

Table 10.1

**Comparison of Title I Schools Identified as in Need of Improvement and All Title I Schools,
by Selected Characteristics**

Selected Characteristics	Schools In Need of Improvement	Title I Schools
	Percent	
School Level		
Elementary School	77.5	77.3
Middle School	16.2	12.5
High School	6.2	10.2
Enrollment		
1-200	12.5	18.0
201-400	20.2	28.0
401-600	32.5	31.6
601-800	19.0	12.3
801 and over	15.9	10.0
Percentage of students eligible for free/reduced lunch		
0-34.9	12.0	28.6
35-49.9	17.7	18.9
50-74.9	21.4	33.1
75-100	48.9	19.4
Percentage of minority students		
0-24.9	30.1	50.2
25-49.9	9.1	18.8
50-74.9	14.0	11.1
75-100	46.9	19.9
Urbanicity		
Urban	41.5	24.8
Suburban/Large Town	25.6	30.0
Rural/Small Town	32.9	45.3
Title I Type		
Schoolwide	71.9	50.4
Targeted Assistance	28.1	49.6
Percentage adopting comprehensive schoolwide reform models	43.8	31.4

Race/Ethnicity

As part of the background questionnaire administered with the assessment, students were asked to identify the racial/ethnic subgroup that best described them. The five mutually exclusive categories were White, Black, Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander, and American Indian. The information provided by the students was the primary contributor to the classifications appearing in Tables 2.2A and 2.2B.¹¹ Only those racial/ethnic subgroups with sufficient membership to meet reporting requirements in Texas are reported.

Scale Score Results by Race/Ethnicity

In terms of average writing scale scores for Texas' public school students, Table 2.2A indicates the following.

- The average scale score of White students in Texas was higher than those of Black and Hispanic students but was not significantly different from that of Asian/Pacific Islander students.
- The average scale scores of White, Black, and Hispanic students in Texas were higher than those of similar students nationwide. The average scale score of Asian/Pacific Islander students in Texas was not significantly different from that of similar students nationwide.

¹¹ For details of the derivation of this variable, see the *Writing Report Card*.

Texas

THE NATION'S REPORT CARD  1998 State Assessment		TABLE 2.2A Average writing scale scores and selected percentiles for public school students by race/ethnicity					
	Percentage of total population	Average scale score	10th percentile	25th percentile	50th percentile	75th percentile	90th percentile
White							
Texas	48 (1.7)	164 (1.5)	121 (2.1)	143 (1.9)	166 (1.9)	187 (2.3)	204 (2.3)
West	50 (1.7)	156 (1.3)	111 (1.2)	134 (1.8)	157 (1.9)	179 (1.5)	198 (1.2)
Nation	65 (0.4)	156 (0.7)	112 (1.3)	135 (0.9)	158 (1.1)	179 (0.9)	197 (1.0)
Black							
Texas	12 (1.8)	106 (4.2)	105 (5.5)	124 (6.9)	147 (5.1)	168 (4.5)	185 (6.7)
West	9 (1.2)	100 (3.0)	88 (3.2)	107 (2.6)	130 (4.5)	151 (3.5)	173 (3.5)
Nation	15 (0.2)	100 (1.0)	91 (1.9)	110 (1.5)	131 (1.4)	150 (1.4)	168 (1.2)
Hispanic							
Texas	36 (2.2)	144 (1.9)	102 (5.9)	122 (3.1)	146 (1.9)	168 (2.1)	186 (2.9)
West	33 (1.6)	130 (2.0)	86 (1.6)	107 (2.1)	130 (2.0)	153 (2.3)	173 (3.1)
Nation	14 (0.2)	119 (1.5)	84 (1.6)	106 (2.1)	130 (1.6)	153 (1.7)	173 (2.1)
Asian/Pacific Islander							
Texas	3 (0.4)	163 (5.4)	116 (36.5)	139 (8.5)	164 (9.7)	188 (9.2)	204 (4.1)
West	7 (1.2)	158 (5.8)	111 (7.3)	134 (5.8)	157 (7.0)	180 (5.3)	199 (6.8)
Nation	3 (0.2)	157 (3.8)	112 (5.9)	135 (4.5)	158 (4.9)	181 (3.3)	200 (4.5)

The NAEP writing scale ranges from 0 to 300. The standard errors of the statistics appear in parentheses.

SOURCE: National Center for Education Statistics, National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), 1998 Writing Assessment.

Achievement Level Results by Race/Ethnicity

Table 2.2B shows the following to be true of achievement levels attained by Texas' public school students.

- In Texas, the percentage of White students performing at or above the *Proficient* level was greater than those of Black and Hispanic students but was not significantly different from that of Asian/Pacific Islander students.
- In Texas, the percentage of White students performing at or above the *Basic* level was not significantly different from those of Black and Asian/Pacific Islander students but was greater than that of Hispanic students.
- The percentages of White, Black, and Hispanic students in Texas performing at or above the *Proficient* level were greater than those of similar students nationwide. The percentage of Asian/Pacific Islander students in Texas performing at or above the *Proficient* level was not significantly different from that of similar students nationwide.

Background/Talking points: Why E-Rate Discounts should not cover filtering software

- 1) E-Rate is part of the Universal Service Fund that was continued in the 1996 Telecom Act to preserve and advance universal service. Telecommunications companies contribute to the fund, and receive funding from it based on service to rural high-cost areas, access for low-income families, the E Rate, and discounts for rural health care providers.

"GORE TAX"

During the Telecom Act debates and FCC rulemaking process, companies were concerned that E-Rate would be expanded to cover "non-telecommunications services," like computers, software and teacher training. They were assured that E Rate would be limited to telecommunications, Internet access and internal connections, only.

The alternative language provides a \$100 million grant program to cover the costs of filtering software and appropriate use policies and training.

- 2) The E-Rate is not free. It is a discount program, and each school or library must contribute a share of the costs based on need and rural location. Also, to be eligible for E-Rate discounts, each school and library must submit a Tech Plan which certifies that the institution has a plan in place to cover the related, non-telecommunication services like computers, software, and teacher training. It would be simple and streamlined to add a certification requirement to the Tech Plan to ensure that each school and library complied with the Children's Internet Protection and Education Act, by having filtering technology or a comprehensive Internet Use Policy.

- 3) The Schools and Library Division (SLD) ^{ok?} has a through process for program integrity to screen each E-Rate application to ensure that only eligible services – telecommunications, Internet access, and internal connections to link classrooms – are covered.

E-Rate discounts do not cover any software. If filtering software is added to the list of eligible services it will complicate program integrity and fraud prevention efforts of SLD. It would also increase the paperwork for E Rate applications. It could slow down distribution to E Rate discounts, since SLD would need to scrutinize every application that include filtering software to ensure that other services were not attached to the filtering software.

- 4) The E-Rate program is capped at \$2.25 billion per year. In the third year, schools and libraries requested \$4 billion in discounts. E-Rate services are prioritized: 1) telecommunications services, 2) Internet access, and 3) internal connections which are targeted to the neediest schools first. In the third year, there was only sufficient funding to cover all the telecommunication and Internet access requests and some of the poorest schools' internal connection requests. If filtering software is adding to the list of eligible services to could drain resources from connecting classrooms.

Middle 84

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1 SEC. ———. (a) Section 435(a)(2) of the Higher
2 Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1085(a)(2)) is amended
3 by adding at the end thereof the following new subpara-
4 graph:

5 “(D) Notwithstanding the first sentence of subpara-
6 graph (A), the Secretary shall restore the eligibility to par-
7 ticipate in a program under subpart 1 of part A, part B,
8 or part D of an institution that did not appeal its loss
9 of eligibility within 30 days of receiving notification if the
10 Secretary determines, on a case-by-case basis, that the in-
11 stitution's failure to appeal was substantially justified
12 under the circumstances, and that—

13 “(i) the institution made a timely request that
14 the appropriate guaranty agency correct errors in
15 the draft data used to calculate the institution's co-
16 hort default rate;

17 “(ii) the guaranty agency did not correct the er-
18 roneous data in a timely fashion; and

19 “(iii) the institution would have been eligible if
20 the erroneous data had been corrected by the guar-
21 anty agency.”.

22 (b) The amendment made by subsection (a) of this
23 section shall be effective for cohort default rate calcula-
24 tions for fiscal year 1997 and for each succeeding fiscal
25 year.

October 11, 2000
F:\V\1011\p01100.001

FROM NAFIS

(THU) 7.20.00 2:01/ST. 2:00/NO. 4962752922 P 2



MEMO

To: Susan Rirth, Mark Laisch, Cheryl Smith
Labor/HHS/Education Appropriations staff
From: Brady King, NAFIS
Re: Impact Aid Member requests
Date: July 20, 2000

Air Force Academy School District, CO

"The Secretary shall treat as timely filed, and shall process for payment, an application for a fiscal year 2000 payment from the local education agency for Academy School District 20, Colorado, under section 8002 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 if the Secretary has received that application not later than 30 days after the enactment of this Act."

Federal Property (Section 8002) "Cap" Issue

"From the amount appropriated for Section 8002, the Secretary shall first restore payments to any local educational agency that was denied funding or had its payment reduced from funds appropriated under this section for Fiscal Year 1998 due to subparagraph (C) of Section 8002(b)(1) of Title VIII of P.L. 103-382."

Section (D) Pillor Project

NOTE: Use the same language in the FY00 Labor/HHS/Education Appropriations bill.

Travis Unified School District, CA

NOTE: Use the same language in the FY00 Labor/HHS/Education Appropriations bill.

National Association of
Federally Impacted Schools

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MEMORANDUM TO BARBARA CHOW

RE: Groups' Internet Filtering Proposal

FROM: Caroline Chang
Bethany Little
Brian Matteson

CC: Larry Matlack, Kathy Stack

DATE: 10/13/00

In general, the version of the Internet Filtering language that Alex Nock e-mailed yesterday evening is an improvement over the earlier draft, and is closer to something that we could stand behind. The section on residential Internet access has been removed and several of our smaller concerns have been addressed. Below is a list of our remaining concerns:

1) **The major issue that remains** is whether we would support any new funds for this purpose, and if so, whether the funds could be targeted to high-need areas.

- The language designates authorization of appropriations for the Secretary of Education and the Director of the IMLS (this acronym needs to be spelled out, according to Counsel) to provide assistance to LEAs, schools and libraries, including the purchasing and implementation of technological protection measure. A blank space has been left for the appropriation level.
- The proposed language does not target funds, and also does not specify in any way how such funds would be distributed for the various purposes.

2) The provision is still structured so that schools and libraries either need to have an acceptable use policy OR internet filtering software in place by July 2002 or else be at risk of losing E-Rate and Title III funds.

- This language seems to indicate that any school not in compliance by July 1, 2003 would not only lose funding under Title III and the e-rate, but could never get it again. Do we need to add a provision reinstating funding when and if they come into compliance?

3) In addition, there are a number of small changes necessary:

- The provision jumps from Section 2 to Section 4; renumbering is necessary since there is a reference to Section 3(b).
- In Section 2(c)(1), Counsel's office would like the comma after "objectionable" removed.
- Section 2(e)(3) has a typo -- "compliment" should be "compliant"
- We need to spell out what IMLS is in Sections 3(a)(1) and 3(b).

- time to comply
- no e-rate funds
- technological monitoring out

☆ EDUCATING AMERICA ☆

Democrats' Agenda for a Quality Education for Our Children

We live in a changed world: a new economy, new technology, and new family realities. More than ever, we need all our children to achieve to their fullest potential. But our children are not getting the support they need to make this possible. We must set a national goal that every child becomes a productive worker and citizen. Democrats will lead in making the following major new commitments:

☆ **America Teaches** – quality teachers and smaller classes for every child

A major new partnership with the states to lower class sizes and to attract the best and the brightest to careers in education. Provide a variety of financial incentives for 1 million new fully qualified teachers and principals over the next 10 years. Includes a commitment to ensuring that new teachers are certified as having met high standards, and to on-going training for teachers, principals, and superintendents.

☆ **Character Counts** – high standards of behavior for all our children

Foster a strong emphasis on character education and increased parental involvement in their children's schools. Incentives for communities to support real standards of discipline and behavior in their schools.

☆ **Safe and Drug-Free Schools** – safe schools for all our children

Increased commitment to creating a safe environment for learning, including the safe and drug-free schools program. Additional after-school and summer programs. More school counselors to prevent school violence. Alternative education for children suspended or expelled.

☆ **High Tech Schools/High Skill Students** – modern, effective schools for every child

Additional funds for construction and renovation of school buildings and for technology installation to help close the digital divide and for turning around failing schools. In exchange for these new funds, schools will be held accountable for providing a quality education to every student: boosting the performance of all students and closing the gap between minorities and non-minorities and between economically disadvantaged students and their peers.

☆ **First Step** – early childhood education available to all children

Major new commitment to ensure that all children start school ready to read and ready to learn. Fully fund Head Start and Early Head Start. Make available more options for all parents to get their kids ready for school, including pre-school from age 3 to age 5 and improving quality and safety of child care. Provide funding to improve the salaries and the skills of child care workers.

☆ **High Skill Workers** – preparing America's workers for tomorrow's technology

New resources for workforce literacy education, support for technology training partnerships, employer training networks, apprenticeship programs. Incentives for middle-school students to work toward pursuing math, science, and engineering studies in college.

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Equal Protection School Finance Act (Introduced in the House)

HR 555 IH

106th CONGRESS

1st Session

H. R. 555

To require States to equalize funding for education throughout the State.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

February 3, 1999

Mr. FATTAH (for himself, Mr. GUTIERREZ, Ms. KILPATRICK, Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania, Ms. LEE, Mr. MARTINEZ, and Mr. RUSH) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Education and the Workforce

A BILL

To require States to equalize funding for education throughout the State.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the 'Equal Protection School Finance Act'.

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

The Congress finds the following:

- (1) There are systems of public school finance within States which subject American children to educations of radically varying and grossly unequal quality solely on the basis of where they live.
- (2) Agreement with the unanimous Supreme Court decision of *Brown v. Board of*

Education which stated: 'In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the State has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.'

(3) Education is a fundamental right under the equal protection clause of the United States Constitution.

(4) The provision of education to all children within a State on an equal basis, including equality of financial resources, is fundamental to the equal protection of laws.

SEC. 3. EQUALIZATION SYSTEM.

(a) **IN GENERAL-** No State shall be eligible for Federal funds administered by the Department of Education to support elementary and secondary education unless the coefficient of variation (referred to in this Act as 'COV') of per pupil expenditures in local educational agencies statewide for elementary and secondary education in such State is less than 10 percent.

(b) **CALCULATION-** The COV shall be calculated based on intrastate expenditures for current operations, as determined by the State, without regard to Federal contributions.

(c) **ADDITIONAL EXCLUSIONS-**

(1) **SPECIAL PURPOSE-** Also excluded from the COV calculation shall be capital expenditures and special purpose funds without regard to source. Special purpose funds are funds which are targeted to address a specific need, such as the educationally disadvantaged, handicapped, gifted, or language deficient students.

(2) **RESOURCES-** Nothing in this Act shall preclude the State or the Federal Government from providing additional resources to local educational agencies to address such special needs.

(d) **WAIVER-** The Secretary may provide funding for elementary and secondary education to a State which has not complied with the requirements of this section if the State submits a plan for compliance which the Secretary determines will bring the State into compliance not later than 5 years after the date of submission of such plan.

SEC. 4. COMPLIANCE AND REPORTING.

(a) **IN GENERAL-**

(1) **ANNUAL REPORT-** To be eligible to receive Federal education funds, a State shall submit an annual report to the Secretary which certifies that the State has complied with the provisions of this Act.

(2) **CERTIFICATIONS-** Such certifications are due not later than January 1 of each fiscal year and shall be accepted by the Secretary unless challenged by 1 or more local educational agencies.

(b) **CERTIFICATION CHALLENGE-** To challenge the validity of a State's compliance certification, local educational agencies that represent not less than 10 percent of the students in such State must file a complaint with the Secretary, not later than 90 days after the date on which the certification is due.

(c) COMPLIANCE-

(1) **IN GENERAL-** The failure of a State to comply with the provisions of this Act shall result in the loss of eligibility for Federal education funds identified in section 3(a) beginning in the first fiscal year after a finding of noncompliance by the Secretary. Eligibility for such funds shall be restored at the beginning of the next fiscal year in which the Secretary finds the State to be in compliance.

(2) **FEDERAL FUNDS-** The failure of a State to comply with the provisions of this Act for a period that exceeds 5 years from the date of the enactment of this Act or the submission of a plan under section 3(d), whichever is longer, shall lose all forms of Federal assistance beginning in the first fiscal year after such 5-year period until the State complies with the provisions of this Act.

(d) **REDISTRIBUTION OF FUNDS-** Funds for elementary and secondary education that are not distributed to a State as a result of applying subsection (c) shall be reallocated by the Secretary to other States that have complied with the requirements of section 3, that are implementing compliance plans, or are developing compliance plans pursuant to section 3(d).

SEC. 5. DEFINITIONS.

For purposes of this Act the following terms have the following meanings:

- (1) The term 'coefficient of variation' means the standard deviation of local educational agency expenditures divided by the mean per student expenditure, in which local educational agencies with fewer than 250 students have been excluded.
- (2) The term 'local educational agency' has the same meaning given such term in section 14101(18) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 8801 (18)).
- (3) The term 'Secretary' means the Secretary of Education.

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Bill Summary & Status for the 106th Congress**Item 1 of 2****PREVIOUS | NEXT****PREVIOUS:ALL | NEXT:ALL****NEW SEARCH | HOME | HELP****H.R.555**

Sponsor: Rep Fattah, Chaka (introduced 2/3/1999)

Latest Major Action: 2/26/1999 Referred to House subcommittee

Title: To require States to equalize funding for education throughout the State.

Jump to: [Titles](#), [Status](#), [Committees](#), [Related Bill Details](#), [Amendments](#), [Cosponsors](#), [Summary](#)**TITLE(S):** (*italics indicate a title for a portion of a bill*)

- **SHORT TITLE(S) AS INTRODUCED:**
Equal Protection School Finance Act
- **OFFICIAL TITLE AS INTRODUCED:**
To require States to equalize funding for education throughout the State.

STATUS: (*color indicates Senate actions*)**2/3/1999:**

Referred to the House Committee on Education and the Workforce.

2/26/1999:

Referred to the Subcommittee on Early Childhood, Youth and Families.

COMMITTEE(S):

Committee/Subcommittee:	Activity:
<u>House Education and the Workforce</u>	Referral
<u>Subcommittee on Early Childhood, Youth and Families</u>	Referral

RELATED BILL DETAILS:

NONE

AMENDMENT(S):

NONE

COSPONSORS(44), ALPHABETICAL [followed by Cosponsors withdrawn]: (Sort: [by date](#))

Rep Barrett, Thomas M. - 3/18/1999
Rep Borski, Robert A. - 2/16/2000
Rep Brady, Robert - 2/3/1999
Rep Carson, Julia - 5/20/1999
Rep Clayton, Eva M. - 4/28/1999
Rep Davis, Danny K. - 3/11/1999

Rep Bonior, David E. - 3/4/1999
Rep Boucher, Rick - 3/1/1999
Rep Brown, Corrine - 3/4/1999
Rep Christensen, Donna MC - 3/4/1999
Rep Cummings, Elijah E. - 3/4/1999
Rep Filner, Bob - 3/4/1999

<u>Rep Frost, Martin</u> - 3/18/1999	<u>Rep Gutierrez, Luis V.</u> - 2/3/1999
<u>Rep Hilliard, Carl F.</u> - 4/28/1999	<u>Rep Hinojosa, Ruben</u> - 3/10/1999
<u>Rep Jackson, Jesse L., Jr.</u> - 4/28/1999	<u>Rep Jefferson, William J.</u> - 3/9/1999
<u>Rep Johnson, Eddie Bernice</u> - 3/18/1999	<u>Rep Jones, Stephanie Tubbs</u> - 3/18/1999
<u>Rep Kilpatrick, Carolyn C.</u> - 2/3/1999	<u>Rep Lee, Barbara</u> - 2/3/1999
<u>Rep Lewis, John</u> - 2/24/1999	<u>Rep Maloney, Carolyn B.</u> - 5/12/1999
<u>Rep Martinez, Matthew G.</u> - 2/3/1999	<u>Rep McDermott, Jim</u> - 3/18/1999
<u>Rep McKinney, Cynthia A.</u> - 4/12/1999	<u>Rep Meeks, Gregory W.</u> - 3/11/1999
<u>Rep Miller, George</u> - 6/24/1999	<u>Rep Nadler, Jerrold</u> - 7/27/2000
<u>Rep Norton, Eleanor Holmes</u> - 3/1/1999	<u>Rep Owens, Major R.</u> - 7/14/1999
<u>Rep Payne, Donald M.</u> - 7/20/2000	<u>Rep Rangel, Charles B.</u> - 3/25/1999
<u>Rep Rodriguez, Ciro</u> - 5/5/1999	<u>Rep Rush, Bobby L.</u> - 2/3/1999
<u>Rep Sanders, Bernard</u> - 3/10/1999	<u>Rep Scott, Robert C.</u> - 5/20/1999
<u>Rep Stark, Fortney Pete</u> - 3/1/1999	<u>Rep Thompson, Bennie G.</u> - 2/24/1999
<u>Rep Velazquez, Nydia M.</u> - 5/5/1999	<u>Rep Vento, Bruce F.</u> - 5/12/1999
<u>Rep Waters, Maxine</u> - 9/8/1999	<u>Rep Weiner, Anthony D.</u> - 4/28/1999

SUMMARY AS OF:

2/3/1999--Introduced.

Equal Protection School Finance Act - Provides for a system to help equalize funding for education within States.

Makes a State ineligible for Federal funds administered by the Department of Education to support elementary and secondary education unless the coefficient of variation of per pupil expenditures in local **educational** agencies statewide for elementary and secondary education is greater than ten percent. Authorizes the Secretary of Education to provide such funding to a noncompliant State if that State submits a plan which the Secretary determines will bring the State into compliance within five years.

