include a healthy attitude toward the sharing of knowledge, love, and possessions and a commitment to those purposes which advance the cause of Black people.

The importance of sharing knowledge, resources, and possessions with other Black people will be emphasized particularly in the format of the course which addresses itself to measuring learning. Rather than employ the traditional method of tests and quizzes, this course will rely on projects and written and oral reports to demonstrate grasp of the material. These projects and reports would be both on an individual and a team basis and the remainder of the class would be expected to participate through constructive criticism, suggestions, and added commentary. Because one Black person does not survive without survival of the entire race and conversely the entire race is not truly saved without the ability of each Black person to determine his own destiny, knowledge becomes
the property of all Black people. Knowledge must be shared to become truly effective.

**General Course Structure**

This language and culture course would cover a full school year. The first half of the course would be devoted to the study of written communication and student response. The second half would be devoted to Black art forms or "culture" and would include perusal of Black drama, art, and music. Assuming that such a course would operate in terms of the traditional thirty-six week school year, there would be two semesters of eighteen weeks or three six-week periods apiece. In reference to time periods then the course would be structured in this manner:

- **First Semester:** the study of language
  - First Six Weeks: Literature
  - Second Six Weeks: Literature and Poetry
  - Third Six Weeks: The Media

- **Second Semester:** Art forms
  - First Six Weeks: Painting, sculpture, dance
  - Second Six Weeks: Drama and music
  - Third Six Weeks: Individual expression

Each class would be ninety minutes long, and there would be two class meetings per week.

Before discussing in detail each of the six weeks, it is important to note that "The problem of making the curriculum learnable involves also the task of translating the social heritage into experiences which help each student to make it his own." Recognizing this need, this course would not assume
that simply because the course is designed for the Black student in discussion of the Black heritage, the student would automatically become enthusiastic and responsive. This would actually be assuming an academic arrogance which the Black curriculum cannot afford.

Because it is mandatory for the Black curriculum to provide a frame of reference for action, the class must emphasize those experiences and aspects of the material which will aid the student in transforming what is learned in the classroom into action. The class must above all else remain flexible so that students feel encouraged to help shape the course. The final outcome of the course should only be judged successful if there has been student participation on all levels. Consequently a format is presented with the idea that certain materials will be covered. However, the curriculum should be flexible to allow for additions by the class or the instructor in response to changing situations or needs.

Julius Nyerere has said that education is valid when there is learning by doing. He stresses active participation and views education in a very practical sense. The coursework then cannot operate independently of reality. Students must be included in the decision-making process and the final outcome and shaping of the class.

Finally this emphasis on the integration of reality and academics and the participation of the students should be in-
cluded in evaluating student progress. Actual methods of evaluation will be discussed for each six-week period but it is imperative that students become fully cognizant of the evaluating process and fully aware of the final evaluation. Such participation imparts to the student a sense of responsibility in judging his own performance.

Specific Outline of Course Structure

**First Semester: First Six Weeks**

The initial week of the first six weeks would be involved in presenting the students with insight into the course: the purpose and the scope of the materials. The initial presentation should make it clear to the student that "... it is possible to achieve a reasonable balance of breadth and depth (in a course) by selecting a sufficient range of ideas to study which have the greatest applicability and the greatest power to transfer and by spending enough time on studying each."  

It is critical, therefore, for the students to realize at the outset of the course that the materials presented are designed to present an overview and that student projects and reports will be expected to probe further into specific areas. It is also important to emphasize student participation and course flexibility -- starting with basic materials and adding others where necessary.

The first six weeks would be devoted to literature. It would present a discussion of Black American authors in the
past to provide a basis for discussion and comparison of present day Black authors. This first six weeks would include discussions of the Black novel in America, focusing on one novel, and discussion of autobiography as a form of Black expression and a means of galvanizing others into action.

It is important to remember here that the classroom should not function in a sterile sense as a laboratory. The teacher-pupil relationship must be so defined that the teacher acts as a guide rather than as a machine spilling out information. Any additional resources should be employed to set the mood and to add further to the discussion on hand. This course would make extensive use of community resources -- persons in the community with knowledge of the areas of study, facilities which may provide additional information (such as the Muslim mosque during the discussion of The Autobiography of Malcolm X) and any materials which could benefit class discussion.

