

From Middle America to the Inner City: How the National School Lunch Program  
Became Black in the 1960s and 1970s

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## Introduction

The “ketchup as a vegetable” debacle is perhaps one of the most enduring and infamous incidents in the public memory of the National School Lunch Program (NSLP). In September 1981, the Secretary of Agriculture proposed new regulations for school lunches that would re-classify ketchup and pickle relish as vegetables rather than condiments. The Reagan Administration rationalized the proposal as a way to stop food waste in schools and reduce the cost of meals for low-income children. An article in *Newsweek* noted that under the new proposal “a serving of six French fries, topped with ketchup, could satisfy the government's requirement that children be given two vegetables or fruits a day.”<sup>1</sup> Facing pushback from Congress and nutritionists, the Reagan administration ultimately did not re-classify ketchup as a vegetable. However, privatization of school lunch programs and the entry of “junk food” into school cafeterias, which had begun in the 1970s, continued throughout the 1980s as the Reagan administration loosened many of the nutrition requirements for school meals. Combined with budget cuts, this was a recipe for the declining quality of the National School Lunch Program.

How did the school lunch program become such a low political priority that the Reagan administration considered defining ketchup as a vegetable? The answer is that the school lunch program fell victim to the politics of poverty in the 1960s. Similar to “welfare” programs like Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and food stamps, the school lunch program became racialized and, consequently, stigmatized in the 1960s and 1970s. This racialization and stigmatization set the stage for the declining quality of the school lunch program in subsequent decades, culminating in the infamous ketchup proposal.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> “Who Deserves a Break?” *Newsweek*, September 21, 1981.

<sup>2</sup> The term “racialization” is central to my thesis. Scholars have used this term in a variety of ways since Franz Fanon became one of the first espousers of the concept of racialization in his 1961 book *The Wretched of the Earth*. For an excellent summary of the various uses of “racialization” in scholarship, see Robert Miles and Malcolm

Congress created the National School Lunch Program in 1946 as “a measure of national security, to safeguard the health and well-being of the Nation’s children and to encourage the domestic consumption of nutritious agricultural commodities and other food.”<sup>3</sup> For the first two decades of its history, the program primarily functioned as an outlet for surplus commodities from America’s farms, rather than a child nutrition or welfare program. During the late 1960s, a series of legislative changes transformed the National School Lunch Program into an anti-poverty and social welfare initiative. As a result, the clientele of the school lunch program shifted from middle-class children to low-income children and, in particular, African-American children.<sup>4</sup> With this change in demographics and focus came a change in the public advocates for the school lunch program. In its early years, Southern Democrats and the farm bloc had been the major supporters of school lunches; by the late 1960s and early 1970s, liberal politicians and black leaders became the main proponents of school lunches. As the recipients and advocates for school lunches shifted, Americans increasingly associated the National School Lunch Program

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Brown, *Racism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Routledge, 2003) 99-103. In this thesis, I use the definition of racialization established by Omni and Winant, who define racialization as to “signify the extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice or group. Racialisation is an ideological process, an historically specific one,” see Michael Omni and Howard Rinant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s* (New York: Routledge, 1986) 64. Throughout this thesis, I use the term “racialization” to focus specifically on the association of the NSLP with African-Americans.

When I use the term “racialization” in this thesis, I often do not identify a specific actor who attached an African-American character to the NSLP This is largely a matter of practicality. As I discuss in Chapters 2 and 3, the racialization of the NSLP came out of a complex political environment of the 1960s and 1970s, in which a myriad of events and historical actors, including liberal politicians, the War on Poverty, the urban riots of the 1960s and the media, just to name a few, contributed to the association of the NSLP with black Americans. To enumerate all of these causes and actors each time I mention the racialization of the NSLP would be repetitive and burdensome. Although I often omit the “racializer” by using the term “racialization,” I am careful to avoid falling into the trap of terminology and blame that Barbara Fields discusses in her article “Of Rogues and Geldings.” Fields claims that when historians began to use the term “race” rather than “racism” they transferred the burden of racism from white Americans to black Americans. Fields explains, “disguised as race, racism becomes something Afro-Americans are, rather than something racists do,” see Barbara J. Fields, “Of Rogues and Geldings,” *The American Historical Review* 108, no.5 (2003). By using the term “racialization,” I do not aim to imply that the association of the NSLP with African-Americans and the subsequent stigmatization of the program was an inevitable effect of black involvement with the program. In the midst of the politics of poverty in the 1960s, numerous historical actors and events racialized the NSLP and the racist attitudes of Americans led to the program’s subsequent stigmatization.