Sets forth procedures for compliance reporting, certification, and challenges. Directs the Secretary to reallocate to compliant States, and States developing or implementing compliance plans, any funds that are not distributed to noncompliant States.

EDUCATION REFORM CAUCUS

REPUBLICAN EDUCATION QUIZ #11

Pete Hoekstra and Bob Schaffer, Co-Chairmen

EDUCATION AT A CROSSROADS 2000: PUTTING STUDENTS FIRST

Today, the Crossroads 2000 report was released with updated information and findings. It builds upon the unprecedented findings of the first Crossroads report and lays out the future road to excellence for American students. The following questions are based on Crossroads 2000.

Director:
Doug
Mesecar

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Mail:
212 Cannon,
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D.C. 20515

1. **True or False.** For the first time since the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) began measuring academic achievement 30 years ago, an entire decade has passed without significant and substantial achievement gains.
 - a. True
 - b. False
2. **True or False.** For the last 12 years, most achievement gaps have actually been widening, and the gains made during the 70s and 80s are beginning to evaporate.
 - a. True
 - b. False
3. According to the Congressional Research Service, the number of Congressionally funded programs at the Department of Education has steadily _____ for the last four fiscal years.
 - a. Increased
 - b. Decreased
4. **True or False.** Despite recent reductions, the Department still requires more than 38 million hours of paperwork a year - the equivalent of 18,000 employees only filling out forms for 1 year.
 - a. True
 - b. False
5. Who said, "The [education] department has suffered from mistrust and management neglect, almost from the beginning. To overcome this legacy and to lead the way in national education reform, ED must refashion and revitalize its programs, management and systems."
 - a. Former Education Secretary William Bennett
 - b. Current Education Secretary Richard Riley
 - c. Vice-President Al Gore
 - d. NEA president Bob Chase
6. **True or False.** Over the last 8 years, the Vice-President has succeeded in his stated goals for education.
 - a. True
 - b. False
7. **True or False.** Former Education Secretary William Bennett said, "We must fundamentally change the way the federal government treats public schools. If we continue down the current road -- where responsibility, authority and accountability for American education flow not toward but away from parents, especially poor parents -- then we will continue to see ... too much low performance, too many bad schools, too many wasted lives."
 - a. True
 - b. False

THE ROAD TO EXCELLENCE

...is putting student performance first!



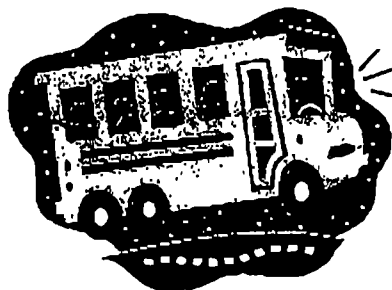
FINDINGS OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND INVESTIGATIONS 1999-2000

CROSSROADS 2000: THE ROAD TO EXCELLENCE

14 Hearings, More than 100 Witnesses

What Works in Education?

- ✓ Charter Schools
- ✓ School Choice
- ✓ Flexibility with Accountability
- ✓ High Standards for All Students
- ✓ Curriculum Grounded in Good Research
- ✓ Tax Credits and Deductions



EDUCATION AT A CROSSROADS 2000: PUTTING STUDENTS FIRST

Today, the Crossroads 2000 report was released with updated information and findings. It builds upon the unprecedented findings of the first Crossroads report and lays out the future road to excellence for American students. The following questions are based on Crossroads 2000.

1. True or False. For the first time since the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) began measuring academic achievement 30 years ago, an entire decade has passed without significant and substantial achievement gains.

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b. False

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b. False

3. According to the Congressional Research Service, the number of Congressionally funded programs at the Department of Education has steadily _____ for the last four fiscal years.

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b. False

5. Who said, "The [education] department has suffered from mistrust and management neglect, almost from the beginning. To overcome this legacy and to lead the way in national education reform, ED must refashion and revitalize its programs, management and systems."

a. Former Education Secretary William Bennett

b. ~~Current Education Secretary Richard Riley~~

c. Vice-President Al Gore

d. NEA president Bob Chase

6. True or False. Over the last 8 years, the Vice-President has succeeded in his stated goals for education.

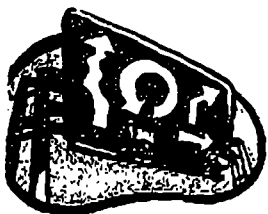
a. True

b. False

7. True or False. Former Education Secretary William Bennett said, "We must fundamentally change the way the federal government treats public schools. If we continue down the current road -- where responsibility, authority and accountability for American education flow not toward but away from parents, especially poor parents -- then we will continue to see ... too much low performance, too many bad schools, too many wasted lives."

a. True

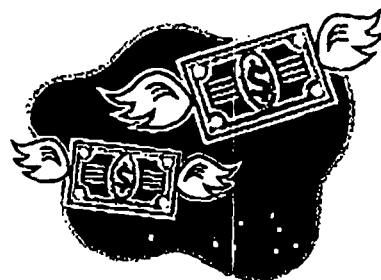
b. False



The Road to Mediocrity: What Doesn't Work

Millions Lost on Waste, Fraud and Abuse at the U.S. Department of Education

- Failed Audits
- Theft ring
- Embezzlement
- Duplicate Payments
- Incorrect Scholarship Notifications



A Federal Role That Produces Bureaucracy, Not Results

- 38 million hours of paperwork a year - the equivalent of 18,000 employees only filling out forms for one year.
- More than 760 education programs spread across 39 agencies that cost \$122 billion each year (FY 2000).
- Millions wasted on scores of research programs that have produce little knowledge about how to best teach children.



Crossroads 2000

The Road to Excellence
...is putting student performance first!

Federal Education Funds Should Empower States and School Districts to

-  *Raise Academic Achievement*
-  *Improve Teacher Quality*
-  *Reduce Class Size*
-  *Make Schools Safer and Smaller*
-  *Close the Achievement Gap*

Republicans trust parents, teachers and local schools and believe that accountability coupled with flexibility is the best way Congress can help children learn.

We empower quality education with legislation that

- ✓ sends dollars to the classroom
- ✓ encourages basic academics
- ✓ trusts state and school districts empower's parents

Straight A's: Frees States and communities to tailor federal dollars to meet needs of students. (H.R. 2300)

Ed-Flex: Waiver flexibility for Federal programs (P.L. 106-25).

Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations
Committee on Education and the Workforce
U.S. House of Representatives



The Road to Mediocrity

Inequities in Access to High Quality Education

Stagnant achievement and widening gaps are consequences of failing to put student performance first and to reward results and high standards for all students.

Achievement Gaps Remain Wide

- The reading achievement gap between White and African American 9-year-old students ends the decade the same as it was in 1990. (1999 NAEP)
- The math achievement gap between 17-year-old white and African American students increased 5 points during the 1990s. (1999 NAEP)

Not all Americans Are Satisfied with Their Schools

- A 1999 Poll by the Joint Center for Economic Studies found that while 59 percent consider their local public schools to be excellent or good, only 39.7 percent of African-Americans rated their local schools that highly.
- 58 percent of employers surveyed say that graduates coming from public schools lack the skills needed to succeed in the work world.



For Release:
October 11, 2000

Contact: Roberta Heine
(202) 401-3383

STATEMENT BY EDUCATION SECRETARY RICHARD W. RILEY

I am extremely distressed that this group of Members of Congress has worked so hard to prepare a document that misrepresents both the educational progress by the nation as a whole and the management successes of the Department of Education specifically. At a time when Americans are clamoring for lower class-sizes, modernized schools, and more after-school programs, and resources to turn around schools in need of assistance, these Representatives are spending their time in Washington avoiding the tough issues and diverting attention from the serious discussions on effective ways to continue strengthening education.

It is disheartening to see some of the same people who worked to abolish the Department of Education using these kinds of indirect means to try to undermine our work to build effective strategies for improving student achievement.

I believe it is very important that citizens be given an accurate view of where American education now stands and how much it has progressed over the past decade so that we can work together to make needed changes and improvements. Falsehoods, exaggerations, and isolated anecdotes don't tell the true story and won't create this kind of progress; they impede it.

###



For Release:
October 11, 2000

Contact: Roberta Heine
(202) 401-3383

**STATEMENT BY EDUCATION SECRETARY RICHARD W. RILEY
IN RESPONSE TO *CROSSROADS* REPORT**

I am extremely distressed that this group of Members of Congress has worked so hard to prepare a document [*Education At A Crossroads 2000*] that misrepresents both the educational progress by the nation as a whole and the management successes of the Department of Education specifically. At a time when Americans are clamoring for lower class-sizes, quality teachers, modernized schools, more after-school programs, and resources to turn around schools in need of assistance, these Representatives are spending their time in Washington avoiding the tough issues and diverting attention from the serious discussions on effective ways to continue strengthening education.

It is disheartening to see some of the same people who worked to abolish the Department of Education using these kinds of desperate, last-minute attacks to undermine our work to build effective strategies for improving student achievement.

I believe it is very important that citizens be given an accurate view of where American education now stands and how much it has progressed over the past decade so that we can work together to make needed changes and improvements. Falsehoods, exaggerations, and isolated anecdotes don't create this kind of progress; they impede it.

For example, this report inaccurately states that education made no gains in the 1990s after gains were made in the '70s and '80s. The truth of the matter is that since 1993, reading, math and science scores are up; more students have access to technology in their schools; students are better prepared to go to college and more of them than ever before are going on to college. What is more, students and teachers across the country are being held to high standards and are accountable for results. Consider the following FACTS:

Reading Achievement Is Up. The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) shows that during the last decade *reading achievement has significantly improved* in all grades tested. (NAEP 1999 Trends, p.11)

- ✓ NAEP reading scores for 4th graders improved significantly from 1994 to 1998. For nine-year olds scoring in the bottom quarter, reading improved significantly between 1992 and 1999.
- ✓ For 8th graders, reading improved significantly from 1992 to 1998. For 13-year-olds scoring in the lowest quarter, scores improved significantly between 1994 and 1999.
- ✓ For 12th graders, reading improved significantly from 1994 to 1998.

Mathematics and Science Achievement Is Up: NAEP scores in mathematics have improved during the past decade and NAEP science scores have increased significantly for older children. (NAEP 1999 Trends, pp.13 and 15)

- ✓ For 9-, 13-, and 17-year-olds, mathematics achievement improved significantly between 1990 and 1999. These gains were made by students of all ability levels, including those in the bottom quarter of achievement.
- ✓ For all 17-year-olds, science achievement improved between 1992 and 1996. For those in the bottom quarter of achievement, science achievement has improved between 1994 and 1999.

(MORE)

Students are Better Prepared for College. Throughout the 1990's, scores on both the SAT and ACT have climbed steadily.

- ✓ Mathematics SAT scores are at an *all time high*. The average SAT mathematics score increased from 501 in 1992 to 514 in 2000. (www.collegeboard.org/sat/cbsenior/yr2000/nat/72-00.html)
- ✓ Verbal SAT scores have also improved over the same period, from 500 to 505. (www.collegeboard.org/sat/cbsenior/yr2000/nat/72-00.html)
- ✓ From 1992 to 1999, ACT scores increased from 20.6 to 21 while increasing numbers of females and minority students took the test. (www.act.org/news/releases/1999/08-17-99.html)
- ✓ More than 200 colleges and universities have partnered with high-poverty middle and high schools to establish GEAR-UP programs. GEAR-UP is helping prepare 480,000 students and their families to attend college. (Challenging the Status Quo, p.36)

Students Are Taking Tougher Courses. A major reason why students are better prepared for college is because they are taking more challenging academic courses.

- ✓ Between 1992 and 1997, the number of high school students taking advanced placement courses in all subjects increased by two-thirds, from 388,000 to over 581,000. (<http://nces.ed.gov/pubs99/condition99/SupTables/supp-table-14-1.html>)
- ✓ Minority students now comprise 30 percent of all advanced placement test takers, up from 22 percent a decade ago. (<http://nces.ed.gov/pubs99/condition99/indicator-14.html>)
- ✓ In particular, from 1992 to 1998 the percentage of students taking advanced level mathematics rose from 21 to 28 percent and in science from 21 to 26 percent. (Condition of Education 2000, p.157)

High School Graduation Rates Continue to Rise: The proportion of Americans who have completed high school or received a GED has risen to an all-time high.

- ✓ The Census Bureau reports that 88 percent of the nation's adults age 25 or older had earned a high school diploma or passed the General Educational Development test by 1999. (U.S. Census Current Population Reports, August 2000, p.1)
- ✓ The black-white gap in the high school graduation rate has narrowed to only four percentage points. In the 25-to-29 age group, 93 percent of whites and 89 percent of African-Americans have completed high school. (U.S. Census Current Population Reports, August 2000, p.3)
- ✓ Between 1992 and 1999, the percentage of African-Americans completing high school rose from 81 to 89 percent. (Taken from Census data reported in Real Progress in Education Since 1992)

Class Sizes Reduced: Before 1999, 86 percent of primary grade classrooms had more than 18 children and half had 23 or more students. (Data from Study-of Educational Resources and Federal Funding Report, 2000, reported in Class Size Reduction Program First Year Report, p.2)

- ✓ As a result of the Clinton-Gore class-size reduction effort, 1.7 million children in grades 1–3 are now receiving instruction in smaller, more personalized classes.
- ✓ In 90,000 early grade classrooms, class size has been reduced from an average of 23 to an average of 18 children.

- ✓ **23,000 schools, almost one-third of the nation's elementary schools, have hired one or more new teachers.**

Increased Public School Choice: At the start of the Clinton-Gore administration, there was only one charter school. (Challenging the Status Quo, pp. 19-20)

- ✓ Now, there are more than 1,700 nationwide. Public charter schools have been opened in 36 States, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico.
- ✓ Federal funds help provide charter schools with start-up funds. Since 1994, there has been a 20 percent reduction, from 59 percent to 39 percent, in the number of schools that cited the lack of start-up funds as a major obstacle.

Tougher Accountability for School Performance. In 1994, the Administration-sponsored Goals 2000: Educate America Act and the Improving America's Schools Act were passed.

- ✓ In 1992, only 14 states had standards in core subjects. Since then, all but one state have developed more demanding educational standards and all but two have developed accountability systems by which to measure their progress. (1999 Education Summit Briefing Book, p.4)

Enhanced Learning in Safe Schools. Clear progress is being made to reach the Administration's goal that no school violence is acceptable.

- ✓ Between 1993 and 1997, school crime against middle and high school students fell by one-third. (Challenging the Status Quo, p.31)
- ✓ The Clinton-Gore administration's 21st Century Community Learning Centers Program established afterschool programs in 3,600 schools in more than 900 communities. These Centers help working parents by ensuring that their children are safe and learning during the afternoons. 21st Century Community Learning Centers are serving about 615,000 children and youth and 215,000 adults during the 2000-2001 school year.

Improved Access to Technology. The Administration's efforts to ensure that all students have access to computers and the Internet and its support of the e-rate has resulted in dramatic progress over the decade. (Challenging the Status Quo, pp.27-28)

- ✓ At the start of the decade, there was one instructional computer for every 20 students. In 1998, there was more than one instructional computer for every six children.
- ✓ Over 647,000 classrooms are now connected to Internet as a result of the e-rate initiative.
- ✓ Between 1993 and 1999, the percentage of classrooms with Internet access grew from 3 to 65 percent.
- ✓ In 1993, only 19 percent of the poorest schools had access to the Internet. By 1999, 90 percent did. By the end of this year, it is expected that every school will be connected to the Internet.

Stronger Management. The Department has brought new accountability and fiscal responsibility to its programs, which has led to \$18 billion in savings to American taxpayers and \$9 billion in savings to students through new and better-managed student loan programs and a decline in student loan defaults. The national student loan default rate is at its lowest point ever – 6.9 percent for FY 1998 – and two-thirds less than it was at its 22.4 percent peak eight years ago. The Department also eliminated the \$2 billion shortfall looming in the Pell Grant account it inherited from the previous Administration.

Soon after I became Secretary of Education in 1993, the General Accounting Office (GAO) issued a report detailing the Department's long history of serious mismanagement and consistent lack of leadership. The report, *Long Standing Management Problems Hamper Reform*, concluded, "Past Education Secretaries have not built an organization that could implement major policy initiatives. Moreover, the Department's history is replete with long-standing management problems..."

Since 1993, the Department has eliminated or streamlined two-thirds of its regulations in elementary and secondary education, reduced paperwork and implemented new waiver authority to encourage many more states to speed up the pace of education reform.

The Department is constantly strengthening its systems against fraud. The Department has no tolerance for illegal activity. We will continue to focus on what matters – strengthening investments in our children's educational futures – not diverting attention from this critical mission with partisan and misleading attacks.

###

LANGUAGE ISSUES IN LABOR-HHS: October 17, 2000

(w/Lambrew and Chow comments)

EDUCATION

School construction tax (Armev)

School construction (2nd version w/Specter formula)

Title I accountability

Class Size

Teacher Quality

• College Completion Challenge Grants (Administration)

Adult Education "Civics" education (Administration)

Gregg after school community based org.

• National testing (House-Goodling; Senate-current law)

Internet filtering Software Requirement (Istook, McCain, Santorum)

Arts in Education transfer to NEA

*Even start LIFT (Goodling)

*Equal Access to Special Ed funds home schoolers (Armev)

*Rural Ed authorization

*Charter school demos (House/Senate R's) ? - Gregg

*Cohort default rates (Middlesex College [H+S D's])

*Impact Aid Section 8002(j) set-a-side

*Impact Aid Air Force Academy timely filed (House R's)

*Rohrabacher cap (Impact Aid) (House R's and D's)

*Transfer Impact Aid to DOD (Jeffords)

*Tiberon Property transfer (Pelosi)

~~*I-can-learn authorization - Porter~~

*LEAP technicals (Reed)

*HBCU (technical)

*Character Education Technical (House R's)

~~*NAGB date change Technical (Senate)~~

*Title I School Choice (Goodling)

*Handling of "Institutes" named after members

*Vocational Education Tribal Technical (Kildee)

*Testing Language (Goodling)

*Physical Education Authorization (Stevens) - Private School issue?

*Rural Education Program Authorization

*Rename Olympic Scholarships for BJ Stupak (House Dems)

*San Marcos formula change for SEOG, etc. (Feinstein)

*Sally Mae Compensation Parity for Auditors

*St. Louis University Suspend IG Recovery of Higher Education Funds

*Graceland College Technical Fix (Harkin)

*Plus Loan Indexing

Analysis of Private School Provisions in the
Specter-Goodling School Renovation Proposal

- The provisions raise serious constitutional issues. – While the issue of constitutionality would ultimately have to be decided in the courts, it is generally believed that the use of Federal funds to pay for construction of religious elementary and secondary schools is unconstitutional. A program providing for renovation or repair of those schools is more likely to be considered constitutional, but the issue is still a close call. Certain of the allowable uses of funds in the Specter-Goodling proposal (e.g., modifications for compliance with ADA and section 504) appear particularly difficult to defend constitutionally, because they entail significant renovations of buildings used for religious purposes. The constitutionality of the bill is further weakened by the fact that it does not require public control of the program.
- The proposal would set a precedent, among ED programs, of giving Federal funds directly to private religious schools. – Under ESEA programs, Federal funds do not flow directly to private schools. Instead, the funds go to local educational agencies, which then provide services to private school students and teachers, and the funds remain under public control. The Specter-Goodling proposal would specifically exempt renovation funding for private schools from this standard ESEA requirement. This exemption would raise both constitutional concerns and administrative issues.
- Inclusion of funding for private schools, in the manner provided for in Specter-Goodling, would divert a significant amount of money from public schools (and particularly from major urban districts that often have the greatest need for renovation assistance). – Under the bill, each district would have to provide private schools with a share of renovation funding equivalent to the private schools' share of enrollment in the district. Nationally, about 11 percent of students are in private schools, so as much as \$135 million could flow to those schools. In urban districts, however, the proportion of children in private schools is typically much higher. For example, in New York City 19 percent of students are enrolled in private schools, in Philadelphia 26 percent, and in Chicago the figure is 17 percent (1995-96 data). These types of districts, which typically report the greatest need for assistance in renovating school facilities, would have to turn over to private schools a much greater than average share of their allocations.

