Jack Dougherty, "Final Report: Metropolitan Milwaukee and Federal Educational Policy, 1945-present: A Case Study for the Federal Role in Elementary and Secondary Education Project." (Unpublished report, Trinity College, Hartford CT, June 1999.)

Prepared for: The Federal Role in Elementary and Secondary Education, 1950-present
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Funded by The Spencer Foundation

- Part 1 Research Questions and Sources
- Part 2 The Two-Way Street: Milwaukee and Federal Education Policy (main narrative)
- Part 2B Supplemental Charts on School Finance and Demographics
- Part 3 Federal Involvement in a Milwaukee Suburb - The Whitefish Bay School District
- Part 4 Exploratory Study of the State's Role - The Wisconsin Example
- Part 5 Lessons Learned by the Guinea Pig

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Part 1

Research Questions and Sources

I began to work on this project at 50% time over the course of six months (August 1998 to January 1999), which later became extended to June 1999 for a total of 10 months. During this time I resided in Nashville TN and did most of the Milwaukee-based research by relying upon the groundwork of my dissertation ("More Than One Struggle: African-American School Reform Movements in Milwaukee, 1930-1980") and four additional 3-day intensive research trips to Milwaukee, Madison, and College Park, MD.

Through the course of conversations with Carl Kaestle and his team of student researchers, who were focusing on federal involvement in elementary and secondary education in the nation's capital, we settled upon this research question for my portion of the study:
"How have local initiatives attempted to shape educational policy formulation in Washington, DC, and in turn, how were the resulting policies actually implemented in the local context?"

While researching this study, I followed the basic outline of Kaestle's four frames and seven episodes, based upon our July 1998 meeting:

FRAMES:
1. language and arguments
2. interests and power relationships
3. exogenous factors
4. people and personalities

EPISODES:
1. the defeat of general aid proposals, 1945-55
2. the passage of NDEA, 1958
3. passage of ESEA, 1965
4. 1970s legislation asserting educational rights of women (Title IX), language minorities (1968 bilingual ed act), and children with disabilities (PL 94-142)
5. creation of the Dept of Ed in 1978 and attempts to abolish it
6. passage of the ECIA of 1981
7. debates curtaining Goals 2000 in 1994

My research produced a total of five reports in 1998-99. (This final report is a revised and edited compilation of the set, plus this section on Research Questions and Sources.)

Report 1 (August 1998) on source materials (8 single-spaced pages)
Report 2 (November 1998) on preliminary narrative outline (9 single-spaced pages)
Report 3 (January 1999) on Milwaukee historical narrative (35 ss. pgs, 6 charts)
Report 4 (June 1999) on suburban interaction with Federal policy (8 ss. pages)
Report 5 (June 1999) on exploratory study of the role of the State (9 ss. pages)

Since this Milwaukee study serves as a "guinea pig" for subseqent local case study research in Kaestle's project, it may be helpful to map out the different kinds of source materials which I used, with comments about their level of usefulness. Of course, some of these will be specific to Milwaukee and Wisconsin, but may spark ideas about the range of materials available for other case studies.

Secondary Sources (Databases and Indexes)
I began searching for published and unpublished secondary sources on Milwaukee and federal ed policy, with special attention to the "episodes" which Carl defined:

ERIC database of educational research (1966-present); some keyword, some ERIC descriptors
- federal and Milwaukee
- federal and Wisconsin and education
- Impact-Aid and Milwaukee
- National-Defense-Education-Act and Milwaukee
- Elementary-Secondary-Education-Act and Milwaukee
- compensatory and Milwaukee
- desegregation and Milwaukee
- integration and Milwaukee
- ESEA and Milwaukee
- Emergency-School-Aid-Act and Milwaukee
- ESAA and Milwaukee
- Bilingual and Milwaukee
- Education-For-All-Handicapped-Children-Act and Milwaukee
- special-education and Milwaukee
- disabilites and Milwaukee
- block-grant and Milwaukee
- Goals-2000 and Milwaukee

Education Index (journal articles, on paper 1929+)
- Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Educational Abstracts (online 1984+, supercedes Ed Abstracts)
- Milwaukee and federal

America History and Life (on-line database of historical journals and monographs)
- Milwaukee and federal
- Milwaukee and education
- (*looking back, I should have searched for specific Milwaukee congressmen by name)

WorldCat (compilation of on-line catalogs in academic libraries)
- federal and Milwaukee
- federal and education and Milwaukee
- federal and education and wisconsin
- NOTE: LC subject heading for local catalogs is "Federal aid to education"
- (*looking back, I should have searched for specific Milwaukee congressmen by name)

Periodicals Contents Index (on-line searchable Table of Contents for better-known journals)
- Milwaukee and federal

Dissertation Abstracts (on-line)
- Milwaukee and federal
- Milwaukee and education
- federal and wisconsin and education
- (*looking back, I should have searched for specific Milwaukee congressmen by name)

Looking back on the time I invested in these searches, I found several useful monographs through WorldCat and Diss Abstracts, and several very helpful program evaluations of Title I and bilingual education in ERIC. Downloading search results into a word-processing file made them much easier to sort and prioritize.

Traditional local archives:

My next step was to search for archival collections which might contain holdings shedding light on federal ed policy regarding Milwaukee. Even though I had substantial background in Milwaukee archives based on my dissertation research, I was surprised at how difficult this phase of the research was, partly because of the explosion of paperwork regarding local and federal governments in the latter half of the 20th century.

To search for relevant archival collections, I drew upon two useful (and somewhat overlapping) databases:

Archives USA [a privately produced on-line database]
Milwaukee and education
Milwaukee and federal

NUCMC [publicly produced on-line National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections]
http://lcweb.loc.gov/coll/nucmc
Milwaukee and education
Milwaukee and federal

Then I searched more specifically for archives of specific Milwaukee Congressmen and Wisconsin Senators, based on names which I compiled from these sources:

Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774-1989, Bicentennial Edition. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1989.

Congressional Directory (biennial editions), US Govt Printing Office.

Congressional Record Index. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.

Martis, Kenneth C. *The historical atlas of United States Congressional districts, 1789-1983* (New York: Free Press, 1982). [**see also more recent atlas by same author?]

Congressional Elections 1946-1996 (Congressional Quarterly, 1998?)
handy tabulations of Cong districts and vote results

A Guide to the Papers of the Members of the House and Senate (in paper; I didn't know about this source at the right time, but have included it here)

These searches helped me to identify the following traditional archival holdings:

<u>Marquette University Archives:</u>
CHARLES J. KERSTEN PAPERS (CJK),
5th District Republican Congressman, held office from ?? to 1954
1946-1971, 21.3 feet (10 feet unprocessed).

JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY PAPERS (JRM),
Wisconsin Senator, held office from ?? to 1957
1930-1957, 141.6 feet (36.6 feet unprocessed).

CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI PAPERS (CJZ),
4th District Democratic Congressman, held office from 1948-1983
former civics teacher in MPS during 1930s

1945-1983, 825 feet (500 feet in process, 325 feet unprocessed).

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Archives:
HENRY S. REUSS PAPERS
5th District Democratic Congressman, held office from 1954-1982
former Milwaukee school board member, 1953-54
1939-1982, 87 feet

HENRY MAIER, ADMINISTRATION OF
Milwaukee Mayor from 1960-1988
199 feet

TONY BAEZ PAPERS
Milwaukee Puerto Rican community activist involved in bilingual education programs
1968-1979, 1.6 feet

LLOYD BARBEE PAPERS
Milwaukee community activist, lawyer, and state representative involved in school desegregation

Milwaukee Public Library, Humanities Division:
FRANK ZEIDLER PAPERS
Milwaukee Mayor from 1956?-1960
290 feet

State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Archives:
WILLIAM PROXMIRE PAPERS
Wisconsin Senator, held office from 1958-1988
379 feet, unprocessed

JIM MOODY PAPERS
5th District Democratic Congressman, held office from 1982-1992
63 feet

WILBUR J. COHEN PAPERS
Secretary of HEW, 109 feet
former resident of Milwaukee; includes correspondence from Henry Reuss

WISCONSIN DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
unprocessed and semi-processed, with various division holdings, such as:

Agency History Record, various divisions.
Division for Management and Budget, Federal program files, 1965, 1972-1974, 1976, 1978-1980.
Education of handicapped children, 1880-1967.
Equal Educational Opportunities Committee records, 1969-1973.
Equal Educational Opportunities correspondence, 1969-1972.
Evaluation of the Inter-Related Language Skill Centers, 1968.
General correspondence of the State Superintendent, 1851-1977.
Milwaukee school desegregation correspondence, 1986-1988.
NDEA administrative files, 1966-1977.
Proposed program for preparing teachers of disadvantaged youth, 1968.
Title I and II vocational education review worksheets/audit reports, 1965-76.
White House Conference on Education files, 1954-1956.
ESEA title II (Basic Skills Program), P.L. 95-561, records, 1980-1981.
Vocational education long range plans, 1965-1977.

USDO and OCR correspondence, 1985-[ongoing]
Current records are in the office of origin; semi-current records may be in the State Records Center; non-current records may be in the State Archives; No records yet in archival custody.

Looking back, the most useful archives for this project turned out to be:
Congressman Zablocki
Congressman Reuss
Lloyd Barbee (school deseg activist, attorney, State NAACP Pres, State Rep.)
There was very little material of use to me in the holdings of Wisconsin's Senators, or Milwaukee's long-term Mayor Maier.

Of course, archives which were carefully indexed (especially those with on-line finding aids) were much more helpful than unprocessed collections.

The biggest disappointment turned out to the Wisconsin DPI archives, which were a mess of jumbled boxes, several of which had very questionable archival value. (See also DPI in "non-traditional archives" below.)

NARA - National Archives and Records Administration (www.nara.gov)
With the assumption that a history of federal ed policy should include federal archives, I spent a considerable amount of time trying to make sense of the NARA holdings. The results were mixed. While I did not find much which I actually used in my Milwaukee case study, I gathered detailed notes on the organization of NARA holdings because there may be ways in which we could draw upon it for future case studies.

NARA holdings are divided into Record Groups for different federal agencies, organizations,etc. For Kaestle's project, the most relevant RGs appear to be:

RG 12 Office of Ed

RECORD TYPES	RECORD LOCATIONS	QUANTITIES
Textual Records	Washington Area	846 cu. ft.
	Atlanta	4 cu. ft.
	San Francisco	3 cu. ft.
	Seattle	9 cu. ft.
Maps and Charts	College Park	1 item
Motion Pictures	College Park	59 reels
Sound Recordings	College Park	173 items
Machine-Readable Records	College Park	374 data sets
Still Pictures	College Park	2,116 images

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RG 235 HEW

RECORD TYPES	RECORD LOCATIONS	QUANTITIES
Textual Records	Washington Area	425 cu. ft.
Motion Pictures	College Park	72 reels
Video Recordings	College Park	26 items
Sound Recordings	College Park	8 items
Machine-Readable Records	College Park	58 data sets

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RG 441 Dept of Ed

RECORD TYPES	RECORD LOCATIONS	QUANTITIES
Textual Records	Washington Area	13 cu. ft.
Motion Pictures	College Park	1 reel
Sound Recordings	College Park	93 items
Machine-Readable Records	College Park	4 data sets

NARA has regional facilities, so based on the web info above, I contacted the Great Lakes Regional NARA in Chicago to inquire about any Education-related holdings which did not appear here. The staff person confirmed that no archives from the three RGs were at their site.

So, while visiting in-laws in the Washington DC area, I gladly escaped and spent about two days scouting out Milwaukee-related archives at the NARA in College Park, MD (aka Archives II). This was a challenge, because the three RGs have limited (and somewhat confusing) finding aids.

RG 12 (Office of Ed) has a published finding aid which I located at Vanderbilt Library.
Carmen Delle Donne, comp., Preliminary Inventory of
the Records of the Office of Education, PI 178 (1974).
While helpful for a Washington DC perspective, it did not turn up significant leads for my Milwaukee case study.

When I investigated the RG 12 finding aid at Archives II, I discovered very detailed Supplements to the collection which were not recorded in the original finding aid. (See separate memo to Carl for details).

For RG 235 (HEW), I found a Preliminary Inventory of the Records of HEW (compiled by Jerry Hess, unpublished finding aid at Archives II), and decided to explore selected Subject Correspondence files from the Office of the Secretary, 1956-1974, looking for Milwaukee-related materials. Since the finding aid was incomplete for the first 132 (out of 429) boxes, I did some random hunting to locate "Milw" and "WI" in the decimal classication scheme for correspondence. What little I found did not inspire me about the potential of this source for our case studies.

For RG 441 (Dept of Ed), I did a similar search through selected boxes of the Office of Sec, General Correespondence and Admin Files, 1979-1983. The finding aid is much clearer than RG 235, though overall classification scheme is not, so individual themes may fall in between the runs for this record. Once again, it was not fruitful at first glance.

Somewhere in Archives II, there may be records of HEW and Dept of Ed investigative reports which audited how Title I funds were spent in Milwaukee. That's essentially what I was looking for, since I had newspaper clippings that these reports had been issued, but no trace of them in the local Milwaukee archives. Once Kaestle has determined which case studies will be included, it may be worth a day or two of a Washington-based researcher to search the NARA archives in College Park, MD again, with a clearer focus of what we're looking for.

Congressional Records:

Perhaps the weakest link in my project was my very limited use of Congressional source materials, which happened for several reasons. First, I did not realize at the beginning of my research how so much of it would later turn out to be centered around Milwaukee two long-term Congressmen. Second, the limited communication between me and Kaestle's researchers at Brown may have been another factor, especially since this was an overlapping area between "local" and "Washington" at the beginning of this project. Third, I was not previously familiar with the search databases mentioned below, and Congressional Masterfile was not available at Vanderbilt University when I began my work. If I had to do it all over again, I'd make sure that I included this aspect more carefully. Perhaps we could be doing a better job of coordinating the study of Congressional sources between the local case researchers and the Washington DC researchers.

Congressional Masterfile - contains info on all bills and hearings, including published and non-published reports, from 1789-1969; searchable by comte, cmte member, witness, witness school district, location, etc.

Congressional Compass (I used a version titled Congressional Universe) - search for bills subject was assoc with, database info since 1970

Search terms should have included:
Congressional Reps and Senators, by name
City (Milwaukee)
School Superintendents, by name (eg Harold Vincent)
Mayors, by name
State officials, by name or state

Local Newspapers:

Perhaps the most essential source materials for my Milwaukee study, especially for composing an historical narrative of local-federal relations over time, was the extensive newspaper clippings collections organized by non-academic libraries. Milwaukee had two major daily newspapers for most of the period of our study: the Milwaukee Journal and the Milwaukee Sentinel. Searching through fifty years of daily microfilm for key stories was not feasible for this study, but since it was a government-related topic, I could draw upon not one, but two very well-organized newspaper clippings collections.

The Wisconsin Legislative Reference Bureau, located near the State Capitol in Madison, maintains a extensive newspaper clippings file, organized by subject headings. I made arrangements with Rose Arnold, the collection librarian, to scan the following subject headings and to purchase inexpensive microfiche copies of the relevant clippings ($1 for page of 20-50 clippings) if they seemed worthwhile.

WI LRB subject headings:
Education-finance-federal
Bilingual education
Special Education

I already purchased microfiche on desegregation/discrimination for my dissertation research.

The Milwaukee Legislative Reference Bureau, located in the basement of City Hall, holds a similar collection of newspaper clippings, which had previously belonged to the Milwaukee Public Library. I also made special arrangements to purchase microfiche copies of their relevant subject files, such as:

Milw LRB subject headings:
Education-Finance
Federal Aid
Federal and Municipal Relations

Since these materials were so valuable for my case study, and often overlooked by academic researchers, I was curious about the availability of LRBs in other states and cities, for future reference for our local case study researchers. A pamphlet which I obtained from the National Conference of State Legislatures, *Directory of Legislative Research Librarians (1998)*, lists names and contact info for similar institutions in each state. However, not all state LRBs have allocated resources for indexing local daily newspapers by governmental topic.

In addition, some municipal public libraries maintain a specialized "local history room" which may be helpful for our case studies. For example, the Miami-Dade County Public Library "Florida Collection" organized a detailed clippings file years ago (now on microfilm), with subject headings as detailed as "Education and Schools - Federal Aid."

As for other newspaper indexes, the *New York Times Index*, (1913-) covers the entire period of the this federal study, and has geographic headings which may be helpful to our local case studies. I did not consult it for the Milwaukee study.

According to reference materials which I consulted, Bell & Howell and UMI newspaper indexing services began as early as 1971 for selected major city newspapers, such as:

Chicago Tribune, 1972-
LA Times, 1972-
New Orlean Times-Picayune, 1972-
Washington Post, 1971-
St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 1975-
Denver Post, 1976-
Detroit News 1976-
Houston Post 1976-
San Francisco Chronicle, 1976-
Wall Street Journal, 1976-
USA Today, 1982-
Atlanta Constitution and Journal, 1983-
Boston Globe, 1983-
Washington Times, 1986-

Bell and Howell sponsored an index of Milwaukee papers for a portion of 1976, but it was not continued and thus I did not consult it for this study.

A specialized Black Newspapers Index, covering 11 major weekly publications, was published from 1971-1986, with most coverage beginning in 1977. Milwaukee was not included, but I did draw occasionally upon my own clippings files of Milwaukee's Black newspapers, which I studied in detail for my dissertation research.

Most major newspapers began on-line archives in the early 1990s. Since I did not have easy access to this database from my home in Nashville TN, and since I decided to concentrate on 1950-1990, I did not consult it for this case study.

For the focused study of a Milwaukee suburb and federal ed policy (Report #3), the LRBs had only a few clippings from *the Whitefish Bay Herald* weekly newspaper, since it was not a major daily. But it was feasible to scan its 16-page weekly format, so I arranged to borrow microfilm from the State Historical Society in Madison, and read about one decade, beginning January 1961. If we choose to include suburbs as a major component of future local case studies, I strongly urge researchers to consider non-daily suburban newspapers as a valuable (and often overlooked) source material.

Non-Traditional Archives

One of the most important research lessons that I learned from this project was the amount of valuable post-1945 governmental data which I located in non-traditional archives, meaning those which are not readily identified through academic archives databases, such as ArchivesUSA, etc. Although I already learned this lesson to some extent while doing my dissertation research, I'm convinced now more than ever of the need to look "off the academic radar screen" for governmental records (especially financial data) regarding our local case studies.

Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau; now known as Public Policy Forum, Milwaukee, WI

This public agency (and its extensive internal library) is notable for its focus on metropolitan public policy, not just Milwaukee issues. Since 1956, they published a continuous series of Bulletins on educational finance and policy, with annual summaries of city/suburban school data (including the growth and decline of federal funding). Their library, not typically open for public research, was the only source I had for constructing the metro Milwaukee longitudinal charts on financial and demographic data.

Legislative Reference Library, basement of City Hall, Milwaukee WI

Since this agency has been allocated resources to organize city governmental data, they had the best maintained collection of Milwaukee school district demographic and budget reports, such as the *Annual Report of the Board of School Directors*, which allowed me to construct charts on demographic and financial growth related to federal aid since the 1930s.

Milwaukee Public Schools (MPS), Central Office

The MPS Office of Board Governance maintains one of the few collections of historical material in the Central Office. Meetings of the city school board (officially titled "Board of School Directors") are recorded in two formats:

1) *Proceedings* is a summarized record of school board and committee meetings, and its annual published volume, it provides an index to topics discussed or ruled upon. I scanned for topics related to federal education policy from the 1930s onward.

2) *Minutes* are recorded and printed verbatim of all school board committee and full meetings. Given the scope of this collection, scanning through every volume was not feasible, but I used the *Proceedings* and occasional newspaper reports to identify board minutes worth reading in details.

As for the rest of the MPS Central Office, I found surprisingly little documentation which extends back to pre-1990 years. Staff members of the federal aid division told me by phone that they were only required to maintain documentation for seven years. The former head of the Curriculum Division, Cynthia Ellwood, reported that she and several others cleaned out the basement records room a few years ago (much to the surprise of her husband, Bob Lowe, an historian of education). Given that major city public schools are under so much pressure to results in the present, it should not surprise us that preservation of historical documents is such a low priority, and has not been adequately funded in recent decades.

Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction (DPI), Madison WI

For the exploratory report on the State role (part 4), I visited the DPI main adminstration building in Madison on perhaps the worst possible day. Through informal contacts with the WI LRB, I went looking for Allen Vick, a DPI staffer whom everyone referred to as a veteran administrator of federal programs, with more than 25 years on the job. But that particular day, three entire floors of DPI staff and offices were undergoing a major reorganization and were in absolute chaos. When I finally found Mr. Vick amid the moving boxes, he told me the bad news: just five days earlier, he had thrown away three decades of DPI files on federal ed programs, to prepare for this major office move. (It was quite a disappointment at the time, but after looking over some of the current files, I'm not sure what I would have found in Vick's source materials other than dollars paid out per federal program to every school district in Wisconsin.)

DPI maintains a small library of materials, mostly educational journals and resource materials for curriculum and administration. There are no major archival holdings on site (since the State Historical Society is the designated repository, but see the limitations mentioned in "Traditional Archives" above.) However, one useful item which may be common to other case studies was the biennial *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*. I read copies from 1945 onward. These summarize the growth of federal aid (mostly from the perspective of the increasing number of central office staff necessary to distribute funds), but the narrative detail drops off considerably in the late 1960s.

Whitefish Bay School Board records, in superintendent's office, WB High School

Compared to Milwaukee's extensive records of school board meetings, the holdings of Whitefish Bay (a wealthy Northshore suburb) are quite small. Each year consisted of one three-ring binder, with only a fraction of the detail found in the records of the city. I spent a half-day reading through 1960-1966 for the purpose of this study.

Oral history:

I did not conduct any oral histories for this Milwaukee study, for two reasons. First, I had recently completed over 70 oral histories for my dissertation on Black school reform activism in Milwaukee. Despite being a very worthwhile investment of my time, I realized that the "pages written per hour of interviewing" ratio was small, and would be even smaller for a topic as diffuse as federal educational policy. Second, I also learned during my dissertation that the best interviews were those where I had made sufficient time to do background reading, and since I was still wading through piles of paper sources, it seemed wise to put off oral histories until we had a better understanding of what we were looking for.

There were two exceptions. First, I spent several hours attempting to trace Gerard Farley, the former MPS Coordinator of Federal Programs for much of the 1960s, but did not succeed. Second, once I found Allen Vick at DPI, I spent an hour speaking and listening to him (non-recorded) about his memories of adminstrating federal programs, and gleaned some insights for my notes (for example, how Milwaukee's extensive central office administrative staff virtually guaranteed that they would win competitive federal grants, compared to most of the understaffed central offices in rural portions of the state.)

For a richer explanation of how oral history might be useful for this broader study, see Jack Dougherty, "From Anecdote to Analysis: Oral Interviews and New Scholarship in Educational History." *Journal of American History* 86 (September 1999): 712-722.

http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/jah/86.2/dougherty.html

MOVING FROM RESEARCH TO REPORTS:

Historians always run the risk of drowning in the details of our extensive source materials, so to offer guidance to future authors of local case studies for Kaestle's project, I've sketched out a brief outline of my steps from research to writing reports.

Report 1 (August 1998) was an 8-page list of the most relevant source materials which I had located after just a few weeks on the project. I first tried to identify all published secondary sources, then worked backward (from their footnotes and my on-line searches) to identify more primary materials. At the bottom was a one-page outline of the major episodes in federal policy which corresponded to the sources I had located.

Report 2 (November 1998) was a 9-page draft outline of the narrative structure which I was formulating for the main Milwaukee report, based on the research and notes which I had gathered together at that point. It consisted of 7 sections, based loosely on the episodes which Carl had recommended, with some twists which were particular to Milwaukee:

1) Making the Case for Federal Aid, 1945-1965
2) Struggling to Define Title I in the 1960s
3) Decentralizing via Washington, DC
4) The Politics of Expanding Educational Equality in the 70s
5) How Federal Aid Shaped Desegregation in Milwaukee
6) A Rustbelt City faces the Reagan Budget
7) Vouchers Make For Strange Bedfellows

See sample (on next page) of the draft narrative outline for section #1 (one of the clearer ones in my mind at that point), to illustrate the level of detail. (Notice that this is just a rough framework of the narrative; I kept the detailed source materials and supporting evidence in a separate word processing file, adding and reorganizing bits and pieces as I went along.)

For Report 3 (January 1999), I wrote the main narrative of the Milwaukee case study (which is attached here as Part II of this final report). Due to the time pressure and my errors of judgement, did more extensive research and writing on the first four sections (roughly 1945-1970s) than for the latter three sections (1970s-90s). Several of these pages contain footnotes which refer to unanswered questions or confusing data.

Reports 4 and 5 (June 1999) are exploratory studies to shed light on the role of suburbs and the state in the Milwaukee-Washington relationship on federal educational policy.

SAMPLE NARRATIVE OUTLINE (of section 1 from Report #2)
1) Making the Case for Federal Aid, 1945-1965

A school construction crisis prompted Milwaukeeans to call for federal aid to education in the 1950s. As the 11th largest city by the end of the decade, its population increased 20%, and its school-age population soared by over 50%, from 69,000 in 1950 to 105,000 in 1960. (By comparison, average big-city school enrollments rose only 20-30%; Milwaukee may have been second only to Los Angeles).

Amid this financial crisis for the Milwaukee Public Schools (MPS), some leading Democrats proposed federal aid to education as a solution. This was the familiar remedy from the 1930s crisis, when the FDR administration opened up WPA funds to help localities build high schools, and more importantly in that period, but men to work on construction projects. (The other precedent is federal subsidies for school lunches, which MPS begins to receive in 1945, though this receives little public attention, except for occasional comments that it benefits Wisconsin's dairy farmers).

Clement Zablocki, a former MPS teacher and the Democratic Congressman representing the predominantly Polish southside, criticized proposals for federal aid in the late 1940s as "first-class discriminatory legislation," because they offer it only to public, not parochial schools.

By the mid-1950s, Henry Reuss, a former MPS school board member and the northside Milwaukee Democratic Congressman, began building a city-wide coalition for "instituting a liberal system of federal aids for school construction and operating costs."

Resistance to federal aid came from a handful of Milwaukee Republicans, taxpayers' leagues, and occasional Eisenhower administration officials who visit the city. Also, some Milwaukee Democrats expressed fears that federal aid to education legislation will unfairly redistribute money away from Northern cities, to the rural South, thus rewarding school districts which "refused to spend enough money for good schools." Racial segregation in Southern schools was not a major theme in Milwaukee's pre-1960 debates over federal aid, except for occasional comments by Reuss.