<sup>3</sup> *National School Lunch Act*, Public Law 396, 79<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1st Sess.(1946), 1.

<sup>4</sup> A note on terminology: I will use the terms “African-American” and “black” interchangeably.

with African-Americans. As the program became racialized in public perception, it also became stigmatized. More and more, the media linked school lunches to AFDC and food stamps, portraying school lunches as part of the problem of the “welfare trap” and the “welfare queen.” The school lunch program’s involvement in the politics of poverty in the late 1960s and early 1970s did not simply make school lunches anti-poverty—it made school lunches black, stigmatized and, ultimately, a lesser priority for American lawmakers.

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My approach to this thesis integrates history and political science to create a political history of the school lunch program. This approach is in the same vein of the recent reintegration of history and political science that Julian Zelizer discusses in his 2004 article “History and Political Science: Together Again?” and that is seen in the articles of the *Journal of Policy History*.<sup>5</sup> Within the discipline of political science, I draw from the subfield of American Political Development (APD) and, in particular, its analysis of government institutions over time and within social and cultural settings. I also draw from the scholarship of political scientists who have studied the convergence of race and politics, especially Robert Lieberman and Martin Gilens.<sup>6</sup>

Historians have paid little attention to the National School Lunch Program. There are few secondary sources on the history of school lunches, and most historians who have addressed the program at all have written general overviews, rather than an analysis of any specific aspect or

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<sup>5</sup> Julian E. Zelizer, “History and Political Science: Together Again?,” *Journal of Policy History* 16, no. 2 (2004): 126-36.

For examples of scholarship from the *Journal of Policy History* that are similar in approach to this thesis, see Hugh David Graham, “The Surprising History of Federal Fair Housing Law,” *Journal of Policy History*, 12 no. 2 (2000); Kimberly J. Morgan, “A Child of the Sixties: The Great Society, the New Right and the Politics of Federal Child Care,” *Journal of Policy History* 13, no. 2 (2001).

<sup>6</sup> See Robert Lieberman, *Shifting the Color Line: Race and the American Welfare State* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998); Martin Gilens, *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media, and the Politics of Antipoverty Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Theda Skocpol, *Social Policy in the United States* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).

period of the program's history.<sup>7</sup> Those few historians who have provided an analysis of the school lunch program in the 1960s and 1970s have not fully addressed the racialization of the program during this period. In his 1990 article "Drafted into the War on Poverty: USDA Food and Nutrition Programs, 1961-1969," Norwood Allen Kerr argues that Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman moved the Department of Agriculture's programs into the realm of social welfare in the 1960s. Kerr likens the expansion of school lunches to anti-poverty efforts such as the expansion of AFDC in 1962 and the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act in 1964.<sup>8</sup> However, he does not address the changing racial demographics and public perceptions of the program. Like Kerr, Susan Levine also notes the transition of the school lunch program to an anti-poverty program in the late 1960s in her 2008 book, *School Lunch Politics: The Surprising History of America's Favorite Welfare Program*. Although it is not a main theme in her book, Levine addresses issues of race and the school lunch program. She discusses the role of the Civil Rights movement in lobbying for school lunch reforms and notes the disproportionate representation of African-Americans in the school lunch program by the 1970s.<sup>9</sup> While Levine lays the groundwork for an analysis of the racialization of the school lunch program, she does not fully develop these ideas.