JOSEPH L. POLLOCK
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Phone: (561) 498-7781

Married: Adella Shenker
Son: Stephen George, Attorney at Law
Daughter-in-Law: Marjorie Pullman, Clinical Psychologist
Grandchildren: Meredith Jill
Lauren Beth

EDUCATION:

West Philadelphia High School, Class of 1940
STATE COLLEGE, West Chester, PA
B.S. in Secondary Education 1947
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
M.S. in Education, Counseling and Guidance Major 1949
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
Post-Graduate, Secondary School Principals Certificate 1953
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
Post-Graduate, Letter of Eligibility, Superintendent of Schools 1960
LEHIGH UNIVERSITY
Doctoral Candidate, 1972 (completed all course requirements. Thesis approved by
Dr. John A. Stoops, Dean, School of Education, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, PA)

MILITARY SERVICE:

World War II 1943-1946
63rd Division
Recipient of Bronze Star
Presidential Unit Citation
Central Europe and Rhineland Campaigns

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Social Studies Teacher, Benjamin Franklin Veterans High School, 1947
Social Studies Teacher, William Shoemaker Jr. High School, 1947-1950
Social Studies Teacher, William L. Sayre Jr. High School, 1950-1951
Executive Director, Free City College Committee, Fellowship Commission, 1951
Social Studies Teacher, William L. Sayre Jr. High School, 1951-1952
ASSISTANT REGIONAL DIRECTOR, A.S.C., 1952
Executive Director, Youth and Young Adult Council, A.S.C., 1952-1955
Social Studies Teacher, William Tilden Jr. High School, 1955-1956
Social Studies Teacher, WHYY-TV, Ford Foundation, 1956-1957
Vice Principal, Sayre Jr. High School, 1957-1960
Radio Shows, "The Dr. Says" WFLN-FM and "What's News" WFLN-AM

Auxiliary Elementary Principal, William C. Longstreet, William M. Meredith, John Hancock, Anthony Wayne, Edward M. Paxon and Delaplaine, McDaniel Public Schools, 1961-1962
Principal, David Landreth Public School, 1962
Assistant to the President, Board of Education, School District of Philadelphia, 1962-1964
Director of Informational Services, School District of Philadelphia (Status of Senior High School Principal), 1964-1968
Superintendent of Schools, Scranton, PA, 1968-1969
Senior High School Principal, Dimmer Beeber and Joseph J. Greenberg Public School, 1973-1978
Principal, Benjamin Franklin Learning Center, 1978-1979
Senior High School Principal, George C. Thomas School, 1979-1984
Retired after 38 years of service in June 1984. Served as Substitute Teacher, all levels, Dist. 8, School District of Philadelphia

STATE CERTIFICATION:

College Certificate #108472, English, Geography and Social Studies and to teach Guidance and to act as Guidance Counselor
Secondary School Principal #3204
Comprehensive Principal's Certificate #195
Letter of Eligibility for Superintendent of Schools, dated September 22, 1960
Superintendent of Schools Commission #6080

PROFESSIONAL AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS:

Vice President, West Philadelphia High School Alumni Association, 1940-1943
President, West Philadelphia High School Alumni Association, 1947-1957
Chairman, Golden Anniversary, West Philadelphia High School, 1962
Chairman, Silver Jubilee, West Philadelphia High School, 1987
Life Member, National Education Association
Worshipful Master, Lafayette Lodge #71, F. and A., 1977-1978
President, Master Masons of Kings Point, Delray Beach, FL, 1989
Chairman, Philadelphia Ball, 1989*
Honorary Chairman, Philadelphia Ball, 1996*
Chairman, Community Service Awards Committee, Master Mason, Kings Point, 1994 to date
Community Center, Boca Raton, Volunteer, 1990-1995
Florida Atlantic University, Volunteer, 1994 to date
President, Piedmont F Condo Association, 1995
President, Liberty Bell Speakers Bureau, P.O. Box 8212, Delray Beach, FL 33482
Past President, Phi Delta Kappa, University of Pennsylvania
Honorary President for Life, West Philadelphia High School Alumni Association
Member, American Association of School Administrators
Charter Member, Pennsylvania School Public Administrators
Member, National Executive Board, 63rd Infantry Division Association
Member, NSPRA National Committee on "How to Communicate with the Poor for Better Schools"

* These and other activities have created a Scholarship Fund of \$128,000.00 held by the Philadelphia Foundation. Four awards are made annually.

Co-Chairperson, Bicentennial Committee, District 8
Member, Philadelphia Association of School Administrators
Volunteer, Resource Teacher, Spanish River High School (currently)

YOUTH GROUP WORK:

Director, Youth Activities, Germantown Center, 1956-58
Group Leader, Racquet Lake Boys Camp, 1948
Director, Wonderland Camp, Buckingham, PA, 1957

PUBLICATIONS:

"Youth's Voice in Civic Affairs," Student Life, January 1951
"The Great Homework Debate," The Sunday Bulletin Magazine, October 2, 1966
"The Listening Board," Education Age, December 1967

PUBLIC SPEAKER: (1968 to date)

Colleges: Glassboro State, St. Joseph, Villanova, Cheyney State, Beaver College
School Boards Associations: New Jersey, Suffolk County and Oneonta County, NY,
Montgomery County, MD
Organizations: National School Public Relations Association, Pennsylvania School Public
Relations Association, Frankford Historical Society, Rotary Clubs, Master Masons of
Kings Point
"The Life of Red Skelton," Masonic Lecture, 1985

SPECIAL HONORS:

Citizens Association Plaque for Service to the School, 1940
Bronze Star, U.S. Army, World War II, 1945
Outstanding Alumni Award, West Philadelphia High School, 1962
Service Citation, Jewish Community Center, Boca Raton, 1992
Service Citation, Master Masons of Kings Point, 1993
Legion of Honor, Chapel of the Four Chaplains, 1999

Executive Director, National Clearinghouse for Public School Alumni Assns 1985-date
Executive Director, Philadelphia Ball 2000, October 8, 2000, 1999-2000
Chairman, Phila. Council of Public School Alumni Associations, 1985-date
Chairman, Penna. Conference of Public School Alumni Assns 1992-date

CENTENNIAL FIRSTS

(In addition to the Bell telephone.)

1876. The first commemoration postage stamp originated at the Centennial Exposition, so declared Postmaster General Harry S. New.
—First ice cream soda burst into bloom at the Centennial of 1876.

CIVIC FIRSTS

The Civic Club of Philadelphia is the mother of all similar organizations throughout the country. It was founded January 6, 1894, at the home of William Rotch Wister, by Mrs. Cornelia Frothingham and Miss Mary Channing Wister. Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson, first president, was succeeded in 1900 by Mrs. Owen Wister, who was followed, in 1913, by Mrs. Matthew Baird. Mrs. Wister was re-elected in 1913 and Mrs. Stevenson in 1914, when Mrs. Edward Biddle became president, serving until 1922, when Miss Frances A. Wister was chosen.

Francis Shunk Brown, of the Board of City Trusts, spoke of a Philadelphia First when he said: "We had a memorial placed on the spot on Girard's South Philadelphia farm where stood the first American seckel pear tree. Efforts were made to keep the old tree itself alive, but it finally died." Girard was the pear king of the United States. At one time Girard had a 20-acre orchard of pears down on his Neck farm and he introduced them into Schuylkill county as well.

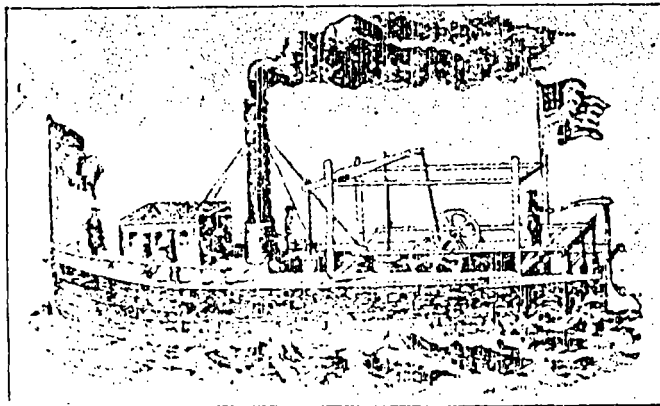
ELECTRIC FIRSTS

(In addition to eighteenth century experiments.)

1886. First electric welding. Elihu Thomson.

1832. Morse's electric telegraph was developed just 100 years after Franklin's lightning rod.

The award, May 20, 1925, of the Franklin Medal to Professor Elihu Thomson, of the General Electric Company, reminded Philadelphia that the principles underlying the scientific miracle of radio communication were first demonstrated in the laboratories of the Central High School.



Fitch's First Passenger Steamboat

FITCH FIRSTS

1786, July 20. The first vessel ever moved by steam was navigated on the Delaware River, at Philadelphia, by John Fitch, being a skiff fitted up for the purpose.

1787, August 22. A steamboat, 45 feet long, navigated at Philadelphia, in presence of the delegates to form a Constitution of the United States, by John Fitch, assisted by Henry Voight.

1788, July. Another steamboat, 60 feet long, navigated from Philadelphia to Burlington, N. J., by John Fitch.

1789, December. A new steamboat navigated at Philadelphia by John Fitch.

1790, June, July, August and September. The first steamboat navigated in the world for a passenger and freight boat ran on the Delaware, between Philadelphia, Burlington, Bristol, Chester, Wilmington, etc., advertising her trips regularly in the newspapers, and passing over 3000 miles in that summer. This was 17 years before the Clermont, Robert Fulton's first steamboat, navigated the Hudson River.

INSURANCE FIRSTS

The mark of the first fire insurance company organized in this country by Benjamin Franklin can be found on old houses in Phila-

delphia. The design shows four joined hands, with the policy number painted in gilt.

The "perpetual system" of insuring dwelling houses originated in Philadelphia away back. By paying 2 per cent., or \$20, on \$1000, a man secured perpetual insurance. If he wished to draw out he could do so, getting back \$19 or \$18, according to the discount written in the policy.

MUSICAL FIRSTS

First spinets and originals made by Gustavus Hessilens in Philadelphia in 1742, were the first made in America.

First barrel-organ made in America was constructed by Charles Taws, who settled in Philadelphia "some years past" 1785, when he arrived on these shores from Scotland.

RAILWAY FIRSTS

Thomas Leiper built the first American railway at his Delaware county quarry. The rails were straps of iron nailed upon wooden stringers. The road was a mile and a half long. On July 4, 1828, Charles Carroll, of Maryland, last survivor of those who signed the Declaration of Independence, laid the first rail for the B. & O. The B. & O. began to operate trains in 1830 with locomotives. That was a first, but not a Philadelphia First.

First steel car springs—elliptic (C 1865), by William Insull, and spiral car springs (C 1871), by Charles Scott.

—First pressed-steel car was designed by Charles T. Schoen, July 4, 1883.

SCHOOL FIRSTS

This was the first city to supply free text-books to public school children. For 106 years Philadelphia has bought the school books.

First school for training teachers—the Lancasterian School, in Chester street.

1698, February 12. The first public school in the American Colonies was established at Philadelphia, and a corporation created, entitled "The Overseers of the Publick Schoole founded in Philadelphia." In this school it was ordered by the Governor and Council: "All children and servants, male and female, whois parents, guardians & masters be willing to subject ym to the rules and orders of the said schoole, shall from time to time, with the approbaon of the overseers thereof for the time being, be received or admitted, taught or instructed; the rich at reasonable rates, and the poor to be maintained and schooled for nothing." The first schoolhouse was built on the east side of Fourth street, below Chestnut street. Enoch Flower was the first schoolmaster.

1770. First American treatise on school-teaching (in German).

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA FIRSTS

—First comprehensive college curriculum.

—First medical school in America.

—First professorship of law.

—First laboratory in the United States for instruction in chemistry.

—First fight against tuberculosis by intensive research.

—First school of hygiene and public health.

—First university-school of business.

—First psychological clinic.

—First department of research medicine.

SUPPLEMENTARY FIRSTS

First Dickens statue in America—bronze group of "Dickens and Little Nell," by F. E. Elwell, in Clarke Park. Erected in 1890.

1875. First store cash-carrier; Dr. Brown.

First German-made instruments imported to America for scientific work.

First Lutheran school of America ordained at Gloria Dei (Old Swedes).

First dirigible mooring station, 1923, by John Mason.

First use of gypsum as fertilizer, by Jacob Bergen, prior to the Revolutionary War.

First 10-plate stove made by Christopher Saur prior to 1753.

1819. Peter Du Ponceau was first to discover the common characteristics of the American Indian tongue.

First woman's political club: Woman's Democratic Club, organized.

1697. "The first scheme for a general union of all the American colonies originated with Pennsylvania," said Senator William A. Wallace, in an address delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, October 23, 1882.

First U-shaped sewer ever built—the Wingohocking. Though 17.3 feet in diameter, it carried a 21-foot main, thanks to the U-shaped bottom, hitherto a circle.

MISSION; IMPROVE THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS VIA ALUMNI PARTICIPATION

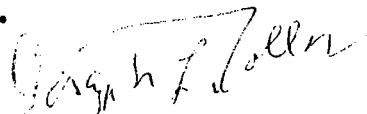
ALL OF US HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO TURN THE TRAGIC EVENTS OF LITTLETON INTO A POSITIVE FORCE TO HEAL OUR CHILDREN, OUR YOUTH AND THEIR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

MANY OF THE OLD GRADS HAVE SENTIMENTAL TIES TO THEIR HIGH SCHOOLS . THAT SPIRIT CAN BE CONVERTED INTO A COMPREHENSIVE SYSTEM WHICH CAN RESULT IN THE CREATION OF NEW HUMAN AND FISCAL RESOURCES.

THERE ARE ALREADY A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF HIGH SCHOOLS WHICH MAINTAIN A DEVELOPMENT OFFICE-INSPIRE INTERESTED ALUMNI TO SERVE AS ROLE MODELS, TUTORS, MENTORS, AIDES AND BENEFACTORS.

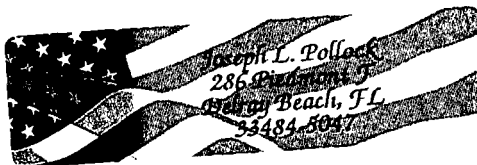
THE NATIONAL CLEARINGHOUSE FOR PUBLIC SCHOOL ALUMNI ASSOCIATIONS WILL SERVE AS A CATALYST TO BRING THE PERSONAL TOUCH OF ALUMNI INTO THE DAILY LIVES OF OUR MANY SCHOOL FAMILIES.

NOW IS THE TIME FOR ALL GOOD MEN AND WOMEN TO COME TO THE AID OF THE SCHOOLS WHICH NURTURED THEM. IT IS "PAY BACK" TIME IN AMERICA. OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS ARE THE DEMOCRATIC LADDER FOR PURSUING THE GOOD LIFE. THE CHILDREN AND YOUTH WHO PEOPLE THOSE SCHOOLS ARE OUR NATION'S GREATEST HOPE FOR A STRONG , VIBRANT AND HUMANE SOCIETY. DIVERSE IN COMPOSITION AND UNITED IN KEEPING OUR IDEALS ALIVE IN A WORLD LACED WITH FANATICISM AND TERRORISM. EACH OF US HAS A SACRED OBLIGATION TO HELP STRENGTHEN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.


JOSEPH L. POLLOCK,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,
N.C.P.A.A.

286 PIEDMONT F,
DELRAY BEACH, FLORIDA
33484-5047

TELEPHONE: 561-498-7781
FAX 215-985-2824



DETAILED PLANS FOR A PILOT PROGRAM TO BE LAUNCHED IN PENNSYLVANIA, FLORIDA AND TEXAS HAVE BEEN FORMULATED.

A NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE IS BEING FORMED BY. N.C.P. A.A.

PHILADELPHIA, PA. WILL ON OCTOBER 15, 2000* BE A DEMONSTRATION OF WHAT INTERESTED ALUMNI CAN DO TO RAISE SCHOLARSHIP FUNDS FOR WORTHY STUDENTS.

* PHILADELPHIA B ALL 2000 PROCEEDS WILL PROVIDE SCHOLARSHIPS FOR

November 17, 2000

**MEMORANDUM TO BARBARA CHOW, MARIA ECHAVESTE, BETH NOLAN AND
BRUCE REED**

From: Caroline Chang
Katie Hong
Bethany Little
David Lussier
Peter Rundlet

Subject: School Finance Equity Options

DRAFT DRAFT DRAFT DRAFT DRAFT DRAFT

As you know, the President has expressed strong interest in establishing a Presidential Commission on Educational Equity, per conversations with Representative Chaka Fattah, who has previously pursued the issue in the form of legislation. After examining the extant research and legal activity, and after discussions with both the Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights and with Fattah's Chief of Staff and Education Legislative Assistant, we offer a menu of possible steps that could be taken. We recommend a multi-pronged approach that would allow the President to increase public awareness of this issue and provide leadership in the short term, while ensuring some concrete guidance and follow-up. Most of the following options could be incorporated into an Executive Order or Memorandum to the Secretary, which would require some action on this issue that could endure into the next Administration. We will schedule a meeting for early next week or the following week to discuss which options we should pursue and next steps for action.

1) Education Vision Speech. Congressman Fattah's principal goal is to focus national attention on the issue of school finance equity. Fattah's staff is very enthusiastic about the possibility of the President highlighting this issue as part of a larger policy address on education. While the context for this speech would be the progress of the standards movement and legacy of Goals 2000 (per our earlier memo), school finance equity is clearly among the issues that the President could address as he outlines the critical next steps the nation must take in order to build upon the success of the last eight years.

2) Department of Education Guidance. This Administration has participated as amicus in several recent lawsuits filed against states involving Title VI claims, essentially arguing that such claims are actionable, even though we have not taken a position on the merits of the underlying claims. As part of discussions about Federal participation in these cases, the Department of Education agreed to work with the Department of Justice to develop general guidance to states and/or districts on resource comparability requirements under Title VI. This guidance would be fairly general; because Title VI requires that when recipients provide resources they do so in a nondiscriminatory manner, but does not impose any obligation on recipients to affirmatively provide educational resources, the responsibility of each state will differ based on its authority and role in the educational system. Nonetheless, it would be useful to make states aware of Title

VI standards regarding resource equity and the risk of lawsuits, possibly giving them impetus to examine their school finance equity situation and take proactive measures. Guidance could provide information such as: What state actions can implicate Title VI (e.g. the direct provision of state resources, the non-enforcement of state mandates, state delegation of educational funding to localities, the establishment of state promotion/graduation requirements); What constitutes a disparity by race/ethnicity; What disparities are most pertinent (e.g. teachers, facilities, instructional programs, instructional support).

3) Presidential / Secretarial Commission. Representative Fattah's staff indicated that they are most concerned about achieving public engagement and less concerned about how this is done. Because a Presidential Commission would require extensive vetting and time, we recommend a Secretarial commission as an alternative. A Secretarial commission could be appointed within 30 days of the signing of the Executive Order. Per Fattah's suggestion, a commission or summit (see below) could include a combination of high-profile public figures (e.g. Oprah Winfrey, Colin Powell, Bill Gates, Michael Eisner, Patrick Moynihan, Paul Tagliabue, Jesse Jackson), as well as people more engaged in the substance of the issue (e.g. Marion Wright Edelman, Bob Chase, Bill Gray, Paul Vallas, Patrick Swygert, Allan Odden, Mike Casserly). A Commission or Task Force staffed by the Department could continue the national dialogue on school equity in a number of ways including: compiling data and issuing reports; convening regional town hall forums led by high-profile Commissioners to engage state/local policymakers and constituents; and recommending legislative or budgetary initiatives.

4) Report on School Finance and Resource Comparability. The President or Secretary could commission the Department of Education (OERI, OESE, NCES) or the National Academy of Sciences to issue an annual or biannual report compiling statistics on school finance, and/or describing the status of resource comparability across the nation. Alternatively or in addition, a report could be requested that would include case studies on school finance equity and offer promising practices and key principles for improving school finance equity and achieving resource comparability.

5) School Finance Summit. The President could convene a small group of leaders from media, business, advocacy organizations, foundations, government and academia to discuss the importance of putting school finance on the national stage and creating innovative ways to achieve school finance equity. This group could explore possibilities for pursuing these goals, possibly including an alliance or program funded by a business or foundation.

6) Alliance on Resource Equity. This would be a step in addition to or beyond a typical Commission, in which the Secretary would be tasked with establishing partnerships with outside groups and experts to build a groundswell of public awareness and popular support. The leadership role that the Mott Foundation has played on the after school issue provides a good model for a public/non-profit/private alliance. A coalition or alliance would amplify the reach of any forums and publications, and would establish a more permanent entity to generate persistent pressure and progress.

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1) **Education Vision Speech.** Congressman Fattah's principal goal is to focus national attention on the issue of school finance equity. Fattah's staff is very enthusiastic about the possibility of the President highlighting this issue as part of a larger policy address on education. While the context for this speech would be the progress of the standards movement and legacy of Goals 2000 (per our earlier memo), school finance equity is clearly among the issues that the President could address as he outlines the critical next steps the nation must take in order to build upon the success of the last eight years.

2) **OCR Guidance.** This Administration has participated in several recent lawsuits filed against states involving Title VI claims, essentially arguing that such claims are actionable. As part of discussions about Federal participation in these cases, the Department of Education agreed that OCR, working with the Department of Justice, would develop general guidance to states and/or districts on resource comparability requirements under Title VI. This guidance would be fairly general; because Title VI requires that when recipients provide resources they do so in a nondiscriminatory manner, but does not impose any obligation on recipients to affirmatively provide educational resources, the responsibility of each state will differ based on its authority and role in the educational system. Nonetheless, it would be useful to make states aware of their vulnerability to lawsuits under Title VI, and possibly give them impetus to examine their school finance equity situation and take proactive measures. OCR guidance could provide information such as: What state actions can implicate Title VI (e.g., the direct provision of state resources, the non-enforcement of state mandates, state delegation of educational funding to localities, the establishment of state promotion/graduation requirements); What constitutes a disparity by race/ethnicity; What disparities are most pertinent (ie, teachers, facilities, instructional programs, instructional support).

3) **Presidential / Secretarial Commission.** Representative Fattah's staff indicated that they are most concerned about achieving public engagement and less concerned about how this is done. Because a Presidential Commission would require extensive vetting and take no less than four months, we recommend a Secretarial commission as an alternative. A Secretarial commission could be appointed within 30 days of the signing of the Executive Order. A Commission or Task Force staffed by the Department could continue

the national dialogue on school equity in a number of ways including: compiling data and issuing reports; convening regional town hall forums led by high-profile Commissioners to engage state/local policymakers and constituents; and recommending legislative or budgetary initiatives.

4) Report on School Finance. The President or Secretary could commission OERI, OESE, NCES or NAS to issue an annual or biannual report compiling statistics on school finance, and/or describing the status of resource comparability across the nation. Alternatively, a report could be commissioned which would include case studies on school finance equity and offer best practices and key principles for achieving school finance equity.

5) School Finance Summit. The President could convene a small group of leaders from media, business, advocacy organizations, foundations, government and academia to discuss the importance of raising school finance on the national stage and creating innovative ways to achieve school finance equity. This group could discuss some way to pursue these goals into the future, possibly including an alliance or program funded by a business or foundation.

6) Alliance on Resource Equity. This would be a step in addition to or beyond a typical Commission, in which the Secretary would be tasked with establishing partnerships with outside groups and experts to build a groundswell of public awareness and popular support. The leadership role that the Mott Foundation has played on the after school issue provides a good model for a public/non-profit/private alliance. A coalition or alliance would amplify the reach of any forums and publications, and would establish a more permanent entity to generate persistent pressure and progress.

First, he said that 135 million children in the world get no schooling at all. Just think about that. There are about 54 million school children in the U.S. For every American child in a school, there are 2 to 3 children in the world who never see a classroom or a teacher. The Director-General also pointed out that about 800 million adults in the world who cannot read or write.