Purpose: To provide the students with an overall feel for the course, to present the materials to be covered in the course, and to discuss the purpose for selection of these materials. Student response should be solicited.

Materials: Black Voices, Abraham Chapman, ed. (New York: The New American Library, 1968). Black Voices is an anthology of Black American literature and selected works provide a historical perspective for discussion. The issues to be discussed here should include:
1. The Black author and his response to the times.

2. Themes of importance to Black authors.

Selected works from Black Voices would include:

"Baxter's Procrusters" by Charles W. Chesnutt.

"Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave" (Chapter 1, 6, 7, and 10).

"Autobiographical Notes" by James Baldwin.

The Autobiography of Malcolm X by Malcolm X with Alex Haley.

Projects: Projects during the first six weeks would consist only of autobiographical essays by the students. Discussion would center around these student autobiographies and any parallels which can be drawn to the autobiographies studied in class.

First Semester: Second Six Weeks

Purpose: To explore the Black novel on three levels -- American, African, and West Indian. In addition, students would begin reading of various Black poets. (It is important to note here that rigid time schedules are inappropriate for a course of this type. Rather it is more important for students to explore an area fully with the idea in mind of basic materials which must be covered. Consequently at times materials presented in one six weeks will overlap into another.)

Materials:

Native Son by Richard Wright.

Boy! by Ferdinand Oyono.
In the Castle of My Skin by George Lamming.

Projects: Since this is a particularly heavy reading load, class participation would be judged primarily in terms of class discussion. A project due the final week of the semester would consist of a comparison of two of the novels studied.

First Semester: Third Six Weeks

Purpose: To develop the skills of critical reading and analysis of oral forms of communication. This six weeks would concentrate on the methods of propaganda including techniques used to sway opinion.

Materials:

Weekly news periodicals such as Newsweek and Time.


Television news broadcasting.

Television advertising.

Projects: Panel discussions consisting of teams of students would be organized to present common methods of propaganda employed on television. The individual panels would lead class discussions around these issues. (This third six weeks allows time for overlap from the first two.)

Second Semester: First Six Weeks

Purpose: This six weeks would concentrate on the works of Black artists in painting, sculpture, and dance. Hopefully students would be able to experience some of these forms through
visiting artists. Students would be encouraged to form opinions about these art forms and to draw conclusions as to the meanings. In addition class discussion should center around the themes present in these art forms which can be found in the literary material covered during the first semester.

Materials:

Slides of the artists' works.
Films.
Visiting artists.
Black Artists on Art, Volumes I and II (collection of new, unknown and established Black artists with statements and samples of the artists' works).

Projects: Projects for this period would consist of individual or team exploration of any Black artist on an in-depth basis. The reports should be geared to initiate class discussions regarding the themes of the artists' works.

Second Semester: Second Six Weeks

Purpose: This second six weeks would be devoted to the exploration of Black drama and music. Various plays would be read in class and students would hopefully be able to attend an actual production. Films would be used to supplement class discussions.

In discussing Black music students would be encouraged to appreciate the themes found in the music as expressions of
the times in which they were written. One particular topic for discussion would be the statement that "Jazz is the only original art form America has ever produced."

**Materials:**

Plays by various Black playwrights -- Melvin Van Peebles, Imamu Amiri Baraka.

Various recordings of Black artists -- gospel, jazz, rock.

**Projects:** Projects for this period would consist of a written report analyzing a play or a comparison of the themes of a particular play and the recordings of a particular Black musical artist.

**Second Semester: Third Six Weeks**

The third six weeks would be devoted to individual or team efforts at self-expression. Drawing inspiration from the course, students would be expected to compose a play, paint, choreograph a dance, criticize a theatrical production, critique a book, or any other form of expression the students desired. This final effort would be critical to evaluation of student progress in the course.
CONCLUSION

The most feasible alternative to the public schools is a regulated education voucher system. This voucher system offers Black parents the widest range of options in securing an education for their children. The greatest advantage of the voucher system, then, is its diversity. Consequently, such a system would be most effective even in the case of an all Black school system. The Black community is by no means unanimous in its ideologies and the diversity available under the voucher system is critical in serving these various philosophies. Black parents should have the option of sending their children to schools which teach various approaches and methodologies.