Federal funding through NDEA suddenly appeared during this debate, but drew little attention since it did not address school construction, the major crisis. The amount of funding provided was relatively small ($130k annually in 1960). A majority of this apparently went to funding foreign language labs and AV equipment; science equipment seemed to be a secondary concern.

By 1960, Milwaukee city and school officials looked forward to the likelihood that the newly-elected JFK administration would win support for federal aid to education, to relieve Milwaukee's continuing enrollment and financial crisis. City officials anticipated a difficult year in the Wisconsin state legislature, which was dominated by Republicans and rural interests, who seemed unlikely to increase state aid to Democratic urban centers. In this context, newly-elected Democratic Mayor Henry Maier began to build a national reputation on building excellent city-federal relationships.

In the early 1960s, Congressman Zablocki began to sponsor his own bills for federal aid for school construction, which attempt to address the public/parochial dispute. He received advice from Fr. Virgil Blum, a Jesuit priest and Marquette University political science professor, and unofficial leader of a national organization, "Citizens for Educational Freedom," which proposes federal aid in the form of "direct grants to parents who elect to send their children to independent schools."

Both Reuss and Zablocki help to lay the groundwork for federal aid to education, though they both emphasize school construction aid, which is not the intended aim of ESEA. **END OF SAMPLE**

Part 2:

The Two-Way Street:

Milwaukee and Federal Education Policy, 1945-present

This "guinea pig" report demonstrates one way of rethinking how we might write the history of federal involvement in elementary and secondary education. Most of the book-length histories of federal education policy, by authors as diverse as Joel Spring, Diane Ravitch, Gary Orfield, and Julie Roy Jeffrey, are quite similar in scope. All of these works focus on Washington DC as the center stage, casting presidents, cabinet members, and congressmen in the lead roles. When local events and people appear in the narrative, their typical function is to be "acted upon" by the protagonists, or to exemplify one of the author's major points.[1]

By contrast, this report suggests how we might turn this relationship upside down. Instead of beginning the narrative in the White House, the Supreme Court, or in the office of the US Commissioner of Education, this story opens in the midst of a local crisis in the northern industrial city of Milwaukee after World War II. From there it examines how local initiatives rose up and attempted to shape federal education policy, and in turn, how Washington responded, and sometimes implemented new policies in local settings. The objective is to produce an historical analysis richer than any study based solely on events inside the Beltway. Local case studies continually remind us that federal education policy is a two-way street. To better understand how the rhetoric, interests, personalities, and context of federal policy evolved in education, we need to reexamine the past through the perspectives of local actors. Their stories shed new light on policy initiatives which succeeded and failed, as well as their consequences, both intended and unexpected.

Sections:

1) Making the Case for Federal Aid, 1945-1965

Calls for federal aid to education typically arise out of a crisis. In Milwaukee during the post-war era, the alarm sounded over rapidly rising student enrollments and the need for massive school construction. As the 11th largest US city during the 1950s, Milwaukee's total population had increased 20% by the end of the decade. More importantly, the school-age population jumped over 50%, from 69,000 in 1950 to 105,000 in 1960. A combination of the post-war baby boom, newly-arrived industrial workers, and the city's ambitious land annexation caused school enrollment rates to skyrocket, falling second only to Los Angeles.[2]

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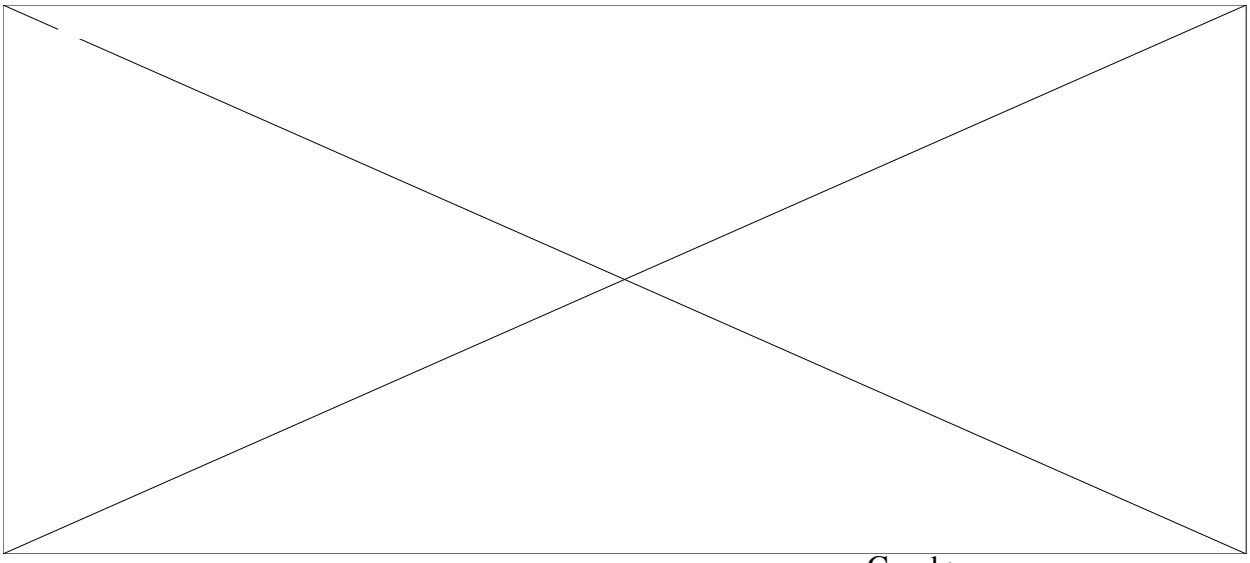
[1] For historiographical essay on this perspective, see Robert Lowe and Harvey Kantor, "Considerations on Writing the History of Educational Reform in the 1960s," Educational Theory 39:1 (Winter 1989): 1-9.

[2] 26 March 1962 Bonds vital for swelling enrollment, *Milwaukee Sentinel* (hereafter MS); NOTE: LA comparison based on 12 of 14 major cities reporting, and may be incomplete - see Census.



Graph[3]

Harold Vincent, the newly hired Milwaukee Public School superintendent in 1950, began to build a national reputation by handling the school enrollment crisis with business-like efficiency. Elsewhere in the nation, booming big-city school districts temporarily addressed increasing classroom needs by running double shifts, splitting the student population into a morning and an afternoon session within the same facility. But Milwaukee avoided this practice. Instead, Superintendent Vincent recognized the long-term nature of the enrollment crisis and persuaded the school board to launch a massive school construction campaign, including 44 major building projects during the 1950s.[4]

To build new schools, Milwaukee needed new sources of tax revenue. During the mid-1950s, the school property tax levy was fast approaching its state-imposed legal limit. The next step — borrowing funds — seemed controversial for city officials who took pride in their AAA credit rating and a "pay as you go" philosophy of fiscal management. Nevertheless, Milwaukee voters approved three consecutive bond issues, totalling $67 million during the decade, to help fund the school construction program. Public support ran as high as 79%.[5]

Still, Milwaukee's property tax increases and bond issues did not meet the needs of the growing enrollment crisis, so Superintendent Vincent approached the Wisconsin legislature to request additional support. To make the case for greater state aid to Milwaukee schools, Vincent pointed out that while the city's school budget had jumped 45% during the first half of the 1950s, state aid had risen only 27% during the same period, from $2.1 million to $2.7 million. Overall, the state legislature provided only 10% of Milwaukee's $27 million school budget, and Vincent called for more.[6]

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[3] MPS Board of School Directors, "Milwaukee: Great and Growing Greater," 1966. Milw Urban League, box 1, folder 18, Milwaukee Urban Archives. See also Marc Levine and John Zipp, "The Changing Social and Economic Context of Public Schooling in Milwaukee," in John L. Rury and Frank A. Cassell, eds., Seeds of Crisis: Public Schooling in Milwaukee since 1920. (University of Wisconsin Press, 1993).

[4] William Lamers, Our Roots Grow Deep: second edition, 1836-1967. (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public S., 1974), p20-24; James Cibulka and Frederick Olson, "The Organization and Politics of the Milwaukee Public School System, 1920-1986," Rury and Cassell, eds., Seeds of Crisis, pp. 87-88.

[5] 7 Apr 1954 MS, Milwaukee Journal (hereafter MJ); Lamers, Our Roots Grow Deep, p68.

[6] 24 Feb 1956 Educators Seek More State Cash MS.

But in the Wisconsin legislature, where representatives from rural districts outnumber those from the state's only major city, there was little political incentive to increase state aid to Milwaukee. In 1956, the Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau calculated that Milwaukee County paid $1 for every 45¢ it received in state school aid, while other counties on average received $1.29 for every dollar they contributed. Despite enrolling nearly one-quarter of Wisconsin's students, schools in Milwaukee County received only 15% of the total state aid package. Within this political context, Superintendent Harold Vincent went back to Milwaukee, with little to show for his efforts.[7]

Since the state refused to assist Milwaukee's school crisis, and the city's taxing authority had approached its maximum, local leaders began to question whether funds could be obtained from a third source: the US government. Traditionally, public education had been a local and state responsibility, but the fiscal crisis sparked new discussions over this familiar policy issue. Mayor Frank Zeidler, a former school board member and the only Socialist mayor of a large US city at that time, spoke up as one of the earliest local proponents for federal education aid in 1953. He called attention to the national dispute forming over the proposed sale of the Texas tidelands national oil reserves, and insisted that the proceeds should help fund education in all 48 states, a position that was not shared by the Eisenhower Administration. Additional support for federal education aid came from City Councilman Fred Meyers, who pointed out $15 million worth of federal tax-exempt property in Milwaukee, and stated that the city deserved some form of payment in lieu of property taxes. Since Uncle Sam had begun to assist Milwaukee with funding for public housing and highway construction, it seemed perfectly reasonable to break with tradition by calling for federal aid to public schools.[8]

Despite a long history of Congressional defeats for federal aid to public education, Milwaukee Democrats seemed hopeful. The most promising local initiative during the 1950s came from Henry Reuss, a young Milwaukee attorney with a background in finance, who was elected to the school board in 1953, with ambitions for higher office. During an earlier run for the US Sentate, Reuss confirmed his liberal credentials against the anti-communist Republican incumbent, Joe McCarthy. He reminded voters that McCarthy fought against the Taft bill for federal education aid in 1948, intended to help Southern schools provide a decent education for African-American children. "If McCarthy wants to be a Northern Dixiecrat, that's his business," Reuss announced, "but in taking up with the cudgels of intolerance, he is out of line with Wisconsin tradition that I have always endorsed." Although Reuss lost the Senate race, the school board seat gave him visibility in public office and a platform upon which to make the case for federal school aid.[9]

As a rising Milwaukee Democrat with an eye on Washington, DC, Reuss began to build a city-wide coalition to lobby for federal and state education aid in 1953. He called attention to the fact that property taxes could not be "endlessly increased," and was named the chairman of a joint school board-city council committee to pursue a "liberal system of federal aids for school construction and operating costs." By early next year, Reuss proposed a resolution for the city to send out an SOS — meaning "Save Our Schools." It stated that while schooling was primarily a local responsibility, the crisis caused by the enrollment boom and skyrocketing property taxes entailed that "both the state and federal governments have a responsibilty to assist in providing such educational facilities." In particular, Reuss's "SOS" resolution called for aid from the federal government because it "can assist in meeting these problems without an undue impact on general federal taxes." Since Milwaukee's Mayor Zeidler was lobbying Uncle Sam to alleviate rapid population growth by funding public housing and highway construction, it seemed

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[7] Citizens Governmental Research Bureau (CGRB), Bulletin v44 n13 4 Aug 1956; located in library of current organization, Public Policy Forum, Milwaukee, WI.

[8] 11 May 1953 "Cits Asks Bit of US Taxes" MJ

[9] "Henry Reuss Tells the People" 1952 press release, box 4, folder 3, Reuss Papers, Milw Urban Archives, UWM

perfectly reasonable to Reuss that the federal responsibility should extend to school construction as well.[10]

Opponents to Reuss's "SOS" campaign objected to his proposed expansion of federal involvement in local education. While visiting Milwaukee, US Commissioner of Education Samuel Brownell reminded citizens that, in his view, the principal responsibility of the federal government was educational research, information service, and the reduction of federal taxes so states and localities could meet school needs. Brownell raised concerns that "local communities would sit back and delay needed building on the assumption that the federal government would do the job later." Moreover, any federal aid program would probably allocate funds based on a demonstrated inability to pay its own costs, and Milwaukee — with one of the highest credit ratings in the nation — would not be first in line. Thus if "SOS" became law, Brownell suggested, Milwaukee's relationship with Washington DC might resemble the city's current relationship with the state government in Madison: pay out a dollar, and receive only cents in return.[11]

Reuss's push for federal school aid was not actively supported by Milwaukee's Democratic Congressman, Clement Zablocki, who had represented the predominantly Polish Catholic Southside since 1949. A former teacher in the Milwaukee Public Schools during the late 1930s, Zablocki supported the general concept of federal school aid, particularly to equalize educational opportunities. But when advocates proposed aid for public education, and not for parochial schools, Zablocki dissented. During a local radio address in 1949, he described the Barden Bill for federal public school aid as "a piece of first-class discriminatory legislation that I cannot support." Likewise, while Reuss's "SOS" campaign implied federal support for public schools during the mid-1950s, he received little support from Congressman Zablocki and his Catholic Southside constituents.[12]

Despite these objections, Reuss stood his ground on the SOS controversy and reemphasized his major point. The federal government should help solve the local education crisis, he argued, because it could handle the tax load better than overburdened Milwaukee homeowners. Federal funds would not come out of local pocketbooks, but rather from the sale of the tidelands oil reserves, which the US Supreme Court had recently declared to be property belonging to all the people, and thus should aid local schools on a per pupil basis.[13] As for concerns that federal aid implied federal control over local schools, Reuss responded that policymaking in Washington DC was not a one-way street. He noted that President Eisenhower's State of the Union address asked for local school groups to report their needs to the federal government, to be followed by a White House conference on education the next year. "If cities like Milwaukee need federal aid and don't request it," Reuss warned, "they won't get it."[14]

Reuss's supporters on the city council came to his defense. "I don't think that we should be bashful about asking the state or the federal government for funds," remarked one Democrat. "We did it before." Milwaukee's political leaders recalled a precedent for federal aid to education during an earlier crisis, the 1930s Depression. At that time, the Roosevelt Administration funded school construction through the Public Works Administration. While the federal program was designed to create employment, subsidized educational facilities were an indirect outcome. In

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[10] 8 July 1953 Reuss Calls for Study of School Funds MS; 25 Feb 1954 MJ; 12 Feb 1956 City Recipient of $25M in Aid (MJ or MS).

[11] 29 March 1954 MJ; see also MJ editorial against SOS 7 March 1954

[12] 9 July 1949 "Federal aid, WISN radio", Speeches, box 1, Clement J. Zablocki Papers (CJZ), Marquette University Archives, Milwaukee, WI.

[13] NOTE: *Check court ruling to see whether Reuss glosses this interpretation**

[14] 27 Feb 1954 Group Okays Revenue Plan MJ; 3 March 1954 School Baord is in favor of federal aids MJ; 9 March 1954 Reuss response to editorial MJ

1937, the PWA granted $785,000 to cover 45% of the costs to construct Pulaski High School, on the city's South side. Another federal program, the WPA [*full name?*] employed 34,000 Milwaukeeans at its peak in 1943, including the staff of three nursery schools and a vocational training program. But when federal funds ended in 1943, the city chose not to continue the programs. Since then, the only precedent for federal aid to education was the subsidized school milk and lunch programs During its first year in 1945, Milwaukee received $91,000 in federal reimbursements, more than the $65,000 it gained from regular school lunch sales. Federally-subsidized milk programs benefitted not only school children, but also Wisconsin's dairy farmers.[15]

In time, both Milwaukee's city council and school board gave strong approval to Reuss's "SOS" resolution, but it failed to reshape policy in Washington DC. Congress did not approve any significant school construction aid program during the 1950s. At best, Milwaukee officials met with representatives of the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1954 to determine whether the city was eligible for newly-approved federal aid to areas suffering enrollment pressures to due the migration of defense workers. [**What is the official name of this program? A variation of impact aid?**] The qualifications, however, were too stringent for Milwaukee, since leading factors in the city's enrollment crisis could be traced to causes other than the defense industry.[16] The "Save Our Schools" campaign, however, did help to advance Henry Reuss's political career from the Milwaukee school board to the US Congress. Drawing upon the heightened visibility from his position on federal education aid and other issues, Reuss defeated the Republican incumbent in the race for the city's northside Congressional seat in 1954.

By the end of the 1950s, however, federal funding did arrive in Milwaukee due to an unanticipated event: the Sputnik crisis. In the wake of the Soviet satellite, Congress and the Eisenhower Administration approved the National Defense Education Act as a means of bolstering public schooling for the Cold War. Federal policymakers intended for new funds to be spent on improving science, math, and foreign language teaching at high schools across the country. In 1960, Milwaukee school officials began to receive annual NDEA grants of approximately $150,000, to cover up to 40% of program costs. Some funds paid for physics and chemistry teaching materials, but a significant portion also was spent on building "complete language labs" at three high schools, and partial language labs elsewhere. While federal policymakers did not originally intend NDEA to be school construction aid, Milwaukee school administrators did their best to shape federal funds for local needs.[17]

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[15] MPS, Board of School Directors, *Proceedings*, 5 October 1937, p134; 27 Feb 1943 "Last of WPA Projects Die" MJ; MPS, *Annual Report of the Board of School Directors*, "School Lunch Program," 1945; 3 March 1954 MJ

[16] 21 April 1954 Schools Eye Federal Aid MJ

[17] 6 Jan 1960 OK more science in city schools MS; MPS *Proceedings*, 1 Nov 1960, p248; 5 Apr 1961 p499; 3 March 1964 p382-3

[*Admittedly, the evidence for this paragraph could be stronger, but the numbers on NDEA grants are messy. The language lab story was featured in the 6 Jan 1960 news article, which didn't mention science equipment until near the end. But the most detailed financial records that I could find on Milw NDEA money didn't help much. One set broke NDEA numbers down into School Operation Fund versus Construction/Repair Fund, while the other set broke it down by Title III vs. Title V. Of course, the two sets don't match up!

	MPS Board Annual Financial Reports (for school year beginning, in thousands)		Proceedings 3 Mar '64 p382-3 NDEA summary (in thousands)		
	NDEA School Op	NDEA Const/Repair	Title III	Title V (sci, math, lang)	(guidance)
1960				103	37
1961	188	12		79	58
1962	135	3		126	42
1963	160	16		136	43
1964	140	21			
1965	179	36			

With the election of President John Kennedy in 1960, Milwaukee leaders believed that they had won a second chance to make their case for federal aid. Days after the votes were counted, city officials began to publicly explore the possibility of school construction aid from the new administration. They anticipated another difficult year at the Wisconsin state legislature, which continued to be dominated by Republican rural interests, and seemed unlikely to increase state aid to urban centers like Milwaukee, where 19 out of 20 city council members were Democrats. Thus prospects looked more hopeful elsewhere, and the newly-elected Democratic mayor, Henry Maier, began to cultivate a new relationship between Milwaukee and the nation's capital. He suggested that the city should hire a lobbyist in Washington, as other major cities had done, and urged the council to move federal school construction aid to the top of their agenda.[18]

In the months between Kennedy's election and inauguration, Milwaukee city council members debated a new resolution calling for federal school construction aid. Critics of the plan, such as the Northwest Taxpayers League of Milwaukee, opposed it on the grounds that "Responsibility, financing, and control of our schools should be kept from Washington, where there is enough government already." But a solid majority of supporters overcame these objections to win its passage. To satisfy dissenters, an amendment was added which called upon Congress "to recognize equity in taxation and distribution," addressing fears that federal aid would be shifted away from cities to rural areas, particularly in the South, which did not levy sufficient property taxes in the eyes of many Northerners.[19]

During this time, Congressman Zablocki from Milwaukee's southside, had introduced several bills since 1958 which attempted to resolve the public versus parochial dispute which had bogged down previous federal aid legislation. One of these, the proposed School Construction Assistance Act, would have authorized $325 million in federal aid. An amendment to the Act specified that 15% of the funds would be set aside by the US Commissioner of Education, to make direct loans to private non-profit K-12 educational institutions. Such a measure would have opened up federal aid to parochial schools, though not specifying them by name.[20]

Congressman Zablocki was careful to propose federal aid for public and private *school construction*, but not *general* education aid. In a speech to parents and teachers at a local Catholic school in 1961, he expressed his concern that "we cannot have general aid to education without some measure of Federal control," an outcome which must be avoided. If Washington DC funded teachers' salaries and books in Milwaukee's public and parochial schools, it logically followed that the federal government would retain the right to regulate the teaching staff and the

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So I'm not really sure how much NDEA money was spent on language lab construction versus science equipment (and perhaps Milw officials weren't really sure themselves). Nor do I understand whether NDEA regulations permitted or encouraged school construction. But I can claim that Milw officials found ways to use some part of NDEA funds for these pressing local needs.

**Also, NDEA funding apparently provided for the bulk of HS counseling in the state. According to a WI DPI official in 1965, "if not for NDEA, Wisc today would not hve 90% of its HS pupils getting guidance counseling." Was this an original intention of the policymakers in DC?

5 Oct 1965 $3,400,000 payoff for schools seen MS; also MJ

[18] 27 Nov 1960 Federal Aid Boost is Aim of Cmte MJ; 3 Dec 1960 Go Slow in Asking US aid, city urged MJ

[19] MPS, *Proceedings* 7 Feb 1961 p394; 9 March 1961 p450; 28 December 1960 US School Aid MJ; 4 Jan 1961 Federal School Aid favored Here MS; 11 Jan 1961 Common Council votes for fed school aid MS

[20] NOTE***This paragraph is based on Zablocki's bill, HR 12349, 86th Cong, 2nd session, 23 May 1960; "Education: Private schools 1949-1960" folder, box 9 State and Local, Zablocki papers.
Due to a miscommunication with other members of the research team, I did not receive notes on Zablocki's legislative activity until after completing my study. A closer reading of Zablocki's bills is recommended. See the following:
intro. H.R. 5891 for Federal school construction aid (3536) in 85th Congress (1957-8):
intro. H.R.s on Federal construction aid: #993 (49), #12269 (10482) and #12349 (10859); remarks on Federal construction aid (11064, 11101-3, 11293-4) in 86th Congress (1959-60).

See also Stephen M. Leahy, "Polonia's Child: the Public Life of Clement J. Zablocki." (Unpub. Ph. D. Thesis, Marquette University, 1994).

curriculum. "These must remain under local supervision," insisted Zablocki, on grounds of individual and religious freedom.[21]

Zablocki failed to win enough support for his School Construction Aid Act, but that did not slow him down on the religious school aid issue. He soon announced his public disappointment with President Kennedy's proposed aid to primary and secondary public schools because it "discriminates against students" who attended non-public schools, especially the parochial sector. Zablocki blamed the problem on "muddled thinking" about the First Amendment. "Why is Federal assistance to private college and university students constitutional," he questioned, "but Federal assistance to private grade school and high school students unconstitutional?" In his testimony before the House Subcommittee on Education in 1961, Congressman Zablocki added historical evidence for his position, noting that private and sectarian schools have existed side by side with public schools for over a century, and that early federal aid bills provided assistance without regard to the type of school. "I cannot see how I can in conscience support the President's program of Federal assistance," he objected, "unless its discriminatory features will be eliminated by Congress." Through this rhetorical strategy, Zablocki attempted to sound the same themes as other Congressmen who focused on racial discrimination in the proposed legislation.[22]

During this period, Congressman Zablocki began receiving messages of support and advice from Fr. Virgil Blum, a Jesuit priest and professor of political science at Marquette University in Milwaukee. As the unofficial leader of a national organization, "Citizens for Educational Freedom," Blum was rising in prominence on the issue of federal aid to parochial schools. Rather than advocating direct grants to church-related schools, as Zablocki's Act had proposed, Fr. Blum insisted that the most effective legislative strategy would be "direct grants to parents who elect to send their children to independent schools." By following this latter course, federal funds would flow to parents, not religious institutions, thus allowing the government to avoid constitutional prohibitions against religious entanglement. Over the next few years, Congressman Zablocki welcomed further advice from Fr. Blum, entering many of the Jesuit's writings into the Congressional Record.[23]

As Milwaukee entered the 1960s, the local mood was optimistic. Now that a fellow Democrat resided in the White House, all of Milwaukee's key politicians worked together — despite some important differences — to make the best of this rare opportunity to bring federal school construction aid to their city. Congressmen Henry Reuss (from the higher-income, Protestant northside) and Clement Zablocki (from the lower-income, Polish Catholic southside) cooperated on the city's interest in federal school construction aid to relieve the enrollment crisis. Moreover, their efforts were bolstered by Wisconsin's US Senator William Proxmire, a Harvard and Yale-trained economist, whose presence signaled that federal aid made good fiscal sense for the entire

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[21] 4 October 1961, "Fed aid to ed and the issue of public, private and Sectarian schools," address by Zablocki before St. Stephen Parent-Teacher League, 1126 South 5th Milw, "Education: Private Schools 1961-68" folder, box 10 State and local, Zablocki papers.

[22] 20 Feb 1961 State of Rep Zablocki on President's Special Message on Education (press release); Zablocki's notes, 27 March 1961, Fed Asst to Elem and Sec Schools, Testimony of Zablocki before the Subcmte on Ed, of the House Cmte on Ed and Labor; "Education: Private Schools 1961-68" folder, box 10 State and Local, Zablocki papers.

NOTE: If Kaestle wants to incorporate this section into a publication, I recommend looking at the testimony in detail, since in a 1968 speech, Zablocki refers to himself as the only Congressman to testify against the bill.

[23] 26 Nov 1960 Virgil Blum to Zablocki, "Education: Private schools 1949-1960" folder, box 9 State and Local, Zablocki papers.

NOTE: it is not clear to me whether Zablocki or others actually proposed "child-benefit" language in bills prior to ESEA passage. Any help here from my colleagues at Brown????****]

state. In 1961, all three politicians predicted that Milwaukee would see a major increase in all sectors of federal funding over the next four years.[24]

That prediction would be accurate, but also was accompanied by a significant shift in the direction of federal policy towards education. Instead of providing school construction aid to deal with the enrollment crisis of the 1950s, as Milwaukee officials had hoped for, Washington policymakers began formulating a new justification and direction for federal aid in the 1960s. The new focus was federal aid to combat a "War on Poverty," a far different and more complex mission than the traditional role of building new schools. No one in the Milwaukee school system had called for federal anti-poverty aid during the 1950s, but local politicians realized that they needed to quickly adapt to new initiatives in order to take advantage of impending federal revenues.