These statistics should make us all grateful that a free public education is guaranteed to every young person in the U.S. This is the backbone of our democracy, and it continues to be one of our great strengths.

Think about it – our public schools educate 90% of our children. This includes students from every background – of varying religion, ethnicity, and economic status. Our schools educate millions of children who speak a language other than English at home, who have disabilities, or who are hoping to be the first in their families to attend college.

The graduates of our public schools include America's great writers, artists, and entrepreneurs – as well as millions of hard-working citizens who care for their families and create our economic prosperity.

I. A Nation United Behind Education

Last week's election demonstrated a near-unanimous recognition of the power of public education. Now, some of you might wonder how I see consensus in these results. Many will see potential gridlock and a divided nation.

But let's not make the mistake of thinking that because our national legislative bodies are split and the presidential race is close, that the American people are completely divided. In fact, Americans have spoken loudly and clearly. They have demonstrated their support for education.

Both presidential candidates, not to mention many of the candidates for Congress, continuously addressed the issue of education and offered support for a national role in education. And polls show that citizens throughout the country embrace investment in public schools and reject risky schemes that divide communities, like vouchers, which I will talk more about in a moment.

We have reached a new consensus around education in this nation for improving it and making it a national priority, even as we respect that it is a state responsibility and a local function.

As many of you know, several years ago in the United States we had a fierce debate about the federal role in education. One side wanted to eliminate the U.S. Department of Education. The other side said the federal government had a responsibility to support state and local improvement efforts. That debate is now over: The Department is alive and well, and we are still working hard to support America's schools by building a bottom-up, locally controlled approach to school improvement.

limit \$ for
- transportation to
10%

- \$ for provision 016

18 month phase in
consistent w/ state, local & law
school board policy

Public School Choice

DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, AND EDUCATION, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2000

TITLE III-DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

EDUCATION FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

For carrying out title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and section 418A of the Higher Education Act of 1965, \$8,700,986,000, of which \$8,666,586,000 shall become available on July 1, 2000, and shall remain available through September 30, 2001, and of which \$6,204,763,000 shall become available on October 1, 2000 and shall remain available through September 30, 2001, for academic year 2000-2001: *Provided*, That \$6,783,000,000 shall be available for basic grants under section 1124: *Provided further*, That \$134,000,000 shall be allocated among the States in the same proportion as funds are allocated among the States under section 1122, to carry out section 1116(c): *Provided further*, That 100 percent of these funds shall be allocated to local educational agencies for the purposes of carrying out section 1116(c) and that local educational agencies shall provide: *Provided further*, That all local educational agencies receiving an allocation under the preceding proviso, and all other local educational agencies that are within a State that receives funds under part A of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (other than a State receiving a minimum grant under section 1124(d) or 1124A(a)(1)(A) of such Act), shall provide all students enrolled in a school identified under section 1116(c) with the option to transfer to another public school within the local educational agency, including a public charter school, that has not been identified for school improvement under section 1116(c): *Provided further*, That if the local educational agency demonstrates to the satisfaction of the State educational agency that the local educational agency lacks the capacity to provide all students with the option to transfer to another public school, and after giving notice to the parents of children affected that it is not possible, consistent with State and local law, to accommodate the transfer request of every student, the local educational agency shall permit as many students as possible (who shall be selected by the local educational agency on an equitable basis) to transfer to a public school that has not been identified for school improvement under section 1116(c): *Provided further*, That up to \$3,500,000 of

\$250,000,000

all T.I
choice

A Top National Priority The National Educational Research System

BY MARTIN APPLE

Last year nearly 100 of the top corporate CEOs met and concluded that to ensure a healthy economy, the nation's top priorities are more effective science and mathematics education and increased investment by the federal government in fundamental research.

It is time to eliminate the defensiveness that greets every critique of education and take strategic action. To succeed, our education systems must become "learning organizations" that learn every week how to be more effective. Lifelong learning is not a distant goal for a few scholars; it is a necessity for everyone in American education systems. At the midpoint of the 20th century, we did not even conceive of such wonders as cracking the universal genetic code, transplanting hearts, or making human insulin in bacteria. We now expect revolutions.

Our most regular mistake is that we make excuses for all the learning that doesn't happen and then expand the scope of areas of activity someone favors in the hope that it will solve the problem. These major resource reallocations are rarely based on definitive research, and they usually fail. A century ago, when a child lay dying, the family gathered around to offer hope, but the child often died. Medical research, an endeavor begun seriously in America only about 60 years ago, changed that. It provided rapid, accurate diagnosis, an array of prescriptions, and even potent preventives. It provided experts steeped in the research knowledge as its professionals and practitioners.

The reason we have so many guesses to the solutions to our educational problems in America now is that we have so little research to give us definitive answers.

Challenging Good Ideas

We cannot let the children of the next generation die educational deaths, nor can we continue to manage by hope. In education, every argument that A is better than B or C is subject to validation by well-designed, well-executed research by well-qualified experts, and subject to translation into success by well-qualified professional practitioners. It is time to stop sitting around tables to gather more opinions; hopeful opinions on education are as numerous as the stars. Every good idea must be challenged by the tried-and-true methods of definitive research performed by enough skeptics until the truth alone stands.

Our challenge is clear. It is not to guess how to modify this or that part of the status quo, nor to centralize educational research decision making. It is not to make a laundry list of what research you or I guess might pay off. It is not to again pin our hopes on any apparently promising but unreplicated educational anecdotes of success.

We must help others realize that even today's best answer may be made obsolete tomorrow. In 1950-52 our children were paralyzed by and dying of polio. Our best answer was the iron lung. Our technical skill, resources, and national will could build enough of them to treat every patient. It would be a massive undertaking, but Congress approved of it. As we were about to get the green light, we were sidetracked in 1952 by a few researchers who built on each other's ideas, and then in 1953 we had polio vaccines. We could have become the world's leading manufacturers of iron lungs by now.

Our challenge is to design and execute a major creative revolution in the process of educational research and development so that our children's education regularly achieves the success that they deserve. This revolution will have to be continuous, and it will have to always address moving targets. It will be massive enough to have significant and measured impact on learners learning. It should be free as possible of unnecessary assumptions, and it should address perpetual improvement systems and learning organizations in its framework.

The learner learning should be the focus of all our educational research. The most counterproductive of the educational myths that waste huge amounts of energy, money, and irreplaceable time, are:

- Political agendas should decide educational research agendas;
- Educational successes spread themselves;
- We have enough research already—we just haven't used it yet;
- Educational research must be managed within the existing federal structures.

To overcome these myths, we need to reframe the education of our children and teachers. Of the thousand-plus places that prepare our new teachers, none has followed graduates to validate how well they teach and verify how well students learn from these graduates, or to verify that anything the institutions do to prepare teachers makes a difference in how well their students learn. This is not an indictment. It is a simple failure by the institutions to conceive their task as a system, follow through the required evaluation of results, and bring this evaluation back into the process of preparing new teachers. It is crucial to the success of the system model that we "close the loop." Without understanding the system, it becomes nearly impossible to regularly improve the outcome.



Focus on the Learner Learning

We should rethink the whole enterprise of education and rethink the federal role in the 21st century. If we can agree that the learner learning should be the core focus of all our educational research, then we need to adopt three policies:

- Federal tax dollars' best use in education is investment, not consumption;
- Federal tax dollars' best use in education is as a catalyst to regular improvement, so every five to seven years education dollars can be redirected to new opportunities;
- We should include systems thinking in building learning organizations as the basic strategic framework underlying our next generation of educational research policy and priority endeavors.

The nation badly needs a massive scale-up of educational research that is top-quality science and produces definitive results based on the above principles. We need to start with \$1.5 billion per year of new educational research money to address multiple, related areas. That sum is 5 percent of the Department of Education's annual budget. If it only improved the effectiveness of the spending of the other 95 percent, it would be valuable enough. But its role is to serve as the national catalyst, and it thus represents only one-third of one percent of the national investment in education each year, hardly enough.

How much educational research is enough? The impact on our national future of educational success or failure is at least as large as the impacts of health success or failure, and the national effort in educational research should rapidly reach parity with health research.

Whatever the structure of the educational research system, it must have built-in flexibility to reorganize as needed to more effectively meet its changing challenges. It could start with seven areas as key research domains, perhaps each temporarily structured in separate interacting institutes, that also help establish and synergize with potentially collaborative research centers across the nation. Such functional focus areas would be:

- Research on Learning and the Learner—understand what we need to know and discover it;

- Curriculum R&D, with emphasis on verified effectiveness in the learning of thinking skills (e.g., finding patterns and analogies, discovering/finding the problem, brainstorming, hypothesizing testable explanations, logical and systematic investigations, deductive and inductive reasoning, critical evaluation, making effective decisions, and transfer of understanding to new situations);

- Assessment R&D, with emphasis on assessments that can both facilitate learning and measure real understanding;

- Research on Teachers and Teaching—"close the loop" on the whole system and ensure that teaching effectiveness is defined by what and how well students learn;

- Educational Engineering—create a new profession of change leaders who mentor others to learn how to apply fundamental research into best practical learning results;
- Development and Franchising—active multiplication of successes, once their success is rigorously verified by skeptical inquirers;
- Graduate Education Research Fellowships—develop thousands of new rigorously mentored educational research Ph.D.s, develop new online journals.

To ensure the quality of this research, we need to follow several tried-and-true principles based on the history of the best federally funded research. Accountability for the federal investment in educational research can be best met by ensuring the quality of the research. This is best achieved by an independent, high-quality, continuous merit review of all research proposals and an assurance that all qualified scientists have equal access to the opportunities.

How should our educational research system be better prepared to meet the challenges of the educational function in the next century? I believe we need to ensure opportunity for, not restraint upon, change and creative breakthrough. In essence, no part of the educational research system can remain static and adapt to many ongoing changes at the same time. Every component of the educational research system must become an active part of a learning organization, and we must focus on how to develop the research function so it best promotes the most robust creativity, innovation, and increased probability of major breakthroughs.

Rethinking Organization

Human organizations tend to develop their leadership, focus, change mode, planning, and other attributes into connected patterns. To reach the proactive and high performance levels of system operation may require major shifts in the defining attributes of these operations. Educational research and development are most effectively carried out in meritocracies that both increase rigorous challenge and foster ever-increasing creativity; these differ from existing models of government efficiency.

Three fundamental principles could be applied to all aspects of foundational educational research and could be adopted as guidelines for future resource allocation. These principles are:

- Use learner learning as the core research framework;
- Fund all research through competitive individual awards based on merit reviews by qualified experts, where the criteria for evaluation are the quality and prospect of the ideas, the design of definitive tests of multiple hypotheses, and their relevance to educational missions;
- Set priorities for federally funded research consistent with addressing important scientific opportunity and probability of conferring significant, long-run national value.

How shall we regularly revise our educational research priorities? A bottom-up decision strategy for priorities will ultimately be more successful, and the nation should continue to use the vast and deep expertise of its entire science research community as the dominant priority setter for scientific research within the framework of national needs. ●

Martin Apple, Ph.D. (casp@acs.org), is president of the Council of Scientific Society Presidents, P.O. Box 33999, Washington, DC 20033.

The primary reason the debate has ended is that we worked diligently to form partnerships, to reach across party lines, and to avoid the cynicism and partisanship that can be so destructive.

When I first spoke at this Press Club in May of 1993, I promised that the Clinton Administration would support such an approach. We have delivered on this promise. Let me give you one example to illustrate what this has meant for America's families.

The federal after-school initiative now funds programs for more than 800,000 children. Thousands of local and national partnerships bring together tens of thousands of Americans in support of these after-school programs. These partnerships have brought out the best civic spirit of our foundations, businesses, and community- and faith-based organizations.

Students' minds don't close down at 3 – and neither should their schools. And it's through these strong local partnerships that we are keeping schools open and giving children better opportunities to succeed.

And do you know how many federal employees at my Department work to support the program? Just 13. Now, that's the true realization of meaningful, bottom-up, locally controlled school improvement through federal resources and thousands of partnerships. If there is one word in America that has been part of all of our greatest achievements, it is "partnership."

My friends, we have proven that our Department can support better education without creating huge bureaucracies, without intruding on local control, and by empowering communities and citizens to work together as partners in education.

I invite all Americans to get behind local efforts to improve public education and give all children the opportunity to achieve their dreams. I urge those who would take money from our public schools through vouchers to look at these elections, listen to the American people, and join these successful efforts to turn around low-performing schools.

It troubles me that some people in this country have made a habit of bashing public schools. Let's join together and work for improving our public schools instead of constantly dragging them down. As Abraham Lincoln said, "He has the right to criticize who has the heart to help."

I am pleased that there is a clear consensus emerging in this area – a consensus that moves away from the divisiveness of vouchers and toward support for partnership and investment in our public schools and helping families pay for college.

We could see the spirit of consensus in California and Michigan last week, where voters supported their public schools and overwhelmingly rejected school voucher initiatives. This marks the continuation of a trend in the U.S.: When faced with ballot initiatives that support vouchers, voters repeatedly have said “no, thank you.”

Too much time has been spent debating and fighting over the idea of school vouchers. And too much money has been spent as well. Just imagine if we made better use of all the time, money, and human capital that was spent in these two states on both sides of the voucher debate. California and Michigan could have spent millions of dollars for quality teachers, instructional computers, or building safe and modern schools.

II. A Consensus on How to Meet the Challenges in Education

As I’ve traveled around the country, I’ve seen powerful examples of schools that have gone from being among our nation’s worst to among our nation’s best. They have done it by focusing on what works and by having a sustained effort of working together. There is a growing consensus about the effectiveness of higher standards, reasonable assessments, parent involvement, well-trained teachers, and a quality learning environment. And we know how to support better education at every stage of a child’s life.

Let’s start with 3- to 5-year-olds. Before a child even enters school, we know that it’s important for the child to pick up “early learning” skills, such as the ability to recognize the letters of the alphabet and to count. That’s why every family should have the option of sending their child to a high-quality preschool.

Next, consider the early years of schooling. Research shows that students do better in small classes, where they can get one-on-one attention as they learn to read. So far, federal funds have helped hire 29,000 qualified teachers; if Congress will back us up, local communities will be able to hire 71,000 more. And we also must work toward turning our large schools into smaller learning communities.

We also know that when we set high standards for every student, our children will rise to meet those standards. One of the reasons I am optimistic about the future of public education is that all 50 states now have embraced high academic standards.

At the core of high standards are challenging classes. In fact, research confirms that rigorous course taking – especially by those from low- income families – can make all the difference in their chances of academic success and getting to college.

Finally, it has become clear that college attendance is more important than ever. We cannot ignore the record numbers of families today who realize that college is a critical necessity for their children’s future. President Clinton recognized this trend and convinced Congress to establish the HOPE scholarship and Lifetime Learning tax credits that have made college more affordable. We must also continue our support for Pell Grants, college work-study, and student loans.

And of course the national government is not and cannot do this alone. We've formed partnerships with many colleges and universities. They are reaching out more and more to work with businesses and community colleges in order to expand, better prepare, and diversify their pool of applicants.

The America Reads program, for instance, is part of college work-study. Thousands of college students are receiving financial aid to work as tutoring partners for young children who are having difficulty learning to read.

Other excellent partnerships include our GEAR UP and TRIO programs. They encourage middle schools and high schools to form partnerships with institutions of higher learning in order to encourage disadvantaged children to think about and prepare for college.

These kinds of initiatives and partnerships have been extraordinarily effective in many areas, but we have much more work to do. We need to address the shortage of teachers and principals, respond to increases in student enrollment, to build safe and modern schools, make effective educational technology accessible to all students, and prepare young people to compete internationally.

III. *The Importance of International Education*

International education offers further opportunities to expand partnerships, strengthen our schools, and build consensus. American students must develop a broad understanding of the world, including other languages and cultures.

There's an old joke that says a great deal about the way our nation historically has treated the study of foreign countries and languages. The joke goes like this: What do you call a person who knows two languages? Bilingual. What do you call a person who knows three languages? Trilingual. And what do you call a person who knows only one language? An American.

We need to alter the truth once underlined by that humor, and we can do that by making people-to-people connections with those from other countries. This has been an intense week of international diplomacy for me. Almost 100 ambassadors or their senior staff participated in international education week by visiting schools and colleges in the U.S. And many of our ambassadors overseas also visited schools.

I also met with the education ministers from China and Northern Ireland. These kinds of meetings have become a routine part of the job of Secretary of Education. The world is more education-minded than ever before, and this has been another sweeping change that we have seen over the past eight years.

And I am pleased to have Danish Education Minister Vestager with us today. I should also recognize a number of Danish foreign exchange students who are with us today. By the way, Danish students take 6 years of English and study other languages as well.

Minister Vestager and I just signed an agreement to expand exchanges between our countries in vocational-technical education. Denmark has earned the prize for the best technical and vocational training system in the world. And America's community colleges are also very highly regarded in these areas. So this partnership should be very productive. I'm especially pleased that businesses and schools from both countries are forming a partnership to support the binational agreement.

Sometimes people forget that an emphasis on international education helps strengthen other aspects of domestic education. For example, American math teachers are using videos to learn from successful teachers in high-performing countries. And many nations are learning about and emulating our higher education system.

Another issue that has been prevalent in every discussion of international education is technology. This administration has been a world leader in connecting our schools, classrooms, and libraries to vast Internet information resources, putting modern computers in the hands of teachers and students, and making technology an integral part of lifelong learning.

I hope that every school in the U.S. will use technology to share information with a school from another country. This would encourage children to learn a second language and invite teachers to work together to meet the challenges that arise in every classroom. The U.S. Department of Education has a great resource to help get this done – "The Teacher's Guide to International Collaboration on the Internet," which is available at on our web site.

I want to share with you a personal observation of what these kinds of international collaborations are all about. Not too long ago, I visited a 5th grade class with Vice President Gore, who has often taken the lead for us on educational technology issues. And a few of the students were on-line with students in Ethiopia. The Vice President asked them what they were learning, and they said, "We've learned we can be friends." What a great lesson.

My Department and the State Department are working with educators, business leaders, government leaders, and others to develop strategies to achieve the goals of President Clinton's recent directive on international education. That directive was designed to increase student and teacher exchanges, and to strengthen foreign language study at every level. It also called on colleges and universities to incorporate international education, and called for better exchange of information across international borders to improve education practices worldwide.

Copies of the directive are available here today. And we will issue a detailed report to on our work to achieve the President's goals before the end of the year. In fact, an interim report will be available on our Web site in the next few days.

IV. Building on a consensus and passing a pro-education budget

I have tried today to outline a number of areas within education in which there is a new consensus. This consensus is built on partnership, not partisanship. It is a consensus that offers the potential for real opportunity – if we seize it. We may settle this election by one-hundredth of one percent. But on all the issues I mentioned, the public supports them by a wide margin.

Last month, we were inches away from a bipartisan budget agreement. Negotiators from both parties, working in partnership, believed they had reached consensus. But the leadership overruled their own negotiators and rejected a strong education budget that put children first.

Congress needs to understand that the future doesn't belong to Democrats or Republicans or Independents. It belongs to students in millions of classrooms in schools and colleges across the country.

I am confident that America will weather this close election. In fact, I hope it will make us stronger and help us to see the wisdom of working together and forming partnerships. Congress can help – by passing the strong education they agreed to, and they should do it as soon as possible.

In closing, I'd like to turn again to the wisdom of Abraham Lincoln, who reminded us, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." In that spirit, it is time to reach across the lines that divide us. Education offers us this opportunity to build consensus – to transcend partisanship and replace it with partnership.

That would be a great way to honor not only American Education Week and International Education Week, but also our children and our hopes for their future.

Thank you.

###

Now I am delighted to introduce a leader who is committed to better education for the students of Denmark. She knows that international education can benefit children of all nations. As I mentioned before, we signed a memorandum of understanding to strengthen the partnership between our two countries.

Please welcome Denmark's Education Minister, Margrethe Vestager.

California Releases Results from first two years of Class Size Reduction (CSR)

California's Class-Size Reduction Program shows that reducing class size improves student achievement. A study of the first three years of class-size reduction efforts in California shows that smaller classes have boosted student achievement in communities across the State for the second year in a row. Children throughout California, regardless of their socioeconomic background, race or ethnicity, are benefiting from being in smaller classes. This confirms findings from Tennessee's STAR study and other reports that students do better in smaller classes.

- Third-grade students in reduced classes performed better on achievement tests than third graders in non-reduced classes for the second year in a row. These achievement gains persisted after the students returned to larger classes in grade 4. Teachers in smaller classes are devoting more time to individual and small group instruction than teachers in non-reduced size classes and are providing more attention to poor readers. Smaller classes also had fewer disruptions, giving teachers and students more time to focus on learning.
- In school year 1998-99, over 1.8 million students in 92,000 classrooms (K-3) benefited from reduced class size. Over 92 percent of California students in K-3 were in classes of 20 or smaller, and only 9 districts in the State were not participating in the initiative.
- The percentage of fully certified teachers in grades K-3, which had dropped from 98 percent in 1995 to 88 percent in 1997, remained fairly steady in the third year of class-size reduction, dropping only 1 percent further in 1998 (to 87 percent).

Smaller classes with certified teachers have the greatest benefit for the neediest students. The evaluation shows that though students in the most disadvantaged schools were most likely to be in larger classes or have less qualified teachers, students in smaller classes still outperformed their peers in larger classes, even with less-qualified teachers. These students could be performing even better if all children in these schools had fully qualified teachers and smaller classes.

That is why the Federal CSR Program is designed differently from the California program:

- **The Federal CSR program is targeted to the neediest schools.** States are required to distribute the money to school districts based on the number of poor children in the districts and total enrollment. Through this funding formula, the Federal program targets funds to the students that research shows can benefit most from reduced class sizes. In this way, the Federal program sends more of its funds to disadvantaged schools that have not yet fully benefited from the California program, to help teachers become fully-certified and to hire additional fully-certified teachers.
- **The Federal CSR program provides resources to hire teachers before requiring classes to be small.** The California program requires districts to reduce their class sizes before they receive any funds, which many districts struggled to afford. The Federal Program provides funds up front so districts can hire teachers first and can do as much as they can afford to without having to take resources from other programs.
- The Federal Program also takes very seriously the requirement in law that the funds be used to hire only **fully certified teachers**. The Department of Education has recently sent notices to superintendents, including all those in California, reminding them of this requirement.