Basically what the voucher system does is give the community control of its school. This in turn produces a multiplier effect both economically and psychologically. Since control of the schools is on the community level, community people can fill the jobs. This in turn brings money into the community.

Black people in teaching and administrative positions provide positive images for Black students. It is not necessarily true that Black teachers are better teachers than white teachers, but the role they hold reinforces in Black children the idea of Black achievement.

These recommendations may seem too radical but they are the only true solution. In the words of the National Black Political Agenda:
To those who say that such an Agenda is "visionary", "utopian", and "impossible", we say that the keepers of conventional white politics have always viewed our situation and our real needs as beyond the realm of their wildest imaginations. At every critical moment of our struggle in America we have had to press relentlessly against the limits of the "realistic" to create new realities for the life of our people.

This is our challenge at Gary and beyond, for a new Black politics demands new vision, new hope and new definitions of the possible. Our time has come. These things are necessary. All things are possible.
Appendix

The 1971 Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 provides for twenty-four programs under the heading "Education for the disadvantaged." A summary of seven of these programs provides an overview of their intent and gives some insight into the amount of money being spent.

Dropout Prevention

Authorized under the ESEA of 1965, this program provides assistance in the form of grants to public educational agencies on the local level for the development of programs or methods designed to reduce the number of students failing to complete their elementary and secondary education. The use restrictions hold that the projects must involve the use of "innovative" methods, materials or systems in reducing the dropout level.

In fiscal year 1970 the expenditure for this program was $4,977,182. In both FY 1971 and FY 1972 an estimated figure of $10,000,000 was projected. The range of financial assistance provided was generally from $500,000-$1,000,000 for urban areas and $100,000-$400,000 for rural areas. The average expenditure was $500,000.

The accomplishments of the program as cited in this federal manual were that in FY 1970, there were eleven Dropout Prevention Programs in operation with 55,000 students participating. The dropout rate in the project schools was reduced by 15%.
Follow Through

This second representative program was authorized under the Economic Opportunity Act, Title II. The objectives are "To sustain and augment in the early primary grades the gains that children from low-income families make in the Headstart and other quality preschool programs of instruction as well as health, nutrition, and other related services." The funding for Follow Through was $70,300,000 in FY 1970, an estimated $69,000,000 in FY 71, and an estimated $60,000,000 in FY 72. The accomplishments or rather the enrollment of the program consisted in FY 1970 of 153 projects in 49 states, Washington, D.C., and Puerto Rico. These 153 projects served over 37,000 low-income children. A total of 160 projects, serving 60,000 low-income children, in 50 states, Washington, D.C., and Puerto Rico, was projected for FY 1971.

Child Development -- Head Start

Authorized under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, this program is a "demonstration program which provides educational, nutritional, and social services to the preschool children of the poor and their families and involves parents in activities with their children so that the child enters school on more equal terms with his more fortunate classmates."

The funding for Head Start in FY 70 was $325,677,000 and estimated for FY 71 and FY 72 were $360,000,000 and $376,500,000 respectively.

According to the federal statistics, since 1965 Head Start
has served 3,804,000 children in 50 states, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Samoa. During FY 70 Head Start served 472,000 children in summer and year-round programs.

**Educationally Deprived Children**

This fourth program operates under local educational agencies (Title I, ESEA, Part A).

The stated objectives of this program are "for provision of instructional and service activities such as: remedial food, health, nutrition, and psychological services, cultural development, and pre-vocational training and counselling in areas having a high concentration of children from low-income families. Services must supplement, not supplant, those normally provided by state and local educational agencies."

The funding for this program was $1,219,165,528 in FY 70 and an estimated $1,339,659,112 in FY 71 and FY 72. During 1970 and 1971 the enrollment was essentially the same -- approximately 7,900,000 children in 15,700 school districts in the fifty states, Puerto Rico, and outlying areas were served under this program.

**Educationally Deprived Children (II)**

Program five is also titled Educationally Deprived Children, however, it operates under special grants for urban and rural schools (Title I of ESRA, Part C). The objectives of the program are "to meet the special educational need of educationally deprived children, concentrating on pre-school and elementary programs."
A new program in FY 1970, the estimated funding for FY 71 was $15,440,250 and for FY 72 $14,831,693. No success amounts are cited.