As the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations raised the anti-poverty issue during the early 1960s, Milwaukee began building the appropriate infrastructre in anticipation of such aid. In 1962, Mayor Henry Maier called for the establishment of an inter-governmental agency, the Social Development Commission of Greater Milwaukee, to coordinate anti-poverty efforts between the city, county, the public schools, and private social welfare agencies. When Congress approved its first anti-poverty program, the Economic Opportunity Act of August, 1964, Milwaukee's SDC was well-positioned to apply for the first round of grants. School administrators drafted an $800,000 proposal to staff pre-kindergarten and remedial programs, but expressed confusion over EOA guidelines. "It has to be based on poverty," Superintendent Vincent exclaimed, "and that's going to be a humdinger," since the school district had never before been instructed to provide such detailed economic criteria. Without support from the SDC, Milwaukee may not have been able to move as quickly as it did in the war on poverty.[25]

At the same time, the Milwaukee Public Schools joined other big-city districts in adopting new lobbying strategies for federal aid. The Research Council of the Great Cities Program for School Improvement became a collective voice for Milwaukee and the nation's fourteen other largest school systems.[26] To make a more convincing case for federal aid, the organization reported that big-city schools provided higher levels of costly services, such as special education, but received disproportionately lower state and federal aid revenues. Milwaukee, for example, enrolled only 14.8% of Wisconsin's school-age population, yet offered 23.1% of the classes for the state's handicapped children, with less than 50% federal and state revenue share enjoyed by the average Wisconsin school district.

School Revenue Source	Milwaukee	Wisconsin average
Local	88.8%	73.3%
State	10.4%	23.9%
Federal	0.8%	2.8%

source: Great Cities report, cited in 19 Oct 1964 Aid to city's schools lower than outstate MJ; MS

Other big-city school districts which relied heavily upon local revenues, such as Boston (92%) and Cleveland (79%), joined Milwaukee in lobbying the federal government for new school aid.

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[24] 14 March 1961 US Funds to Spur Work Here MS; 21 May 1961 US Hints City headed right for Fed Grants, MJ or MS

[25] Social Development Commission of Greater Milwaukee, First Annual Report, "Brief history," 1964, UW-Milwaukee library; 20 August 1964 Here Plan Poverty War MJ; 30 Sept 1964 Funds urged to aid Needy pupils here MJ; MPS *Proceedings* 6 Oct 1964 p168; 1 June 1965 p689

[26] NOTE: I suspect that the Great Cities School program is a key organization for understanding federal aid to urban schools during this time period, but I don't know enough about it to give sufficient background here. How new was the organization at this time? And are there better examples for this rhetorical shift from school construction to anti-poverty? Given more time, I would be interested in reading more about the organization, and perhaps looking for archival materials in its DC headquarters (new name?)]

The Great Cities organization also focused national recognition upon another growing Milwaukee school service, compensatory education. By launching special classes and orientation centers for recently-arrived black Southern migrants, school administrators addressed what they perceived to be the city's impending "Negro problem." In addition to the rapid growth in Milwaukee's white population during the 1950s, the total black population rose 187%, the highest rate of increase for any major US city that decade. More importantly for city educators, the black school-age population leaped 334%. Although the Ford Foundation provided start-up funds for Milwaukee's compensatory education programs, school officials realized that they needed long-term funding sources, perhaps through emerging federal anti-poverty programs.[27]

Milwaukee Demographics	1950	1960	10-year growth
total population	637,392	741,324	16%
total black population	21,772 (3.4%)	62,458 (8.4%)	187%
school-age black pop.	4,658 (6.6%)	20,234 (19.9%)	334%

source: Charles T. O'Reilly et. al., *The People of the Inner Core-North*. (New York: LePlay Research, 1965).

At a Great Cities national conference in early 1965, Milwaukee school administrators and key board members heard US Commissioner of Education Frank Keppel and others discuss proposals for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), currently being debated in Congress. The legislation signaled an important shift away from general federal aid to education, to funding more specialized school programs in the war on poverty. Upon their return home, the Milwaukee board passed a resolution to "join with other great cities in supporting a federal program for school financial assistance that recognizes the complex needs of the larger city school systems." Thus Milwaukeeans began to make their most persuasive case for federal education aid, but it was grounded in a 1960s war against poverty, not a 1950s crisis over skyrocketing enrollments.[28]

By early 1965, federal funds were flowing into metropolitan Milwaukee through several channels. The county, for instance, had received $30 million in federal highway construction aid (while spending only $6 million of its own money) to build the enormous East-West Expressway, enabling suburban residents easier access to downtown business and recreation. Another project, the towering interstate highway central interchange, connecting routes between Chicago, Madison, and the rest of the state, was scheduled to receive $18 million (out of its $20 million cost) from federal aid. Uncle Sam also helped to build a new runway for the Milwaukee County airport ($1.6 million), devoted significant funds to central city urban renewal projects [**number?], and subsidized low-income public housing for 12,000 residents. Across the entire state, federal social service programs provided vocational aid to 7,000 handicapped residents, welfare support for 10,000 families with dependent children, old-age assistance to 27,000 elderly, and benefit checks to 100,000 unemployed workers. Advocates of federal aid to education saw what was happening around them while they continued to make their best case for funding. Soon, their time would come.[29]

2) Struggling to Define Title I in the 1960s

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[27] 2 Sept 1960 MJ; Frederick Vorlop, "Equal Opportunity and the Politics of Education in Milwaukee" (PhD thesis in Educational Administration, University of Wisconsin-Madison,1970), p95.
For more detail, see chapter on "The Migrant Crisis and Compensatory Education" in my book manuscript (based on dissertation), Jack Dougherty*, More Than One Struggle: Black School Reform in Milwaukee and the Urban North*, forthcoming.

[28] MPS, *Proceedings* 2 March 1965 p553. [**Note: As mentioned above, this paragraph would be stronger with additional Great Cities source materials**]

[29] 15 March 1965 US funds flow along many channels, MJ or MS

After years of making a case for federal school aid, Milwaukee's "big payoff" finally came in October, 1965, when Wisconsin state officials announced estimated federal revenues for the following year. Out of $18 million of ESEA funds granted to the state, approximately $3.4 million would be distributed to schools in Milwaukee County. The largest recipient would be the Milwaukee Public School system, eligible for more than 80% of the county sum, with smaller portions designated for surrounding communities such as West Allis-West Milwaukee, Greenfield, and Cudahy. Milwaukee's newspapers praised the infusion of new funds, even though the state official declared federal aid to be "an indictment against the schools for not doing something fast enough, or well enough." Schools were so concerned about the 40% of students going to college, he noted, that "they forgot about the 60% going into the labor market."[30]

Harold Vincent, the superintendent who brought business sense to the Milwaukee Public Schools, decided that increased federal aid required administrative changes. In previous years, managing NDEA and school lunch reimbursements had not been too demanding. But now, "Wooing Washington for federal funds is becoming such [a] big business," observed one reporter, with ESEA as the "biggest bonanza." School administrators quickly discovered that "the money is up for grabs from the communities that submit the best projects first," such as Vincent's proposal to completely finance the city museum's planetarium with $1.7 million in federal funds which had not been allotted by the state. Estimates for 1966 indicated that Milwaukee's federal school aid could rise to nearly $7 million, or about 10% of the school operating budget, a tremendous increase over the $128,000 budget just two years ago. [*These figures include operating budget only, and thus exclude school lunch funds.] So Vincent established the Department of Federal Projects to handle this thriving enterprise, naming Gerald Farley as director for a staff of six. "The beauty of federal aid," remarked the reporter, "is that you can be paid for asking for it. School officials say that the cost of the proposed Department of Federal Projects to get federal aid will be financed by — you guessed it, federal aid."[31]

Federal Aid (in thousands) to the Milwaukee Public Schools, 1961-1969[32]

Program	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Lunch Aid	362	332	370	342	390	365	421	464	408
NDEA	200	138	176	161	215	220	457	439	487
Econ Opp Act						849	901	846	1258
ESEA						97	2738	2163	3842
Impacted Area Aid								217	378
Total Federal Aid	562	470	546	503	605	1531	4517	4129	6373
Total Federal Aid - according to news rpts **SEE NOTE[33]					934	5960			

[30] 5 Oct 1965 $3,400,000 payoff for schools seen MS; indirect quote from William Kahl, first asst State Supt of DPI, comes from MJ, same day

[31] 28 Oct 1965 Would seek, manage fed aid: schols want US Funds unit MS; also MJ

[32] MPS Annual Report of the Board of School Directors

[33] ***IMPORTANT NOTE: This chart, which I pieced together from MPS annual financial reports, gives INCOMPLETE DATA. The total amount of federal aid is not easily calculated during these years, since MPS did not neatly summarize the figures, and I may have missed some categories during my first study of the numbers.

Problems with Milwaukee fed aid data during 1960s:

a) Most categories above came from ONLY School Operation Receipts, and I may have missed amounts under Construction and Repair Funds or other funds for EOA or ESEA or others.

b) School lunch aid is usually not listed under School Operation Receipts, but an entirely separate category.

c) Numbers fluctuate between different sources for reasons which I do not fully understand. Sometimes a newspaper will announce a "budget estimate" number, followed by an official "budget" number, and then the Annual report will later list an amount actually received. Dates do not always match up neatly, due to different federal disbursement schedules and ambiguity over school year vs. fiscal year.

Milwaukee and other schools welcomed new sources of funds, but doing so raised several difficult challenges regarding the intended purpose and desired outcomes of federal education aid. During the latter half of the 1960s, competing interests in metropolitan Milwaukee engaged in a struggle to define the meaning of ESEA Title I, the largest of all of the federal school aid programs, and perhaps the one least clearly articulated by policymakers in Washington, DC. The most heated conflicts included the following: **(For clarity, I have organized the Title I conflicts into five sections)**

a) How should educators distinguish between general aid and categorical aid?
b) Did "educationally disadvantaged" include students in wealthy suburbs?
c) Was compensatory education compatible with racial desegregation?
d) Who governed the school system's "War on Poverty"?
e) EXTRA: How Head Start blurred the traditional boundaries of "public elementary ed"

A) General versus categorical aid

How were ESEA Title I funds supposed to be spent in metropolitan Milwaukee schools? In theory, the answer was simple: federal funds were designed to meet the "special educational needs of educationally deprived children," and by extension, that meant categorical aid, not general aid. In practice, however, the distinction was not so clear-cut, particularly in Milwaukee, where the origins of local support for federal aid had arisen out of a crisis over school construction and other, more general aid issues. Even Milwaukee's representatives in Congress sometimes glossed over this important distinction. Speaking to an audience of Wisconsin Catholics in 1968, Congressman Clement Zablocki praised the compromise ESEA legislation, "the first measure providing *general* federal aid to education in the history of our nation."[34]

Milwaukee school officials also contributed to the failure to distinguish between categorical and general aid. In the months immediately following Congressional passage of ESEA, local school administrators scrambled to assemble a coherent proposal to secure the $2.85 million which the district was eligible to receive. While it included several references to strengthening programs for culturally disadvantaged children, the proposal also referred to several projects — such as elementary school libraries, field trips, support services, and even classroom additions — which did not carefully define the intended beneficiaries. Likewise, federal officials did not carefully screen Title I proposals during the early years to ensure that funds would be spent only on designated students.[35]

Wisconsin state education officials, who were responsible for supervising federal aid implementation, brought this issue to the attention of Milwaukee school administrators in early 1967. Investigators reported the district's lack of criteria and documentation for identifying educationally disadvantaged students, and pointed out that "Several of the activities observed raise the question of aid to general education." Thousands of Title I dollars had been spent on

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d) Newspaper reports and Board proceedings usually do not indicate whether "federal education aid totals" include more than School Operation Receipts.
e) I must have missed some programs such as Neighborhood Youth Corps and the Voc Ed Act during mid-60s, since these appear in news reports.

[34] 27 April 1968, "Federal Aid to School Children: A Clear and Present Danger," speech by Zablocki to Catholic Daughters of America, Wisconsin State Convention, "Education: Private Schools 1961-68" folder, box 10 State and Local, Zablocki papers. NOTE: despite the title, his general tone during this part of the speech is praiseworthy of ESEA. Also, "*general"* is my emphasis.

[35] MPS *Proceedings* 2 Nov 1965 p196. NOTE **Admittedly, stronger evidence would be helpful here. I rely upon an abbreviated description of the Title I proposal published in the board proceedings, since I did not locate the original full proposal. Perhaps I have some record of it in my five-year-old notes on the Lloyd Barbee papers, but it did not magically appear during a review of my research files.

salaries for non-Title I employees, such as vice-principals and athletic coaches, or for teachers' salaries which previously had been borne by the district. In specific programs, such as elementary school libraries and reading centers, staff had made materials and equipment available to all teachers and students, and were not aware of which children were specifically designated as Title I recipients. A national report, *Title I of ESEA: Is It Helping Poor Children?* , publicized numerous Milwaukee violations in 1969. In response to these negative assessments, the district returned approximately $220,000 of unspent Title I funds to the state in 1967, and agreed to draw up new documentation to help determine precisely which children were to be included in Title I programs. But subsequent audits from 1968 to 1973 raised Milwaukee's repayment amount to $8 million, for violations involving general aid and improper procedures. The amount was lowered during lengthy negotiations, and eventually dropped altogether in 1977.[36]

During the first five years of ESEA funding, Milwaukee Public School staffing levels increased dramatically. According to school board reports, Title I provided salaries for 215 employees in 1966, which over three years nearly doubled to 391 in 1969. Indeed, the Milwaukee school board business manager, Thomas Linton, testified at the House Education Subcommittee with other big-city administrators in 1966, requesting assurances for future federal aid. He noted that teachers' contracts which were not cancelled were automatically extended into the next year, so any major interruption in federal aid could suddenly put hundreds of people out of work. The Milwaukee school system had grown to rely heavily upon federal aid, Linton observed, with funds from Washington DC ($6.7 million) almost at the same level as funds from the state capital ($7.4 million).

Title I employees (FTEs)[37]	**1966**	**1969**
Teachers	116	125
Teacher Aides		75
Admin & Service Providers (social workers, psychologists, researchers, supervisors)	55	126
Clerical	44	65
Total	**215**	**391**

In additional to concerns about misused funds, Milwaukee's internal evaluations of its Title I programs revealed ambiguous outcomes during the early years of funding. Students participating in Title I reading centers and other academic programs demonstrated no significant differences in test scores, compared to a control group. Based on the evidence, the evaluator concluded that "it has not been possible to determine that Title I activities are more effective than the regular program," and suggested that the lack of academic gains may be due to pull-out program scheduling, meaning that time devoted for compensatory efforts may be harming student progress in the regular classroom.[38]

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[36] Van Raalte, Assistant Superintendent of the Department of Public Instruction, Wisconsin, to Linton, Milwaukee Public Schools, February 20, 1967, box 76, folder 10, pp. 3-5, Lloyd Barbee Papers, Milwaukee Urban Archives. HEW Audit Agency, *Report on Audit of Title I of the ESEA of 1965*, Wisconsin State Dept of Public Intruction, Madison, Sept 1, 1966 to August 31, 1967, p. 16 (Nov 22, 1968), cited in Washington Research Project and NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., *Title I of ESEA: Is It Helping Poor Children?* (Washington, DC, 1969), p. 6, 20.

Farley to Teel, MPS internal memo, April 26, 1967, box 76, folder 7, Barbee papers; 20 October 1974 Schools face Huge Claim MJ; 30 Sept 1977 HEW Challenge to Schools Ends MJ

[37] MPS, Proceedings 1 Feb 1966 p370-2; 30 June 1969 p848-850; 14 March 1966 School officials ask for more fed aid MJ. NOTE: 20 Vice principals funded at 25% = 5 FTEs; other part-time employees calculated at 50%.

[38] MPS, "Evaluation of Title I (ESEA) Programs, 1967-1968." Milwaukee Public Schools, 1968, (ERIC document ED028211), p. 80

NOTE: If needed, I can provide more descriptive detail on various Title I programs, based on MPS evaluation reports which I located in ERIC.

B) Title I and wealthy suburban schools (SEE ALSO PART III ON SUBURBS)**

While Milwaukee city leaders were lobbying for more federal aid, many of their counterparts in the outlying suburbs sharply criticized the concept of accepting money from Uncle Sam. The most vocal opposition to federal aid came from many of the high-income, Republican-dominated suburbs on the city's northside. In Wauwatosa, for example, Mayor Ervin Meier briefly came under fire in 1965 for suggesting that the city reexamine its historic stand against federal aid. Given the suburb's rapid rate of growth, he noted that it might be appropriate to accept ESEA funds to expand the schools. But Wauwatosa's aldermen objected sharply to the plan, taking pride in the fact that their city had not accepted a single penny from Washington DC (with the important exception of school and road construction aid during the 1930s WPA programs). "Do you have to have a Democratic vote and a Democratic mayor to get this money?" asked Alderman Mierendorf, alluding to Milwaukee's political ties to the Congress and President. "Is this the basis on which communities get aid?" His colleague, Alderman Mathes, favored Wauwatosa getting its fair share, but asked the city to take a principled stand. "Somewhere, someone in this country has to take the leadership against federal aid," he announced. "The program has to be stopped someday."[39]

Within a month, the Wauwatosa mayor withdrew his request to consider federal aid, on the grounds that "too many strings are attached." But there were also deeper reasons, which concerned suburbanites' perception of themselves in contrast to city dwellers. The editorial of a local suburban newspaper praised the mayor's renewed stance. "The *Herald* has long deplored federal handouts for northshore communities — particularly the school lunch program — on the theory that parents living in these areas can well afford to provide food for their children without subsidies." These sentiments linked geography with status, reinforcing ideas that families had moved away from the city to adopt new and better ways of life in the northshore suburbs. Accepting federal subsidies, the editor implied, would seriously disrupt upper-class suburban families' images of themselves.[40]

In other cases, however, the power of money prevailed over suburban cultural values. In late 1965, Wisconsin education officials announced that all but three school districts in the state were eligible for ESEA funding. The state eligibility formula examined 1960 census data to count the number of children from families earning less than $2,000 annually in each district, then calculated aid based on district costs per pupil, which ran higher in the suburban schools. Some of the wealthy northshore districts, such as Nicolet, Fox Point, Bayside, and River Hills, turned down the money. But most suburbs felt pressure to keep up with booming enrollments from growing subdivision construction, and some of them made the controversial decision to accept ESEA funds, such as Wauwatosa ($70,000), Shorewood ($56,000), and Whitefish Bay ($25,000).[41]

Although Whitefish Bay received the smallest amount, its acceptance of federal aid sparked the loudest controversy. Democratic Congressman Henry Reuss, whose district had included the suburb until the recent reapportionment, sent a telegram to state education officials charging that the grant "is a misuse of federal funds and I herewith request that you revoke the grant." Reuss complained that "it makes a mockery" of ESEA for state officials to claim that Whitefish Bay had a "high concentration of children from low-income families," as the required by the law.

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[39] 19 May 1965 Tosa Mayor Asks Study of Aid Rejection MJ; 26 May 1965 Tosa Insists o no Strings to Aid MJ

[40] 25 June 1965 Unrequested Aid MJ; 29 July 65 Tosa's Mayor is Right, Herald [either Whitefish Bay Herald or Northshore Herald; This editorial appeared somewhat out of the ordinary in the clippings collections, which are usually drawn entirely from Milwaukee city dailies.]

[41] 3 November 1965 Rich Suburbs can get poverty funds MJ

Furthermore, the school announced it would use the funds to operate a program for children with reading disabilities, which had no connection to anti-poverty efforts.[42]

The Whitefish Bay controversy erupted largely due to the suburb's reputation as one of the highest-income communities in the state, but also because of its past stance against federal aid. In 1961, the city newspapers reported, the Whitefish Bay school board sent a telegram to President Kennedy, denouncing his proposal for federal aid to education. "But when the same school board saw a $25,000 federal grant there for the asking," remarked a *Milwaukee Sentinel* editorial, "principle was laid aside." Even now, the chairman of the Whitefish Bay school board reportedly remarked, "If any words are verboten around here, they are the words 'federal aid'."[43]

"What right does Reuss have," responded Whitefish Bay Superintendent Edward Zeiler, "to say how Wisconsin is to use federal money?" Indeed, the suburban district had followed state education guidelines. According to the 1960 census, 89 school-age children from low-income families resided in the Whitefish Bay district, although even the superintendent acknowledged that no one really knew where these children lived. "If they write stupid laws, well, that's their problem." Whitefish Bay's new representative, Republican Congressman [First name?] Davis, who voted against ESEA, charged that "This is our fault for writing this kind of legislation. This is a good example of writing an arbitrary formula which practically looks for ways to get money out of the federal treasury."[44]

Observers of the controversy placed much of the blame on ambiguous state education guidelines, hastily drawn in the rush to implement the massive, untested ESEA program. One problem involved measuring poverty through five-year-old census tract data, rather than more current figures from the Aid to Dependent Children program. Another flaw was the absence of careful proposal screening by Wisconsin state officials. Several suburban districts, such as Shorewood, publicly announced that ESEA grants would be used "for educationally disadvantaged children without regard to family income." Finally, state officials later revealed that several suburban districts, as well as the Milwaukee Public Schools, had not fully cooperated with the metropolitan anti-poverty planning board, the Social Development Commission, when designing ESEA programs, as required by federal law. Congressman Henry Reuss urged federal officials to launch an investigation into the Whitefish Bay controversy, which never materialized, but federal officials promised to modify the rules which allowed it to happen.[45]

This controversy between suburban and city schools arose during a period of rapidly increasing costs for both types of districts. According to the Citizen's Governmental Research Bureau, a metropolitan public policy watchdog, per-pupil spending rose at equal levels — 39% — for both the Milwaukee Public Schools and the seventeen surrounding suburban districts from 1963 to 1967. However, suburban schools could afford to spend more, due to a wealthier property tax base per student, and a richer share of state aid.

CGRB statistics[46]	Milwaukee Public Schools	Avg. Metro Suburban Dist.

[42] 6 Jan 66 Whitefish Bay Won't Reject Fed Grant MJ; 26 May 1966 Reuss Hits Grant to Whitefish Bay MJ

[43] 20 June 1966 Dead Principle? MS editorial; NOTE: The story adds more details about eligibility formulas, but I'm not sure if they apply directly to this case: After ESEA hastily passed, officials discovered that census data was unavailable in school district basis; so another section of act says when data lacking, any local community could qualify for aid if the county in which the district is located has 100 such under privileged children.

[44] 26 May 66 Reuss Hits Grant to WB MJ

[45] 28 May 66 Whitefish Bay One of Many Outside Rules MS; 12 March 66 Suburbs Get Schol Grant MJ; 29 August 1966 Bay School grant rules may change MJ; 6 Sept 1966 Rule which sent aid to Bay being revised MJ

[46] CGRB *Bulletins*, Cost/ADM, 1963-1967; Equalized Taxable Property per ADM 1967 (calculated differently for 1963); state aid/ADM 1967

Cost per pupil, 1963	$488	$583
Cost per pupil, 1967	$677	$812
Rate of cost increase, 1963-67	39%	39%
Taxable property per pupil, 1967	$35,229	$42,526
State aid per pupil, 1967	$71.84	$122.08

In this context, Milwaukee Mayor Henry Maier launched a rhetorical war against the suburbs and the state government as justification for federal aid. If states like Wisconsin do not awaken to needs of the cities in their time of crisis, he warned in 1967, "the cities might well become so oriented to Washington that we might develop, as has been suggested facetiously, the United Cities of America." The next year, Milwaukee's new school superintendent, Richard Gousha, echoed these sentiments by declaring that if state governments do not offer more support, then urban educators will "be forced to follow the only path open to them — to Washington." Amid growing signs of white flight to the suburbs, Milwaukee's mayor also asked President Johnson for federal leadership in creating a metropolitan government to rebuild the cities. "Perhaps the only long-run solution to prevent this growing South Africa style of apartness," Maier suggested, "will be metropolitan government in some form, so that fiscal and social isolation is eliminated as a major hurdle to local solutions." One hurdle in particular, the mayor noted, was the growing financial gap between city and suburban schools.[47]

Mayor Maier's plea for federal aid played well in Washington, and also among the city's white Democrats who continually voted to return him to office. But to Milwaukee's black and white civil rights activists, the mayor's claim to be fighting against apartheid was a flat-out lie. For in their minds, the Mayor Maier was one of several political obstacles preventing them from achieving racially desegregated schools. One of the other obstacles, somewhat surprisingly, was the federal government.[48]

C) Compensatory education and racial desegregation

SECTION SUMMARY:

By 1963, black Milwaukeeans and liberal white supporters launched a school desegregation movement, and chief spokesman Lloyd Barbee sharply criticized MPS for attempting to solve black childrens' needs solely through compensatory education programs, rather than integration. When LBJ signed ESEA, at the height of mass protests and freedom schools in Milwaukee, the federal government's actions supported the MPS school board's stance against integration, because funds would now be available to expand compensatory education (which many Milwaukeeans understood to be a black-oriented program). Barbee took his dispute to the federal government, where some sympathizers began to realize that Title I rewarded school districts for maintaining high concentrations of low-income children, rather than dispersing them via school integration. Although the feds threatened to investigate MPS, the political aftermath of the Chicago debacle made this politically unwise for the LBJ administration.[49] END OF SUMMARY

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[47] 15 Dec 1967 US Help just starting: Maier MJ; 20 Aug 1967 Maier Sends Metro Plea to LBJ MJ; 20 Feb 1968 Gousha brings parley big city school woes (speaking at Amer Assoc of School Administrators meeting in Atlantic City) MS; see also 28 Feb 1968 Aid Asked in Building of Schools MJ. where Supt. Gousha speaks at Kiwanis club of Milw, says states need to get involved in school construction or "surrender a part of one of its most basic constitutional prerogatives to Washington, DC."

[48] For an autobiographical account by Milwaukee's long-term mayor, see Henry W. Maier, *The Mayor Who Made Milwaukee Famous: An Autobiography*. (Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 1993).

[49] The text for this section was drawn largely from a seminar paper I wrote for Prof Kaestle in 1993 at the U of Wisconsin-Madison.