The Federal Program allows California increased flexibility to address the serious problems of teacher quality and to reduce class sizes in the schools that need it the most. The Federal Program provides flexibility to allow California to make the most of its unique situation. In school year 1999-2000 (which was not included in this interim evaluation), California:

- used 25 percent of its grant for professional development to upgrade the skills of teachers, an amount triple the rate of other States;
- used its Federal grant of **\$129,177,936** to hire about 2,000 new teachers; and
- assigned 3/4th of these new teachers to grades 4 and 5, thus enabling the class-size reduction initiative to extend beyond grade 3.

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DISCUSSION DRAFT

S.L.C.

Rural Ed. Harbison/Daschle

AMENDMENT NO. _____ Calendar No. _____

Purpose: To provide for a rural education development initiative, and for other purposes.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES—106th Cong., 2d Sess.

S. 2

To extend programs and activities under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

Referred to the Committee on _____
and ordered to be printed

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENT intended to be proposed by

Viz:

- 1 In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted as part
- 2 B of title VI of the Elementary and Secondary Education
- 3 Act of 1965, insert the following:
- 4 **"PART B—RURAL EDUCATION**
- 5 **"SEC. 6201. SHORT TITLE.**
- 6 "This part may be cited as the 'Rural Education De-
- 7 velopment Initiative for the 21st Century Act'.

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DISCUSSION DRAFT

S.L.C.

2

1 "SEC. 6202. PURPOSE.

2 "The purpose of this part is to provide rural school
3 students in the United States with increased learning op-
4 portunities.

5 "SEC. 6203. FINDINGS.

6 "Congress makes the following findings:

7 "(1) While there are rural education initiatives
8 at the State and local levels, no Federal education
9 policy focuses on the specific needs of rural school
10 districts and schools, especially those that serve poor
11 students.

12 "(2) The National Center for Educational Sta-
13 tistics (NCES) reports that 46 percent of our Na-
14 tion's public schools serve rural areas.

15 "(3) A critical problem for rural school districts
16 involves the hiring and retention of qualified admin-
17 istrators and certified teachers (especially in science
18 and mathematics). Consequently, teachers in rural
19 schools are almost twice as likely to provide instruc-
20 tion in 3 or more subjects than teachers in urban
21 schools. Rural schools also face other tough chal-
22 lenges, such as shrinking local tax bases, high trans-
23 portation costs, aging buildings, limited course offer-
24 ings, and limited resources.

25 "SEC. 6204. DEFINITIONS; CERTIFICATION.

26 "(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this part:

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DISCUSSION DRAFT

S.L.C.

3

1 “(1) ELIGIBLE LOCAL EDUCATIONAL AGEN-
2 CY.—The term ‘eligible local educational agency’
3 means a local educational agency that serves—

4 “(A)(i) ~~a school-age population with an av-~~
5 ~~erage family income that is below the~~ State me-
6 dian poverty level as determined by the Sec-
7 retary using the most recent data available
8 from the Bureau of the Census; and

9 “(ii) a school district that is identified as
10 rural by the National Center for Education Sta-
11 tistics; or

12 “(B)(i) a school age population 15 percent
13 or more of whom are from families with in-
14 comes below the poverty line; and

15 “(ii) a school district that is identified as
16 rural by the National Center for Education Sta-
17 tistics.

18 “(2) POVERTY LINE.—The term ‘poverty line’
19 means the poverty line (as defined by the Office of
20 Management and Budget, and revised annually in
21 accordance with section 673(2) of the Community
22 Services Block Grant Act (42 U.S.C. 9902(2))) ap-
23 plicable to a family of the size involved.

24 “(3) SCHOOL AGE POPULATION.—The term
25 ‘school age population’ means the number of stu-

*Why is
poverty the
standard?*

5,000?

*a school district in which the percentage of children aged 5 through 17,
who are from families with income below the poverty line exceeds the*

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DISCUSSION DRAFT

S.L.C.

4

1 dents aged 5 through 17 residing in the school dis-
2 trict served by the local educational agency as deter-
3 mined by the Secretary using the most recent data
4 available from the Bureau of the Census.

5 "(b) CERTIFICATION.—The Secretary may waive the
6 requirements of subparagraph (A)(ii) or (B)(ii) of para-
7 graph (1) for an eligible local educational agency if the
8 agency provides certification to the Secretary that the
9 agency serves a school district located in an area defined
10 as rural by a governmental agency of the State.

11 "SEC. 6205. PROGRAM AUTHORIZED.

12 "(a) RESERVATION.—From amounts appropriated
13 under section 6209 for a fiscal year the Secretary shall
14 reserve—

15 "(1) 0.5 percent of such amount for each fiscal
16 year to make awards to elementary or secondary
17 schools operated or supported by the Bureau of In-
18 dian Affairs to carry out the purposes of this part;
19 and

20 "(2) \$2,000,000 for each fiscal year to enable
21 the Secretary to provide technical assistance to eligi-
22 ble local educational agencies to assist such agencies
23 in obtaining other Federal assistance.

24 "(b) GRANTS TO ELIGIBLE LOCAL EDUCATIONAL
25 AGENCIES.—

vs \$62,500,000

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DISCUSSION DRAFT

S.L.C.

5

1 “(1) IN GENERAL.—From amounts appro-
2 priated under section 6209 that are not reserved
3 under subsection (a) for a fiscal year, the Secretary
4 shall award grants to eligible local educational agen-
5 cies that have applications approved under section
6 6206 for local authorized activities described in sub-
7 section (c).

8 “(2) INITIAL AMOUNT.—Each eligible local edu-
9 cational agency shall receive a grant under this part
10 in an amount equal to the sum of—

11 “(A) a base amount of \$20,000; plus

12 “(B) \$100 multiplied by the total [school
13 ~~age population~~] over 50 students, in average
14 daily attendance in the schools served by the el-
15 igible local educational agency.

16 “(3) MAXIMUM.—No eligible local educational
17 agency shall receive a grant under this part that is
18 greater than \$60,000.

19 “(4) RATABLE ADJUSTMENT.—

20 “(A) IN GENERAL.—If the amount made
21 available for this part for any fiscal year is not
22 sufficient to pay in full the amounts that eligi-
23 ble local educational agencies are eligible to re-
24 ceive under paragraph (2) for such year, the
25 Secretary—

*Is this
above my
allocation
they would
get from
funds
program?*

*number of
students,*

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DISCUSSION DRAFT

S.L.C.

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1 “(i) first, shall ratably reduce the
2 amount made available under paragraph
3 (2)(B) for all local educational agencies for
4 such year; and

5 “(ii) second, shall ratably reduce the
6 base amount under paragraph (2)(A) for
7 all eligible local educational agencies for
8 such year.

9 “(B) ADDITIONAL AMOUNTS.—If addi-
10 tional funds become available for making pay-
11 ments under paragraph (2) for such fiscal year,
12 payments that were reduced under subpara-
13 graph (A) shall be increased on the same basis
14 as such payments were reduced.

15 “(5) DATA.—In determining the school age
16 population under paragraph (2) the Secretary shall
17 use the most recent data available from the Bureau
18 of the Census.

19 “(c) LOCAL AUTHORIZED ACTIVITIES.—Grant funds
20 awarded to an eligible local educational agency under this
21 part shall be used for—

22 “(1) professional development activities author-
23 ized under title II;

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DISCUSSION DRAFT

S.L.C.

7

1 “(2) class size reduction activities and other ac-
2 tivities authorized under section 307 of the Depart-
3 ment of Education Appropriations Act, 1999;

4 “(3) technology activities authorized under sec-
5 tions 5122, 5132, and 5136, and part B of title V;
6 or

7 “(4) safe and drug-free school activities author-
8 ized under section 4116.

9 “(d) RELATION TO OTHER FEDERAL FUNDING.—
10 Funds received under this part by an eligible local edu-
11 cational agency shall not be taken into consideration in
12 determining the eligibility for, or amount of, any other
13 Federal funding awarded to the eligible local educational
14 agency.

15 “SEC. 6206. APPLICATIONS.

16 “Each eligible local educational agency that desires
17 a grant under this part to carry out an activity described
18 in section 6205(c) shall include, as part of the application
19 submitted under the provision of law described in section
20 6205(c) applicable to the activity, a request for funds
21 under this part.

22 “SEC. 6207. ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS.

23 “(a) SUPPLEMENT NOT SUPPLANT.—Funds under
24 this part shall be used to supplement and not supplant

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DISCUSSION DRAFT

S.L.O.

8

1 any other Federal, State, or local education funds that
2 would otherwise be available for the purposes of this part.

3 “(b) CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this part shall be
4 construed to prohibit an eligible local educational agency
5 that enters into cooperative arrangements with other local
6 educational agencies for the provision of special, compen-
7 satory, or other education services pursuant to State law
8 or a written agreement from entering into similar arrange-
9 ments for the use or the coordination of the use of the
10 funds made available under this part.

11 “SEC. 6208. REPORTS; ACCOUNTABILITY; STUDIES.

12 “(a) LOCAL EDUCATIONAL AGENCY REPORTS.—
13 Each eligible local educational agency that receives a grant
14 under this part for an activity described in section 6205(c)
15 shall provide an annual report to the Secretary. The report
16 shall describe how the local educational agency used funds
17 provided under this part to make progress in meeting the
18 goals and objectives of the provision of law described in
19 section 6205(c) applicable to the activity.

20 “(b) STUDIES.—

21 “(1) COMPTROLLER GENERAL.—The Comp-
22 troller General of the United States shall conduct a
23 study regarding the impact of assistance provided
24 under this part on student achievement. The Con-

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DISCUSSION DRAFT

S.L.C.

9

1 troller General shall report the results of the study
2 to Congress.

3 "(2) SECRETARY.—The Secretary shall conduct
4 a study and report to Congress regarding the unique
5 needs of rural school districts, including needs re-
6 lated to—

7 "(A) the small size of the school districts,
8 the small number of students or student spar-
9 sity, and remoteness;

10 "(B) teacher qualifications and class size;

11 "(C) teacher recruitment and multiple
12 roles of teachers;

13 "(D) transportation costs;

14 "(E) school safety and drug abuse;

15 "(F) course offerings; and

16 "(G) the impact of children with special
17 needs.

18 "SEC. 6209. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

19 "There are authorized to be appropriated to carry out
20 this part \$300,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 2001
21 through 2004."

The Rural South Since World War II

Edited by R. DOUGLAS HURT

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Baton Rouge

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Race Relations in the Rural South Since 1945

ORVILLE VERNON BURTON

I use the train as a symbol of the other civilization—the white civilization, and its encroachment upon the lives of blacks. The train was always something that could take you away and could also bring you to where you were. And in the little towns, it's the black people who live near the trains." Thus African American artist and poet Romare Bearden (1912–1988), born in North Carolina and reared in New York City, described the dominant motif in his paintings. Indeed, the train was also a powerful symbol for nineteenth-century America and the age of industrialization. Trains standardized time across four zones in America. Trains changed the nature of rural life as farmers shipped their crops to market from towns that grew up around the railroads. In the 1950s and 1960s, as great migrations of blacks and whites continued from the South, particularly from the rural and small-town South, to the North, trains even took on special names. So many North and South Carolinians took the train to Washington, Philadelphia, and New York that the line was nicknamed the "Chicken Bone Express"; African Americans brought their fried chicken on board when they left the South because they were not allowed to eat in the segregated dining car.¹

At one time, rural folks could gather in a nearby town, and around the rail-

I would like to thank David Herr for research assistance made possible by a grant from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Research Board. Georganne Burton improved this essay in countless ways with primary research and her editorial skill. I would also like to thank the National Endowment for the Humanities, which offered me a fellowship in 1994–95 at the National Humanities Center, where I conducted research for this essay. Also, the Pew Foundation provided support and released time for me to write and rewrite this essay.

1. Dwayne E. Walls, *The Chickenbone Special* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970).

road depot downtown they could find friends, gossip together, listen to music, gamble. Today few passenger trains stop in small towns, not even in most county seats. Even freight trains have been replaced by trucks. The South has become a car culture.

Cars provided one of the first opportunities for equality between blacks and whites; the rules of the road applied equally to all. As opposed to buggies and wagons, which folks could clearly see who was driving, cars provide some anonymity. Cars isolate people from each other. Drivers speed down the road oblivious to their surroundings, whereas buggies used to stop and pick up a person walking.²

The interstate highway system has dissected the rural South, nudging away its isolation and forcing adjustments in its race relations. As interstates attract roadside businesses, the line between urban and rural has blurred. Today, driving south from New York on I-95, one sees a South very much accommodated to the nation. McDonald's, Burger King, and Hardee's are as ubiquitous as in the North. But away from the interstates one finds another South, still rural, left behind in the modernization since World War II. Political scientist David Garrow noted that "the distance in time between small rural towns and an Atlanta or a Birmingham is a difference of decades."³

Categorization of race relations fails to reflect its complexity; relationships among people are as complicated and contradictory as the individuals and groups involved. Nevertheless, some scholars have defined styles of race relations as either paternalistic or competitive. In the paternalistic system, race relations follow a master-servant model in which whites rationalize their dominance as benevolent; the subordinates are considered to be irresponsible but lovable "in their place." The subordinate group may accommodate to a lesser status and internalize feelings of inferiority. Because role and status are sharply defined along racial lines, friendliness is no threat, and physical segregation is not necessary. In contrast, the competitive form of race relations no longer defines role and job by race. Where African Americans are not excluded from voting and competing for jobs, physical segregation preserves the white position. Instead of the jolly, irresponsible child-race of paternalistic days, whites may consider African Americans "uppity," insolent, and aggressive. In place of the condescending benevolence and noblesse oblige of the old days, tension erupts and the races openly disrespect each other. Virulent race hatred may appear, and conflict may erupt in lynchings and riots.⁴

2. Jack Temple Kirby, *Rural Worlds Lost: The American South, 1920–1960* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 257. Of course, some white police officers did not treat African Americans equally at all.

3. Garrow quoted in David R. Goldfield, *Black, White, and Southern: Race Relations and Southern Culture, 1940 to the Present* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 271.

4. C. Vann Woodward, "The Strange Career of a Historical Controversy," in *American Coun-*

Since World War II, race relations in the South have undergone a revolution. Before the civil rights movement (starting with the school desegregation order in 1954), race relations were unabashedly oppressive. White supremacy was ingrained in the culture, and institutional racism prevailed throughout the Jim Crow South; violence and intimidation kept the system in place. During the civil rights movement, when African Americans demanded change, many whites reacted viciously, and most whites acquiesced in the violence. Nevertheless, African Americans continued their arduous and perilous quest, and finally, in this country, which values freedom and fairness, African Americans won their political rights with the passage of civil rights and voting rights legislation.

Political rights have not ended all racism, and people of all colors still harbor prejudice. Tough economic times can bring racism all too quickly out from under the surface. Nevertheless, the culture has changed. Overt racism is no longer the norm but an aberration.

When World War II ended, the South was immersed in the age of segregation, put in place in the early 1900s. The South Carolina House of Representatives passed a resolution in 1944 denouncing "indignantly and vehemently" any and all "amalgamation of the White and Negro races by a co-mingling of the races upon any basis of equality." It further resolved an affirmation of "White Supremacy as now prevailing in the South" and pledged "lives and our sacred honor to maintain it, whatever the cost, in War and Peace." Before the civil rights movement, the parameters of race relations were dictated by whites. If African Americans were quiet and did not vote, whites thought their community had "good race relations." Some truly egalitarian communities and organizations existed, the Christian-based Koinonia in rural Georgia since before World War II, for example, and the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, organized in rural Arkansas in the 1930s, as well as Tougaloo College to a degree. Aside from these very few exceptions, almost universally race relations were firmly fixed in white supremacy and based on the second-class status of African Americans. Under this umbrella of white supremacy, the way people related to one another in the rural South was as varied as the people involved. Styles of race relations ran the gamut from white pathological racism and brutality to cordiality and cooperation. Historian Jack Kirby has found that whites were the most brutal in the areas of the lower South where they were outnumbered. He found that in the upper South whites tried to maintain "restraint and allegiance to an ethic of decency" (albeit with condescension) toward black folk. No overwhelming change occurred in this system of race relations until school desegregation and the civil rights movement. World War II, however, laid the foundation for change in race relations. African American veterans helped erode the isolation and parochial-

ism of their rural communities and exhibited an unwillingness to submit to segregation and degradation.⁵

Even as the white South was attempting to create and preserve a segregated society, the culture was actually integrated in shared community elements of a large number of European ethnic groups and an even larger number of African and Native American ethnic groups. Furthermore, segregation was impossible in certain rural areas where whites and blacks lived and worked side by side. Elvis Presley, for example, worshiped by youth of all colors, grew up in rural Mississippi. Before moving from Tupelo to Memphis to live in a whites-only public housing project in 1948, the Presleys lived in a black neighborhood. His home, known by all to be the house that was passed from one white tenant to another, was in the middle of an African American neighborhood. This pattern of housing, sometimes termed the "salt-and-pepper" pattern of racial housing, existed at that time in many older communities of the South.

Another rock-and-roll musician, Carl Perkins, as a child worked in the fields of Tennessee with about forty-five African Americans. A black man, John Westbrook, taught Perkins a better way to pick cotton (from the bottom up), sold him his first guitar for three dollars, and taught him the three chords he knew. Others also, white and black sharecroppers in the rural South, sang and played music alongside each other on a summer's evening when farmwork was done for the day.⁶

Farm life revolved around the rhythms of the land. Black and white farming families, including all the many children, worked hard and had little time for leisure while the sun shined. Blacks and whites also shared the idea that Sunday was a day of rest to be spent in church activities, although in segregated churches. Whether cotton, tobacco, or rice was the major cash crop, farmers of all races shared a reverence for the land and paid attention to the weather and when to plant, weed, and harvest. All farmers shared concerns about the amount of rainfall, the price of cattle, and how to deal with pest infestations. In rural communities of the American South, "taking turns" was a tradition among black and white males. While waiting in line for a turn at the cotton gin, for instance, a white and a black farmer might strike up a friendly conversation about common concerns. In rural settings the possibilities existed for closer connections and less formality, and it was not unusual in this hierarchical culture to find black and white farmers sitting on each other's porches discussing farm-related issues.

5. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Second Session of the 85th General Assembly of the State of South Carolina, Being the Regular Session, Beginning Tuesday, January 11, 1944, Resolution Dated February 29, 1944*, 569-70; Kirby, *Rural Worlds Lost*, 247; Adam Fairclough, *Race and Democracy: The Civil Rights Struggle in Louisiana, 1915-1972* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 73.

6. Pete Daniel, "Rhythm of the Land," *Agricultural History* 68 (Fall 1995): 10.

Outpoint: Slavery and Racism in the North-South Dialogue (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 234-60, is the most compelling application of this model of race relations.

Ideally, the farmer and his family worked together to earn a living from the good earth, independent and undisturbed by other people. The ideal never existed, and farmers have always had to contend with bank mortgages, equipment needs, transportation networks to sell produce, and government programs that might help or hurt them. Southern landlords pursued investment strategies and public policies that perpetuated isolation and low-wage labor; tenants could never establish their independence because landlords and creditors forced them to plant a cash crop, usually cotton or tobacco. Tenants then had to purchase the basic necessities of life on credit, and lien for credit and rent came ahead of any tenant's claim, compounding the problem. In addition to this system, which limited any poor farmer, African American farmers faced an additional problem surpassing all others, racism.

Rural race relations after World War II were blatantly oppressive toward African Americans. Junius Scales, white Communist party leader for the Carolinas, Virginia, Tennessee, and northern Mississippi, remembers the terrible state of race relations in the rural South in those years. To enter a black home without any suspicion, he would disguise himself as a bill collector since a white pursuing money from African Americans was not suspect. In those early years, any meetings about improving the life of African Americans had to be secret and were very often held in church basements—white and black. Scales found that the most militant, aware, and active of rural and urban African Americans in the South in the late 1940s and early 1950s were the World War II veterans. He also noted the extraordinary leadership and ability of older black women in the community.

Local groups occasionally called upon Scales to investigate problems in race relations. One such problem in rural North Carolina illustrates the changed atmosphere from the hellish days of lynching that preceded World War II. In 1951, in Caswell County, a black sharecropper, Mark Ingram, went to a neighboring white sharecropper's home to borrow a trailer. The two farmers shared equipment and often traded labor to help each other out, a common practice among rural farm folk. The nineteen-year-old daughter of the white tenant farmer was home alone, and, fearful of the black man, she panicked and accused Ingram of rape. Scales's investigation disclosed that Ingram, a married man with ten children of his own, had never been closer than twenty-five feet to the young white woman. Scales called a journalist, African American Ted Poston of the *New York Post*, who wrote a column about this incident, and in one day the authorities in Caswell County received more phone calls than they had in the previous two and a half years. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), founded in 1909, got involved, and Ingram was acquitted. The difference from a decade or two earlier was remarkable. Then the accusation of rape would have brought out a lynch mob. Very few mob lynchings occurred after World War II, but all too often during the civil rights movement whites com-

mitted murder with impunity and often without the national publicity such as that accompanying the murder of Emmet Till in 1955.⁷

Violence and the threat of violence kept white supremacy in place, and fear underlay the fabric of social interaction. In 1957 a white band director at Camden High School, South Carolina, was brutally beaten by a hooded gang because they mistakenly thought he was in favor of integration. Racists in this rural county had also burned three black churches and a black residence. The local paper decried this violence, warning that if it were to continue, it might warrant federal intervention. Often white people, though opposed to racial equality, deplored chaotic violence, and, if not that, at least the national publicity it might bring.⁸

Violent episodes encouraged African Americans to respect Jim Crow even when other alternatives to that system arose. African American Ned Cobb, raising a crop of cotton that netted six bales in Alabama in 1950, hired a poor white family to help with the chopping. These whites referred to him as "Mr. Cobb." Cobb asked them not to, fearful that other whites would hear them call him "Mister" and take retribution on him. Even among friends, the standard practice was to call the black person by a given name and the white person by "Mister" or "Missus."⁹

Something akin to respect may have developed in rural communities when men went hunting together. The poor of both races hunted as a necessity to put food on the table. Upper-class whites often hunted with black guides, but groups of whites and blacks seldom hunted together. Occasionally these armed groups would encounter each other, usually for the purpose of claiming game. It was hard to know who had killed the game because animals might run some distance after being shot. Custom decreed that no matter who killed it, the game went to the one "whose dog was first on the chase." A certain etiquette usually prevailed in fishing also. Some places on the riverbank were reserved for whites, but in most places the one who got there first had the right to the bank.¹⁰

Hunting, fishing, and taking turns in line fell outside the usual boss-servant relationship. Rural women did not have that opportunity to interact across racial lines except where white women "managed" black women who cleaned, cooked, and supervised children for them. Women mingled at church or at quilting bees,

7. Junius Irving Scales and Richard Nickson, *Cause at Heart: A Former Communist Remembers* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 227–30.