**Educationally Deprived Children (III)**

The sixth program, Educationally Deprived Children, operating under special incentive grants (Title I, ESEA, Part B) has as its objectives "to provide an incentive for increase in state and local funding for elementary and secondary education in the states; funds may be used for special projects which meet the needs of educationally deprived children."

A new program in 1970, estimated funding for FY 71 and FY 72 was $6,304,637 each. No accomplishments were cited.

**Upward Bound**

The final program is Upward Bound, authorized by the Higher Education Act of 1965, Title IVA. The description of the program states that "Upward Bound is a pre-college preparatory program designed to generate the skill and motivation necessary for success in education beyond high school among young people from low-income families and inadequate secondary school preparation."

The funding for FY 70 was $28,300,000 with an estimated $28,500,000 each for FY 71 and FY 72. An estimated 26,000 students in 300 projects were to be served in FY 71.
### Employment

**PER CAPITA (dollar)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Local</th>
<th>Federal</th>
<th>State and local</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Government: 1950 to 1969**

**Hawaii.** Local government amounts.

**Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1967.**

---

### Expenditure

**FUNCTION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>97,828</td>
<td>128,600</td>
<td>173,413</td>
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<td>251,888</td>
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<td>National defense and international relations</td>
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<td>47,464</td>
<td>55,200</td>
<td>53,750</td>
<td>38,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Space research and technology</td>
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<td>12,700</td>
<td>27,800</td>
<td>50,414</td>
<td>37,977</td>
<td>27,777</td>
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<tr>
<td>Postal service</td>
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<td>12,719</td>
<td>25,654</td>
<td>41,279</td>
<td>36,777</td>
<td>22,977</td>
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<td>Education</td>
<td>11,161</td>
<td>15,790</td>
<td>29,500</td>
<td>54,693</td>
<td>49,777</td>
<td>34,693</td>
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<td>Institutions of higher education</td>
<td>14,106</td>
<td>10,129</td>
<td>16,105</td>
<td>20,250</td>
<td>22,075</td>
<td>10,075</td>
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<td>Local schools</td>
<td>2,009</td>
<td>1,317</td>
<td>1,306</td>
<td>1,785</td>
<td>2,350</td>
<td>3,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7,772</td>
<td>8,777</td>
<td>7,350</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Highways</td>
<td>3,872</td>
<td>6,532</td>
<td>9,365</td>
<td>12,345</td>
<td>14,800</td>
<td>17,288</td>
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<tr>
<td>Public welfare</td>
<td>2,964</td>
<td>3,314</td>
<td>4,452</td>
<td>6,205</td>
<td>11,250</td>
<td>14,750</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hospitals</td>
<td>2,050</td>
<td>2,721</td>
<td>4,213</td>
<td>5,653</td>
<td>6,581</td>
<td>8,016</td>
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<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>661</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>841</td>
<td>1,031</td>
<td>1,065</td>
<td>1,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>Police protection</td>
<td>864</td>
<td>1,315</td>
<td>2,030</td>
<td>2,722</td>
<td>3,300</td>
<td>4,214</td>
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<tr>
<td>Local fire protection</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>604</td>
<td>755</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>1,115</td>
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<td>Sanitation</td>
<td>834</td>
<td>1,142</td>
<td>1,727</td>
<td>2,260</td>
<td>2,523</td>
<td>2,707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterworks, sewers and streets</td>
<td>4,065</td>
<td>6,383</td>
<td>8,414</td>
<td>10,190</td>
<td>10,145</td>
<td>7,800</td>
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<tr>
<td>Local parks and recreation</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>509</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>1,105</td>
<td>1,221</td>
<td>1,412</td>
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<tr>
<td>Housing and urban renewal</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>2,108</td>
<td>2,412</td>
<td>3,641</td>
<td>2,505</td>
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<tr>
<td>Veterans services, n.e.c.</td>
<td>3,238</td>
<td>3,599</td>
<td>4,910</td>
<td>6,625</td>
<td>11,250</td>
<td>14,750</td>
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<tr>
<td>Financial administration</td>
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<td>2,000</td>
<td>2,599</td>
<td>2,145</td>
<td>2,260</td>
<td>2,070</td>
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<td>General control</td>
<td>4,662</td>
<td>5,085</td>
<td>7,342</td>
<td>11,430</td>
<td>13,456</td>
<td>14,837</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interest on general debt</td>
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<td>4,306</td>
<td>7,266</td>
<td>11,218</td>
<td>13,666</td>
<td>18,100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other and unallocable</td>
<td>72,928</td>
<td>6,386</td>
<td>6,068</td>
<td>7,050</td>
<td>7,350</td>
<td>8,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utility and liquor stores expenditure</td>
<td>2,728</td>
<td>3,866</td>
<td>5,088</td>
<td>7,053</td>
<td>7,350</td>
<td>8,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance trust expenditure</td>
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<td>5,092</td>
<td>11,440</td>
<td>15,561</td>
<td>12,137</td>
<td>11,400</td>
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<td>Old age, survivors, disability, and health insurance</td>
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<td>4,333</td>
<td>10,798</td>
<td>16,818</td>
<td>21,090</td>
<td>24,997</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unemployment compensation</td>
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<td>1,590</td>
<td>2,230</td>
<td>2,413</td>
<td>2,012</td>
<td>2,726</td>
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<tr>
<td>Employee compensation</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>1,182</td>
<td>2,542</td>
<td>3,454</td>
<td>4,844</td>
<td>5,041</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3,549</td>
<td>1,527</td>
<td>1,197</td>
<td>2,026</td>
<td>3,045</td>
<td>3,071</td>
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</table>