Long before HEW became directly involved in northern school desegregation in the mid-1960s, locals on both sides of the issue in Milwaukee had already shaped the terms of the Black education reform debate. Leading civil rights activists, such as attorney Lloyd Barbee, pressed for immediate steps toward integration, clashing with members of the school board who advocated compensatory education for predominately Black neighborhood schools. The Johnson Administration was a late arrival to this dispute, however, and through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, it inadvertently legitimated the Milwaukee school board's prior stance against integration. Title I reinforced beliefs that students and families, not school policies and practices, were the cause of low Black achievement. The legislation also placed enormous funds and control over the direction of Black education reform in the hands of the school district, exactly at the peak of mass protests and school boycotts over its refusal to end school segregation. Although Milwaukee's Black children in poverty were some of the intended beneficiaries of Title I, the Johnson Administration offered support in a way that flatly contradicted the aims of Milwaukee's leading supporters of school desegregation.

Years before the federal government created ESEA, the Milwaukee school system developed compensatory education programs on its own terms to respond to local needs. The city differed from most other northern cities in that its wave of the Great Migration came relatively late, in the 1950s, when Milwaukee's Black population increased 186.9%, the highest rate of increase in any US city during that decade.[50] In 1964, the school board produced a list of more than thirty school programs which dealt with this dramatic increase of "in-migrants."[51] The list included orientation centers for newly arrived children, cultural enrichment after-school programs, welfare counselors, and lower teacher-student ratios for central city schools. Although the Board never labeled these compensatory programs specifically for Black children, the list arose in direct response to criticisms that the district was not doing enough to educate children in the predominately Black central city schools.

At this time the Board and the Milwaukee United School Integration Committee (MUSIC), a coalition of Black advocacy and civil rights organizations, were locked in a highly confrontational debate over Black educational policy. The Board argued that it could best provide equality of educational opportunity through compensatory education, rationalizing these programs in a way that held families and neighborhood environments responsible for "deficiencies" in the child. According to the Board's brief report, the "life-long environment" of the disadvantaged child included such negative influences as "an inadequate home life. . .adults' or children's low levels of educational aspiration. . .[and] undesirable neighborhood conditions."[52] Compensatory education, in the Board's eyes, provided equality of educational opportunity to these pupils in the same way that Special Education assisted physically handicapped students. By assuming the cause of the problem to be "the home in particular and society in general," the Board denied all charges that school policies and practices were to blame for low student achievement. "[I]t does not follow that these schools are doing an inferior job of educating pupils," asserted the Board, while vigorously defending the legality of its neighborhood school attendance policy, which meant that children living in highly segregated neighborhoods would attend similarly segregated schools.[53]

The leadership of MUSIC, however, sharply criticized the Board's position on compensatory education. From late 1963 to mid-1964, MUSIC Chairman Lloyd Barbee had been steadily forming a coalition of local supporters to demand school integration, rather than

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[50]*Milwaukee Sentinel*, July 13, 1965, cited in William John Dahlk, "The Black Education Reform Movement in Milwaukee, 1963-1975" (M. A. History Thesis, UW-Milwaukee, August 1990), p. 100.

[51]"Compensatory Education in the Milwaukee Public Schools," May 21, 1964, box 76, folder 7, Lloyd Barbee Papers (hereafter BP), Wisconsin State Historical Society.

[52]"Compensatory Education in the Milwaukee Public Schools," p. 1.

[53]"Compensatory Education in the Milwaukee Public Schools," p. 2.

compensatory education, from the Board. In public hearings during this time, many Black individuals, neighborhood groups, and civil rights organizations had asked the Board for better curricula, faculty, and facilities for the predominately Black central city schools. Working with the Wisconsin NAACP, Barbee had persuaded many of these groups and individuals to drop their requests for equal resources, and instead, demand an end to racially restrictive attendance zones and also the highly controversial practice of busing Black students 'intact' to underutilized white schools.

Barbee polarized the compensatory education–integration debate in order to draw more support for his side. "White school board members have tried to get Negroes to settle for compensatory education," he declared to the Black press, " – only half a loaf."[54] To the public at large, Barbee charged that "Compensatory education, no matter how massive, cannot eliminate segregation in our public schools."[55] When Barbee and his supporters walked out of Board hearings in early 1964, after a clash over a perceived Board insult to the Black community, support for integration among many Black and liberal whites increased dramatically.

These events marked a transition in Black education reform ideology in Milwaukee and at the national level in the mid-1960s. Prominent Black Milwaukeeans who had previously called for improving Black neighborhood schools now rejected the narrow way in which the Board had framed the "equal opportunity" question, and cast their support for MUSIC's goal of integration. This shift also appeared in other northern and western cities where National NAACP leaders Robert Carter and June Shagaloff had been working since 1962 to organize local affiliates to challenge de facto segregation. Although the NAACP had lost its Gary, Indiana case against residentially-based school segregation in 1963, top school administrators in New York, California, and New Jersey had ruled de facto segregation to be illegal in certain areas. Leaders of other civil rights organizations, such as James Farmer from the Congress of Race Equality (CORE), urged their members to address growing concern over northern school desegregation in 1962. CORE chapters organized city-wide school boycotts in Boston (June, 1963), Chicago (November, 1963), and New York (February, 1964) to protest school segregation.[56]

The passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) takes on a different meaning in this context. When Johnson's Democrats passed ESEA in April, 1965, at the peak of this movement for school integration, they inadvertently legitimated the views of opponents to integration, such as the Milwaukee school board, which had called for compensatory education as the best means of achieving equality of educational opportunity. Nearly three-quarters of a billion dollars of Title I funds seemed like a tremendous victory for Johnson's War on Poverty, considering that many forms of federal aid to education had failed to win congressional approval when proposed in previous years. In this case the ESEA planners made what appeared to be a significant breakthrough in agreeing to grant money for the instruction of educationally disadvantaged children living in areas of poverty.[57] However, the actual result of these funds in cities like Milwaukee was to offer ideological legitimacy and financial backing for the school board to continue its stance against MUSIC's demand for integration.

Through the Title I program, the Johnson Administration normalized the cultural deficit ideology which had already existed within the Milwaukee school system, and now funded the district's efforts to treat Black education reform as a problem of home and family failure. School administrators worked rapidly to draft proposals to obtain the $2.2 million which Milwaukee was

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[54]*Milwaukee Post*, October 16, 1963, cited in "Racial Isolation in Milwaukee Public Schools,"p. 100, box 203, folder 1, BP.

[55]Barbee to Board Committee Chairman Story, September 16, 1963, box 196, folder 12, BP.

[56]August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, *CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942-1968*. (New York: Oxford University Pr., 1973), p. 248.

[57]Jeffrey, pp. 70-72.

eligible to receive in 1965-66, the first year of the program. One typical draft proposal, for increased elementary library space and services, reveals the district's impressions of targeted students' families. To justify the need for nearly $200,000 to be spent on new library personnel and audio-visual equipment, the authors asserted that ". . . many of these pupils lack a home environment conducive to the promotion of proper study habits."[58] The proposal drew from the relevant educational literature on disadvantaged children. "The homes of these children rarely offer appropriate places to study," stated the Educational Policy Commission, concurring with another quotation from Martin Deutsch's *Education in Depressed Areas*, which claimed that "In the child's home (in a depressed area) there is a scarcity of objects of all types but especially of books, toys, puzzles, pencils and scribbling paper."[59] HEW granted funding to this and many other Milwaukee proposals, which were not implemented until the second semester due to the late arrival of funds.

Whether or not Title I funds were fairly spent on Black children in the first year of the program is questionable. The Milwaukee school district relied upon census tract data, as recommended by HEW, to designate school attendance zones with concentrations of children living in relative poverty.[60] Approximately one-third of the 47 designated elementary schools were located in the Inner Core, the area of the central city where most Black residents lived.[61] Milwaukee schools implemented ten different kinds of Title I programs in its first year. Some were more academically-oriented (such as library services, reading centers, remedial education) than other non-academic programs (such as physical education, art, music, and additional vice-principals).[62] Although 52% of all elementary Title I programs took place in Inner Core schools, they were disproportionately non-academic. A close reading of the district grant coordinator's survey sheet indicates that only 35% of Inner Core school projects were academic in nature, compared to 55% of the projects outside Inner Core schools.[63]

Title I Elem. Programs,65-66	Total	Academic (%)	Non-Acad (%)
Inner Core	66	23 (35%)	43 (65%)
All others	62	34 (55%)	28 (45%)

Although the data is not broken down in dollars spent per child, nor does it make claims about the quality of Title I programs, this brief tabulation shows that the district chose to spend its Title I dollars differently in predominately Black Inner Core schools than it did in predominately white schools.

The district's own first year evaluations of Title I confirm this finding with a few vivid examples. When the district implemented the proposal for expanded elementary library services, which was described above, the results were not positive for children of the Inner Core.[64] Out of seven schools initially selected to receive funds to set up an elementary library, only one – the Palmer Street school – was located in the Inner Core. Furthermore, the implementation of the

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[58]"Proposal...for Elementary School Libraries. . ," December 14, 1965, box 76, folder 10, BP.

[59] "Proposal...for Elementary School Libraries. . ," p. 1.

[60]"Application for Federal Assistance. . ." for Elementary Title I programs (revised), April 28, 1966, box 78, folder 14, BP.

[61]Numerous reports refer to the boundaries of the Inner Core as W. Keefe Street, 20th Street, Juneau Avenue, the river, and Holton.

[62]For this study, I considered the following to be academic: library services, expanded reading services, reduced pupil-teacher ratios, speech and language skills, and elementary summer school. Non-academic programs were: non-teaching vice-principals, physical education, art experience, music experience, and outdoor education.

[63]"Location of ESEA Projects - Spring, 1966" with handwritten note by MUSIC coordinator Marilyn Morheuser, "given to me by G. Farley [District Director, Federal Projects]", box 78, folder 17, BP.

[64]"School Library and Instructional Resource Services," Program Evaluations of ESEA by Milwaukee Public Schools, n.d. [1966?], box 77, folder 1, BP.

overall program was not entirely successful. Due to the late arrival of funds, by springtime, only three schools had actually opened libraries, two other schools were only able to hire librarians, and in the remaining two schools – including Palmer and one other – nothing happened. The report did not identify why only one Inner Core elementary school was initially selected to have a library, nor did it fully explain why libraries were successfully opened in some schools and not in others. Whatever the explanation, not a single Inner Core school opened a library with Title I funds in 1965-66.

Title I was not a total failure for Inner Core students. It provided funds for some academic and other curriculum enrichment activities which reached thousands of students. However, even when Title I funds were spent wisely on Black children, they reinforced segregated schooling instead of promoting MUSIC's goal of integration. ESEA created a financial incentive for northern districts to maintain concentrations of poor, Black children in order to receive future funds. It placed massive financial resources in hands of northern school administrators to let them define the "disadvantaged student" problem and unilaterally determine how best to solve it on the local level. In contrast to Office of Economic Opportunity programs to combat poverty, HEW neither encouraged nor required community participation in ESEA guidelines. The rights and the responsibilities rested entirely with the educators, even when their policies and practices regarding the education of Black children were under fire by local critics.

In telling the history of the Johnson Administration's success in passing ESEA, it is vitally important to add that Title I programs were established during the most heated phase of desegregation struggles in cities like Milwaukee. When the funds arrived in early 1966, Milwaukee schools had endured two major school boycotts, "chain-ins" at new school construction sites in the central city, and the announcement of a federal discrimination lawsuit by MUSIC. Lloyd Barbee and his colleagues had successfully built a Black education reform consensus which insisted that integration, not the Board's version of compensatory education, was the solution. However, with the passage of ESEA, the Johnson Administration unintentionally but effectively undercut the aims of the Milwaukee civil rights movement. Black education reformers in Milwaukee and other cities had made a transition from compensatory education to integration, but the Johnson Administration lagged behind this shift for nearly three more years. What began as a victorious Democratic struggle for poverty-based educational funding turned into a heated controversy over the goals of desegregation which HEW officials never expected.

In 1965, MUSIC responded to ESEA by pressuring the Johnson Administration to use its new leverage and investigate "Milwaukee-style" segregation, forcing the district to comply with a liberal interpretation of civil rights law. Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibited discrimination by schools which received federal funds, was an even more valuable legal tool to promote desegregation now that Title I funds offered millions of dollars to schools which complied with the law. MUSIC activists were eager for federal intervention, since their direct action techniques had failed to produce concessions from the board, and efforts to involve the State of Wisconsin had failed in 1963. In the summer of 1965, Barbee and his colleagues initiated two actions regarding federal authorities: they filed a discrimination lawsuit against the board in federal court, and they also appealed directly to HEW for an investigation. Although some individuals within HEW strongly favored federal intervention, and even promised their support, legal uncertainties and political realities blocked them from playing any significant role against northern de facto segregation during the mid-1960s.

The National NAACP had been systematically encouraging local branches in northern and western states to consider discrimination lawsuits since 1962. Following up on the success of the 1954 *Brown* decision, General Counsel Robert Carter advocated that the principle of the 14th amendment be expanded from de jure cases in the south to de facto cases in the north. NAACP Education expert June Shagaloff, who coordinated many of the cases from Carter's office, came

to Milwaukee at Barbee's request in October 1963 and rallied audiences to challenge what she termed "segregation, Milwaukee-style."[65] Barbee had hoped to file the lawsuit in May, 1964, in conjunction with the first Milwaukee school boycott and the tenth anniversary of *Brown*, however, extensive revisions delayed filing until June, 1965. According to the National NAACP, Milwaukee was one of twenty cities which filed de facto segregation suits at this time, and was unique in that it included both white and Black plaintiffs. The tactic brought more publicity to MUSIC's integrationist efforts, but it did not bring immediate results. The federal courts did not rule decisively on de facto segregation until *Keyes* in 1973, and the legal research needed to demonstrate intentional segregation was extremely time-consuming. Nearly a decade would pass before the Milwaukee case would actually come to trial.

A more promising tactic for bringing quicker federal involvement was needed. In July 1965, Barbee wrote a letter of complaint to HEW Secretary Anthony J. Celebrezze on his official State Assembly letterhead. "Because of the school board's conduct," noted Barbee, "you are hereby requested to withhold all federal funds, grants, and aids from [the Milwaukee School Board] until they cease practicing discrimination."[66] The letter listed grievances which Barbee and his supporters had previously raised in local reports and protests. They charged the Board with arbitrarily setting school attendance boundaries, segregating Black faculty and staff, busing Black students 'intact' to white schools, and constructing a new school which would be predominately Black and below acceptable standards.[67] Barbee may have been inspired to send the letter after co-signing a similar letter of complaint, two days earlier, to Sargeant Shriver at the Office of Economic Opportunity, regarding the local Social Development Commission's failure to include participation of the poor in planning its anti-poverty projects.[68] Furthermore, Barbee most likely had read of a complaint sent three days earlier to HEW officials by civil rights activists protesting school segregation in Chicago.[69]

Despite the fact that Secretary Celebrezze "hated controversy" and was about to resign his post, HEW spokesmen publicly expressed their prior knowledge of the letter and suggested that an investigation was imminent.[70] Charles Rogers, who worked directly under Assistant Secretary James Quigley in complaint investigation, told reporters that while Barbee's letter still had not been officially received, it would soon be acted upon. "[H]e expected Milwaukee," wrote the *Milwaukee Journal*, "to be put in the same category as Chicago, San Francisco, Boston, and Chester, Pennsylvania."[71] HEW had received complaints from all four cities, and "federal investigators would be sent" to examine charges of discrimination. Although the mere existence of predominately Black schools did not prove intentional segregation in northern cities, HEW would investigate for discrimination anyway. "We can't close our eyes to discrimination," stated an anonymous HEW official, perhaps Assistant Secretary Quigley. "We expect the matter of ghetto schools to be the big issue of the future."

At the same time that HEW officials promised to investigate charges of northern segregation, however, they also admitted that they were unsure of their legal authority in taking this unprecedented step. The anonymous HEW official admitted to reporters that he did not believe that the department "had authority now to attack de facto segregation." The Office of Education had established Title VI enforcement guidelines in April, 1965, relying upon Congressional intent and post-*Brown* case law. However, these regulations were designed

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[65]*Milwaukee Post*, October 23, 1963.

[66]Barbee to Celebrezze, July 7, 1965, box 196, folder 14, BP.

[67]"School Aid Halt Wins Support," *Milwaukee Star*, July 17, 1965, p. 1.

[68]Barbee et. al. to Shriver, July 5, 1965, box 196, folder 14, BP; see also "US Asked to Examine Antipoverty Program," July 6, 1965, *Milwaukee Journal*, p. 16.

[69]"A Chronology of Deferral," *Integrated Education*, issue 18, December 1965-January 1966, pp. 8-34.

[70]Orfield, p. 165.

[71]"Rights Probe by US Seen for Schools Here," July 8, 1965, *Milwaukee Journal*, p. 1.

primarily for the purpose of mandating desegregation compliance from formerly *de jure* segregated southern schools, not for judging whether or not northern *de facto* segregation was illegal.[72] Civil rights organizations like MUSIC were pressuring HEW to apply the law and withhold Title I funds, but it was not at all clear what the law allowed and disallowed.

Barbee's initial letter sparked more letters and more publicity to Milwaukee's desegregation controversy. Three weeks after Barbee's letter to Celebrezze, the MUSIC Executive Board sent a second letter of complaint and request for an investigation to newly appointed HEW Secretary John Gardner. The nine-page letter brought "indictments" against four of the Board members and the Superintendent, "on the grounds that they have done an exceedingly grave disservice to all Milwaukee children by abdicating professionalism and responsibility in the respective positions as policy-makers for the schools."[73] MUSIC criticized Board members for obstructing open discussion of de facto segregation by abusing parliamentary procedure, conducting biased studies, and publicly making offensive statements about Black Milwaukeeans. MUSIC's most serious charge against the Board was that they voted in favor of compensatory education "while still ignoring the larger problem of racial imbalance and refusing to admit that compensatory education without simultaneous plans for progressive integration simply treats symptoms instead of the disease."[74] The letter closed by encouraging HEW to follow through on its recent decision to conduct an investigation of Milwaukee schools, but cautiously hoped "that it will not be just another silent one."[75] To prevent that possibility, MUSIC again asked that federal funds be withheld during the investigation.

Raising the possibility that over $2 million of federal aid might be withheld from Milwaukee schools brought strong criticism against MUSIC. A local television editorial charged MUSIC with irresponsible conduct, since cutting off federal aid would harm the "culturally deprived areas of the city," especially the Black children whom the activists were claiming to help.[76] The editorial also deplored the idea of "running to Washington to solve a question that should be solved right here in our city."[77] Board President John Foley also publicly criticized Barbee's attempts to involve HEW, but in a private letter he told Barbee, his former law school classmate, that he welcomed the federal lawsuit and the HEW investigation. "We applauded you for these actions," wrote Foley, because federal intervention "would enable us to have judicial determination of the validity of our operation."[78] He warned Barbee against conducting any further boycotts or protests while the government deliberated the legality of neighborhood school policies, since they might upset the Court's unbiased proceedings. Foley seemed to welcome the legal challenge to the board's neighborhood school attendance policy, because he knew that given the current interpretation of the law, his side would win.

In the fall of 1965, the politics of Milwaukee's school desegregation debate played out in Chicago, and Foley's side won. According to Gary Orfield's account, Assistant Secretary Quigley overcame the initial reluctance of Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel and persuaded Secretary Gardner to begin treating northern segregation in the same assertive manner

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[72]Bailey and Mosher, pp. 145-7.

[73]MUSIC Executive Board to Gardner, July 27, 1965, box 12, folder 6, BP. The four Board members were Lorraine Radtke, past president; Harold Story, chairman of the Special Committee on Equality of Educational Opportunity; Margaret Dinges; and newly elected Board president John Foley. See also "School Aid Halt Wins Support," *Milwaukee Star*, July 17, 1965, p. 1.

[74]MUSIC to Gardner, p. 5.

[75]MUSIC to Gardner, p. 9.

[76]"Foley Blasts Barbee Plea," July 9, 1965, *Milwaukee Journal*, p. 1.

[77]"Let's Solve Our Own School Problems Without Running To Washington For Help," WITI TV6 editorial number 919, August 17, 1965, Henry Maier Papers, box 161, folder 25, Wisconsin State Historical Society.

[78]Foley to Barbee, September 30, 1965, box 196, folder 14, BP.

that HEW treated southern segregation.[79] They unwisely selected Chicago, home of Mayor Daley's notorious Democratic political machine, as the testing ground for this new approach. Based on reports that the Chicago school superintendent was planning on spending a portion of the $32 million of ESEA funds on mobile classrooms for overcrowded Black schools, the Office of Education deferred funds to avoid the embarrassment of seeing them spent on maintaining inferior segregated education. However, HEW sent an ambiguous letter to State officials in September, since they had no hard data proving Chicago's intention to segregate. By October, amid a storm of reaction against this Federal intervention, Mayor Daley personally persuaded President Johnson to call off the HEW investigation and grant the ESEA funds. Democratic machines in Chicago blocked the more liberal civil rights-wing of the Johnson Administration from leveraging ESEA funds to pressure desegregation in the north for the next two years.

HEW's promise to investigate school segregation in Milwaukee was never fulfilled, nor did Lloyd Barbee and his MUSIC colleagues receive official responses to their 1965 letters. In 1967, Barbee wrote another letter to Secretary Gardner, expressing his concern over a recent news report that HEW would not study Milwaukee in its current investigations due to the pending lawsuit.[80] Barbee refused to believe this explanation, since HEW did not raise this issue when it first promised to investigate Milwaukee in 1965. He questioned whether the Federal government had abdicated its responsibility to help citizens who had attempted to help themselves, or whether "the decision, after all, [was] only one of political expediency." Over a month later, Gardner's office sent a brief, formal reply. "Since litigation has been initiated," read HEW's response, "we are referring your current letter, together with the original complaint, to the Honorable Stephen J. Pollak, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division."[81] HEW washed its hands of the Milwaukee controversy and handed the matter over to the Justice Department.

From 1965 to 1967, in the aftermath of the Chicago debacle, officials at HEW faced difficult policy choices: compensatory education, desegregation, or both? Their first attempt to enforce Title VI compliance in the north had failed, and there appeared to be no clear way for HEW to influence policy in de facto segregated school districts without stronger legal precedents and political support. Continuing to administer ESEA would not bring about desegregation, they realized, but pulling support away from Title I would jeopardize the program and risk leaving the Federal government with no means of assisting Black schoolchildren nor any future basis for investigating policies inside northern segregated schools. The best course of action at HEW was to strengthen its administration of compensatory education while talking strongly in favor of northern desegregation in anticipation of more liberal legal interpretations. This pragmatic compromise, however, had one major flaw. It continued to obscure the contradiction between the practice of Title I, which maintained concentrations of Black, de facto segregated schools, and the goal of integration.[82]

D) Who governed the school system's "War on Poverty"?

By the summer of 1967, a broad coalition of dissenters came together to challenge the Milwaukee Public Schools' governance of the War on Poverty through Title I funding. Those opposing the school administration represented a very diverse range of groups: the Catholic Archdiocese, the teachers union, and civil rights activists. Although they held few interests in

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[79]Orfield, chapter 4.

[80]Barbee to Gardner, November 28, 1967, box 12, folder 6, BP.

[81]HEW to Barbee, January 11, 1968, box 12, folder 6, BP.

[82]NOTE: A final section of my seminar paper follows the post-65 story into Washington, which may be relevant to the broader study, but not included here due to the local focus of this Milwaukee case study. Also, another seminar paper written for Michael Olneck analyzes how US Civil Rights Commission research on Milwaukee influenced (and failed to influenced) HEW black education policy in 1966-67.

common, all agreed that decision-making authority over the millions of dollars of Title I aid needed to be shared among many, not left to the sole authority of the central office. Most importantly, crucial backing for this coalition came from Milwaukee's two Democratic Congressmen, who helped dissenters draw support from anti-poverty legislation in their challenge against local authorities.

In 1965, when Milwaukee school desegregation activists protested against Title I compensatory education, Catholic school supporters charged that the program planners were biased against their religion. The dispute arose when Wisconsin Attorney General Bronson La Follette stated that it would be nearly impossible for the state to distribute ESEA funds to religious schools, due to a constitutional conflict. Although Congress had ruled that parochial schoolchildren were eligible to receive federal aid, state education officials claimed that the Wisconsin constitution prevented them from carrying out the federal mandate. Which version of the law would prevail? The state attorney general called for more time to study the issue.[83]

Arguing on behalf of parochial schools, Fr. Virgil Blum of the Children's Equal Opportunities Committee insisted that federal ESEA funds should be held in a separate trust, outside of the state education agency, to faciliate distribution to religious schools. Blum also pointed out that under current law, religious schools could receive textbooks under Title II of the federal act [***ESEA?] which were channeled through the state, but "loaned" directly to teachers and children, on the "child-benefit" principle.[84]

Before the beginning of the 1966 school year, Wisconsin Attorney General LaFollette finally issued a compromise ruling on the constitutional dilemma. According to his interpretation of the law, federal ESEA funds issued to Wisconsin could be used for "shared time," when religious school students attended Title I programs on public school grounds. But the separation clause maintained, in his ruling, that ESEA funds could not be used to send a public schoolteacher to perform the same services in a parochial school. That September, in the first major involvement of parochial schools in a federal project, nearly 650 Catholic and Lutheran elementary school children in Milwaukee began attending newly-equipped Title I reading centers in more than 40 public schools. Blum's organization, the Children's Equal Opportunities Committee, expressed disappointment with Bronson's ruling and vowed to return to the issue in the future.[85]

By the summer of 1967, Catholic school advocates raised new charges against Milwaukee public school administrators, but this time with stronger political backing. Monsignor Edmund Goebel, the superintendent of Milwaukee's Catholic schools, publicly announced that parochial schoolchildren had not received their fair share of ESEA benefits. Although the city's 50,000 Catholic and Lutheran schoolchildren made up nearly 30% of the school-age population, less than 3% of last year's $2.5 million in Title I funds had been spent on them. Moreover, he charged that public school authorities did not consult with parochial school officials while planning Title I programs, as required by federal law.[86]

Catholic and Lutheran school advocates had prepared for this confrontation by organizing additional political support. For example, Milwaukee school board member Fred Mett agreed that central office administrators were "grabbing all the funds" for public schools, leaving

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[83] 16? May 1965 US aid to Deprived Pupils Creates Dilemma MS; Note: I need more background here: did Congress anticipate this local problem?

[84] 16? May 1965 US aid to Deprived Pupils Creates Dilemma pMS

[85] 20 July 1966 La Follette Oks US funds for Parochial Shared Time MJ; 29 Sept 1966 Reading Aid for Parochial Pupils Slated MS; **NOTE: Somewhere in my files I have more background info which may be relevant here on the financial crisis faced by Milw Catholic schools during the mid-60s, as their enrollments were shrinking and costs rising.