8. *New South* 12 (Fall 1957): 12, reprinted from an article in the *Cherokee Chronicle*, February 1957.

9. James W. Loewen, *The Mississippi Chinese: Between Black and White* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), 80, 183; Theodore Rosengarten, *All God's Dangers: The Life of Nate Shaw* (New York: Knopf, 1975), 455–56.

10. Kirby, *Rural Worlds Lost*, 252; Stuart A. Marks, *Southern Hunting in Black and White: Nature, History, and Ritual in a Carolina Community* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

but only within their racial group. Rural women tended to be more isolated than their menfolk and rarely socialized across racial lines.

If a shared way of life in rural communities smoothed over the worst race relations, a modern South with more cities and towns and fewer farms has had a significant effect. A major change in the South since World War II has been its urbanization and mechanization. As farm owners used tractors rather than farm workers, this modernization removed black and white southerners from the land. Sociologist Arthur Raper claimed that every tractor displaced at least one family. Pete Daniel has described a "vast enclosure movement" that "swept millions of rural workers from the land." In Daniel's words, "The depression caught cotton planters at just the wrong point between feudalism and modernization, and the Cotton Section of the AAA [Agricultural Adjustment Administration] did not ease the transition. One disaster after another—boll weevil, flood, drought, the AAA program, tractors, war, and picking machines—swept croppers, wage hands, and small owners from the land."¹¹

The South's largest manufacturing industry, lumber and timber, provided jobs almost exclusively for blacks, but the jobs proved temporary, and when the cutting was done, workers went back to the farm labor market. When black laborers moved from the fields to the factory, they still encountered racism obstructing their way. The factory might pay more than the farm, but it was an option for only certain people. Black men and particularly women found themselves unable to obtain work where white women or men composed the majority of a mill work force or a factory floor. Textile mills remained segregated until the late 1960s; white women and children were cheaper than African American males. When they could find jobs in industry, blacks were generally relegated to the most mundane and lowest paying jobs such as janitorial duties. Wages for African Americans were so low and job opportunities so rare in the rural and small-town South that even white mill workers could afford to hire black domestics, often called "cooks," to clean their homes, prepare meals, and care for their children while both parents worked for minimum wage at the mill. Minimum wage was much better than the one to four dollars an African American received for a full day's work.

The mill villages were for whites only, and as opposed to the personalism of the agrarian setting, where everyone knew each other and blacks and whites had almost daily interaction, the enclosed isolation of these villages intensified racism. Over the decades, as white families were further removed from inter-

change with African Americans, black people became easy scapegoats as an unknown "other." Mill villages were notorious for their race hatred, and the Ku Klux Klan of the 1950s and 1960s flourished in these segregated villages.

In 1940 African Americans represented 25 percent of the South's population and 28 percent of its labor force. By 1980 the figures were respectively 18 percent and 15 percent. The out-migration of blacks from the South and the large influx of whites account for much of this change. It is also true, however, that southern blacks were denied entry into the growing southern economy. In nonmetropolitan areas in the lower six states of the South, white workers gained 287,000 jobs in the 1960s while blacks lost 97,000. In 1965 fewer than one in ten black male southerners was a skilled craftsman. Eighty-five percent of black women held blue-collar jobs, and more than half of those were labor and service jobs. Black southerners were at the bottom of the bottom.¹²

The United States census shows that the time between 1940 and 1990 was generally one of expansion and growth for the South (see appended table). Both urban and rural areas increased in population, but generally the urban areas experienced economic expansion as well as population growth, while rural regions shifted dramatically from agricultural centers to economically isolated areas and bedroom communities for larger cities. In most states rural areas declined as a percentage of the total population, and in all the southern states the number of farmers plummeted.

The black population of many southern states remained relatively constant from 1940 to 1990 but declined as a percentage of each state's population. The proportion of African Americans in Alabama, for example, declined from almost 35 percent to 25 percent. Georgia, representative of most southern states, gained almost 700,000 African Americans between 1940 and 1990, but their proportion dropped from 34 percent of the state's total population to 27 percent. Rural blacks declined numerically in all the southern states as a ratio of the black population and as a ratio of the total population. Rural workers regardless of race found themselves displaced by technological advances and the influence of agribusiness. The changes were most dramatic between 1940 and 1960. In 1940 the two states with the largest percentage of farmers in the population were Mississippi, with 19 percent, and South Carolina, with 18 percent. In 1960 only 3 percent of Mississippi's population was farming, and in South Carolina just under 2 percent. Almost 270,000 black Mississippians farmed in 1940, a quarter of the state's black population. Three thousand black farmers remained in 1990, representing less than 1 percent of the black population. States with small black and farm populations have almost seen the end of black farming. Kentucky, in 1990, had only 922 black farmers among 57,754 farmers, who represented less

11. Arthur Raper, "Machines in the Cotton Fields," *New South* 1 (September 1946): 11; Pete Daniel, "The Transformation of the Rural South, 1930 to the Present," *Agricultural History* 55 (July 1981): 246–47; Pete Daniel, *Breaking the Land: The Transformation of Cotton, Tobacco, and Rice Cultures Since 1880* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985). This book along with Kirby, *Rural Worlds Lost*, and Gilbert C. Fite, *Cotton Fields No More: Southern Agriculture, 1865–1980* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1984), provide excellent overviews of the rural South.

12. Numan V. Bartley, *The New South, 1945–1980* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 289.

than 2 percent of the state's population. Yet, in South Carolina as late as 1980, almost half of all African Americans lived in rural areas. As farming virtually disappeared as an occupation for African Americans, those who did not emigrate to cities or find industrial employment were left in abject poverty. They lived in dilapidated shacks and hoped a little garden plot would feed the family all year. They performed seasonal day labor when and if they could find it.

The changes in agriculture worked differently throughout the South. In Kentucky, North Carolina, and Virginia, blacks and whites who planted tobacco fared somewhat better than those who grew cotton. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration helped these farmers to work small plots of land, and tobacco was labor-intensive and slow to be absorbed by agribusiness. When mechanization came in the 1960s, many tobacco farmers were prosperous enough to change over, and those who could not often had little trouble moving into industrial and other employment without physical dislocation. Diversified regions also did better. Tennessee, Virginia, Kentucky, and Florida were the areas in which family farms, mostly dairy, truck gardening, fruit growing, and grain production, were most likely to survive. In less diversified Appalachian highlands, where few if any African Americans lived, farmers were among the South's most impoverished.¹³

A look at one particular rural locale shows how the modernization of agriculture has affected African Americans economically since World War II. According to historian James Cobb, the Mississippi Delta is "the most southern place on earth." In the midst of major urbanization, this area remained rural, and its poverty was somewhat comparable to that of Third World countries. In a system developed after Reconstruction, whites owned large farms, and African Americans provided the labor through sharecropping. Sharecropping was a hard way of life for black and white families, but in addition, African Americans had to suffer the usual pattern of white landlords, bankers, merchants, and salesmen all conniving to cheat them.¹⁴

After World War II, landlords preferred to mechanize and consolidate, receiving government subsidies to do so. Ending any pretense of paternalism, the landlords evicted workers and their families from the land. But agriculture was the only occupation available in the area; no alternative existed for the African American population. A survey in 1959 found 17,563 sharecroppers in the Delta; five years later there were 8,788 and by 1967 almost none. Getting day work was the best one could do, and that was diminishing also; by 1967 only 5 percent of cotton was picked by hand. Seasonal jobs for cotton pickers and choppers fell by more than 50 percent between 1965 and 1966. Jobs were totally dependent on

13. Ibid., 130.

14. James C. Cobb, *The Most Southern Place on Earth: The Mississippi Delta and the Roots of Regional Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

white landowners. When the minimum wage law went into effect in 1967 and workers were to earn at least \$1.00 per hour instead of the usual \$3.50 per twelve-hour day, landowners refused to hire day laborers at all. During 1967, 12,000 African Americans left the Delta.

Those African Americans remaining in the Mississippi Delta had either day work, migrant work, or no livelihood at all. Before 1964 the poor received monthly food allocations of flour and canned goods from the federal commodity program. When that program was replaced by the food stamp program, the poor were left much worse off. Many had to borrow money from white planters to purchase their food stamps. Some major landowners in the area, such as Senator James O. Eastland, charged high interest on these loans, creating a personal peonage system. In several counties, although the number of people in poverty grew fourfold, only half as many families qualified for food stamps as had received help under the commodity program. Government relief programs, originated in the New Deal and continued during and after the war, gave subsidies to landowners. Thus federal handouts went to large plantation owners, not the poor—black or white. Federal subsidies to wealthy farmers in Sunflower County, Mississippi, in 1967 amounted to \$10.2 million; federal food program expenditures were less than 5 percent of that.

Because of a history of paternalism, boards set up to administer aid programs were made up of whites. Whether a particular family received commodity help or qualified for food stamps was dependent on the goodwill of the whites in charge of the local distribution. In one particular case in 1962, the local board suspended distribution of food as a warning to local African Americans not to register to vote.

Few African American families in the Mississippi Delta had proper sanitation in their homes; 80 percent of the dwellings in Tunica County had neither bathroom nor toilet facilities. If, in the paternalistic past, African American tenants or sharecroppers had some health care, by the mid-1960s they had none. With no cash in hand, some died even while sitting in the waiting rooms of hospitals. With cash to pay for care, African Americans could see a doctor, but many a white doctor would simply inquire about the illness, refusing to examine or touch a black person. Furthermore, the impoverished in the Delta were malnourished and anemic. Mortality rates for black infants in the Delta were 109 percent higher than for white infants. The infant mortality rate among black Mississippians worsened as the farm economy modernized, climbing from 4.18 deaths per 1,000 births in 1946 to 55.1 in 1965. In 1967 a group of doctors examining Delta children found them to be living under "such primitive conditions that we found it hard to believe we were examining American children of the twentieth century."¹⁵

15. Ibid., 263–64.

With the demise of day labor, many African Americans in Mississippi turned to migrant farm labor in the middle and late 1950s. By 1952 migrant laborers, according to Department of Labor estimates, numbered twenty-four thousand, mainly African Americans. Their number probably doubled in the early 1950s. Since white crew leaders contracted laborers to farmers and collected and distributed their pay, whites again held the power over African American labor and generally misused it.

Patterns prevalent in the Mississippi Delta were evident in areas throughout the South, and rural poverty overwhelmed both blacks and whites. For instance, the South led the United States in poor housing conditions during the 1940s. Two out of three houses fell short of minimum standards. Although conditions improved during the 1950s, in 1960 in Robeson County, North Carolina, 75 percent of homes, excluding those in the county seat of Lumberton, were unsafe to live in. As white southerners began to improve their lot, blacks remained far behind. Sanitation was also substandard, fire protection negligible, and health care nonexistent or inadequate (although medical advances did almost eliminate hookworm, pellagra, and tuberculosis from rural areas).¹⁶

Wealthier people refused to acknowledge the poverty afflicting many rural areas. South Carolina senator Ernest F. Hollings was a skeptic until he himself investigated and found truth in the statistics. In his book on hunger, Hollings wrote of farmers who received hefty subsidies for not growing anything. Hollings noted the irony of these government handouts. Politicians did not see the subsidies as affecting the hardworking character of the farmer. "But give the poor, little hungry child a forty-cent breakfast and you've destroyed his character. You've ruined his incentive." Negative stereotypes of African Americans dominated the rural white culture. Not given jobs, African Americans were disparaged as "lazy." Not allowed proper sanitation, they were reviled as "filthy." With inadequate nutrition and health care, some African Americans did lose energy, and some lost hope.¹⁷

To keep white supremacy in its place, a pattern of racial violence prevailed throughout the rural South. Even as personal attacks on African Americans became less acceptable in the culture, racial violence continued, often hidden behind an official badge. Police brutality from all-white departments was particularly vicious in rural areas where African Americans had no recourse against a vindictive sheriff, and local white juries would not convict whites of crimes

16. Ibid., 273; "Housing in the South," *New South* 3 (April 1948): 1; North Carolina Fund Report, *Profile of Community Problems: Richmond, Scotland, and Robeson Counties* (N.p.: Tri-County Community Action, 1967).

17. Ernest F. Hollings, *The Case Against Hunger* (New York: Cowles, 1970), 222, 232. When Mae Bertha Carter of Sunflower, Mississippi, sent her ten children to school, she made sure they washed themselves well and wore clean clothes. Yet the white teachers called them dirty (Constance Curry, *Silver Rights* [Chapel Hill: Algonquin Books, 1995]).

against blacks. Sheriffs were often bullies who enjoyed terrorizing African Americans and especially liked humiliating those who had some wealth, education, or self-esteem. White policemen could kill black prisoners with impunity, claiming the suspect was "fleeing." These episodes of normal police practice were actually legal lynchings.¹⁸

Ulrich B. Phillips has written that the central theme of southern history was that the South should remain a white man's country. Of course, the South is not and has never been exclusively white. It has been at least tri-racial since Native Americans began to share the land with whites and African Americans. Furthermore, in the post-World War II American South, the central theme has not been white supremacy but the civil rights movement. World War II, a war about human rights, gave impetus to events and movements already under way. As rural southern African Americans moved to cities, more than 1 million to southern cities and 2 million to the industrial North and West, they doubled the number of northern black voters in key areas between 1940 and 1948.¹⁹

Articulate black people had been demanding educational opportunities and civil rights ever since the overthrow of Reconstruction, and some gains were finally made during the 1930s and 1940s. On a grass-roots level, unsung African American heroes such as Amzie Moore in Mississippi, Charles Gomillion in Alabama, and Septima Clark in South Carolina developed the impetus for civil rights legislation. No matter how oppressed, rural and poor African Americans valued literacy and the ability to read the Bible, even though working in the fields for "the man" took precedence over schooling for almost all rural black children. Septima Clark and Esau Jenkins started citizenship education schools on rural Johns Island, South Carolina, in 1957 for African Americans. Clark and Jenkins had trained at Myles Horton's Highlander School in rural Tennessee, as had Rosa Parks, the heroic Montgomery seamstress. It is no surprise that the civil rights movement began because of the need for a decent education. The tide in race relations that had run against blacks since the 1890s reversed during the New Deal and World War II and was flowing faster by the 1950s, when the Supreme Court in 1954 ruled in *Brown v. The Board of Education* (Topeka) that schools could no longer be segregated.²⁰

Most of the writing on this complex movement has emphasized the successful urban components such as bus boycotts and lunch counter sit-ins, but rural areas also figure in the story. In his monumental 1976 study, *Simple Justice*, Richard Kluger wrote, "If you had set out to find the place in America in 1947 where life among black folk had changed least since the end of slavery, Clarendon County is where you might have come." And yet, in this most unlikely of places, rural

18. Fairclough, *Race and Democracy*, 122.

19. Ulrich B. Phillips, "The Central Theme of Southern History," *American Historical Review* 34 (October 1928): 31.

20. See also Ann Moody, *Coming of Age in Mississippi* (New York: Dial Press, 1969).

low-country South Carolina, African Americans initiated a lawsuit (*Briggs v. Elliott*) that culminated in the end of segregated schools (*Brown v. The Board of Education*).²¹

In 1951, the segregated Clarendon County public schools had an enrollment of 6,531 African American and 2,375 white students. Total expenditures for white students exceeded those for black students by \$112,379, or 300 percent per pupil. The county's black parents brought a suit against the Summerton school district, where one school serving 600 black students had only two outdoor toilets and students had to carry drinking water in a bucket from a neighbor's home. These conditions were horrendous, but it was transportation that African American parents were demanding. White children had buses; black children had to walk—some of them many miles.

The Reverend J. A. Delaine, who pastored several rural churches, taught at Summerton and requested a school bus. Denied, he was told that whites paid more taxes and deserved better service. A persistently stubborn black farmer, Levi Pearson, bought an old bus and fixed it up to drive children to school and then, with the support of Rev. Delaine, sued the Summerton school board. His suit was thrown out because his farm was on the line that separated Summerton from a neighboring school district. In spring 1950, Delaine brought another suit, this time asking for equal school facilities in compliance with the 1896 law of the land, *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Ultimately, with the aid of the NAACP, a suit filed by forty black parents argued that segregated schools, even if facilities were equal, violated the Fourteenth Amendment. Four years later, on May 17, 1954, the United States Supreme Court handed down its decision in *Brown v. The Board of Education* (Topeka). Chief Justice Earl Warren reported the unanimous conclusion: "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." The *Brown* decision, which encompassed five cases from five different states, had originated in one rural school district in an effort by black parents simply to get a bus.

During the next years the full array of Jim Crow terror and repression played out in rural Clarendon County. For their heroic efforts Rev. Delaine and his wife lost their jobs and received death threats signed "KKK." Their house burned to the ground while the all-white fire department stood by and watched. When Delaine fired his gun in self-defense against some whites, he was charged with a felony and forced to flee the state. When Harry Briggs, the black mechanic for whom the case was named, stubbornly resisted white pressure to remove his name from the list of plaintiffs, he and his wife lost their jobs, and they too had to leave the county. All forty rural black unacknowledged heroes of Clarendon County, having challenged the South's racial codes, suffered. Whatever elements of white paternalism or leniency had existed quickly faded. Long-standing debts, an everyday occurrence in southern agricultural economy, were called in,

and whites refused to sell black plaintiffs seeds or supplies. Equipment usually loaned willingly to help African Americans with harvests or plowing was refused; crops rotted in the fields.

While African Americans throughout the South were condemning the degradation dumped on them by a racist system, and certain whites throughout the South moved vehemently to suppress the protests, rural blacks faced harder repression than urban blacks. African Americans living in cities possessed a degree of anonymity that rural people did not. In Summerton, for example, the nephew of the white superintendent of schools owned several farms rented by black tenants; the owner made activism synonymous with economic hardship. Thus, whereas urban communities throughout the South saw successful mass marches and boycotts, in rural Clarendon every black person who signed a petition to improve conditions lost a job, was denied the ability to trade for necessary agricultural goods, and was threatened with physical violence.

The systematic terror and repression encountered by the parents of black schoolchildren in rural Clarendon County was not at all unusual in the experience of African Americans living in the South under Jim Crow segregation. In small, rural southern communities, those who protested and attempted to organize the black community, those most aggressive in pursuit of social justice, were often forced to leave for their personal safety. The community was thus stripped of its local leaders. The NAACP in Louisiana found that building support was very difficult in rural areas. As Adam Fairclough put it, "In the farming community where old boss has had the say about everything it is hard to get the tenant to stand for the right."²²

Like whites throughout the South, those in Clarendon argued that African Americans were happy under segregation and had been deluded into believing they were dissatisfied by "outside agitators," generally meaning the NAACP. Journalist Carl Rowan reported an exchange with Rebecca Brown of Summerton:

"The mayor just told me that you Negroes tell him you didn't mean to sign that petition, that you got tricked into this suit by the NAACP. . . ."

"He's a liar and the truth ain't in him," exclaimed the grandmotherly Negro storekeeper. She started to take off her apron as she added, "And let's go back up there. I'll tell him to his face."²³

Although African Americans won the 1954 Supreme Court decision, Clarendon continued to maintain separate schools until 1965. Then the state allowed students to select the schools they would attend, and four black students attended the white school in fall 1965. In reaction, whites established a private academy, Clarendon Hall, and in 1969 only 281 white students were left in the

21. Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice* (New York: Knopf, 1976), 4.

22. Fairclough, *Race and Democracy*, 47.

23. *Minneapolis Tribune*, December 8, 1953, 9.

Summerton public school system. One year later, when the schools officially desegregated, 16 white students were left. In 1991, of the 1,274 students in Summerton's public schools, only 23 were white. In an article on Summerton in 1991, the *New York Times* reported, "Whites and blacks coexist with an easy surface sociability that is far more amiable than can be found in many Northern cities." Yet in 1997 the Summerton public schools were still nearly all black (the school superintendent was white). Summerton typifies rural Black Belt schools from which white students withdrew after desegregation.²⁴

In sharp contrast to Summerton is the nearby town of Manning, the county seat. Manning has integrated successfully, as have many schools throughout the South. Some whites in the Summerton school district oppose racism and want their children to attend integrated public schools. They find themselves with a dubious choice—to send their children to a segregated private academy or to an underfunded black school. Some have opted instead to send their children to the integrated public schools in Manning. (South Carolina law allows parents to send children to schools in any school district where the parents own property.) Of course, most African Americans do not have even this limited choice.

Clarendon mirrored the reaction to school desegregation throughout the South. After the *Brown* decision, outspoken white politicians did not view integration of schools as a done deal. Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi declared, "The South will not abide by, or obey, this legislative decision by a political court." Southerners in Georgia elected Marvin Griffin as governor on his pledge, "Come hell or high water, races will not be mixed in Georgia schools." Throughout the South, schools, churches, and homes were dynamited when conflict arose over integration. Virulent white supremacists drew praise from the Ku Klux Klan and organized groups such as the Association for the Advancement of White People. Southern judges and journalists excoriated the Supreme Court for the *Brown* decision. Senators John Stennis of Mississippi, Richard Russell of Georgia, Samuel Ervin of North Carolina, and J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina drafted the "Southern Manifesto" and commended states that resisted "forced integration." The vast majority of southern legislators signed the manifesto.