**GOVERNMENTAL EXPENDITURE (DIRECT AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL): 1969**

**AMOUNT (mil. dol.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>All governments</th>
<th>Federal</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Local</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td>255,924</td>
<td>158,618</td>
<td>68,923</td>
<td>71,389</td>
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<td>National defense and international relations</td>
<td>84,496</td>
<td>84,496</td>
<td>(X)</td>
<td>(X)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Space research and technology</td>
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<td>4,399</td>
<td>(X)</td>
<td>(X)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Postal service</td>
<td>6,033</td>
<td>6,033</td>
<td>(X)</td>
<td>(X)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>14,227</td>
<td>7,915</td>
<td>7,912</td>
<td>36,167</td>
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<tr>
<td>Highways</td>
<td>15,786</td>
<td>4,607</td>
<td>11,262</td>
<td>3,015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural resources</td>
<td>10,024</td>
<td>7,787</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and hospitals</td>
<td>12,927</td>
<td>4,048</td>
<td>8,879</td>
<td>4,572</td>
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<tr>
<td>Public welfare</td>
<td>14,730</td>
<td>8,793</td>
<td>10,945</td>
<td>5,914</td>
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<tr>
<td>Housing and urban renewal</td>
<td>2,565</td>
<td>1,511</td>
<td>1,071</td>
<td>1,129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air transportation</td>
<td>1,540</td>
<td>1,060</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>4,231</td>
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<tr>
<td>Employment security administration</td>
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<td>1,511</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>66</td>
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<td>16,922</td>
<td>13,300</td>
<td>1,757</td>
<td>2,437</td>
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</table>

**Source:** Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; annual report, *Governmental Finances in 1969.*

---

**X Not applicable. Z Less than 0.05 percent.**

---

**Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1957, series Y 415-445.**

---

**Note:** Amounts for locally administered institutions of higher education included in "local schools."
### No. 621. Direct General Expenditure of State and Local Governments: 1950 to 1969

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<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>33,724</td>
<td>41,876</td>
<td>74,846</td>
<td>82,543</td>
<td>93,350</td>
<td>102,411</td>
<td>116,725</td>
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<tr>
<td>PERCENT OF TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highways</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public welfare</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and hospitals</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police protection and correction</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural resources</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanitation and sewerage</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing and urban renewal</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest on general debt</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All other</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PER CAPITA (dollars)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>427</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highways</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public welfare</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and hospitals</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police protection and correction</td>
<td>1.8</td>
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<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural resources</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanitation and sewerage</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing and urban renewal</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest on general debt</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All other</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Amounts for correction included in "All other."
2 Includes fire protection, financial administration, and general control, as well as miscellaneous lesser functions.
3 Based on estimated population as of July 1. Includes Armed Forces abroad through 1956; thereafter, resident population.

Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; Historical Statistics on Governmental Finances and Employment, and annual report, Governmental Finances.

### No. 622. Indebtedness and Debt Transactions of State and Local Governments: 1968 and 1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>1968</th>
<th>1969</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debt outstanding</td>
<td>121,158</td>
<td>85,492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long-term</td>
<td>112,731</td>
<td>79,109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonguaranteed</td>
<td>47,650</td>
<td>28,730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short-term</td>
<td>74,477</td>
<td>6,382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net long-term debt outstanding</td>
<td>104,065</td>
<td>74,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local schools</td>
<td>26,478</td>
<td>22,725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local utilities</td>
<td>17,480</td>
<td>17,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All other</td>
<td>58,675</td>
<td>37,854</td>
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<tr>
<td>Long-term debt issued</td>
<td>13,423</td>
<td>4,003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long-term debt retired</td>
<td>6,002</td>
<td>4,431</td>
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</table>

1 Not applicable.
2 Based on estimated resident population as of July 1.

### Income, Expenditures, and Wealth

**No. 513. Persons Below the Poverty Level, by Family Status, Race, and Sex of Head: 1959 to 1969**

(Those as of March of year following year shown, see headnote, table 512. Excludes inmates of institutions and Armed Forces living in barracks. Beginning 1967, data are based on a more refined method for imputing missing income data than used previously)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FAMILY STATUS, RACE, AND SEX OF HEAD</th>
<th>NUMBER BELOW POVERTY LEVEL (millions)</th>
<th>PERCENT BELOW POVERTY LEVEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All persons</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>31.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In families</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family members under 16 years</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>31.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other family members</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrelated individuals</td>
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<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In families</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family members under 16 years</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other family members</td>
<td>6.3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrelated individuals</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro and other races</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In families</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family members under 16 years</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other family members</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrelated individuals</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families with male head</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family members under 16 years</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other family members</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrelated individuals</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families with female head</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family members under 16 years</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other family members</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrelated individuals</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Other than head or wife.
2 Females.

Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 79.


(Numbers in thousands. See headnote, table 512)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family heads</td>
<td>8,032</td>
<td>7,100</td>
<td>4,950</td>
<td>6,185</td>
<td>5,258</td>
<td>3,555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With members</td>
<td>8,443</td>
<td>7,711</td>
<td>4,528</td>
<td>6,812</td>
<td>5,305</td>
<td>3,593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average size</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male head</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female head</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of head:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 25 years</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>528</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 to 34 years</td>
<td>5,503</td>
<td>4,463</td>
<td>4,386</td>
<td>5,199</td>
<td>3,933</td>
<td>3,997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 years and over</td>
<td>1,860</td>
<td>1,556</td>
<td>1,242</td>
<td>1,540</td>
<td>1,258</td>
<td>1,014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head worked during year</td>
<td>5,620</td>
<td>4,612</td>
<td>2,702</td>
<td>4,071</td>
<td>3,232</td>
<td>1,882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 weeks or more</td>
<td>(NA)</td>
<td>(NA)</td>
<td>(NA)</td>
<td>(NA)</td>
<td>(NA)</td>
<td>(NA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head did not work during year</td>
<td>2,238</td>
<td>2,414</td>
<td>2,188</td>
<td>1,962</td>
<td>1,912</td>
<td>1,619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ill or disabled</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unable to find work</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1,040</td>
<td>1,549</td>
<td>1,403</td>
<td>1,306</td>
<td>1,256</td>
<td>1,187</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.A. Not available. 1 Work experience data exclude members of the Armed Forces.

Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; Current Population Reports, Series P-60, Nos. 63 and 74.
### Income, Expenditures, and Wealth

**No. 517. Families and Unrelated Individuals Below the Poverty Level, by Income Deficit, Sex, and Race of Head: 1959, 1964, and 1969**

[Families, unrelated individuals and presence of children as of March of year stated. Income deficit defined as the difference between the total income of families and unrelated individuals below the poverty level and their respective poverty levels. In computing the income deficit, families reporting a net income loss are assigned zero dollars; for such cases the deficit is equal to the poverty level. See headnote, table 512.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHARACTERISTIC</th>
<th>1959</th>
<th>1964</th>
<th>1969</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total deficit (bil. dol.)</td>
<td>Average income deficit (dol.)</td>
<td>Total deficit (bil. dol.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All families and unrelated individuals</td>
<td>12,468</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>1,298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>All races</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families</td>
<td>8,250</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>1,483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male head</td>
<td>6,043</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>1,419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female head</td>
<td>1,848</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrelated individuals</td>
<td>4,218</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>White</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families</td>
<td>6,185</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>1,209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male head</td>
<td>4,032</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>1,262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female head</td>
<td>2,153</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrelated individuals</td>
<td>2,053</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negro and other races</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families</td>
<td>2,135</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>1,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male head</td>
<td>1,452</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1,823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female head</td>
<td>683</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1,165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrelated individuals</td>
<td>577</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1,263</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source of tables 517 and 518:** Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; Current Population Reports, Series P-60, Nos. 68 and 76, and unpublished data.

---

**No. 518. Persons Below the Poverty Level, by Type of Residence, Age, and Race: 1969**

(Number in millions. Persons as of March 1970. See headnote, table 512. For definition of metropolitan area, see text, p. 2.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE AND RACE</th>
<th>NUMBER BELOW POVERTY LEVEL</th>
<th>PERCENT BELOW POVERTY LEVEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Metropolitan areas</td>
<td>Suburban rings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All races</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 22 years</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22-64 years</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 years and over</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 22 years</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22-64 years</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 years and over</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 22 years</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22-64 years</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 years and over</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source of tables 517 and 518: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; Current Population Reports, Series P-60, Nos. 68 and 76, and unpublished data.
Footnotes

Chapter I. Background of Inequities in the Public Schools: Cultural and Financial

1 Vast amounts of literature exist today supporting this conclusion. To name a few:


6 Ron Edmonds, "A Discussion of Factors to be Considered in Evaluating Desegregation Proposals" (February, 1972), p. 2. (Mimeographed.)

7 Johnson vs. San Francisco, 1971, U.S. District Court, Northern District of California (Ron Edmonds, Ibid.).

8 Ron Edmonds, op. cit., p. 4.


That is to say, recent court legislation may have mandated for bussing plans but problems exist in the implementation of these plans. The August 3, 1971, issue of Inequality in Education said that "Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education, 91 S. Ct. 1267 (1971) upholds a plan which ordered extensive bussing in one large Southern metropolitan school district.... Yet the post-Brown v. Board of Education/347 U.S. at 493 (1954)/ history suggests that Court opinions remain noble statements of principle if they are not vigorously enforced by both government and private litigants.... Yet the government's position in recent years, most notably its feet-dragging stance in Alexander v. Holmes County (unanimously reversed by the Supreme Court), give legitimate cause to wonder how vigorous the government will be in pressing for desegregation."


Ibid., p. 67.


Hansen, op. cit., p. 11.

Charles S. Benson, op. cit., p. 18.

H. Thomas James, op. cit., p. 17.

Chapter II. An Overview of the Educational Voucher System


2. Ibid., p. 20.

3. "An Educational Voucher Agency (EVA) would be established to administer the vouchers. Its governing board might be elected or appointed, but in either case it should be structured so as to represent minority as well as majority interests. The EVA might be an existing local board of education, or it might be a new agency with a larger or smaller geographic jurisdiction. The EVA would receive all federal, state, and local education funds for which children in the area were eligible. It would pay this money to schools only in return for vouchers. (In addition, it would pay parents for children's transportation costs to the school of their choice.)" The Center for the Study of Public Policy, op. cit., p. 14.

4. Ibid., p. 21.

5. Ibid., p. 20.

6. Ibid., pp. 69-87.

Chapter III. Curriculum Planning for the Black Educational Setting.


2 Ibid., p. 4.

3 Ibid., p. 4.

4 Ibid., p. 4.

5 Ibid., p. 5.

6 Ibid., p. 6.


10 Five State Organizing Committee for Community Control, op. cit., p. 1.


14 Ibid., pp. 265-277.

15 Ibid., pp. 265-277.


18 Preston Wilcox, *ibid.*, p. 11.
Chapter IV. A Model Course Curriculum


Bibliography