[86] 3 August 1967 Msgr Goebel charged fund spread unfair MS; 15 Aug 67 Fed School Aid Sharing MS

nothing for the non-publics. Furthermore, Mett added that it was "rank nonsense" for the school board to approve next year's Title I plan until this dispute was settled, announcing that "We are in violation of the provisions of ESEA." Shortly after, Congressman Clement Zablocki from the city's southside declared that he would call for a federal investigation into the matter. "I think there is good reason to believe that private and parochial students are not being included to the extent that they should be," Zablocki observed, adding that if the school board did not resolve the problem, then "The entire federal funds for the district could be in jeopardy." His northside colleague, Congressman Henry Reuss, soon added his support for a federal investigation.[87]

In addition to these objections from parochial schools, leaders of the city's two rival public schoolteachers' unions — the Milwaukee Teachers Education Association and the Milwaukee Teachers' Union — added that their members had also been left out of Title I planning. Shortly thereafter, the MTU went a step further by joining the call for a federal probe. Pressure was mounting against Milwaukee Public School administrators from an unlikely coalition of Catholics, civil rights activists, and teachers' union leaders.[88]

At an emergency meeting in Congressman Reuss's office in Washington DC, with representatives from Milwaukee parochial schools and the US Office of Education in attendance, a compromise was reached shortly before the 1967-68 school year. Milwaukee Public School superintendent Richard Gousha announced he would revise the upcoming budget to include more parochial schools in Title I programs, and Congressman Zablocki dropped his call for a federal investigation. To satisfy constitutional requirements, the public school system would soon move toward obtaining classroom space near parochial schools, and buying mobile classroom units.[89]

The most important long-term outcome of the meeting was Gousha's agreement to formulate a Title I advisory council. To avoid future conflicts over the governance of ESEA programs, Gousha called for a consultative body to be made up of delegates from parochial schools, the teachers' unions, anti-poverty groups, and the Social Development Council, "to insure that all interested segments of the community are represented in the development of federally funded programs." Gousha's decision signaled the beginning of a new era of educational policy in Milwaukee: an attempt to apply decentralization strategies to programs administered by the nation's central government in Washington, DC.[90]

By the end of 1967, parochial school advocates won a favorable resolution to their dispute with the Milwaukee Public School authorities, in contrast to Lloyd Barbee and the school desegregation activists, whose battle continued on for another decade. Both groups shared strong political backing for their cause, with Congressman Zablocki supporting the parochial school fight, and Congressman Reuss assisting the civil rights struggle. But the two groups differed sharply over their fundamental demands. Parochial school advocates demanded a fair share of federal funds, while desegregation activists called upon Washington to halt all federal school aid to the city. For a time, even Reuss believed that this goal was attainable. Only two weeks after the parochial school meeting, he told reporters that Milwaukee was the most likely of all major cities to lose federal school aid due to segregation. But it never happened. The lesson to be

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[87] 26 July 1967 Schools Criticized over Federal Aid MJ; 31 July 1967 Zablocki may call for school probe MS

[88] 26 July 1967 Schools Criticized over Federal Aid MJ; 3 August 1967 Teachers Union asks school project probe MJ

[89] 16 Aug 1967 Gousha agrees to add to parochial pupil aid MS; also MJ; 14 August 1967 School system plan joint study of aid MJ

[90] 16 Aug 1967 Gousha agrees to add to parochial pupil aid MS; also MJ; NOTE: could use more background here to describe how the Advisory council fits into newly formed fed requirements for greater partic in anti-poverty planning

learned: it was easier for dissenters to demand a larger slice of the pie for themselves, than to upset everyone by insisting that the entire pie be cleared away from the table.[91]

Although the Johnson Administration had intended Title I to benefit the nation's poorest children, the most vocal advocates for these children in Milwaukee declared the program to have been a failure. A "History of Title I" written by local civil rights activists around 1970, noted that the Milwaukee Public Schools had received $20 million to implement the program over five years, but had little to show for it. Despite 1967 federal guidelines which called for parents to be involved in planning, operation, and evaluation of Title I, "up to this point only 4 parents have been included in the program." This track record fell far short of newer 1970 guidelines which required a majority of parent involvement at all levels of the program. The writer concluded that due to the lack of responsible governmental action to correct these failures, program effectiveness had been compromised. "Our students' level of achievement has not increased" under five years of Title I, "but in fact, has dropped." The best action to take on behalf of students, suggested the author, was to increase the representation of low-income parents in all aspects of Title I programs.[92]

E) EXTRA: How Head Start blurred the boundaries of "public education"

NOTE: This study of federal educational policy focuses on elementary and secondary education. Although Head Start does not officially fall into this category, I suggest that it is worthy of consideration by historians and policy analysts on the grounds that this program blurred the traditional boundaries of "public elementary education" in the mid-1960s.

The division between "child care" and "education" is socially constructed.When Milwaukee faced a budget crisis in the early 1950s, one of the first fiscal changes they made was to raise the public school entry age from 4 yrs to 5 yrs, thus eliminating costly pre-kindergarten classrooms which had served the city's population for years. When Head Start came on the scene in the early 1960s through the EOA, it had many purposes, but one was to effectively lower the entry age for "public education." The fact that Head Start was run by SDC, and not the Milw Public Schools, is important because it points to how federal involvement blurred the boundaries for what was "public elementary education" and what was not.

Considerable research on Milwaukee's Head Start program has already been conducted by Kathy Kuntz, a UW-Madison history grad student who participated in Kaestle's federal policy seminar, wrote a master's thesis on the topic, and also published a book chapter. Her work reveals how significant numbers of Milwaukee women became politically active in the city's affairs through Head Start, something which did not happen through other traditionally male-dominated aspects of federal involvement, such as school finance.[93]

Finally, the Head Start story in other metro areas may reveal more about local perspectives on federal involvement. By chance, I happened to read a Milw news clipping which mentioned that at a meeting of the Am Assoc of School Administrators in 1967, Kenneth Oberholtzer, the school supt from Denver, CO, described Head Start as "an archexample of extreme federal direction."[94] In other words, while Head Start was not officially "elementary

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91 28 Aug 1967 City 'Likely to Lose' US school aid [MJ or MS]

92 "The History of Title I," [no author or date; probably written by Milw deseg activist Marilyn Morheuser, 1970], box 76, folder 10, Barbee papers.

93 Kathryn Kuntz, "A Lost Legacy: Head Start's Origins in Community Action." [several examples from Milwaukee case study]. In Jeanne Ellsworth and Lynda Ames, eds., *Critical Perspectives on Project Head Start: Revisioning the Hope and Challenge* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1998).

94 13 Feb 1967 Vicent Warns on Matching US Ed Aid Funds MS

education," many public school systems had to deal with this program, and we should find out why they saw it to be more politically intrusive than Title I.

The hidden history of vocational education:

Here's a quick sidenote. After reading through decades of newsprint and archives on federal involvement in Milwaukee education, one of the very few references to vocational education was the following:

In 1966, Wilbur Cohen, undersec of HEW (and former Milwaukeean) said fed aid to voc ed had proved itself and will increase, speaking at dedication of $4M continuing ed center of Milw vocatoinal school on N 7th and W Highland; refers to passage of voc ed act of 1963; enrollment increased nationwide about 27%.[95]

Talk about a quiet transformation!!!

3) Decentralizing via Washington, DC

At a lively debate over urban schools at the Senate education subcommittee in 1971, several big-city superintendents presented contrasting views on federal involvement. Mark Shedd, the Philadelphia school superintendent, proposed that federal authorities should nationalize the 25 largest public school systems, thus taking official control over underfunded public institutions which the states and suburbs had abandoned. But Milwaukee's superintendent, Richard Gousha, strongly objected to this proposal. Indeed, federal funds should be used to increase financial equity among school districts, he argued, but not to the extent that permits Washington to usurp total educational authority. "There is a great hazard in turning to the federal government," Gousha cautioned. "It runs counter to the whole move for decentralization — to bring the government closer to the people."[96]

By the early 1970s, "school decentralization" had gained wide popularity as an educational reform ideology shared by several politically diverse interest groups. Across the country, decentralization advocates included white conservative free-market voucher supporters as well as black radicals affiliated with the Ocean Hill-Brownsville community control movement in New York. In theory, both versions of decentralization would redistribute power over educational decisions from big-city school bureaucracies to low-income and minority parents, those most invested in the interests of their children. But what role could the federal government — the nation's most central (and arguably the most bureaucratic) authority — play in this education reform movement? In Milwaukee, three different stories of federal involvement in decentralization efforts shed light on this question:

a) the North Division sub-system (ESEA Title III)
b) the Title I advisory council (ESEA)
c) the OEO voucher proposal (Office of Economic Opportunity)

A) The North Division sub-system

In 1968, not a single member of Milwaukee's 15-seat at-large school board resided in the city's inner-core, home to a majority of the African-American population. School desegregation activists charged that the city's all-white school board ignored the problems faced by predominantly black schools. In response to this criticism, Milwaukee school administrators submitted an experimental school decentralization proposal under ESEA Title III, which resulted in a three-year $900,000 grant. It called for the creation of a model "sub-system" of school governance for the virtually all-black North Division High School and cluster of neighborhood feeder schools. The plan for local school governance sounded vaguely familiar to the experience

[95] 15 Oct 1966 US Voc funds to rise, official says MJ

[96] 26 Sept 1971 Gousha Wary on Aid MJ

in the East Harlem and Ocean Hill-Brownsville neighborhoods of New York City. North Division residents would elect four community representatives to an advisory council made up of teachers and principals who would exercise "considerable latitude for local school decisions" under a framework established by school superintendent and board. In theory, increased parental involvement and autonomy to overcome regulatory obstacles would produce educational programs which would lead to higher student achievement. The new school superintendent, Richard Gousha, would eventually make the North Division sub-system a public relations cornerstone of his broad effort to decentralize school administration for the entire city.[97]

But the sub-system plan soon faced critics on two fronts. On one hand, school desegregation activists such as Lloyd Barbee charged that decentralization plans avoided the underlying problem facing North Division, racial segregation. He fired off a letter to Wilbur Cohen, the new secretary-designate of HEW, and a former resident of Milwaukee, demanding to know why the federal government funded this proposal. Barbee reminded Cohen that HEW had promised to enforce civil rights laws in Northern school systems, and that the US Civil Rights Commission had documented evidence of racial isolation in Milwaukee schools in the previous year. "We ask you to refuse funding to this proposal," he concluded, "and to any other proposal which further entrenches Northern school segregation." But Barbee's objections fell upon deaf ears.[98]

On the other front, black Milwaukeeans who supported the principle of community control also criticized the sub-system plan as a fraud. First, it had been created entirely by the school administration, *without* consultation from the community supposedly empowered by decentralization. At a public meeting held nearly four months *after* the proposal had been submitted for funding, black North Division parents sharply criticized the sub-system planners for failing to include them in its development. Some charged that the proposal had been illegally funded by the federal government, since regulations mandated parental involvement in creating ESEA proposals. Second, critics charged that the sub-system failed to grant "real power" over schools to parents, since their four seats on the advisory council would be outnumbered by the fifteen other voting members, all of them school district employees. Moreover, any resolutions approved by the sub-system board were merely non-binding advisory recommendations, which might or might not be sent up a long chain of command to the superintendent and school board. The United Community Action Group, composed primarily of Black and white female activists whose own proposal for school-based community control had been rejected a year earlier, called the plan "a trick to keep Black students in bad schools while making Black parents think they have some influence in running the schools." The sub-system model would force Black parents to wade through "unnecessary layers of administrators and advisors," they argued, rather than directly voicing their complaints to the school board, which held the real power.[99]

Once the sub-system program was launched, a number of black North Division parents and community members chose to participate in the decentralization experiment, as one of the few remaining paths for improving their school. A storefront administrative office was established in the North Division neighborhood to act as a liaison between area residents and the distant central school office. Federal funds were primarily used to pay the expenses of involving parents and additional staff to develop new educational programs, such as a reading program. Looking back after three years of debate over the sub-system, Rev. Joseph McNeil, chairman of the North Division Advisory Council, acknowledged that "there were a lot of growing pains, but there were

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[97]Milwaukee Public Schools, "A Sub-System Approach to the Problems of a Large City School System: An Application for a Title III (ESEA) Grant," March 1968, box 74, folder 22, Barbee papers. But note that Mario Fantini et. al., *Community Control and the Urban School*. (New York: Praeger, 1970), criticized dependent subsystem programs as "more of the same" without the accountability of genuine community control.

[98] Barbee to Cohen, 13 May 1968, B74 F22, Barbee papers

[99] 5/18/68 Proposed sub-school system stirs controversy, p1 Milwaukee Courier; 5/25/68 North Div sub-system opposed by UCAG, p2, Courier; 6/1/68 School board ignores Black parents, p1, Courier; 7/27/68 Black parents unite to oppose north sub-system, p1, Courier

also a lot of frank expressions and exchanges. And as a result, we got some movement." But the Milwaukee school district's formal evaluation concluded that the decentralization experiment had done little to raise test scores or participants' self-perceptions of their role in the decision-making process. When federal funds ran out in 1972, the Milwaukee school board refused to carry the program in its own budget. Thus the authority which had originally created the decentralization experiment also let it die.[100]

B) The Title I Advisory Council

At the same time that sub-system participants attempted to reshape North Division High School, parents from all over Milwaukee were seeking more influential roles on the newly-formed city-wide Title I advisory council. At the end of the parochial school ESEA crisis meeting in 1967, Superintendent Richard Gousha promised to formulate a Title I advisory board to bring more constituents to the bargaining table to develop proposals. At that time, he had parochial school administrators and the public schoolteachers' union members in mind. But by 1970, the US Office of Education and the Wisconsin state education department ruled that Milwaukee's Title I Advisory Council must be composed predominantly of parents of children attending schools which participated in the program. A number of lawsuits had been filed across the country, seeking for force secretive school bureaucracies to open up to Title I parents. Perhaps the most publicized ruling came from San Jose CA, where low-income parents won a consent decree calling for both a Title I parents' advisory council and the disclosure of pertinent data.[101]

After years of pressure, in 1971 the Milwaukee school board finally approved an interim Title I advisory council of twenty-four parents to determine how ESEA funds should be spent in the district. But Superintendent Gousha fought hard to keep out representatives from several inner-city organizations, such as the Latin American Union for Civil Rights, the Milwaukee Welfare Rights Organization, and Triple O, an anti-poverty community organizing group headed by black activist Larry Harwell.[102]

Meetings between the Title I Advisory Council and school administrators were tense. At one point, the central office staff were not allowed to speak at the meetings. A *Milwaukee Journal* reporter observed first-hand the "basic distrust that the [advisory] council has for the professionals at the central office. Meetings are marked by debate," particularly between the Title I coordinator and parents. "The parents have pinned much of the failure of inner-city schools on professional educators, who in turn try to steer the parents away from radical changes in the Title I program." Decision-making power over $4.5 million of federal funds was at stake here, and the parents' group feared that the professionals would persuade the Milwaukee school board, which held the ultimate authority, to ignore their advisory recommendations.[103]

Over time, both the parents and the professionals saw some of their Title I spending proposals approved by the school board. After a series of long meetings, the parents recommended that Title I funds be limited to grades K-3, which would exclude programs for older students, but concentrate efforts on younger students, where they believed it would be most effective. The school board approved that recommendation, but later ruled against one of the council's other recommendations, that a community-relations specialist be hired from a list of five candidates

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[100] 3/18/71 Board Heard praise of decentralization MJ; 7/13/71 School Cluster Project has gained acceptance MJ; 2/25/72 North Cluster: Is it All Over? MJ

[101] 16 November 1970 Parents may get say in use of school aid MJ

[102] 10 April 1971 Parents to sit on Title I adv board, Courier; 9 June 1971 Ask Parent Panel on US Fund Use MS; NOTE ***This dispute is very complex, and given my time pressures, I couldn't really do it justice here. But I do have more source materials to flesh it out, if necessary.

[103] 28 April 1972 Parents weigh use of school funds MJ

which they had submitted. Previously, the board had approved this request, but later rescinded it when Superintendent Gousha expressed outrage over the infringement of his authority in personnel matters. According to reports, Gousha exclaimed that two of the persons on the advisory council's list were "Larry Harwell's men," thus linked to the black community organizer who was highly skilled in using federal anti-poverty guidelines to increase black political power.[104]

C) The OEO voucher proposal

In 1970, a very different federal experiment in decentralization — vouchers — almost came knocking upon Milwaukee's doorstep. The Nixon Administration's Office of Economic Opportunity called for the creation of an education voucher pilot program, to explore how this free-market tool might increase low-income and minority parental choice, thus improving the responsiveness and quality of public and private schools. One city would be awarded between $5 to $8 million to implement the experiment, and federal officials designated the Center for the Study of Public Policy, of Cambridge MA, to recruit applicants. The Center's director, Robert Bothwell, searched for potential candidates across the country, and made several trips to Milwaukee to explain the voucher idea. "You might have schools centering on art and music, or new Montessori schools springing up," he told a public television audience. "The more diverse and attractive these schools are to parents, the more pressure there will be on the system to make changes," Bothwell promised. "Bring the parent back into a real, live participating role in choosing where his child would go to school and give him a chance for using his voucher, or tuition payment, as some kind of leverage to influence the direction of that school." Compared to the sub-system and Title I advisory boards, this decentralization proposal relied more upon individual family choice as a vehicle to promote greater voice, and expanded the range of educational options into the private sector.[105]

Submitting an application to the federal voucher program required the approval of the city's public school board, but Bothwell had many reasons to believe that Milwaukee was a leading candidate. "We've been interested in Milwaukee from the very beginning," explained Bothwell, while speaking at the predominantly black Northside YMCA. "Milwaukee already has ten independent schools which are new and prime to implement new programs." He referred to the very recent growth of independent community schools such as Urban Day and Harambee, created when white Catholics and Lutherans abandoned inner-city parochial schools in the late '60s, which were subsequently taken over by remaining groups of dedicated parents and educators, many of them African-American. At the national level, organizations such as the NAACP opposed the voucher proposal, but Bothwell told Milwaukee reporters that "he had received overwhelming support of most blacks." Several local black spokespeople, from the Milwaukee Urban League, the Social Development Commission, and the Federation of Independent Community Schools, called for the Milwaukee schools to submit an application.[106]

Bothwell also found support from other pro-voucher sources in Milwaukee. One included several members of the school board, including distinguished white businessmen and the group's newest representative, black attorney Harold Jackson. Another source of political support came from Fr. Virgil Blum, the Marquette political science professor who was a long-term advocate of federal aid to parochial schools in the form of grants to individual families [***more documentation for this link?*] Finally, an important insider was Gerald Farley, who recently left his position as Federal project coordinator for the Milwaukee Public Schools, and took up the role of Local Project Coordinator for the Center for the Study of Public Policy.

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[104] 2 August 1972 School aid to poor ok'd MS

[105] 10/19/70 Bothwell on MPL Ch6 "Public conference", MJ; Vouchers pictured as school stimulant MJ

[106] 26 Oct 1970 Crit test near on school vouchers MJ; see also 10/6/70 MJ

But Milwaukee school board committees blocked the voucher proposal from advancing on several close votes. By the end of 1970, Bothwell finally gave up on Milwaukee and continued to work with other contenders, including Seattle, Gary IN, San Francisco, San Diego. In the end, Alum Rock, a suburb of San Jose, was selected as the nation's test site for the first federal school voucher experiment.[107]

On the surface, none of the three federally-sponsored decentralization efforts made a significant change in Milwaukee students' educational outcomes during the early 1970s. Neither Title I nor the North Division sub-system could point to test score gains; vouchers never made it off the ground in Milwaukee, but in Alum Rock their results were mixed at best. Thus a simple conclusion would state that decentralization failed.

But the longer lens of historical analysis suggests a different interpretation. While the Milwaukee school desegregation movement bogged down in school board recalcitrance and litigation during the late 1960s, several black activists found new avenues for school reform through decentralization channels opened up by the federal government in the early 1970s. Indeed, these efforts did not bring immediate success. But decentralization provided a forum which maintained political discourse and spiritual hope for urban schooling for the future. By the late 1970s and '80s, several decentralization activists discovered the fruit of their labors. For example, Rev. Joseph McNeil, who described the "growing pains" of the sub-system, lead a new North Division advisory board which oversaw the construction of a new building, and defended it from closure during desegregation in 1979. Likewise, Larry Harwell, who challenged school administrators through the Title I advisory board during the early '70s, eventually found private school vouchers to be a more effective vehicle in the late '80s, a movement which he organized as Wisconsin State Rep. Polly Williams' chief of staff. In sum, federal decentralization efforts did not yield immediate gains in the early '70s, but they played an important role in cultivating school reform activism for later decades.

4) The Politics of Expanding Educational Equality in the 70s

NOTE to the reader: Due to the time pressures of this six-month, half-time research project, the report diminishes in quality over the next few sections from "narrative analysis" to "expanded outline."

"People in Wisconsin think Washington money is dirty money," Congressman Clement Zablocki told Democratic Governor Lucey in 1974. To some degree, that sentiment had been present during the entire post-war era. Legend tells that when US Air Force officials made plans to build their new academy in Wisconsin during the 1950s, they were "met by farmers with pitchforks," as many state residents did not wish their local economy to rely heavily upon military spending. (Colorado was chosen instead.)[108]

But political resentment against federal spending seemed to broaden throughout Wisconsin during the mid-1970s. Various reports indicated that federal funds were flowing away from the Northeast and Midwest, towards Sunbelt states such as Florida and California. According to the *National Journal* in 1976, Wisconsin was a perennial loser in the federal aid game. The state received only 73¢ for every dollar it sent to Washington, an issue which Congressman Henry Reuss decided needed fuller attention.[109]

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[107] 24 November 1970 Vouchers for schools lose again MJ

[108] 8 Feb 1974 State's Attitude o Fed Money has Hurt, Lucey Told MJ

[109] 31 August 1976 Federal Fund ing Fight to Start MS

As a result of the school desegregation protests led by Lloyd Barbee in the 1960s, dozens of other Milwaukee groups rose up in the '70s, inspired by the civil rights model of expanding educational equality. Advocates for language-minority, special education, and female students in Milwaukee realized how federal involvement might help them to leverage gains for their constituents. But the politics of educational equality were tricky. By and large, these 1970s education movements were most successful when they avoided being identified as strident civil rights issues. In fact, the Milwaukee school board was so distracted by the confrontational school desegregation movement during this period, that it opened up opportunities for other activists to quietly make gains in bilingual and special education. [*gender gains also?*]

a) bilingual education

For example, Spanish-speaking bilingual education activists made tremendous gains from 1969 to 1976(?) in Milwaukee, because their interests were not perceived to be threatening to the white population, made up largely of European immigrants. Milwaukee's Puerto Rican and Mexican population was relatively small, and the MPS bilingual education coordinator Anthony Gradisnik was a well-respected foreign language teacher from the predominantly Polish southside. Under his leadership, MPS was one of the first school districts in the nation to use federal funds (ESEA Title VII) to create a developmental bilingual program (aka "maintenance" program). In several elementary schools, mixed classes of English and Spanish-speaking students were taught their native language and their second language, thus creating a bilingual student population.

In 1973-74, a city-wide bilingual education advocacy group successfully persuaded the MPS board to absorb the costs of the program after federal funds were scheduled to end. Milwaukee became the only city in the country where the school board endorsed a maintenance bilingual program, whereas less-radical transitional bilingual programs were under attack in many Southwestern states. A major reason, according to one account, was that the MPS board was so "preoccupied with school desegregation issues and [was not] prepared to defend alternatives to a [maintenance] program." Furthermore, recalled one bilingual education activist, "none of the board members had read Lau," referring to the court rulings which shaped federal policy on bilingual education, but did not require maintenance programs. "But I had. So I sort of like had an advantage over them and was able to speak on the issue with a little more assurance that they could go beyond Lau, because it didn't say that they couldn't." Thus as immigrant white Milwaukeeans feared that the federal government would order their children to be bussed into black neighborhoods, bilingual education was not perceived to be controversial.

Bilingual ed became much more controversial after 1976, when Hispanic activists complained to HEW that MPS was not in compliance with Lau. Part of the problem involved differences between Wisconsin regulations (passed in 1976) and federal regulations, and local fears that bilingual education would be dismantled due to impending school desegregation. OCR threatened to cut off all federal funds in 1978, and MPS reformulated its bilingual ed programs to meet federal compliance in 1979.[110]

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[110] Key secondary sources on federal involvement in Milwaukee Bilingual Ed:
Juana Alejandrina Vargas-Harrison, "A history of Hispanic bilingual education in Milwaukee's public schools : people, policies, and programs, 1969-1988." (PhD thesis in Urban Education, UW-Milwaukee, 1995.)
Tony Baez, Ricardo R. Fernandez, and Judith T. Guskin. Desegregation and Hispanic Students: A Community Perspective. (Rosslyn, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, 1980). [extensive material on Milwaukee, esp post-1975 period]
MPS, "Bilingual/Bicultural Education Program Evaluation Report 1973-1974, with a Five-Year Summary." Milwaukee Public Schools, Wis. Dept. of Educational Research and Program Assessment. Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. (ERIC doc ED106374), 1974.
[**see also notes on other years, especially for descriptive accounts and evidence of program success]
Cristobal S. Berry-Caban, "A Survey of the Puerto Rican Community on Milwaukee's Northeast Side in 1976." (Milwaukee Urban Observatory, Wis. 1977).

b) Special education

Despite evidence of rapidly increasing costs during the 1970s, special education did not rise up as a controversial issue regarding federal involvement in Milwaukee public education. School officials seem more concerned with state compliance rather than federal compliance (perhaps less stringent?), especially when cuts are proposed in the early Reagan era.

Unusual circumstances during the 1980s: Although special education costs increase dramatically on the national average, MPS special education costs remain relatively stable at 15% of the budget, despite increasing special ed enrollments.

Also, conflicting reports during the 1980s on whether Milwaukee minority students were disproportionately placed in special ed classes.[111]

c) Gender discrimination and Title IX

Similar to above, Title IX does not appear to rise up as a controversial issue in Milwaukee schools during the 1970s. One exception may be the co-education of Milwaukee Tech, a prestigious city-wide boys' public high school featuring a specialized curriculum, but I have scarcely found any mention of this event in the clippings collections which I consulted. There may be specific categories which I overlooked.