In Virginia, arguing that the state wanted to uphold the law peacefully, Governor Thomas B. Stanley's all-white commission recommended in November 1955 that local school boards have broad authority to assign pupils to appropriate schools and that tuition grants be set up so that whites in integrated schools could go to private academies. This plan's high degree of decentralization made

court-ordered integration a slow and expensive process; it allowed token integration and, to maintain the appearance of nondiscrimination, relied on complex and ostensibly nonracial criteria for school assignment. By shifting the burden of initiation to individual schoolchildren in thousands of localities, it made rapid integration virtually impossible. Senator Harry Byrd and the Defenders of State Sovereignty, however, thought the plan was too lenient; instead, Byrd sponsored Massive Resistance, which denied state authority over local school districts, provided penalties designed to harass the NAACP, and made it difficult to bring a lawsuit for school integration.

When the NAACP won a lawsuit to integrate schools in Norfolk, the local school board endorsed Massive Resistance. In a November 18, 1958, referendum, the city approved Massive Resistance and closed schools by a 60 percent vote (most blacks could not vote). In this urban area, local segregationists were able to organize and set up private schools for white children. The Norfolk ministerial association and one of the two daily papers denounced Massive Resistance but to no avail. Behind the scenes, businessmen and the Chamber of Commerce argued that Massive Resistance hurt the state economically, that industry did not want to come where a school system was in turmoil. The business lobby was a critical factor in the cities that finally decided to forgo Massive Resistance. In contrast, rural areas kept up the resistance interminably. Rural Prince Edward County, Virginia, for instance, kept its schools closed for five years. Lack of a rural middle class left power in the hands of a few white men who controlled jobs, housing, schools, police, and local government in a system akin to feudalism. According to historian Numan V. Bartley, the county elites benefited from the one-party domination of the Democratic party; "the planter, banker, merchant, and usually old-family governing class" commanded politics and public concerns.²⁵

Similar strategies were at work throughout the South. North Carolina governor Luther Hodges in 1956 engineered the Pearsall Plan allowing individual school systems to determine how they would address desegregation. Under the plan the state agreed to support the local school systems even if they decided to shut down their schools rather than desegregate. In Mississippi, school districts offered a choice of schools, knowing full well they could "persuade" the African Americans to choose black schools. Persuasion worked for many, but always there were heroes willing to suffer the hatred, the insults, the spit, and the physical abuse of whites so as to gain an education and escape the life of sharecropping. When schools in Grenada, in rural Mississippi, opened in September 1966, 150 black students attended. The white students left, but when the black stu-

24. *New York Times*, April 21, 1991, 18L. See also Raymond Wolters, *The Burden of Brown: Twenty Years of School Desegregation* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 129–74; Jeff Miller, "What Tomorrow Can Bring," *Southern Exposure* 22 (Summer 1994): 16–23.

25. After public schools were reopened in 1964, virtually no whites attended. Today about 40 percent of the students in the public school system are white (R. C. Smith, "Prince Edward County, 1979: 'Just Say We Remember,'" *Southern Exposure* 7 [Summer 1979]: 64–71; Bartley, *New South*, 31–32).

dents tried to leave, a white mob set upon them and brutally beat the children with chains and ax handles, while white police officers and FBI agents watched without interfering to protect the children. Thirteen-year-old Richard Sigh was beaten, his leg was broken, and, in addition, his father was fired from his job. In rural Sunflower County, Mississippi, the Carter family chose the better schools, and the children had to endure "years of hell."²⁶

The battle for desegregation had to be fought again and again to a wearying and frustrating degree. Cases had to be initiated in almost every local school district. Resistance was present throughout each state and in every county. In 1964, ten years after *Brown*, 98.9 percent of black children in the South were still attending all-black schools. Then, just as the North was undergoing extreme white flight that was segregating its schools, victories in court brought about a great tide of desegregation in the South. In 1966–67 15.9 percent of black children attended integrated schools. In 1969–70 the figure had risen to 30 percent. In 1963 some 60 percent of white southerners objected to integrated education. When, just seven years later, only 16 percent objected, George Gallup commented, "This finding represents one of the most dramatic shifts in the history of public opinion polling."²⁷

Throughout the 1970s desegregation cases have made areas like Summerton, South Carolina, the exception. In 1988 throughout the United States, 33 percent of African American elementary and secondary schoolchildren attended schools that were at least 15 percent and no more than 50 percent African American. In 1989 in a careful study that measured integration, scholars found that the South was "the most integrated region . . . though its schools have by far the largest proportion of black students." The study warned, however, that from 1984 to 1986 there had been a "gradual movement backward." This movement backward toward segregation occurs in large cities such as Birmingham, and, as the South urbanizes, residential patterns and school systems become more segregated, as they now are in the non-South.²⁸

In rural areas of the South, African Americans and whites now attend the most integrated public schools in the United States. Many rural school districts have only one school for all to attend. Because of the South's love of sports, athletic teams have helped make integrated schools more acceptable. Nevertheless, blacks and whites, while attending the same schools, are often worlds apart be-

26. John Dittmer, *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 404–5; Curry, *Silver Rights*, xv.

27. Goldfield, *Black, White, and Southern*, 263.

28. U.S. Department of Education, "1988 Elementary and Secondary School Civil Rights Survey: State and National Summaries," March 1991; Gary Orfield, Franklin Monfort, and Melissa Aaron, "Status of School Desegregation, 1868–1986: A Report of the Council of Urban Boards of Education and the National School Desegregation Research Project," University of Chicago, March 1989, 5, 9.

cause of economics or housing patterns. Furthermore, educational practices that separate students by "ability" can result in classroom segregation. Students of both races attend one school without much overt racism but also without much real communication. Exceptions are becoming less remarkable as friendships develop, and interracial dating is no longer out of the ordinary.

The early aims of the civil rights movement were to achieve immediate and visible improvements in the daily lives of blacks and to achieve psychological liberation, freedom from fear and from the habit of submission. Activists were African American and tended to be urban rather than rural. White opponents varied in the degree of antagonism, but practically every white southerner resisted the movement. Some antagonists resorted to murder and arson, but white sheriffs arrested few perpetrators, some of whom bragged about their exploits. Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish sociologist best known for his study of U.S. racial problems, concluded that officers of the law served "as agents of the planters and other white employers." White juries let the murderers and arsonists off, and the majority of white citizens acquiesced by their silence.²⁹

The march from Selma to Montgomery spurred a change in the movement. When the unmitigated violence of frenzied police against innocent men, women, and children was portrayed on television, many whites felt they could no longer ignore the plight of African Americans. The violence on the Edmund Pettis Bridge was a catalyst for the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and when the march to Montgomery resumed, the world saw via television an integrated civil rights group walking through rural Alabama.

Civil rights laws were passed in 1957, 1960, and 1964. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 forbids discrimination because of race, color, religion, ethnicity, and, in employment, discrimination based on gender. Yet civil rights and the end of legal segregation did not automatically bring an increase in the African American vote. Despite formidable efforts of local black leaders, civil rights organizations, and voting education projects, Alabama still had less than one-fifth of eligible blacks registered to vote in 1965. In Mississippi, where Bob Moses valiantly struggled in the 1960s, only 6.4 percent of blacks were registered to vote in 1965. The white South continued to use literacy and property tests, poll taxes, and actual disfranchisement to keep African Americans from voting. White intransigence enabled reformers to convince Congress of the need for voting rights legislation. Between January 1, 1955, and January 1, 1959, the Southern Regional Council counted 225 separate acts of racial violence, and after passage of civil rights legislation in 1957 and 1960, southern white violence toward blacks escalated. Moreover, the violence of the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer demonstrated the need for federal intervention to protect civil rights workers and pro-

29. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), 536.

testers. One study of the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer chronicled six deaths, thirty-five shootings, sixty-five bombings, and eighty beatings. To wonder only twelve hundred blacks registered. Chief Justice Earl Warren pronounced the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, and 1964 as failures in ameliorating the problem of voting discrimination. In 1965 the goal was straightforward: the right to vote.

With the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965, the first nine counties chosen to receive federal registrars quadrupled black registration within one week, from 1,764 to 6,998. Nevertheless, many rural African Americans knew better than to try to exercise their right to vote. Because Mississippi was a state where white terrorism was most virulent, James Meredith (the African American who integrated the University of Mississippi in 1962) decided to undertake a "March on Fear" through the rural part of the state. Meredith set out on June 5, 1966, and planned to walk 220 miles down highway 51 from Memphis to Jackson to encourage rural blacks to overcome fear and to exercise their right to vote, granted by the 1965 Voting Rights Act. The next day a white man stepped out of the underbrush and fired three shotgun blasts at Meredith, severely wounding him. Publicized on TV, the event again focused the nation's attention on the front lines of the civil rights movement. When the march resumed more than fifteen hundred people joined in. Whenever the march encountered hostility and assault from local whites, the local police force entered the fray with a vengeance; they tear-gassed, clubbed, and arrested the marchers—men, women, and children—for disturbing the peace.

Among various organizations working on civil rights were the NAACP, the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Urban League, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). SNCC was the most active in rural areas. SNCC increasingly identified with the southern proletariat, symbolized by members' wearing blue bib overalls. At its peak in 1963 and 1964, SNCC had about three hundred field and staff workers. One of the SNCC voter project proposals stated that the group would engage in a battle of minds to overcome the psychic enslavement of African Americans; they would oppose every "arbitrary procedure, purging or inflating of voting lists, economic warfare, police brutality, etc., all attempts to nullify the right to vote among Negroes." With dedicated workers such as rural southerner Fannie Lou Hamer, SNCC captured the consciences of black and white student activists, northern and southern—who wanted to help African Americans in the rural South liberate themselves. These students set up cooperatives, established health clinics, taught rural blacks to read, write, and think about freedom, and registered many voters.

SNCC's early focus was biracial, integrationist, nonviolent, and nonrevolutionary. The group included middle-class integrationists working for full citizenship in American society. Working in Mississippi and confronting the brutality

of the Mississippi police, particularly in rural areas, hardened SNCC. With the election of college-educated New Yorker Stokely Carmichael as its chair, SNCC became separatist and nationalist and moved into a stance of alienation from American society: "We been saying freedom for six years and ain't got nothing. What we're gonna start saying is Black Power." Martin Luther King, Jr., expressed regret at the term: "We must never seek power exclusively for the Negro, but the sharing of power with white people."³⁰

Desegregation underlay the objectives of the civil rights movement, but activists also expected economic and institutional improvements through better education, better jobs, and better housing. Recalcitrant government action and persistent white resistance marked the dynamic transition of the civil rights movement from desegregation to black power. Calling on audiences to resist their white oppressors and seize power, Carmichael became more alienated and subsequently withdrew from Mississippi and moved to rural Lowndes County, Alabama, where not a single black voter was registered although they were a majority of the population. There he set up an all-black party whose symbol was the black panther.³¹

Joyce Ladner, in her interviews with black activists in the South in 1966–67, found that black power was a concept that appealed to the young, urban, and militant, especially those from the North. It did not appeal to the rural activists who had strong ties to the local church and community in the South. Tempered by a powerful Christian conviction, rural blacks did not feel the rage that overwhelmed African Americans from urban ghettos. Many rural African Americans felt they were better off than they had been five years before and expected their situation to continue to improve.

The civil rights movement has moved from the streets to the courtrooms, where African American plaintiffs now must sue to have their rights enforced. The attorneys for the plaintiffs, black and white, have been a dedicated lot, working for low wages in organizations such as the NAACP and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Often rural counties bring the suits. A complex set of litigation involved rural Edgefield County, South Carolina, home of U.S. senator J. Strom Thurmond, who had bitterly opposed the original Voting Rights Act in 1965 and who fought extensions in 1970, 1975, and 1982. In Edgefield in 1969, black activist Thomas McCain began efforts to open local governing bodies to African Americans. After fifteen years of complex legal maneuvering (including the Supreme Court's overruling of a South Carolina panel and

30. Goldfield, *Black, White and Southern*, 224; Harvard Sitkoff, *The Struggle for Black Equality, 1954–1992* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), 199.

31. According to Goldfield, *Black, White, and Southern*, 246, in Lowndes County, where now 80 percent of registered voters are black, "two decades of black rule" has "not changed the fact that it was among the nation's ten poorest counties, or that more than 45 percent of its residents still lived below the poverty line, or that it continued to have one of the nation's highest infant-mortality rates."

various objections from the Department of Justice to at-large elections), *McCain v. Lybrand* ultimately resulted in the end of at-large elections for the Edgefield County Council and the institution of single-member districts. Under this new plan, three African Americans were sworn in on January 1, 1985, as county council members, giving them majority control. The ceremony took place in the same courthouse that had been seized at gunpoint by the "Redeemers" of 1876 to control the ballot count and prevent African Americans from voting. The newly inaugurated county council in 1985 replaced the incumbent county administrator and appointed Thomas McCain, the African American educator who had led the court battles responsible for the victory. After that, Edgefield County could never go completely back; when whites recaptured the majority on the county council, the new council elected an African American to chair the county council and did not replace the popular McCain as county administrator. As in Edgefield, where the Voting Rights Act has been enforced, the 1965 act has made a real difference throughout the rural South. Specifically, it has reduced election-related violence, increased responsiveness and the provision of services to minorities, made the political resources of the African American community more available to society as a whole, made it possible for southern solons to support civil rights, made racial politics unfashionable, and opened opportunities for minorities to pursue careers in politics.³²

As successful as the Voting Rights Act has been in allowing people to register and vote and as successful as court cases have been in ameliorating vote dilution, the Voting Rights Act does not and cannot directly confront problems of economic racism in society. If American society was ready to confront the evils of racism, it remained unwilling to confront the evils of poverty. King in 1967 wrote, "With the Voting Rights Act one phase of development in the civil rights revolution came to an end. A new phase opened. . . . White America was ready to demand that the Negro should be spared the lash of brutality and coarse degradation, but it had never been truly committed to helping him out of poverty. . . . Jobs are harder and costlier to create than voting rolls." Some even suggest that King was assassinated because he had moved from issues of race to those of class.³³

The civil rights movement was a process, and this process moved slowly in rural areas. One particular rural small town, Plains, in Sumter County, Georgia,

32. *McCain v. Lybrand* 465 U.S. 236 (1984); Vernon Burton, "Race and Reconstruction: Edgefield County, South Carolina," *Journal of Social History* 12 (Fall 1978): 31–56; Orville Vernon Burton et al., "South Carolina," in *The Quiet Revolution: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act in the South, 1965–1990*, ed. Chandler Davidson and Bernard Grofman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 191–232, 420–32; *Columbia State*, October 18, 1987, 5B; Margaret Edds, *Free at Last: What Really Happened When Civil Rights Came to Southern Politics* (Bethesda, Md.: Adler and Adler, 1987), 39.

33. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?* (New York: Bantam, 1967), 4, 6.

caught the attention of the nation when its Sunday school teacher and Baptist deacon, James Earl Carter, was elected president in 1976. Plains shows some of the patterns of race relations prevalent in certain parts of the small-town South. In occupational patterns race made a difference. From the 1930s until the 1970s, the number of farms in Plains had decreased to 404, only 14 percent of the number in 1910. Most of the farms were worked by their owners, thirty-three of whom were African American. One-quarter of farm owners earned money off the farm to support their farming. Of the forty-four farm tenants in the county, only three were African American. Most blacks who still worked in agriculture were day laborers. Other African Americans worked as domestics for the white population. On the farm, cotton took a back seat to peanuts, chickens, beef, and dairy cattle. The Carter family owned a farm and a peanut processing plant, which employed African American workers.³⁴

Residential patterns in Plains in the early 1970s showed whites living on one side of the railroad tracks and blacks on the other. Whites lived in decent housing with plumbing, blacks in poorer homes, and only about one-third had indoor plumbing. When residences were close by, even just across the tracks, children played together across racial lines. Children had to be taught racism and usually learned the lesson by adolescence; then the two groups separated themselves. Interracial sex was a strong taboo, and even today many rural blacks and whites do not approve of interracial dating and marriage, which nevertheless do occur and usually without incident.³⁵

Most communities had some egalitarians as well as some avid racists among the white population. One moderate in Americus, Georgia, was attorney Warren Fortson. Appalled by the total disrepair of black schools in the county, Fortson called for the formation of a biracial committee to address the situation. For this, he was branded a radical and literally run out of town. In the 1950s Jimmy Carter, who, as a member of the local school board, accepted segregation, nevertheless refused to join the White Citizens' Council. His business suffered mightily but survived. In 1964 Carter argued that his Plains Baptist Church should accept black members, but his argument did not prevail. After Carter's election as governor, this white plantation owner from rural Georgia hung a portrait of another Georgian, Martin Luther King, Jr., in the state capitol.

Rural Sumter County fomented its share of activity during the civil rights movement. Ku Klux Klan violence threatened Koinonia, which also had to argue

34. Mark Pinsky, "Finances: Double Dealing in Plains, Georgia," *Southern Exposure* 7 (Summer 1979): 98–102; William J. Cooper, Jr., and Thomas E. Terrill, *The American South: A History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1991), 740–42.

35. An excellent example of learning about racial etiquette is Harry Crews, *A Childhood: The Biography of a Place* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), 56–59. Interracial marriages were illegal in the South; see Joel Williamson, *New People: Miscegenation and Mulattoes in the United States* (New York: Free Press, 1980), and Kirby, *Rural Worlds Lost*, 248–52.

against injunctions designed to shut down that interracial Christian community. Local authorities arrested scores of African Americans and SNCC workers for registering voters, charging them with insurrection, at that time a capital offense in Georgia. The local prosecutor claimed that he did not actually seek the death penalty but charged them with insurrection to keep them in jail without bail.

Nevertheless, African Americans voted and also challenged the dilution of their votes by local whites. In 1967, two years after county officials were enjoined for enforcing segregation, the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals overturned Sumter County's election results as "gross, spectacular, completely indefensible state-imposed, state-enforced racial discrimination." By 1976 private segregated academies were in decline, and white enrollment was increasing at the black-majority county high school. In towns like Plains, with only one public high school, athletics often brought a community together. Both black and white parents cheered as their athletes competed in two state championship football teams. After the high school years many southerners, black and white (Jimmy Carter also), joined the military. The military was integrated; it was a patriotic duty, an escape from the rural South, and it was a job. For rural African Americans a military paycheck regularly sent home to mothers or wives might be the only cash they saw. In an agrarian staple-crop society, many families received money only once a year, when the crop was sold, and often the money was owed before it was received, and farmers were lucky to be left with enough food for the year. Military pay, pensions, and veterans' benefits have kept many a rural family out of destitution.

Many of these patterns from the 1970s persist today. Present-day rural race relations are complicated in many ways. One is the difficulty in defining what is rural. Can a rural area include small towns located outside large cities? How rural is the countryside that houses a gigantic industrial plant? Urban-rural difference is a continuum rather than a dichotomy, and along this continuum race relations vary greatly. Another complication is the confusion of a system in flux. The old patterns of Jim Crow segregation are gone, and race relations are changing and unpredictable, often dependent on place. Patterns in "rural" northern Virginia suburbs (not far from Washington, D.C.) differ markedly from those in the Mississippi Delta.

In response to this new unpredictability and unease, racist organizations have found homes in both North and South. The Alabama-based Klanwatch estimates that there are 5,500 members of the Klan nationwide, half of the membership in the early 1980s and down from 42,000 in 1965. But at the same time, white supremacist groups and some rogue militia movements are growing, and some of these are prevalent in rural communities throughout America. Klanwatch estimates that since 1990 the number of white supremacists in these groups has increased from 22,000 to 25,000.³⁶

36. Tony Horwitz, "A Death for Dixie," *New Yorker*, March 18, 1996, 69.

The relative strength of white racist power in rural southern areas correlates with the popularity of political figures and whether they favor racist agendas. The Republican party's victories in the South owed much to its voiced opposition to affirmative action, busing, and welfare. Although numerically more whites are on welfare rolls, "welfare dependents" is a code word for blacks. Some white southerners attune themselves to the North for clues on what racist agendas are within acceptable limits. Ronald Reagan opened his presidential campaign in 1980 with a political speech at the county fair in Neshoba County, Mississippi, where three civil rights activists had been murdered in 1964. He spoke of states' rights, a euphemism for opposition to racial justice. During the Carter administration, African Americans in Sumter County, Alabama, developed a successful organization to apply for land and home ownership under a federal minority program. Later the Reagan administration challenged whether blacks were a minority in this county since the county was predominantly populated by African Americans. With the aid of civil rights attorneys, African American plaintiffs challenged the ruling; in return, the Reagan administration simply did away with the program.³⁷

Today in Sumter County more than a third of all residents are below the poverty level, and all but 7 percent of these are African Americans. In 1986 more than one out of every five persons were on welfare. Half of the county's revenues come from a toxic waste dump. Environmental racism plays a part today as the more rural and poor, that is, black, areas receive the landfills and toxic waste generated by affluent urbanites. Explained an Alabama state district attorney, "The strategy is to find predominantly black, economically distressed areas and make their economies dependent on hazardous waste to the extent that the people who live there become hazardous waste junkies."³⁸

People are willing to risk living with toxic waste because, despite the monumental changes resulting from the civil rights movement, jobs for African Americans have not been forthcoming. Many southerners, and most particularly black southerners, have been left out of the new prosperity of the Sunbelt, and pockets of severe poverty persist. Within these pockets, which tend to be rural, is a population without adequate housing, education, health care, and jobs. According to the Children's Defense Fund, about two hundred thousand African American children in Mississippi lived in poverty in 1990.³⁹

As farm jobs have disappeared, seasonal employment is taken by migrant workers. Although Texas has always had a large Mexican American population and Mississippi has had Chinese workers, it has been a recent phenomenon that thousands of immigrants from Latin America have settled in the South, many to

37. John B. Boles, *The South Through Time: A History of an American Region* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1995), 513; *Panola Land Buying Association Housing Development Corp. v. Vance Clark et al.*, CA no. CV-83-G-1216W, Sumter County, Alabama.

38. Goldfield, *Black, White, and Southern*, 248.

39. Dittmer, *Local People*, 427.

perform agricultural labor for agribusinesses. In Florida and Louisiana, Haitians and Jamaicans cut sugarcane for notoriously abusive corporations. Mexican migrant laborers pick tobacco, tomatoes, strawberries, peaches, and vegetables as they travel through the South. They often are exploited, underpaid, and put in substandard housing. They seldom have schools for their children or access to doctors or health facilities. In rural South Carolina, a major employer of African American workers, Greenwood Packing Plant, recently dismissed many long-time African American employees when they were near retirement age and replaced them with contract laborers from Latin America. In 1997, the Justice Department raided the packing plant and discovered that many of the migrant workers were illegal aliens. The assessed fine was inconsequential compared with the savings in wages and unpaid retirement benefits. The exploitative treatment of these nonblack immigrants and migrant workers, as well as the older African American employees, again raises questions about race and class disparity.⁴⁰

Problems facing the poor in the United States today fuel racial stereotypes and prejudice. Yet family breakdown and the growing gap in education and health point to a convergence of race and class. Poverty does not claim all blacks; many are moving into the middle class. This does not minimize the seriousness of the problems of those who remain behind in rural areas. This division of blacks into haves and have-nots is a significant difference from the time before the civil rights movement, and one that is separating leadership and role models from a group trapped in poverty.

In rural areas, as elsewhere, underlying problems in race relations can erupt into violence. Todd County, Kentucky, with a population of 10,900, is one such rural community. In Todd County the town of Guthrie has a population of 1,600, one-third of whom are African American. The mayor and all members of the city council and the school board are white. Any polite and friendly race relations became strained for this community in 1987, after the Southeast Region NAACP passed a resolution condemning the flying of Confederate flags over state capitols. In Guthrie lived an African American teenager, Freddie Morrow, whose mother had sent him there to live with his aunt to escape gang activity in Chicago. Also in town lived a white teenager, Michael Westerman, whose mother described him as "a country boy and proud of it." In his pickup truck, Westerman displayed the Confederate flag, the symbol of his high school sports team, the Rebels. One night as Westerman and his wife were out driving around, Morrow was also out driving with some African American friends. Morrow shot Westerman while both were in their cars. Since the trial and conviction of Morrow, many black teenagers want to escape Todd County as soon as possible; they

avoid going to town after dark and look forward to the day they can join the army.⁴¹

In Todd County and other areas throughout the South, fights and harsh words have erupted as aggrieved whites feel the civil rights movement has gone far enough. Since 1993 a host of African American churches in the South, mostly in rural areas, have been targets of arson. In those cases in which the police have made arrests, they found that racial hatred was a factor. A person living near one of the burned churches shared her feelings with a newspaper reporter: "I'm white, and it doesn't matter what race you are. It's scary to think I could have people next door to me who hate that much." The majority of whites deplore such violence, no longer quietly acquiescing. Both blacks and whites opposed a store in Laurens, South Carolina, whose proprietor sold KKK paraphernalia; one white man drove his van through the front of the store.⁴²

The politics of race relations are also complicated and in flux. Some whites who would never deny African Americans the right to vote are willing to deny single-member districts that provide an opportunity to elect black representatives. White politicians often lament that they are perfectly able to represent African Americans in the legislature, yet they fail to grasp that an African American would be equally capable of representing all the people. Whites willing to allow African Americans the choice of candidates in an urban precinct have been totally opposed to the same principle in rural areas, where white legislators refuse to let go of their local fiefdoms. There is a renewed effort on the parts of both northern and southern whites to do away with affirmative action and undermine the Voting Rights Act. In the last few years, the courts have generally found for white defendants against black plaintiffs in voting rights cases in the rural South.

My hometown of Ninety Six, South Carolina, offers one example of changes wrought in the South since the civil rights movement. Ninety Six was the home of pre-Civil War avid slavery supporter Preston Brooks, who caned the abolitionist senator Charles Sumner like a craven dog on the Senate floor. As a boy I was taught about Brooks, and I inspected his monument in the town square. I was not taught about another native, the great black educator and theologian Benjamin E. Mays. Now that times have changed, this community is very proud of Mays as one of its native sons, and out in the country at Mays's Crossroads is an impressive monument to Mays, the mentor of Martin Luther King, Jr., and "godfather of the Civil Rights Movement."

Another symbol of change in this rural community is what used to be the home of Joe Wells, one of the last people to grow cotton in the area. Mr. Joe's cotton fields had surrounded a beautiful nineteenth-century plantation home,

40. Loewen, *Mississippi Chinese*, has argued that whites in the South could be tolerant with small groups such as the Chinese.

41. Horwitz, "Death for Dixie," 76.

42. *Atlanta Journal/Atlanta Constitution*, March 3, 1996, H8.

and for a quarter-mile on either side of a crescent drive grew evenly spaced pecan trees. The cotton fields and home are now gone, but the pecan trees remain. Now, however, the magnificent tree-lined drive frames a huge Fuji film plant. That plant, sitting out in the country, has replaced the textile mills as the largest employer and draws from a fifty-mile radius black and white employees who drive to work. Unemployment is virtually nil in the area.

When I left Ninety Six to go to college, farmers, black and white, were still struggling to keep the farm, and it was not unusual to see an African American farmer in his mule-drawn wagon. Most farmers had other jobs as well, or their wives did. Now hardly anyone farms, and the land is planted in pine trees. When I went off to college in 1965, no African Americans attended the predominantly white schools. Now the schools are fully integrated. Then the school board and the city council were all white and elected at large. Now community leaders have cooperated in changing to a district system so that black voters would have an opportunity to elect candidates of their choice; they elected to the city council Charles Harts, an African American retired engineer who had returned home to Ninety Six from Buffalo, New York. In 1995, although only 20 percent of the town of about two thousand is black, whites supported Harts, and Ninety Six, in the midst of rural South Carolina up-country, today has a black mayor. Harts recounted how fifty years ago no African American would have felt comfortable venturing into the all-white mill village, but he knew that he needed their votes to win in the three-man mayoral contest. Harts explained, "I felt I could relate to them by being a country boy who grew up in a poor, struggling family." Harts won with a majority of all votes cast. According to this Korean War veteran, "When I left here years ago, it was probably beyond anyone's imagination that Charlie Harts, the little country boy, would come back to be mayor."⁴³

Today many southern whites are more willing to confront racism than are northern whites. In the rural South, where most people attend church on Sundays and where those churches are still very much segregated, many organize joint black-white church activities yearly or semiannually. The Southern Baptist denomination, largest in the region, formally apologized for slavery. Rural church communities are openly calling for racial moderation and reconciliation; this is very different from northern or urban communities where white people prefer to deny or ignore racism.

The history of the South, including tragedy and triumph, belongs to both blacks and whites. In any given rural southern community, both black and white people share values. The majority of both hold a Christian faith, an evangelical style of worship, and a belief in being polite to other people. Whites and African Americans share family values. Both races tend to spend more time playing with their children than is true elsewhere in the country. The two races enjoy similar

music, and the integrated band Hootie and the Blowfish was offered the Order of the Palmetto, South Carolina's highest honor (the band turned down the honor as being too political). The two races eat the same foods, enjoying collards, okra, and grits. A recognition of these shared values and traditions has brought about a regional pride on the part of both whites and blacks.⁴⁴

For the most part, this regional pride centers on the prosperous cities of the Sunbelt. The economic future of the South is in its cities and in technology and computers rather than manufacturing. What does this portend for the rural areas, where education lags in all areas and schools cannot even use electronic mail or the Internet because of the long-distance telephone costs? Some people, however, are rejecting the urban rat race and finding a higher quality of life in rural areas, where one can find human personability and interaction between races. Significantly, the great migration of African Americans has reversed, and more black people are moving to the South than are moving away.

As the old train tracks are being pulled up throughout the South, the depots still remain. Rural communities value these reminders of days gone by, but now they use them as community centers or libraries. And unlike those bygone days, these centers are now for all the people.

44. The South also has a significant Jewish population and a growing Muslim population, but these groups tend to live in urban areas.

Southern Rural Population Change, 1940-1990

STATE	TP	BP	% B of TP	RTP	% RTP	RBP	% RBP	% BRP	TF	% FTP	BF	% BF TP	% BFTF	% RFBP
Alabama														
1940 ¹	2,832,961	983,290	34.7	1,977,020	69.8	667,322	68.0	33.6	356,581	12.6	153,596	5.4	43.1	15.60
1950	3,061,743	978,545	32.0	1,833,534	56.2	525,789	54.0	28.7	160,780	5.3	49,639	1.6	30.9	5.07
1960	3,266,740	983,131	30.5	1,473,019	45.2	427,221	43.5	29.0	58,144	1.8	16,105	0.5	27.7	1.63
1970	3,444,165	903,000	26.2	1,426,680	41.4	340,115	30.3	21.2	46,299	1.3	12,524	0.4	27.1	1.39
1980	3,893,888	996,283	25.6	1,556,175	40.0	302,073	30.3	19.4	29,601	0.8	6,038	0.4	20.4	0.61
1990	4,040,587	1,020,705	25.3	1,601,038	39.6	284,795	28.0	17.8	40,246	1.0	3,754	0.1	9.3	0.37
Arkansas														
1940	1,949,387	482,578	24.8	1,517,477	77.8	377,735	78.3	25.0	401,535	15.5	96,577	5.0	32.0	20.00
1950	1,909,511	426,639	22.3	1,278,920	67.0	207,398	48.6	22.0	143,621	7.5	35,188	1.8	24.5	8.24
1960	1,786,272	390,569	21.9	1,020,969	57.2	216,842	55.5	21.2	48,174	2.6	5,881	0.3	12.2	1.51
1970	1,923,295	352,539	18.3	962,430	50.0	157,693	44.7	16.4	54,588	2.8	8,839	0.5	16.2	2.51
1980	2,286,435	373,025	16.3	1,106,879	48.4	127,633	34.2	11.5	50,455	2.2	4,046	0.2	8.0	1.08
1990	2,350,725	373,912	15.9	1,092,704	46.5	106,689	28.5	9.8	45,177	1.9	1,801	0.08	4.0	0.48
Florida														
1940	1,897,414	514,198	27.1	851,623	44.9	227,151	44.2	27.0	129,293	6.8	58,621	3.1	45.3	11.40
1950	2,771,305	603,101	22.0	957,415	34.5	207,398	34.0	22.6	40,042	1.4	7,118	0.2	18.0	1.18
1960	4,951,960	887,679	17.9	1,290,177	26.1	210,427	23.7	16.3	20,776	0.4	2,829	0.1	13.6	0.32
1970	6,789,443	1,041,966	15.3	1,244,892	18.3	182,350	17.5	14.6	110,994	1.6	43,272	0.6	39.0	4.15
1980	9,746,324	1,343,134	13.8	1,533,939	15.7	164,484	12.2	10.7	90,522	0.9	32,104	0.3	35.5	2.40
1990	12,937,926	1,759,534	13.6	1,970,598	15.2	176,641	10.0	9.0	153,286	1.2	19,973	0.2	13.0	1.14
Georgia														
1940	3,123,723	1,084,927	34.7	2,049,915	65.6	705,171	65.0	34.4	389,083	12.5	171,166	5.5	44.0	16.00
1950	3,444,578	1,062,762	31.0	1,885,131	54.7	571,916	53.8	30.3	157,617	4.6	4,560	1.4	29.7	0.42
1960	3,943,116	1,125,893	28.6	1,762,880	44.7	479,075	42.6	27.2	56,806	1.4	11,608	0.3	20.4	1.03
1970	4,589,575	1,184,062	25.8	1,821,501	39.7	402,106	34.0	22.1	75,521	1.6	25,067	0.5	33.2	2.11
1980	5,463,105	1,464,435	26.8	2,054,024	37.6	389,583	26.6	19.0	48,659	0.9	14,653	0.3	30.1	1.00
1990	6,478,216	1,759,534	27.2	2,380,877	36.8	395,104	22.5	16.6	68,174	1.0	7,718	0.1	11.3	0.44
Kentucky														
1940	2,845,627	214,031	7.5	1,996,300	70.2	97,259	45.4	4.9	309,597	10.9	15,397	0.5	5.0	7.20
1950	2,944,806	201,921	6.9	975,056	33.1	74,629	37.0	7.7	172,201	5.8	4,560	0.2	2.6	2.30
1960	3,038,156	218,073	7.2	1,684,941	55.5	218,073	29.4	3.8	92,568	3.0	2,282	0.1	2.5	1.05
1970	3,218,706	230,363	7.2	1,534,653	47.7	45,567	20.6	3.1	73,607	2.3	3,652	0.1	5.0	1.59
1980	3,660,777	259,289	7.1	1,798,594	49.1	38,453	14.8	2.1	58,202	1.6	1,663	0.04	2.9	0.64
1990	3,635,296	262,907	7.1	1,774,971	48.2	33,046	12.6	1.9	57,754	1.6	922	0.02	1.6	0.35
Louisiana														
1940	2,363,880	849,303	36.0	1,383,441	58.5	535,208	63.0	39.0	256,128	11.0	130,283	5.5	51.0	15.30
1950	2,683,516	882,428	33.0	1,211,820	45.2	434,965	49.3	36.0	47,887	1.8	33,895	1.1	60.3	3.84
1960	3,257,022	1,045,307	32.1	1,196,416	36.7	400,293	38.3	33.5	32,130	1.0	8,968	0.3	28.0	0.86
1970	3,641,306	1,085,227	29.8	1,219,131	33.5	348,629	32.1	28.6	47,999	1.3	17,759	0.5	37.0	1.63
1980	4,205,900	1,238,472	29.4	1,318,591	31.4	299,545	24.2	22.7	25,825	0.6	9,474	0.2	36.7	0.76
1990	4,219,973	1,299,281	30.8	1,348,214	32.0	282,572	21.7	21.0	40,295	1.0	5,301	0.1	13.2	0.41
Mississippi														
1940	2,183,796	1,074,578	49.2	1,750,914	80.2	896,550	83.4	51.2	422,247	19.3	269,596	12.3	64.0	25.10
1950	2,178,914	986,494	45.2	1,571,752	72.1	754,257	76.5	48.0	206,072	9.5	110,629	5.1	53.7	11.21
1960	2,178,141	920,595	42.3	1,357,336	62.3	625,643	68.0	46.1	67,554	3.1	28,642	1.3	42.4	3.11
1970	2,216,912	815,626	36.8	1,230,270	55.5	484,178	59.4	39.4	53,714	2.4	24,552	1.1	45.7	3.01
1980	2,520,638	887,111	35.2	1,327,833	52.7	468,853	53.0	35.3	24,525	1.0	13,577	0.5	55.4	1.53
1990	2,573,216	915,057	35.6	1,362,487	53.0	455,205	50.0	33.4	34,627	1.3	3,242	0.1	9.4	0.35
North Carolina														
1940	3,571,622	981,298	27.5	2,597,448	72.7	681,935	69.4	26.3	409,050	11.5	142,821	4.0	35.0	14.60
1950	4,061,929	1,047,353	25.8	2,693,828	66.3	685,668	65.5	25.5	226,136	5.6	64,038	1.6	28.3	6.11
1960	4,556,155	1,156,870	25.4	2,754,234	60.5	699,703	60.5	25.4	116,658	2.6	26,262	0.5	22.5	2.27
1970	5,082,059	1,125,885	22.2	2,771,678	54.5	579,806	51.5	21.0	103,805	2.0	30,052	0.6	29.0	2.67
1980	5,881,766	1,319,054	22.4	3,058,914	52.0	568,717	43.1	18.6	63,859	0.3	18,363	0.3	29.0	1.39
1990	6,628,637	1,456,323	22.0	3,290,859	50.0	539,560	37.0	16.4	83,835	1.3	4,861	0.1	5.8	0.33

¹ Figures for farmers use the census category for agriculture, forestry, and fishery.

² Figures for blacks between 1940 and 1960 use the census category for nonwhite and contain other minorities.

KEY

TP: total population

BP: black population

% B of TP: percent blacks of total population

RTP: rural total population

% RTP: percent of total population who are rural

RBP: rural black population

% RBP: percent of black population who are rural

% BRP: Percent of rural population who are black

TF: total farmer population

% FTP: percent of total population who are farmers

BF: total black farmers

% BFTP: percent of total population who are black farmers

% BFTF: percent of total farmers who are black

% RFBP: percent of black population who are farmers

(continued)

STATE	TP	RP	% B of TP	RTP	% RTP	RBP	% RBP	TRP	% TRP	RF	% B of RF	% B of TP	% B of RF	% B of TP
South Carolina														
1940	1,999,804	814,164	42.9	1,433,693	75.5	643,737	79.1	261,802	18.3	159,970	8.4	61.1	19.65	
1950	2,117,027	822,077	38.8	1,339,106	63.3	586,602	71.4	105,510	5.0	53,288	2.5	50.5	6.80	
1960	2,382,594	831,572	34.9	1,401,208	58.8	550,683	66.2	42,310	1.8	18,555	0.8	21.1	2.23	
1970	2,590,516	788,455	30.4	1,339,791	51.7	461,780	58.6	39,778	1.5	19,140	0.7	48.1	2.43	
1980	3,121,320	947,969	30.4	1,432,567	45.9	464,982	49.0	19,327	0.6	11,666	0.4	59.7	1.23	
1990	3,486,703	1,039,884	29.8	1,581,325	45.4	475,923	45.8	31,595	1.0	3,390	0.1	10.0	0.33	
Tennessee														
1940	2,915,841	508,736	17.4	1,888,635	64.8	226,402	44.5	313,029	10.7	51,467	1.8	17.1	10.51	
1950	3,291,718	530,603	16.1	1,839,116	55.9	190,318	35.9	176,070	5.0	21,104	0.7	13.1	4.40	
1960	3,567,089	589,336	16.5	1,702,261	47.7	166,179	28.2	86,114	2.4	9,584	0.3	11.1	1.63	
1970	3,923,687	620,636	15.8	1,605,229	40.9	123,607	20.0	62,114	1.6	8,097	0.2	13.0	1.30	
1980	4,591,120	724,808	15.8	1,817,547	39.6	101,745	14.0	44,944	1.0	3,464	0.1	7.7	0.48	
1990	4,877,185	778,035	16.0	1,907,237	39.1	86,815	11.2	48,712	1.0	2,739	0.1	5.6	0.35	
Texas														
1940	6,414,824	924,391	14.4	3,503,435	54.6	504,281	54.6	639,114	10.0	109,984	1.7	17.2	11.90	
1950	7,711,194	977,458	12.7	2,873,134	37.3	365,134	37.4	252,261	3.3	27,747	0.3	11.0	2.83	
1960	9,579,677	1,204,846	12.6	2,392,207	25.0	299,757	24.9	139,420	1.5	7,094	0.1	5.1	0.59	
1970	11,196,730	1,396,605	12.5	2,274,519	20.3	229,603	16.4	194,635	1.7	16,599	0.1	8.5	1.19	
1980	14,229,191	1,704,741	12.0	2,896,174	20.4	201,119	11.8	156,414	1.1	8,304	0.1	5.3	0.49	
1990	16,956,510	2,021,632	11.9	3,351,993	19.7	195,472	9.7	196,624	1.2	6,978	0.04	3.5	0.35	
Virginia														
1940	2,677,773	661,449	24.7	1,733,098	64.7	420,574	63.6	229,563	8.6	69,092	2.6	30.0	10.44	
1950	3,318,680	734,211	22.1	1,738,565	53.0	398,548	54.3	101,986	3.1	23,056	0.7	22.6	3.14	
1960	3,866,949	824,506	20.8	1,762,036	44.4	386,799	47.0	56,767	1.4	10,581	0.3	18.6	1.28	
1970	4,648,494	860,302	18.5	1,709,577	36.8	343,293	40.0	57,262	1.2	13,239	0.3	23.1	1.34	
1980	5,346,878	1,000,665	18.7	1,817,395	34.0	307,586	30.7	43,707	0.8	7,664	0.1	17.5	0.77	
1990	6,187,358	1,162,994	18.8	1,893,915	30.6	286,287	24.6	57,931	0.9	3,452	0.1	6.0	0.30	

No Easy Time: Rural Southern Women, 1940-1990

SALLY McMILLEN

I don't want no city life, because I don't like it," eighty-three-year-old Annie Perry stated in 1975. "Oh, I'd be like a bird in a cage. Catch a bird and put it in a cage—Livin' in town—that'd be like a bird in a cage." Bound to her Appalachian environment and way of living but cherishing her difficult life, Perry, like other rural southern women, reflected hardiness, pragmatism, and an ability to deal with an arduous, often impoverished, existence.¹

Rural women have been central to the South's history since the first Europeans set foot on southern soil in the early seventeenth century. The region quickly developed an agrarian, cash-crop economy. The growing of tobacco and, later, rice, indigo, cotton, and sugarcane shaped southern settlement, the region's economy, and its very life and character. Women, whether as indentured servants, slaves, farmworkers, wives, or landowners, played a significant role in this agrarian economy. As historian Barbara Ellen Smith noted, "The history of women's survival in the South is bound up with the history of agriculture, which remained the foundation of the region's economy until well into the present century." As the South has become more industrialized in recent decades, rural women as paid employees have become crucial to the region's economic development and to their family's survival.²

Yet rural southern women's vital role, especially in the latter part of the twentieth century, has not benefited from much historical attention. Thanks to re-

1. "Annie Perry," *Foxfire* 9 (1975): 149-62.

2. Barbara Ellen Smith, "Women in the South: Economic Survival," introduction to *Picking Up the Pieces: Women in and out of Work in the Rural South*, ed. Helen M. Lewis et al. (New Market, Tenn.: Highlander Research and Education Center, 1986), 4.