One dissertation on changing patterns in MPS gender bias during the mid-1970s reports that male dominance in administrative positions did not budge, but male/female enrollments in sex-typed high school courses changed from 5-15%. Also, MPS created interscholastic sports programs for girls, which increased spending from $0 to $35,000, still far from boys' spending at $128,000, though roughly equal on $18-$19 per participating athlete.[112]

Quiet revolutions make the most progress, at least in regard to federal aid to education.When movements to expand educational equality with federal aid arose during the '70s, they were more likely to fail if they were tagged as black-led or radical groups. For example, in 1969-70, the MPS school board openly clashed with supporters of federally-subsidized school breakfast and Title I children's clothing programs. The all-white board refused to participate in these federal programs, and long discussions dragged on over "lazy welfare mothers" and the dangers of public schools displacing parental responsibilities. This language revealed broader concerns among white Milwaukeeans about the increasing size of the black student population, many whose families migrated to the city from the rural, impoverished South. The board reluctantly agreed to an experimental school breakfast program (subsidized by federal and private contributions), but it soon disappeared, and the issue resurfaced in 1980, when Milwaukee was the largest city in the US not operating a school breakfast program. (***Not sure about outcome of Title I clothing subsidies). [**see my notes for sources]

5) How Federal Aid Shaped Desegregation in Milwaukee

Eleven years after Lloyd Barbee filed the original lawsuit, the federal court ordered in 1976 that MPS must desegregate, and the case was finally settled in 1979. Federal involvement

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Melendez,-Carmelo; And-Others. Through the Cracks: An Assessment of Bilingual Education in Wisconsin. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C. (ERIC doc ED225392), 1982.

111 **NOTE: Since I found relatively few source materials on this subject, there may be important controversies which I have overlooked.
Key secondary sources on federal involvement in Milwaukee special education:
Cibulka,-James-G.; Derlin,-Roberta-L, "Special Education Costs and Rising School Expenditures: A Review of the Evidence." (ERIC ED400664 1992); **Milwaukee data, but covers only 1982-90**
also, see my notes on other ERIC reports in 1980s on Milw
also, there may be a newspaper clippings category on special ed at WI LRB which I did not consult

112 Thomas Ervin Hesiak, Sr. "A Study of Sex Discrimination in Employment, Admission of Students, and Treatment of Students Enrolled at the Senior High School Level of the Milwaukee Public Schools." (Ed.D. thesis, University of Miami, 1976).

did not stop with the court, but significantly influenced the implementation of desegregation, leading Milwaukee to become one of the nation's most prominent examples of "voluntary" choice to achieve desegregated schools, with profound implications for black education reform movements of later decades.

When the judge ordered desegregation, many Milwaukeeans feared that their city would erupt in racial violence of the kind seen in Boston and Louisville. White southsiders had a long history of animosity toward northside blacks, and Congressman Zablocki announced his opposition to forced bussing.

But six months after the 1976 court ruling, Congressmen Zablocki and Reuss proudly announced that Milwaukee had received $74,000 in federal desegregation assistance, the first of many grants under Title VII of the Emergency School Aid Act (and other legislation too?). MPS and groups such as the Coalition for Peaceful Schools focused intensively on human relations programs to reduce the threat of racial violence.

MPS eventually adopted a desegregation plan which emphasized "choice" in school attendance zones. This compromise was designed so that white families would not be forced to send their children to black neighborhood schools, but could choose magnet schools in the inner-city, or remain in white-area neighborhood schools. In theory, black inner-city families also had choice, but in reality the number of available slots in black-neighborhood magnet and traditional schools were severely limited. By 1979, the federally-funded Coalition for Peaceful Schools changed leadership and began to openly protest the MPS desegregation plan as an unfair burden on the black community. Thus federal funds, which were originally intended to promote school desegregation, were actually used by dissenters to protest the official plan.

Furthermore, the strong emphasis on "choice" in the 1970s school desegregation plan laid the rhetorical groundwork for the late 1980s private school choice movement, perhaps the most potent challenge to date to the Milwaukee Public School system.

***This section draws from chapter 7 of my book manuscript, plus:
Zablocki papers, box 47+, comments on school deseg implementation
Reuss papers (see box 7, folder 9) on CFPS
23 July 1978 School aid plea put to US; reply awaited MJ
and other news clippings

6) A Rustbelt City faces the Reagan Budget

Although industrial cities like Milwaukee played a major role in the fight for federal aid to education during the 1950s, they suffered some of the heaviest losses during the Reagan budget cuts of the early 1980s. Democratic cities like Milwaukee grew weaker politically in this decade, as Republican suburbs and rural towns gained representation in the state and federal governments.

The Education Consolidation and Improvement Act (ECIA), which shifted federal funds from individual districts to state block grants, hit the Milwaukee budget very hard. In 1982, school superintendent Lee McMurrin and other representatives of big-city schools testified on this issue before a House Judiciary subcommittee. Milwaukee was hit doubly hard, he explained, when ESAA desegregation assistance funding was reduced at the same time that ECIA was implemented, which handed city school funds back to the state, to be divided among rural and suburban districts. "It is very difficult for me to explain to our people in Milwaukee," McMurrin

asserted, "why we take these tremendous cuts all the way along the line while adjacent districts are getting 4, 5, 7, and 11 times more federal money than they had in times past."[113]

Rustbelt cities, such as Milwaukee, Buffalo, and Baltimore, were disproportionately affected by ECIA.

Source:
Verstegen, Deborah Ann. "The Great Society Meets a New Federalism: Chapter 2 of the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act of 1981." (PhD thesis, U of Wisconsin-Madison, 1983).

very detailed evidence showing how federal school aid reductions due to ECIA "fell disproportionately on the Mid-Atlantic and Great Lakes areas of the country, and on poor and minority children located mainly in urban schools undergoing desegregation. Six states lost at least half of their antecedent program revenue; the majority lost a quarter of their funding or more. . . Wisconsin's only large urban area — Milwaukee — accounted for the total loss of aid to the state. . ." (from abstract)

Surprisingly, the draconian MPS budget cuts faced relatively little vocal opposition from city residents. Compared to school board meetings of the 1960s, when civil rights activists shouted out their demands for equal educational opportunity, the board's budget meetings of the early 1980s were relatively tranquil. One factor may be that an entire generation of black and low-income Milwaukeeans had learned not to trust the institution of MPS, and therefore were unlikely to come to its defense during the Reagan era. A second factor may be that the racial politics of education were easier to identify and follow than the arcane world of school budgets.

Sources:
11 May 1981 Verbatim minutes of the Comte on Instruction, Milw Sch Board
discussion of Title I ESEA prog for 81-82 and reduction in funds, from $15M to $10M
board reviews proposals from Title I Parents Adv Council, and hears comments from about 20 in the audience (half parents, half MPS employees)

8 April 1982 Verbatim minutes of the Comte on Instruction, Milw Sch Board
discussion of proposed spending cuts under ECIA:
Board member O'Connell: "Last year there was considerable discussion on this topic. It's unusual that this would go without some kind of debate, not that we are inviting it, but one of the components of Title is involvement of the parents involved, and I wondered if the spokesman for the parent group could at least tell us things that we would like to hear, like in terms of your going along with."

Norma Anwar, Chair of District Advisory Council: "At our March meeting we did read the proposal, and although we are sad because of some of the cuts that were made, we feel that under the circumstances, the budget that we have for next year, the Council unanimously voted to accept the proposal as you have it now."
[THIS WAS THE ONLY COMMENT!]

22 April 1982 Board proceedings p733
proposed reductions in staffing by Board cmte

Staffing	Title I 81-82	Chap 1 82-83
Teachers	268	165
Aides	112	31

[113] Civil Rights Implication of the Education Block Grant Program. Oversight Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary. House of Representatives, Ninety-Seventh Congress, First Session. Serial No. 83. Congress of the U.S., Washington, D.C. House Committee on the Judiciary. September 9, 1982; [ERIC paging p34-5]

Adm/Cler 28 22
(82-83 staffing is based on $7.5M estimate, and reps a reduction of 190 positions)

See also deterioration of city and school fiscal status during 70s and 80s, Seeds of Crisis, p. 65

On city/suburb and rustbelt/sunbelt in general, see Peterson's chapter in Seeds of Crisis

7) Vouchers Make For Strange Bedfellows

Technically, Milwaukee's private school voucher program is based on Wisconsin state legislation, but its local proponents (most notably State Rep. Polly Williams) received critical support from federal officials in the Bush administration. Sec. of Education Bill Bennett and his assistant Chester Finn gave ideological support to the Milwaukee plan, and at least three congressional hearings provided national forums.

Some commentators have noted that the voucher plan makes for "strange bedfellows," drawing together white Republicans and black Democrats. But it is important to understand how vouchers have a different meaning for these two groups. For white Republicans, "choice" means free-market ideology, and sometimes the freedom to send children to religious schools. But for black Democrats like Polly Williams, "choice" has little to do with free-market ideology or religious freedom. Instead, the voucher movement rose up out of the continuing black struggle to advance the race by gaining more power over public institutions, such as MPS. In the 1960s, the black education struggle focused on school desegregation, but its meaning changed in the late 1970s when black families (such as hers) could not freely choose schools for their children. Vouchers are simply a vehicle, as they were originally proposed in the 1970s, for the black community to gain political leverage over the MPS system.

As choice debates continue, observers have noticed growing cracks along these lines within the unlikely coalition which holds the movement together. Most recently, the US Supreme Court declined to review an appeal regarding the Milwaukee voucher plan, and thus let stand its controversial form of indirect public aid to religious schools. However, Rep Polly Williams, the most visible proponent of vouchers in Milwaukee, has spoken out against vouchers for religious schools, thus jeopardizing the coalition.

Sources:
last chapter of my dissertation, which also cites various academic and journalistic analyses of the Milw voucher movement
4 March 1988 Thompson pushes school vouchers MJ
1990 Wisc Adv Cmte to US Comm on CR
House Subcmte Field Hearing on Parent Choice (1990, Milw); and others

NOTE:
Although vouchers were not on Carl's original list of episodes/frames, I included them here because they help to summarize several continuing themes in the local-federal education relationship for Milwaukee. These include:
- state/church tensions
- racial tensions
- Republican/Democratic tensions
- local control vs federal intervention

NOTE: I have no idea if or how Goals 2000 has a place in the local Milwaukee story. Maybe there's a few connections with WI school-to-work initiatives, but that may be all. I did not have

much time to explore the post-1990s era. In fact, I feel quite lucky that I was able to cover as much ground as I did between 1945-1990.

Part 2B:

Supplemental Charts on School Finance and Demographics for Metropolitan Milwaukee and Federal Aid

While researching this report, I did my best to collect reliable school finance data and search for meaningful patterns to supplement the narrative. But since the data are a mess, and also because I'm not very confident with what I've found, this information should be treated as a tentative supplement to the full report.

The Metropolitan Milwaukee School District Revenue Data here come from two major sources:

a) from 1955 to 1980, I relied upon the annual fiscal reports by the metropolitan "good government" watchdog group, the Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau (today known as the Public Policy Forum). To my knowledge, they were the only source at the time which collected detailed school financial data for the entire Metro Milwaukee area (not just the city. However, their reports relied upon budgets, rather than actual expenditures, since they were trying to warn the public about finance issues before they happened.

b) After 1980, the WI Department of Public Instruction began to publish some reliable data on district-level revenue sources, enrollment, etc, in the series titled "Basic Facts about Wisconsin Elementary and Secondary Schools." During this period, the CGRB/PPF didn't publish as many bulletins as they used to do.

To cover the entire 1955-1996 period, I had to draw upon both CGRB and WI DPI sources, thus merging different sources of data. Therefore, pre-80 and post-80 data may not be perfectly comparable, but I think they're pretty close.

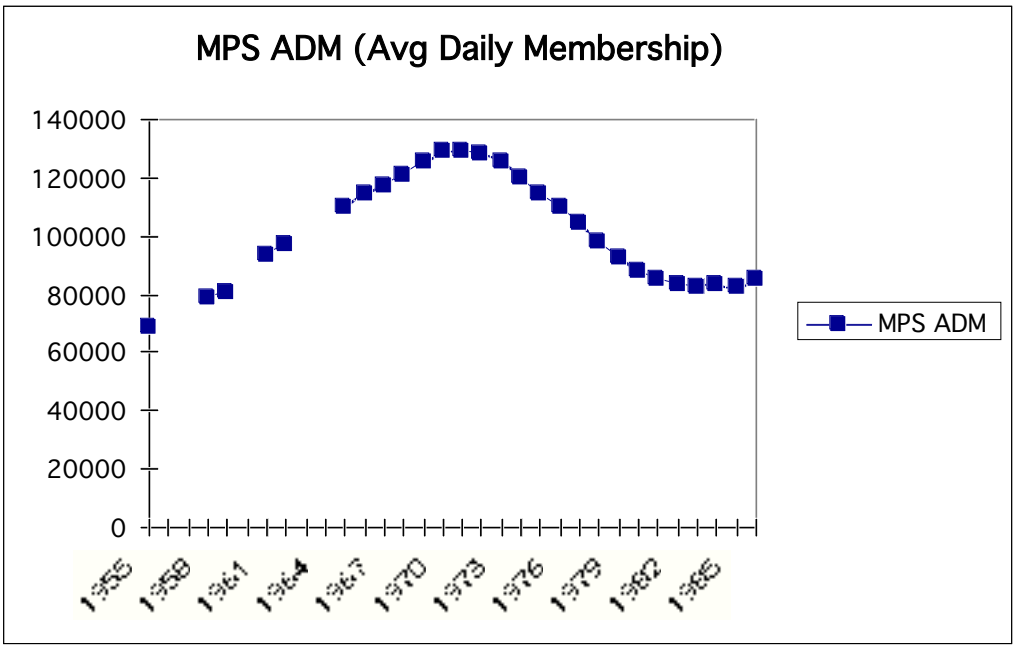
In my files, I have lots of other notes about limitations in the data, due to CGRB/PPF reporting formats that differed from year to year.

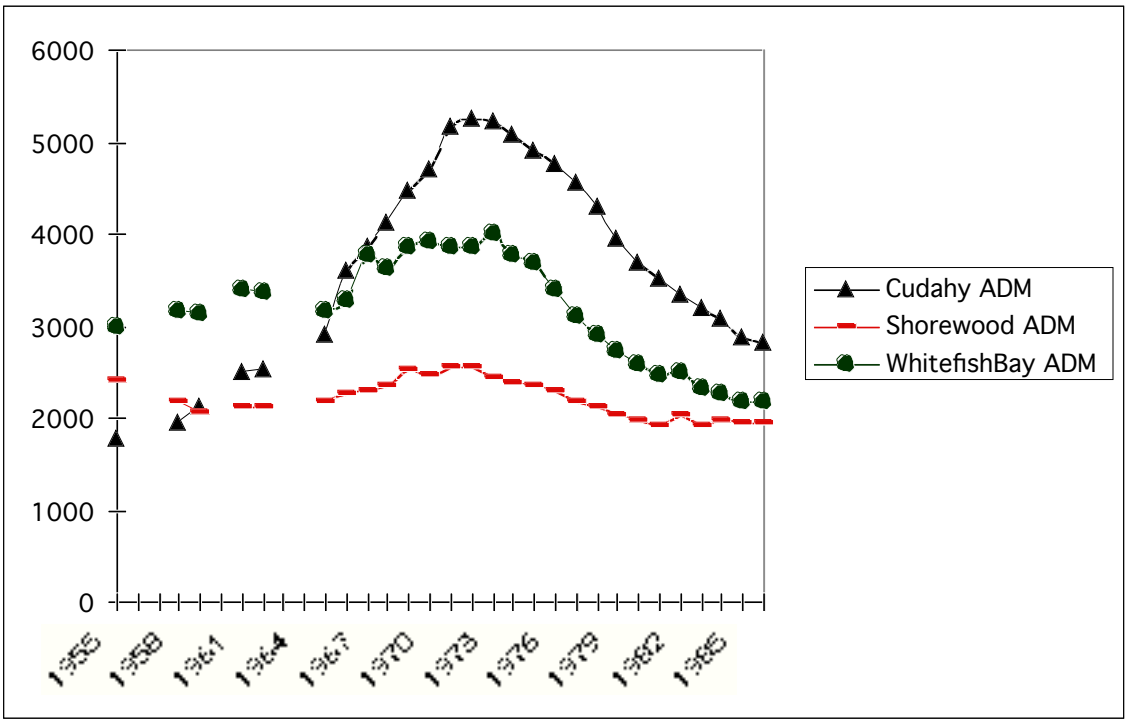
Different systems gave different dates, depending upon "year beginning" or "year ending". I tried to keep track of this in my spreadsheet, but there may be mistakes.

Overall, I decided to trace patterns among four metro Milw school districts:

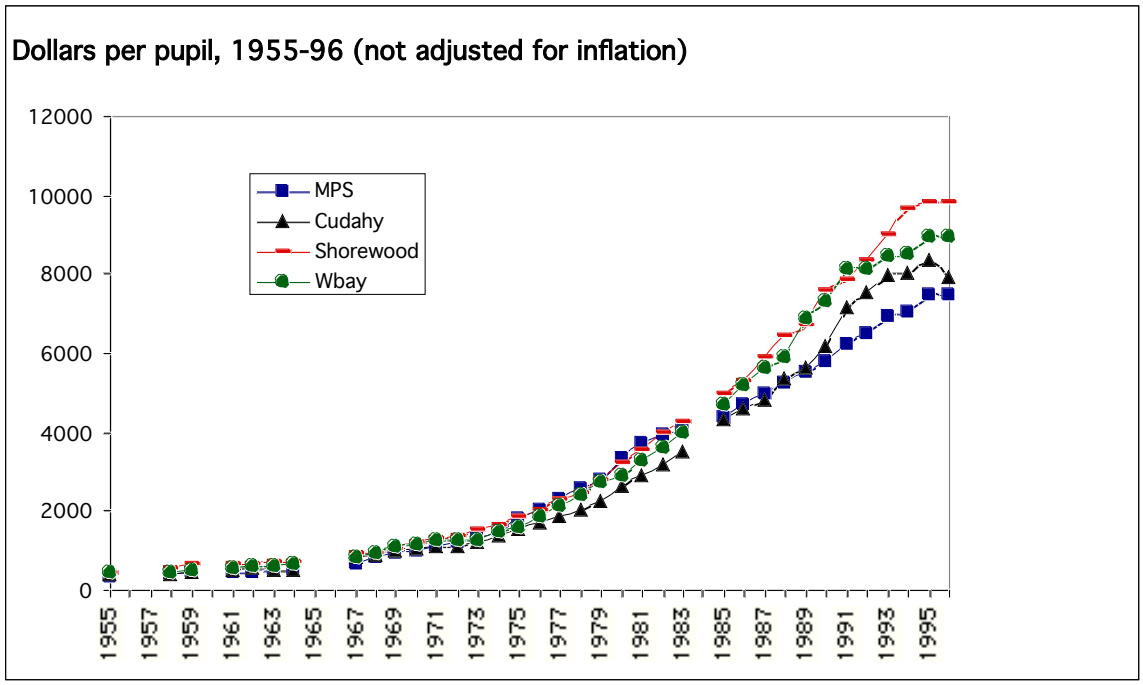
a)	Milw Public Schools - the big one in the city
b and c)	Shorewood and Whitefish Bay - two wealthy northshore suburbs
d)	Cudahy - a lower-income, industrial suburb on the far southside

Typically, data on federal and state revenues did not appear in CGRB reports until the late 1960s, because it was not a major player. Perhaps the most important finding is the public controversy over federal aid was disproportionately high with respect to the relative amount of funding.

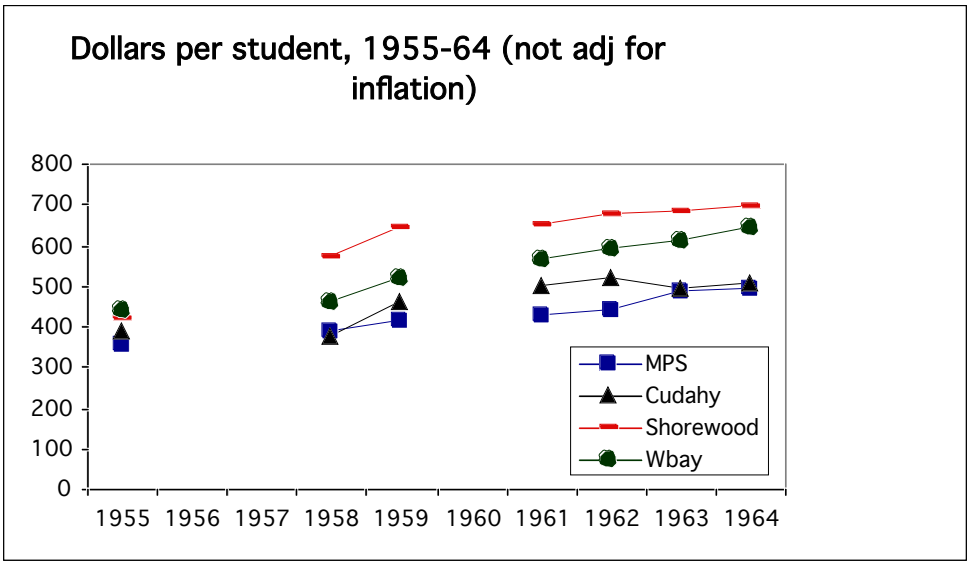




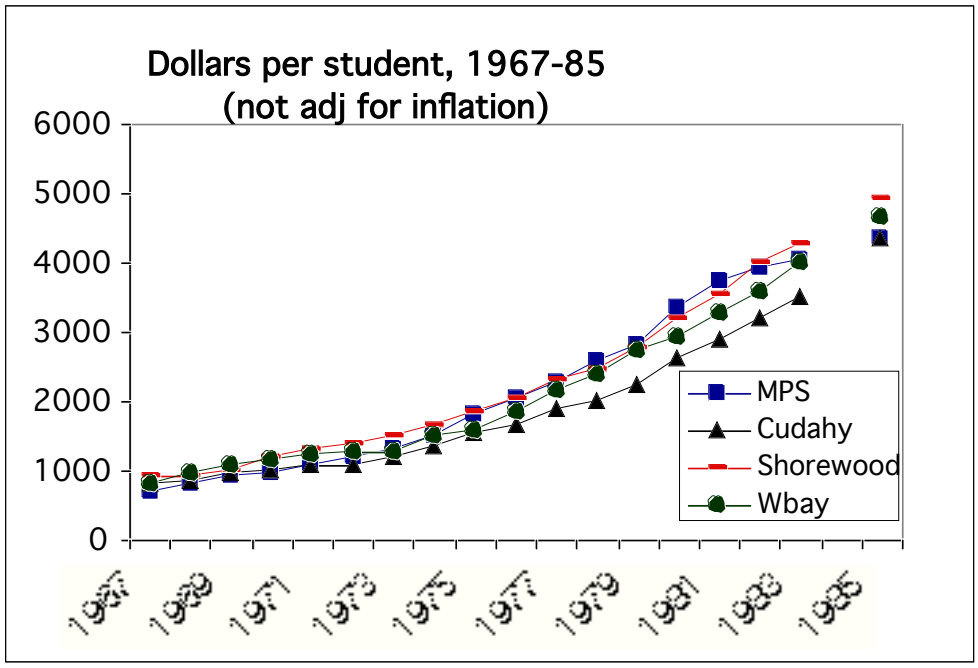
ADM, or Average Daily Membership (standardized enrollment numbers) show all four districts rising and falling in student population, with the peak around 1971. Shorewood and WBay were less affected by enrollment changes than the other two districts. (I split MPS from the suburb data because the scales were so different; MPS is always higher than 80,000, while suburbs never top 6,000.



This chart shows spending per pupil rising steadily (though not adjusted for inflation). It's difficult to see significant differences here due to the wide scale. A close-up view of two periods sheds more light on the picture. **See next page.**

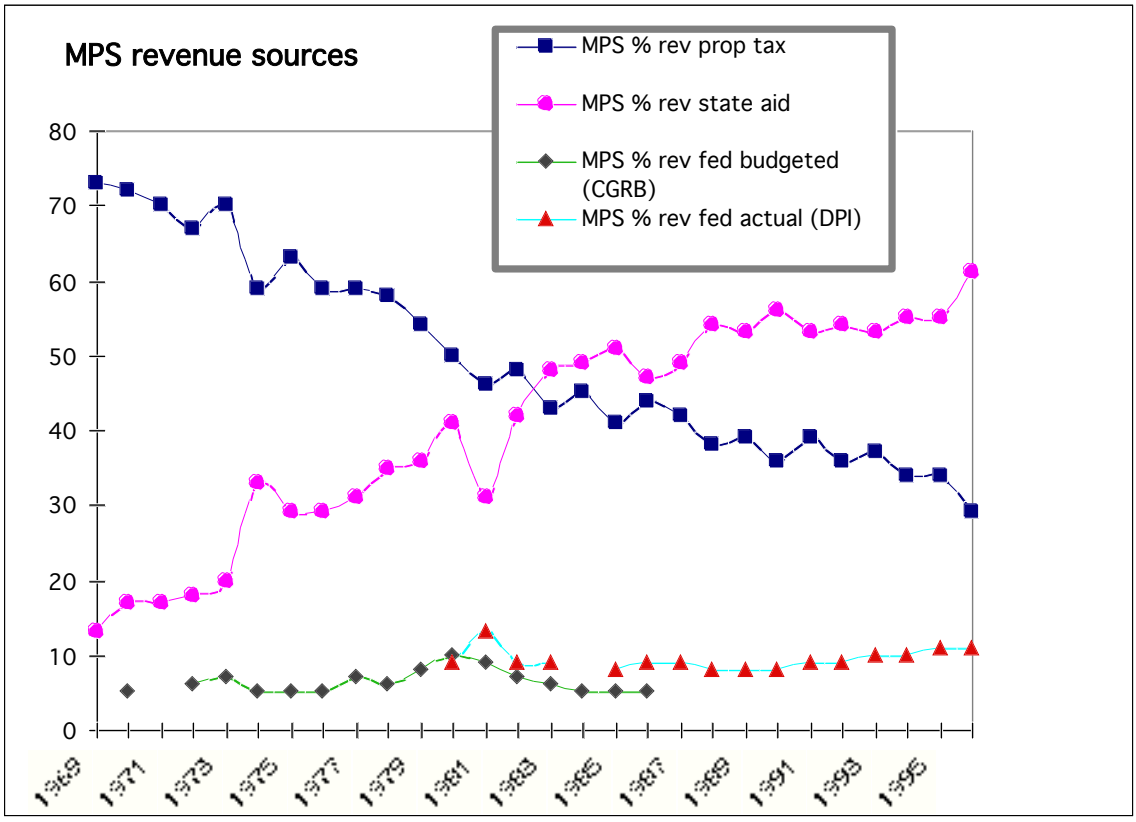


During the pre-1967 years of significant ESEA aid, MPS spent much less per pupil than did the suburbs. The numbers alone do not explain why, but the most common interpretation is the economies of scale which large cities enjoyed over small village districts at the time.



From 1967-85, MPS began spending more per pupil than the typical suburbs, surpassing them in the late 1970s. Again, the numbers alone do not explain why, but closer study of the data may show a linkage with federal aid (especially ESEA and ESAA for desegregation in the late 70s). When MPS received large amounts of federal aid, they had to spend it, which is one factor that raises the level of dollars spent per student.

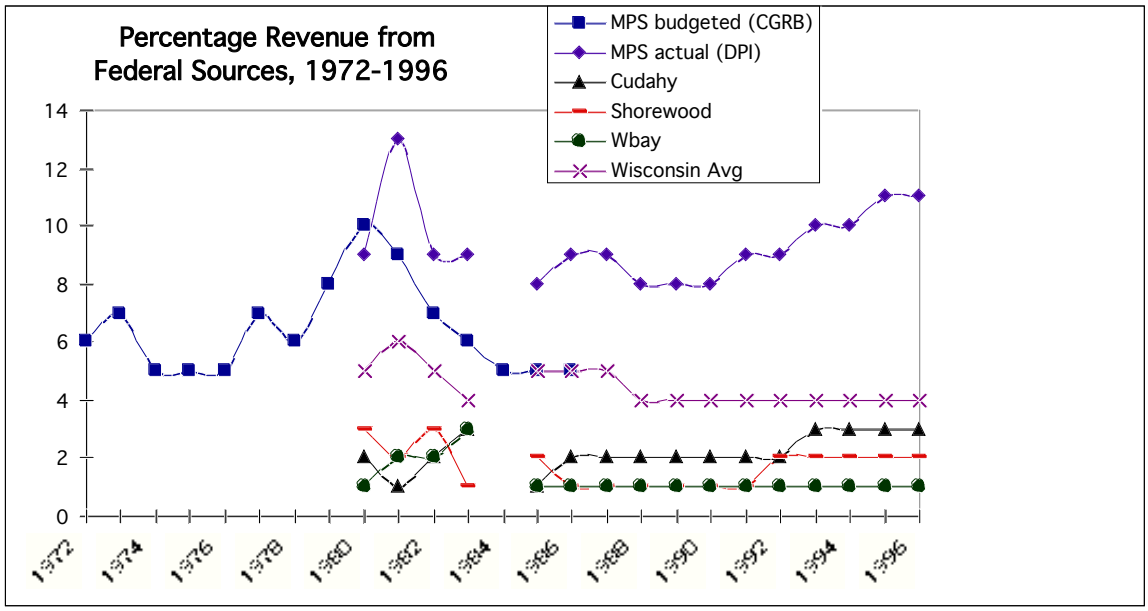
In the mid-1980s, MPS spending per student drops below the suburbs. This happens to correspond with a drop in federal aid in the Reagan ECIA years, but it also may be traced to state aid, local property tax values, etc.



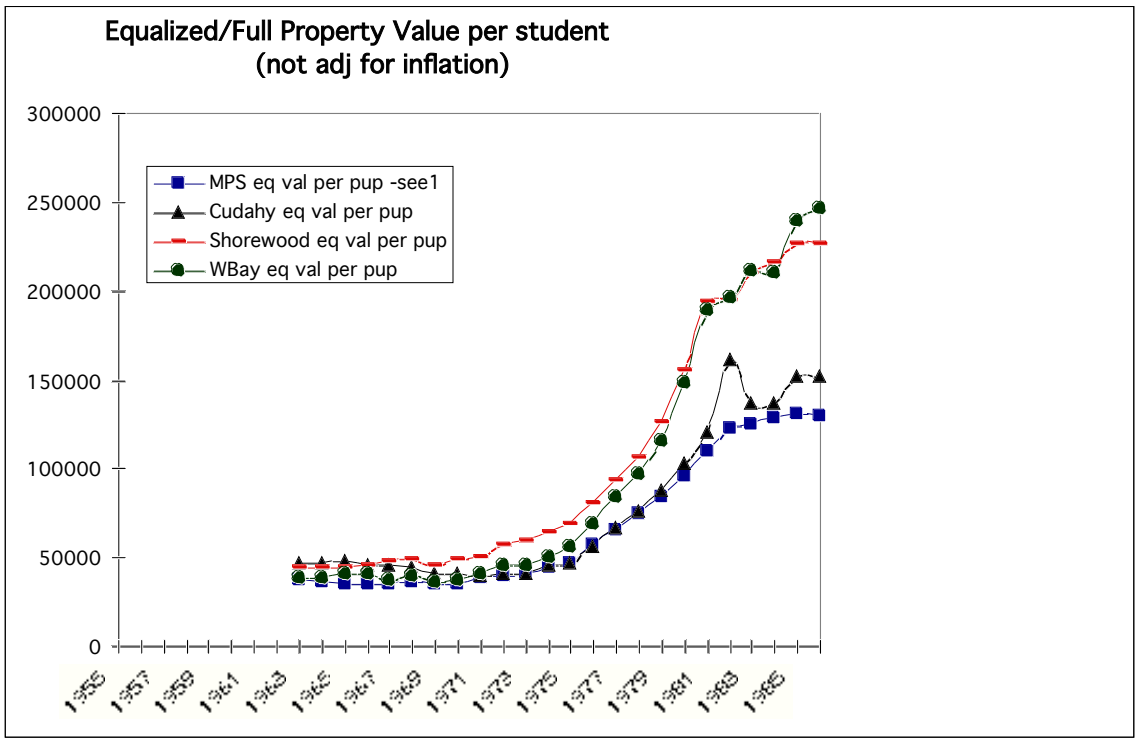
This chart shows that MPS grew more dependent upon state aid and less upon property taxes over time. The switchover occurs around 1982, in the middle of the chart.

Along the bottom, federal aid hovers around 5 to 10% of the MPS budget. I had to use two sets of data to represent the early 1980s, because budgeted federal aid estimates (from CGRB) tended to be lower than actual federal aid revenues (from the DPI data). At first glance, it appears that the "draconian" budget cuts of 1981-83 weren't that bad, but it's important to remember that even a 1% cut in a major city school budget during times of social and economic stress is a major event.

Once again, one interpretation of this chart is that federal aid attracted a disproportionately high level of public controversy in comparison to its relative level of funding.



This chart tries to compare the percentage of school budget revenues from Federal aid, but there's lots of gaps in the data, so it looks very odd. Overall, WBay, Shorewood, and Cudahy float along the bottom, usually receiving no more than 2 or 3% of their annual budget from the feds. The Wisconsin state average is in the middle, around 4 to 5%. At the top are MPS budgeted (CGRB) and MPS actual (DPI) numbers, ranging anywhere from 5 to 13%. As we know, there's a big dip in 1980 due to the cuts of ESAA and the beginning of ECIA, but I had great difficulty in finding accurate, trustworthy numbers, partly because announced budgets did not correspond neatly with actual amounts received.



This chart attempts to show Property Tax Value per Student in each district. It doesn't say anything about federal involvement directly, but does tell us more about the context of the times. Until 1970, all four districts were "relatively" equal in the amount of taxable property per student, but that rapidly changes when Shorewood and WBay values skyrocket compared to MPS (remember - not adjusted for inflation). In other words, MPS (and Cudahy) had much less of a property tax base per student to draw upon during the post-70 era, and thus were more likely to be dependent upon state and federal aid.

CAUTION: Once again, I'm not an expert on school finance data, and I don't fully understand an important difference in how the data was reported over time. Prior to 1964, I believe that CGRB listed "full value per pupil," and then it appears that Wisconsin began to recognize equity issues and began listing "equalized value per pupil." I don't know how this latter category was calculated, which could strongly discount how I'm interpreting the data here.

Part 3:

Federal Involvement in a Milwaukee Suburb - The Whitefish Bay School District

NOTE: This special report was written after the main narrative text, and should be read as an extension of suburban issues raised in Part 2, section 2B (page 13), on "Title I and Wealthy Suburban Schools."

While searching out historic conflicts over federal education policy in the 1960s, most scholars look to events in the Deep South, or in major northern cities like Chicago. Yet some of the most influential struggles also took place in suburbs, these geographic spaces which gained significant political power and cultural prominence in the post-World War II era. One such suburb, Whitefish Bay, entered the national media spotlight in 1966 amid wide controversy over the implementation of federal school aid. Located in the wealthy north shore region of Greater Milwaukee, the Whitefish Bay school board came under intense scrutiny when it accepted $25,000 in funding under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, originally intended for "educational disadvantaged" children. News of this event "flashed across the nation on the wires of the Associated Press," lamented the local suburban newspaper, and "like a scarlet letter," the name "Whitefish Bay" became synonymous with "greed."[1] This report offers an historical analysis of the political and cultural contexts which gave rise to this controversy.

Although Whitefish Bay was legally a village, its population of nearly 20,000 residents in the mid-1960s, combined with a wealthy property tax base, meant that the local government rivaled those of many small cities in the state of Wisconsin. Local politicians were very conscious of the prosperous village's fiscal affairs, particularly the share of state and federal taxes which left their community. Village mayor Tom Hayes warned the Whitefish Bay Women's Club in 1961 that, for every tax dollar collected in the village, only 11 cents stayed for local services and schools. "The biggest share of the dollar [65 cents] goes to the federal government," Hayes cautioned, noting how much it outweighed the 18 cents and 5 cents sent to the state and county governments, respectively. His statement clearly implied the question: Was Whitefish Bay receiving its fair share of federal services in return?[2]

In addition to these concerns over taxation policy, Whitefish Bay residents also became embroiled in public disputes regarding the proper balance of private family versus governmental responsibilites. One such controversy erupted over the question of school crossing guards in early 1961. A mother's group at a local elementary school requested an additional crossing guard to ensure the safety of their 4 and 5-year-old children during their daily travel across several busy streets, arguing that $1200 was a small cost compared to the life of a child. But the mayor and some Village trustees opposed funding for the crossing guard, on the grounds that "it is the parents' responsibility to escort young children to school," not the local government.[3]

The editors of the *Whitefish Bay Herald*, a local weekly paper dedicated to "individual freedoms and the growth of suburbs," also objected to the additional school crossing guard. An editorial, titled "Do We Want to Dump All Child Care on the State?", merged Cold War anti-communism

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[1] 16 June 1966, Stamp ÔGreedÕ Like Scarlet Letter on Forehead of Bay School System, Whitefish Bay Herald [hereafter WBH].

[2] 26 January 1961 Village and Schools Use But 11.7 Cents of Each Tax Dollar, WBH.

[3] 2 February 1961 Hayes insists on plans to keep Bay desirable WBH; 16 Feb 1961 Will Vote on Another Crossing Guard WBH

with traditional gender roles. It posed a rhetorical question: "Are parents willing to push themselves into a socialized way of life, in which everything will be done for their children by the state?" Then the editorial nostalgically recalled an earlier time, "Not too many years ago, [when] parents made a habit of taking their own children to school. . . Happy times those — all lost when mom is too busy to reschedule her life to meet the needs of a child going and coming to school."[4] Some readers openly disagreed with the newspaper's stance, and after supporters for a crossing guard obtained police reports on vehicle traffic, they persuaded a sufficient number of Village trustees to change their votes. Nevertheless, this deep rift over a seemingly ordinary issue underscored serious tensions about the proper boundaries regarding governmental responsibility for individual families' children.

While Whitefish Bay may have seemed like a sleepy Republican suburb during the early 1960s, local anti-communist activism stirred up sizeable crowds. More than 1000 members of the North Shore Republican branch units attended a speech by Robert Welch, a John Birch Society founder and editor of *American Opinion*, who warned that communists aimed to capture the federal government. A similarly sized crowd waited through a two-hour delay at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee to hear former 5th Congressional District representative Charles Kersten (who had recently lost his seat to Democrat Henry Reuss) speak out against communism. At the grassroots level, the Whitefish Bay Woman's Club sponsored a forum by Mrs. Walter K. Graham, a local resident who in 1959 organized an anti-communist educational program which provided models for groups around the country.[5]

Vocal Whitefish Bay residents who opposed governmental expansion into private family life extended their criticisms to the Kennedy Administration's federal school aid initiatives in the early 1960s. The *Whitefish Bay Herald* ran strongly-worded editorials, like "Keep Federal Aid Out of Schools," to raise awareness of the issue. "Before it is too late, keep our schools free of governmental control. Keep them local. To do so costs us less and also results in schools aimed at the needs of the community and its people." The editors urged readers to write Congressman Reuss to stop the federal aid bill, and reprinted data from the *Wall Street Journal* which questioned whether the post-war classroom shortage would last to 1970.[6]

The Whitefish Bay school board also went on record with a unanimous vote against federal school aid in June, 1961. The chairman of the school board, Norman Hammermeister, drafted a letter directly to President Kennedy, explaining the board's opposition to Senate Bill S1021 and House Bill HR 7300. First, he argued that the national debt of $290 billion meant that "even the poorest states in our nation are in a better financial position to meet their educational responsiblities than is our Federal Government." The chairman added that Federal control over education would bring an end to "[t]he last stronghold of our American way of life," and that a transfer of power to "Washington bureaucrats" could "result in the nationalization and regimentation of education in the image of a philosophy foreign to our American ideals." Finally, Hammermeister explained that the Whitefish Bay school board "resents the implication that [we] are not providing an adequate school program for the children and youth of the community."[7]

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[4]16 Feb 1961 Editorial: Do We Want to Dump All Child Care on State? WBH; 23 Feb 1961 Insit on Guard at Henry Clay; 23 Feb 1961 Letters to Editor WBH; 9 March 1961 Order Crossing Guard for Henry Clay School WBH.

[5]22 June 1961 Communnists Aim for Plitical Captivity of US WBH; 30 March 1961 ÒLicenseÕ Not Freedom Sought by Wilkinson, Chides Kersten; 23 Feb 1961 Whitefish Bay WomanÕs Club has ÔMoment with CommunismÕ WBH

[6]20 April 1961 editorial ÒSpectacular HomeworkÓ [reprint of WSJournal, no original date given] WBH; 29 June 1961 Keep Federal Aid out of Schools editorial WBH

[7]District Board of School District No. 1, village of Whitefish Bay, minutes, 12 July 1961 board meeting p7334. [Minutes located at WBHS central office, 1200 E Fairmount Ave; 414-963-3921] Text of letters does not appear in school board minutes or WBH at that time, but in later issue of the newspaper after ESEA controversy erupts; see 16 June 1966 ÒStamp ÔGreedÕ Like Scarlet Letter on Forehead of Bay School SystemÓ WBH

Yet during this same period, the Whitefish Bay school district quietly accepted federal education aid through two new programs. With no evidence of public discussion, the school board participated in the National School Lunch Program and Special Milk programs passed by Congress in 1946. [**Check dates on both programs; latter may be different]. The school district opened a cafeteria to provide the federally-subsidized lunch, collect reimbursements from milk sales, and receive approximately $3,000 in surplus food commodities. [*I cannot find total amounts for the prior two programs**] Although advocates of the National School Lunch program sometimes justified it as a Cold War effort to strengthen national security, the Whitefish Bay cafeteria director emphasized better "nutritional standards which could not be achieved" under the old system. Indeed, the new cafeteria began to run a deficit, one that would have been much larger without federal subsidies.[8]

By the same token, Whitefish Bay collected approximately $6,000 in federal aid under the National Defense Education Act in 1960, more than 3% of its total county-state-federal aid package. In 1962, the school board unanimously approved an application to purchase $4,500 worth of science, math, and modern language laboratory equipment under the same NDEA program. Even Norman Hammermeister, who sent President Kennedy the principled letter of opposition to federal aid the previous year, voted in favor of the NDEA application.[9] By quietly accepting federal education aid without raising much public discussion about the issue, the Whitefish Bay school system laid the groundwork for a highly-charged controversy which would arise in the mid-1960s.

The ESEA Title I Controversy

Whitefish Bay's Title I controversy arose in part due to a budget dispute over summer school programs. In this affluent community, summer school was not limited to students who had fallen behind a grade. To the contrary, the district featured an elaborate reading lab, "a product of research by psychologists and educators," where forty elementary and secondary students entered into individualized programs. A news article profiled students, such as Betty Doerr, "who will enter college this fall, [and] increased her comprehension from 80 to 90 percent while reading at a speed of 250 words per minute." In Whitefish Bay, students were required to pay a fee in order to attend summer school, which produced revenues totalling $18,000 annually for the district.[10]

At the annual school board "town hall" meeting in July 1965, where residents of Whitefish Bay discussed and then voted upon the budget, an objection arose. Mrs. Hazel Mackey, a Whitefish Bay resident and teacher in the Milwaukee Public School system, questioned the legality of charging tuition for a public school summer program. To support her case, she cited that Wisconsin state attorney general LaFollette had issued an opinion that collecting tuition for public schooling contradicted state law. Nevertheless, the Whitefish Bay school board members refused to change the policy, and a majority of the citizens present voted to approve the budget.[11]

"You can go ahead and charge and disobey state law," Mackey warned board members at a subsequent public meeting.

"The taxpayers have already spoken," one of the board members replied.

"You are not the authority. The state is," Mackey responded.

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[8]WB school board minutes, 25 July 1960 mtg p7089; WB Cafeteria Annual Report, 1959-60 p7109-10.

[9]28 May 1962 WB board mtg p7509

[10]26 Aug 1965 40 Students strive to improve reading skills and in comphrnsion, vocabular, and speed WBH

[11]12 August 1965 School Tax WBH

"No, the people are," retorted the another member of the board.[12] While summer school fees were the surface issue, a debate over which level of government would exercise ultimate authority over Whitefish Bay educational policy was the underlying problem.

Three months later, in November 1965, Whitefish Bay school superintendent [firstname?] Zeiler reported to the board that the district was eligible for thousands of dollars in federal aid under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Based on data from the 1960 census, a small population of low-income families were reported to be living within the affluent suburban school district. Funds were to be directed towards "educationally disadvantaged children," and Zelier explained that this phrase meant "those below the norms in basic areas, though there is not hard line of demarcation." A member of the board seconded a motion to initially investigate and develop an application for the program.[13]

But after further discussion, several participants grew deeply concerned about the idea. Whitefish Bay's application would need to be submitted to the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, and the US Department of Education.

"I don't know enough about it," remarked board member Walter John, "but it's a lousy program."

Dr. Jerome Tall, the district curriculum coordinator, expressed that "I'm a little concerned about the federal education angle."

Superintendent Zeiler tried to build support for the district's autonomy in creating the Title I program. "The aid is all based on our improving our program. We have a free hand in carrying it out. There will be no federal interference."

But board member Norman Hammermeister, who had written the letter to President Kennedy, ended the discussion. "When someone gives you money, sooner or later they're going to ask for something in return. Let's bury it." The motion to accept the federal aid grant was defeated.[14]

Over the next six months, under growing pressure to resolve the summer school tuition issue, the Whitefish Bay school board changed its mind. With scarcely any discussion reported in the local paper or the minutes, the board voted to accept $25,000 in Title I funding, to be designated "for a summer program for slow learners." Member Richard McDermott assured his colleagues "that the program would be directed by the local teachers and not the government." The amount of federal aid could conveniently replace the controversial summer school tuition revenues, though no one spoke publicly about this connection.[15]

Meanwhile, vocal Whitefish Bay residents continued to raise objections to federal aid, even more so than their Republican representatives at the state capital. Governor Warren Knowles, who issued a study titled "Federal Aids," reported that Wisconsin was receiving a larger percentage of revenue from federal sources each year, now estimated to be 14.2%, or $21.8 million. Knowles acknowledged that some federal aid programs were a "can of worms" because they are all "tangled together and it is hard to see one separate from all the others," but he did not criticize federal aid in principle. By contrast, in that same issue, the *Whitefish Bay Herald* took a much harder line than the Governor's report. "Federal gifts are simply misnamed," declared the editorial. "It's still the taxpayers' money. It would be healthier for communities and also the

[12] 19 Aug 1965 Continue Assertion that Bay Schools vilate Law in SS Tuition Charges WBH

[13] 18 Nov 1965 Whitefish Bay HS WBH [buried in story, not head-line news]

[14] 18 Nov 1965 Whitefish Bay HS WBH [buried in story, not head-line news]

[15] 19 May 1966 Accept funds for economically disadvantaged WBH

federal government if these federal largess [*spelling?*] could be curbed and some of the moneys kept at home in the first place."[16]

On federal aid to education, the editors of the *Whitefish Bay Herald* continued their steady attacks. The paper reprinted a brief news item from the *Arlington Journal* (Texas), which itself was based on a report from Chester, Pennsylvania. [**Would love to find original sources, but no original dates given**] It described a typical "horror story which tells a lot about how well-intentioned Federal programs can turn into instruments of compulsion that touch individual freedom." According to the story, two grade students in Chester were suspended from school for three days for bringing their own lunches, rather than paying for the school meal. "The school board president explained that the school lunch program is subsidized by the Federal government," stated the editorial, "and for a school to qualify, all the children must participate."[17]

In June 1966, the *Herald* expressed shock that the National School Board Association had betrayed their cause, by publicly acknowledging that "federal aid to education is here to stay." The editorial "Must All be in Goose Step?" argued that federal aid weakens local autonomy, making the recipients increasingly dependent upon the donor. "Is no hand to be raised in protest?", asked the editors. "Have all of us become sheep seeking safety in the folks [**do I have the right word here? maybe folds?**] of the federal shepherd?"[18] Clearly, these principled critics of federal education aid were becoming aware that their staunch opposition was not attracting numerous supporters.

At this point in time, Congressman Henry Reuss drew public attention to Whitefish Bay's acceptance of Title I money. In a telegram sent to state education officials, Reuss charged that the grant was "a misuse of federal funds and I herewith request that you revoke the grant." The Congressman complained that "it makes a mockery" of ESEA for state officials to claim that the affluent suburb of Whitefish Bay had a "high concentration of children from low-income families." In fact, Reuss added, "The Whitefish Bay School Superintendent recently stated that if there were any such [low-income] children in Whitefish Bay, he didn't know where they were." Furthermore, the school announced it would use the funds to operate a program for children with reading disabilities, which had no connection to anti-poverty efforts.[19] An editorial in the *Milwaukee Sentinel* recalled that Whitefish Bay had actively lobbied against federal education aid in 1961. "But when the same school board saw a $25,000 federal grant there for the asking," observed the editorial, "principle was laid aside."[20]

Faced by strong criticisms, supporters of Whitefish Bay schools went on the defensive. Superintendent Zeiler argued that the controversy could have been avoided "if people would take the trouble to read the act of Congress all the way through." In his interpretation, Title I funds were to be distributed to school districts based on economic criteria, then spent "not for the above-mentioned 'economically disadvantaged' but for the 'educationally disadvantaged'." Whitefish Bay planned to use the Title I funds to support the summer reading program for about 80 children in fourth through twelfth grades who were handicapped in reading skills, but would not make individual investigations into the students' financial resources. "People make the mistake of thinking this is part of the poverty program," Zeiler said of Whitefish Bay's Title I program. "It is not. It is an extension of Public Law 874, the Act of September 30, 1950."

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[16]3 March 1966 Federal Aids to State Gain WBH [*this is a news summary of Knowles report; looked for it in UW electronic catalog but did not find, perhaps because of pre-1976 date. Did not try to find yet at Leg Ref Bureau in Madison. It is possible that Knowles took a more principled line against fed aid in full document, but would be surprised if he did.**]; 3 March 1966 Editorial Gifts that are No Presents WBH

[17]13 Jan 1966 Grass Root Opinions WBH [**Would love to find original sources, but no original dates given**]

[18]2 June 1966 ÒMust All be in Goose Step?Ó editorial WBH

[19]26 May 1966 Reuss Hits Grant to Whitefish Bay Milwaukee Journal [MJ[

[20]20 June 1966 Dead Principle? MS editorial

[**WHICH LAW IS THIS???***] As for other federal education programs, Zeiler described how reporters were shocked to hear that Whitefish Bay also had a Head Start program. "[T]here has been a head start program in Whitefish Bay for at least 40 years," he explained. "[Head Start] is another name for 4-year kindergarten. There's nothing new about that." By crafting his own definitions for Title I and Head Start, Zeiler sought to deemphasize its poverty-program identity and defuse the controversy.[21]

Even the *Whitefish Bay Herald*, formerly a principled critic of federal programs, slightly shifted its stance to defend the local school district's actions. "Whether or not there are poverty stricken families in Whitefish Bay or other north shore communities has no bearing on the question," wrote the editors, "for all students in these communities are assured the same high quality elementary and high school education, as attested to by the many who make honors at college and win college scholarships." Yet this appeal to equality for suburban schools took a different twist, because it saw programs such as Title I to be an obstacle to progress. "[Suburban] education is largely provided by local tax dollars," the editorial explained, "which could be more if less money were drained away for state and federal purposes." Clearly, it was difficult for the newspaper to simultaneously argue against federal funding while also making a strong case for Whitefish Bay's fair share of those funds.[22]

Several hundred Whitefish Bay residents protested their school district's acceptance of the Title I grant, but for different reasons. Of the several petitions presented to the school board (some with hundreds of signatures), most objected against increased Federal control over local schools. Yet a smaller number of residents argued that for an affluent suburban school to accept Title I funds was "basically dishonest in the face of the original intent of the grant." One vocal resident, Robert Schweik, who was also active in Milwaukee's school integration movement, suggested that Whitefish Bay might use the $25,000 "to provide scholarships for poor persons in the metropolitan area, particularly Negroes from [Milwaukee's] inner core, who have been the most educationally deprived and are most in need of assistance." His proposal did not go any further.[23]

As the controversy wound down, Whitefish Bay stood firm in its decision to accept ESEA funding. The Wisconsin state school superintendent declared that it would be a violation of federal law to deny funding to Whitefish Bay under the formula approved by Congress. Congressman Reuss's call to revoke the grant was rediverted into a longer-term federal study of the entire ESEA funding formula. Local resident Hazel Mackey again insisted that the school board discontinue its illegal practice of charging summer school fees, noting that "Now we have a windfall of Federal Aid in the amount of $25,000." But the petitions and protests soon faded away, and the Whitefish Bay's decision to accept federal funds remained unchanged.[24]

[**Still not clear: follow up on "supplanting" issue via indirect quote of periodical *National Observer*(May or June 1966?) that Zeiler "was prepared to finance its own summer remedial reading program befoe the question of Federal subsidies came up"***]

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[21]16 June 1966 ÒStamp ÔGreedÕ Like Scarlet Letter on Forehead of Bay School SystemÓ WBH

[22]2 June 1966 ÒMust All be in Goose Step?Ó editorial WBH

[23]16 June 1966 ÒStamp ÔGreedÕ Like Scarlet Letter on Forehead of Bay School SystemÓ WBH

[24]16 June 1966 ÒStamp ÔGreedÕ Like Scarlet Letter on Forehead of Bay School SystemÓ; 30 June 1966 ÒAsk Referendum o Summer School FeesÓ WBH

NOTE: for further research on Whitefish Bay:

This historical analysis of federal ed policy in Whitefish Bay during the period 1960-1966 required 6 weeks of half-time work. The most useful source - the weekly *Whitefish Bay Herald* - was also the most time-consuming in terms of research, as I had to scroll through long reels of microfilm, page by page for 6 years of text. Indeed, it would be nice to have a longer history of WBay fed ed policy ranging from 1950 to the present, but I think that we need to think more seriously about whether it would be worth the time invested. Perhaps this brief report can help us resolve that question.

The WBay school board minutes also contained some additional material, in more condensed form, but had surprisingly little detail on the stormy controversies over Title I. The minutes recorded only formal actions taken, not discussion, and I suspect that several controversial votes were also not fully recorded. Since I found at least one brief mention of one board member's objection to the lack of documented discussion, I suspect that the politics of school board record-keeping may prevent us from seeing more clearly into the past.

Also, there may be several ways in which we could merge the WBay political/cultural narrative above with the economic data trends that I gathered from the Citizens Governmental Research Bureau (metro Milwaukee watchdog group, kept detailed records on school district budgets, taxation, etc.) See the data sheets attached to the end of the main narrative for more ideas on this possibility.

Part 4:

Exploratory Study of the State's Role in the History of Local-Federal Educational Policy: The Wisconsin Example

The purpose of this final report is to produce an exploratory study to outline how we might include a more formal investigation of the state (particularly the state education agency, or SEA) into our historical analysis of local-federal educational policy. Since our first "guinea pig" project case study centered on the Milwaukee metropolitan area, it made sense to take a closer look at Wisconsin and its official education agency, the Department of Public Instruction.

Two research questions guided my thinking for this report:

a) Drawing from existing literature in the field, what **analytical contribution** might we expect a study of "the state" to contribute to our overall project on local-federal educational policy?

b) Using Wisconsin as an example, what types of **historical source materials** readily exist for a study of "the state," and what does a preliminary analysis of them tell us?

Analytical contribution:

It may be helpful to point out that when we utter the phrase "the state" in our conversations about this research, we may mean one of many different entities. My concern here is NOT about confusing "the state (of Wisconsin)" with "the State" (a political theorist's label for government). Instead, I draw attention to three other definitions of "the state":

a) the official state educational agency (SEA)

b) other high-profile political actors in state government (the governor, the state assembly)

c) political dynamics of the state as a whole (eg state-wide rural Wisconsin interests versus geographically-narrower urban interests)

If we decide to examine "the state" more closely in our local-federal study, I urge us to choose our words carefully, since these three definitions (and perhaps many others) point us in very different directions.

When looking over my notes on educational historiography which I've been keeping since entering the field in 1992, I was surprised to realize how little scholarship on the 20th century that I've read specifically analyzes state-level government. For some very good pragmatic reasons, most of the leading 20th century ed policy histories focus on cities rather than states or metropolitan areas (eg Katznelson and Weir, *Schooling for All* on Chicago and San Francisco; Peterson's *Politics of School Reform* on the

same two plus Atlanta; Tyack's *One Best System* with case studies from several major cities; Reese's *Power and Promise* on Rochester, Toldeo, Milwaukee, and Kansas City; and Wrigley's *Class Politics and the Public Schools* on Chicago.) In a detailed literature review on the political economy of urban education, historians John Rury and Jeff Mirel point out that "the relationship between city schools and state governments, which generated fierce partisan controversies as far back as the 1930s and 1940s, has rarely been explored." One explanation for this historiographical oversight, they suggest, is that during pre-WWII years, "strong local economies ensured that cities did not need to confront state government over such issues as state school aid," and that historians have been late to appreciate this important shift in the balance of power in the post-war years. Another reason may be that in states dominated by one-party, big-city politics (such as Georgia (Atlanta), New York (New York City), and Illinois (Chicago), the lack of contested authority over the state educational agency made its role relatively inconsequential.[1]

Jeff Mirel's *Rise and Fall of an Urban School System* may be one of the few 20th-century ed policy histories which attempts, in some way, to connect state government and urban schooling. Chapter 5 analyzes important economic and demographic transformations in the Detroit metropolitan area which significantly influenced the relationship between the state assembly and the city. By 1960, Mirel describes, the Detroit suburban area surpassed the city in population, manufacturing plants moved from central city to suburban locations, and the relative difference in property tax bases widened significantly. As suburban areas gained political and demographic strength, and came to identify themselves as "anti-city" with white flight, they tended to join with white rural areas in competing with Detroit for their share of state education aid.

While I find other portions of Mirel's book to be misguided, it seems that this chapter may provide one of the few models available to us for thinking about how we can envision "the state" fitting into our local-federal policy history. Perhaps I can see connections more easily because of the rough similarity between Detroit/Michigan and Milwaukee/Wisconsin. Both cities prized their first-rate school districts in the progressive era, but increasing black migration and white suburban flight in the post-war era contributed to the reluctance of the state assembly to support urban schooling. It is not clear to me whether other other case studies, particularly San Jose/California, Little Rock/Arkansas, and Houston/Texas, would fit this same analytical model. Overall, Mirel's general interpretation sounds solid to me: it would be ideal for us to compare state-level involvement versus federal-level involvement in urban schooling over time. (For *how* to do this, given source materials, see section below).

(I would have to look at Mirel's book again to see what kinds of state-level evidence he brings into the narrative to support his assertions. My fuzzy recollection was that the state-level evidence was minimal, most likely because his main story focused on the city of Detroit.)

(Two other titles which look more closely at "the state" may be Kantor's *Learning to Earn* on California, and possibly Tyack, Hansot, and Lowe's *Public Schools in Hard Times*. But both of these deal more explicitly with the pre-WWII era, so may be of limited analytical use to our post-war study.)

I am not aware of any book-length study or major article in educational history which examines the political dynamics within a state educational agency, or its relationship to the state government or state political interests. Question for Carl and others: Does such a study exist? If so, we'd have a much clearer understanding of what such a study might contribute analytically to our local-federal policy history.

[1]John L. Rury and Jeffrey E. Mirel, "The Political Economy of Urban Education" in Review of Research in Education, v. 22. (Washington, DC: AERA, 1997), p 70.

Preliminary analysis of historical source materials:

What kinds of historical source materials readily exist for an analysis of "the state," and what might we learn from them in the case of Wisconsin?

Overall, I was disappointed in the relative lack of state-level source materials, especially when compared to those which I have found while studying Milwaukee and its metropolitan area. Here's a review of what I found - and did not find - while searching over the past eight months.

SEA Annual Reports[2] (Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction)

The DPI library in Madison maintains a small collection of annual reports issued by the SEA, but the quality of the information diminishes rapidly after the 1960s. For our purposes, the reports occasionally include Federal program narratives and brief financial summaries, which allow us one way of tracking the origin and growth of federal influence across Wisconsin schools.

Some brief highlights:

School Lunch Program, 1946 (1945-7, p30)
narrative on the origins of Public Law 396, 79th Congress, with language of "national security" in the original act, but a dairy-state angle: "No doubt, the program will continue to grow year after year as its educational and nutritional benefits are experienced. Its direct benefit to agriculture must not be underestimated. It has created a market for agricultural commodities, particularly for dairy products, which will have a significant effect upon stabilizing the market for such foods in an economic recession."

"The special milk program, which had its beginning in 1954, has experienced a fantastic growth from year to year. So importat has this program befoe in the option of the people of WI and the nation that the 86th Cong of 1960 again increased the approp for the ensuing two year period and adopted legislatio which makes this program permanent instead of being merely a piece of 'stop-gap' legislation designed for the pupose rof removing surplus fluid mile from the market. "(1957-59, p87)

1954 Congress passed law known as "Special Milk Program": "Wisconsin was the first nate i the nation to adopt the program" in schools with lunch progr, 4¢ for each 'extra' half-pint of milk used in add to the first half pin served as part of lunch; in schools without lunch prog, 3¢ per milk (1959-61, p83)

during 1946-47, WI allotted $1053k, 1127 schools partic

	WI schools	Fed funds
1946-47	1127	$1053k
1947-48	1143	$814k (no equipment this year)
1948-49	1380	$956k
1949-50	1735	$1022k
1950-51	1642	$1064k

[2]Dept of Public Instrcution, Thirty-Third Report of the Supt of Public Instruction, WI (began looking at volume 1945-47; data comes from biennial reports, numbered by page; in 1967-69 the format changed dramatically and dropped most narrative and financial summaries; even worse, the DPI library had shipped out the 1969-present volumes for external cataloging)

1955-56	1530	$1011k		
1956-57	1556	$1306k (great campy photos this volume)		
1958-59	1667 schools	$1501k	SPEC MILK	DONATED FOOD
1959-60	1778 schools	$1515k	fed aid $2137	
1960-61	1900 schools	$1565k	fed aid $2273	
1962-63	2050 schools	$1617 fed	$2532	$2562
1963-64	2043 schools	$1865 fed	$2588	$2622
1964-65	1994schools	$1967 fed	$2638	$4595
1965-66	1965 schools	$2069 fed	$2608	$4495
1966-67	1931 schools	$2242 fed	$2731	$3898
	also this year, School breakfast program		11 schools, $10k fed funds	

(Remember that state-wide school consolidation efforts may be leading reason why number of participating schools drop, yet dollar amount increases.)

School Building and Construction

In the post-war years, state ed officials clearly expected that the federal government would soon provide financial assistance to build new schools, much like had been done during the New Deal era:

"It will be remembered that in the depression years of 1930 to 1938 schols were helped by the WPA and PWA which contribued to the construction field, either by complete grants or by partial financial asst up to 45 per cent of the building progject's cost" (1945-47, p34)
refs to school building needs and Fed bills for sch construction aid which died in Congress in 1945 and 1947
"It, therefore, seems imperative that financial aid, possibily on both the Fed the State levels, will be required to meet this critical school building situation. It is expected that such Federal aid may soon be forthcoming." (1945-47, p35)

This sense of optimism for fed school construction aid drops out of the picture after 1945-47.

National Defense Education Act (NDEA)

As I found to be the case for Milwaukee Public Schools, NDEA appears to have contributed as much to creating high school counselors as it did to establishing science lab equipment in Wisconsin. However, NDEA appears to have had a relatively late start in Wisconsin, and it grew rapidly in the mid-1960s.

National Defense Ed Act of 1958 "was adopted partially by the WI State Legislature for the Dept of PI in 1959" (**Not clear why "partially") (1959-61, p13)
in partic, Title III (math, for lang, sci), Title V (guidance, counseling, testing) and Title X (statistical services) became effective for publicc schools in state
293 school districts applied for Title III on first date, Jan 1960, p14
Title V: "although less than half of the WI sec school distric participated...approx 71% of the sec school students attended schools which had approved programs"; mostly urban (Milwaukee) p15
Counselors employed in local Title V programs: total 728 in 1960-61 (but only 113 full-time)
NDEA Title III reimbs in 1960-61 $4650k: roughly 70% science, 12% math, 6% for lang, 2% minor remodeling

NDEA Title III - to date, 2360 project approvals involving 611 districts, with approx $1.5M in fed funds

each year
NDEA Title III - in 1963-64, WI school districts spent about $4.1M for counseling and guidance related services; about $300k was reimb by feds (1961-63, p25-26)

NDEA III expanded to include historyk, civics, geography, Eng, reading: $2.75M fed aid paid during biennium p36
NDEA V-A expanding to inclue testing, guiance, and counselfing for grades 7-8, and school district partic inc from 31% (and $327k fed reimb) in 1960 (its first year) to 65% (and $414k fed reimb) in 1965 (1963-65, p36)

Increase in DPI Bureaucracy and Oversight with ESEA

With ESEA in 1965, DPI's annual report reflects upon the institutional growth required to administer and oversee the federal program. In Sept 1965, DPI appointed a Coordinator of Federal Instructional Programs, whose office received 423 ESEA proposals as of March 1966. In addition, Title V of ESEA provided $281k in federal funds (from 65-66) to increase its professional staff by 17%. To coordinate R&D efforts, a member of DPI was assigned to the UW-Madison Research and Development Center for Learning and Re-Education, oen fo the several federally-funded centers in the nation created under a 1964 US Office of Ed proposal. (1963-65, pp24, 41-42)

Wisconsin's projected share of ESEA funds to be received in 1966:
Title I $18.1M
Title II 2.3M
Title III 1.6M
title V 280k

Indian Education
brief program narrative on Johnson-O'Malley act; three federal day schools for Indians closed July 1948, absorbed into public schools; statewide revenues never seem to exceed $200k from 1945-1960s

Special Education
without fully describing how, Federal revenues contributed 41% to crippled children program budget, 12% to hearing budget, and 10% to speech budget, in 1947-49 (p44); State covered remainder, plus all for Mentally Retarded and Vision programs

Impact Aid
43rd Report 1965-67
Impact Aid to Federally Affected Areas
Impacted Area Aid - Public Law 874 (enacted 1950), amended 1958 to include Indian areas [*no discussion of Milwaukee other urban areas with fed activity*]
Public Law 874 $2M paid in biennium to 35 LEAs
Public Law 815 $291k paid to 2 school districts p18

	Total WI Local Ed Agency (LEA) Revenue	Total Fed aid to WI LEAs

(Source: DPI annual reports, produced by summaries from reports filed by County and City Supts and Supervising Principals)

1953-54	$164M	$2.4M (1.4%)

1954-55	$178M	$2.9M	
1957-58	$240M	$4.1M	
1958-59	$261M	$4.3M	
1960-61	$323M	$7.2M	
1961-62	$352M	$6.3M	
1962-63	$390M	$6.8M	
1963-64	$416M	$6.9M	
1964-65	$451M	$7.3M	
1965-66	$498M	$11.6M	
1966-67	$568M	$23.2M	(4.0%)

*This shows a significant increase in LEA revenue from federal sources

*NOTE: As described in footnote above, DPI report format changes dramatically in late 1960s and drops most program narratives and financial data listed here. DPI library had shipped out post-1969 reports for external cataloging, so they were not available during my research trip there.

SEA official archives (DPI holdings catalogued at State Historical Society in Madison)

The State Historical Society on the UW-Madison campus is the official depository of DPI archival records, yet most of this collection was unprocessed and disappointing. After spending one full day of searching through nearly 20 boxes selected from the on-line preliminary inventory, I had very little to show for my efforts.

Most of my time was spent digging through 13 feet of the unprocessed subcollection, Federal program files (1965, 1972-1974, 1976, 1978-1980). These boxes typically held bureaucratic materials - grant guidelines, award notifications, official contracts, federal agency subject files - which do not seem likely to contribute to our historical narrative. Even the few grant applications, evaluations, and pieces of state-local-federal correspondence which I found did not strike me as very insightful for our project.

For example, see my notes below for one of the more interesting grant applications:

box 1979/09
1972 records
Folder: Civil Rights, Title IV FY 1972
includes
"A Proposal for Technical Assistance Program on School Deseg Problems", sub to US Comm of Ed under prov of Title IV< Section 403 of CR Act of 1964
July 14, 1970
request $47k

notes that DPI previ received similar grant in June 1968, and has employed a specialist consultant to provide techical outreach on school deseg to LEAs; training programs and visits to LEAs (including 120 to Milw) sev conferences with MPS "indicating to them that problems may exist in predominantly Black schools due to inadeuqate attention to the ethnic minority's worth and contribution and due to unavailability of enough minority counselors." p3
inclues clipping from MJ 9 April 1966 "Push Integration, State School Leaders Urge" announcemnet from DPI Angus Rothwell that racial integ must be promoted, with 10 recommendations from "Dept Policy Statemnt on De Facto Seg and Disadvantaging Conditions"

new school sites, special [magnet] programs, reduced teacher loads, qualified personnel for ed disadv, intercultural exchange, teacher ed seminars, encourage board and teacher discussios, research

Abstract of similar proposal 1971 "A Proposalf ro Technical Assistance Prog on School Deseg Problems" for $65k

As indicated above, these scattered and isolated grant applications do not readily lend themselves to writing meaningful historical analysis for our project.

Likewise, other smaller federally-oriented subcollections, such as NDEA Administrative files (1966-1977) and White House Conference on Education files (1954-56), had scarcely any materials related to Milwaukee, nor any apparent rationale for why SHS chose to preserve them in contrast to the papers of other federal programs.

Since I focused my search on federal materials relevant to Milwaukee, and since there was no finding aid, I may have overlooked some archival boxes which might shed more light on the state-federal relationship. For instance, it is possible that a more thorough examination of the State Superintendent's official correspondence with Washington DC may reveal more information that did not come up in my Milwaukee-oriented search. But for this subcollection alone, SHS holds nearly 100 feet of unprocessed files for the years 1947-1977. I recommend that we think more clearly about its potential analytical contribution to the overall project before digging deeper in state educational agency source materials.[3]

SEA unofficial archives

While SHS is the official depository of DPI archives, this does not necessarily mean that all of these materials are actually located there. The SHS archivists informed me that they are far behind on obtaining materials for DPI, and that this situation is not likely to improve due to the lack of coordination between SHS and state agencies, and the lack of SHS resources for preserving and processing state agency materials. In other words, state agencies tend to throw out old paperwork before anyone at SHS has the time or energy to advise them on what might be worth saving.

The lack of coordination became very apparent to me when I inquired at DPI for any federally-oriented archival materials which had not yet been deposited at SHS. Unfortunately, I arrived at DPI only ten days after extensive federal program supervision files had been thrown away, due to a major space reorganization within the GEF 3 state office building. (Veteran staff member Allen Vick - see below - broke the bad news to me.) Other (often younger) DPI staffers, who understandably think in the present, were surprised that anyone would want access to these boxes of old papers, which they were only required by law to hold less than eight years.

Financial Data on State Aid

Although most DPI archives were disorganized or destroyed, I did find very useful longtidinal compilations of state education aid at the Wisconsin Legislative Reference Bureau (especially for 1977-present) and a private, not-for-profit metropolitan watchdog group, the Citizens Government Research Bureau (now known as the Public Policy Forum), especially for earlier decades.

[3]Wisconsin. Dept. of Public Instruction, General correspondence of the State Superintendent, 1851-1977.

In the appendix of the final Milwaukee report, note the chart which compares metro Milwaukee school revenues from local, state, and federal sources. While the federal percentage floats along the bottom (always under 10%), the local property tax revenue drops sharply and crosses over the rising level of state education aid. Any historical analysis of "the state" in Wisconsin public education should pay close attention to this important change and its implications for educational governance.

News reports on State role in local-federal ed policy

Despite the Wisconsin Legislative Reference Bureau's very well-organized news clipping library, I found surprisingly few news stories which focused on the state role in shaping local-federal educational policy. Instead, most of the news stories examined the Milwaukee-to-DC connection without a major role for Madison. Perhaps this is a result of the fact that the two dominant newspapers are both Milwaukee city papers, which see their role as covering local politics more than state bureaucracy. Or perhaps the LRB clippings sub-categories are organized in such a way that the state's role appears less influential than it actually may be.

In any case, the few instances where the state role did enter the historical picture are included in the previously submitted Metro Milwaukee final report, with one significant exception:

ECIA block grant committee:

When Reagan's budget shifted more power from the federal government to the states in the early 1980s, Wisconsin's Department of Public Instruction oversaw a committee process which took a harder line in favor of rural interests. In 1981, Governor Dreyfus appointed a statewide citizen's advisory board to oversee the distribution of federal aid money through the upcoming ECIA block grant program. MPS supporters feared that Milwaukee would bear the brunt of Reagan's budget cuts, and insisted that they should continue to receive the same share of Wisconsin's federal school aid - roughly 65% - which they had previously received prior to the block grant consolidation. But DPI officials responded that Milwaukee did not have a monopoly on poverty, and that 20-30% of the state's federal school aid would be fairer. MPS officials pleaded their most convincing case to the Education Block Grants Advisory Committee in 1982, arguing that urban Milwaukee bore higher costs for educating such a large proportion of language minority and special education students. Yet the Wisconsin Association of School District Administrators countered by arguing that many rural districts did not receive federal aid in the past because they did not have the skills needed to write successful grant applications.[4]

Note that the paragraph above requires us to think more clearly "the state," since it mentions DPI, the Governor, and state-wide political tensions regarding rural versus urban interests. Also, it reminds me that there are probably some state government minutes/archives regarding this Advisory Committee which I have not even thought to look for.

Oral history possibilities

While searching for surviving documentation of federal education policy within the walls of Wisconsin's DPI, various staff members pointed me in the direction of Allen Vick, a veteran mid-level bureaucrat who joined the federal aid and audit section in 1974.[5] I spoke with him on two occasions, where I found

[4]28 Sept 1981 Panel to oversee ed cuts MJ; 28 March 1982 Educators spar over dollars MJ; 9 Apr 1982 City Schools take aid bid to state panel MJ

[5]Allen Vick, non-recorded interview with Jack Dougherty, Madison WI, 9 March 1999. (email: vickae@mail.state.wi.us phone: 608-266-2428).

him to be friendly, cooperative, and interested in our historical project. Yet after speaking with him for nearly an hour on our second meeting, and taking notes based on an un-recorded "pilot" interview, I learned only two contextual details relevant to our Metro Milwaukee study:

- The Milwaukee Public School system was on the "cutting edge of grant writing" during the peak ESEA years of the mid-1960s through the 1970s. They "had a machine" and DPI "never dared not to fund MPS."

- During the 1970s, more than half of the DPI staff (mostly supervisors and consultants) was federally funded. Previously, much of this work had been done by county-level school superintendents, but ESEA worked to shift this responsibility to the state.

While these two "nuggets" may be useful, our conversation led me to conclude that the time investment required for a formal interview with Mr. Vick would not be highly productive toward the goals of the overall project. I base this conclusion on my experience in researching and writing a dissertation on black school reform in Milwaukee, where I conducted and transcribed 70 oral history interviews, then realized how little of that work made its way into my historical narrative. Perhaps there are other higher-level DPI officials (such as former State Superintendents) whose oral histories could potentially offer richer insights into federal education policy, but I question whether chasing them down would be worth our time.[6] In any case, I advise any historian against pursuing extensive oral interviews without first stating a clear vision of what analytical contribution they might make to the overall project. For more on this topic, see my forthcoming review essay, "From Anecdote to Analysis: Oral Interviews and New Scholarship in Educational History," in the September 1999 issue of the *Journal of American History*.

Conclusion:

My exploratory study of "the state" and its role in shaping metro Milwaukee-Washington relations on educational policy is not very encouraging. While it seems obvious that we should consider the middle ground between both local and federal governments, the absence of historiographical background and readily-available primary source materials makes this a very challenging project, at least for the "guinea pig" case of Wisconsin.

At times I find myself referring to our current local-federal study as a "big sprawly project" whose ambitious breadth stretches beyond my ability to keep up with it all. Call me a worry-wort, but I fear that stepping further into the domain of "the state" at this critical point could make our project even less focused, and more difficult to fully comprehend, at least for me. While we should not and cannot ignore "the state," I urge us to think more precisely about what we mean by that term, and what we can reasonably hope its inclusion will contribute to our historical analysis and narrative.

[6]On the local level, my attempts to track down Gerard Farley, the first MPS coordinator of federal projects, were not successful.

Part 5:

Lessons Learned by the Guinea Pig

Since Carl Kaestle hired me to produce this report not only for its content, but also as an experiment about how to do a case study on the history of local-federal educational policy, it seems appropriate to share some of the lessons which I have learned, to spark discussion with current and future members of the research project (especially those who will be conducting additional case studies).

1) The formation of federal educational policy looks very different from the perspective of Milwaukee rather than Washington, DC. For example, it's much easier to understand how Title I slipped from "categorical aid" to "general aid" when viewed in the context of Congressmen Reuss and Zablocki's long-term efforts to win federal school construction aid for their rapidly-growing city. Also, if I had time to do a better job of the school choice dispute, we'd see that the Bush Administration's market-view of choice is very different from most black Milwaukeeans' community-control view of choice.

2) I believe that the Milwaukee case study generally supports Carl's working thesis that federal educational policy was driven by incrementalism, rather than intense (and highly publicized) episodes. For example, despite national attention cast upon the Sputnik crisis, NDEA scarcely appears in local discussions of federal education aid in Milwaukee, largely because the local terms of the debate were cast differently than those in Washington DC. And when Title I aid does arrive, it's very difficult for anyone to turn it down, such as suburban leaders who had previously voiced ideological opposition to federal aid.

However, I wouldn't want to toss the 7 (or more) episodes out the window, since they were essential guideposts for me as a case study researcher, wandering my way around Milwaukee sources, wondering what I was supposed to be looking for.

3) I did a very poor job of covering the post-1975 period. One reason was the wide scope of a half-century and the limited research time (6 months) in which to cover it well. Good case studies will need more time.

But another reason is that I'm still a bit confused about how to analyze the post-75 period. The "incrementalism" thesis only takes us up the slope; I'm not sure how to explain the subsequent decline. One issue is that I'm surprised how little I found in terms of public discussion about the Reagan budget cuts. More citizens seem to be involved in public discussions on pre-75 increases in federal aid to Milwaukee, but the debates about post-75 cuts seem to shift to adminstrators (like Supt. McMurrin testifying before a House Cmte) and State govt (how to administer block grants). Perhaps this is a false conclusion due to biases in the source materials (since I'm looking at relatively established people for the most part), but I'm still puzzled over the relative absence of public discussion about Reagan cuts in Milwaukee schooling.

4) Another weak area in this local-federal case study, oddly enough, is the linkage with key legislative events in Washington DC. After spending hours and hours in Congressman Zablocki's "local files," I really didn't know what relevant bills he was introducing in DC. If we want to have genuine "local-federal" studies, then we need better coordination between the local case study researchers and the DC research team. This relationship is not simply about historical concepts, but it also needs to deal with logistical issues (such as the fact that in Nashville TN, I had no access to and no knowledge of the Congressional Masterfile pre-1970 database.

END.