While little historical research focuses on the racialization of the school lunch program, ample literature studies the emphasis in the Civil Rights movement on issues of poverty and economic justice in the late 1960s.<sup>10</sup> Historians generally agree that most Civil Rights

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<sup>7</sup> See Gordon W. Gunderson, *The National School Lunch Program: Background and Development* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2003); Kathy Michelman. "Legislative History of Child Feeding Programs," Education and Public Welfare Division, Congressional Research Service (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976).

<sup>8</sup> Norwood Allen Kerr. "Drafted into the War on Poverty: USDA Food and Nutrition Programs, 1961-1969." *Agricultural History* 64, no. 2 (1990): 154-66.

<sup>9</sup> Susan Levine, *School Lunch Politics: The Surprising History of America's Favorite Welfare Program* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008) 156 and 123-124.

<sup>10</sup> See Kenneth T. Andrews, "Social Movements and Policy Implementation: The Mississippi Civil Rights

organizations had engaged with economic issues for much of their histories. However, from the media and public perspective, their economic agendas took a backseat to issues of desegregation until after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. A subset of the historical literature that focuses on the economic and poverty initiatives of the black freedom movement has analyzed the activities of the Black Panther Party in the late 1960s and early 1970s. While the Black Panthers were perhaps most widely known for their vigilante activities and association with violence and separatism, several historians have written about their social service activities, including their free breakfast programs.<sup>11</sup> This scholarship on the Civil Rights movement's involvement with issues of economic justice supports the argument that the Civil Rights movement became linked with school lunch reforms in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

This thesis draws most heavily from the work of historians and political scientists who have addressed the racialization of poverty in America.<sup>12</sup> Political scientist Robert Lieberman analyzed the racialized nature of American poverty and social welfare institutions in his 1998 book *Shifting the Color Line: Race and the American Welfare State*. He argues that racism influenced the evolution of the institutional structure of social welfare programs, such as AFDC,

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Movement and the War on Poverty, 1965 to 1971," *American Sociological Review* 66, no. 1 (2001): 71-95; Dona Cooper Hamilton and Charles V. Hamilton, "The Dual Agenda of African American Organizations since the New Deal: Social Welfare Policies and Civil Rights," *Political Science Quarterly* 107, no. 3 (1992): 435-52; Thomas F. Jackson, *From Civil Rights to Human Rights: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Struggle for Economic Justice*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Michael K. Honey, *Going Down Jericho Road: The Memphis Strike, Martin Luther King's Last Campaign* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2007).

<sup>11</sup> See Judson L. Jeffries, "Black Radicalism and Political Repression in Baltimore: The Case of the Black Panther Party," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25, no. 1 (2002): 64-98; JoNina M. Abron, "'Serving the People': The Survival Programs of the Black Panther Party," in *The Black Panther Party (Reconsidered)*, ed. Charles E. Jones (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1998): 177-192; Edward P. Morgan, "Media Culture and Public Memory of the Black Panther Party," in *In Search of the Black Panther Party*, eds. Jama Lazerow and Yohuru Williams (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006); Andrew Witt, *The Black Panthers in the Midwest: The Community Programs and Services of the Black Panther Party in Milwaukee, 1966-1977* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

<sup>12</sup> See Martin Gilens, *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media, and the Politics of Antipoverty Policy*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Robert Lieberman, *Shifting the Color Line: Race and the American Welfare State* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998); Michael B. Katz, *The Undeserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989).



but that these institutional structures themselves reinforced racism in American society.<sup>13</sup>

Historian Michael Katz has written extensively about poverty and the American welfare state, exploring how Americans categorize the poor as “deserving” or “undeserving” and the goals, structure and development of the welfare state.<sup>14</sup> Katz’s scholarship highlights the racialization of poverty, which he claims eventually developed into the concept of the “underclass.”<sup>15</sup>

Political scientist Martin Gilens’s scholarship is the basis on which this thesis rests. Similar to Lieberman and Katz, Gilens examines the racialization of poverty in the American imagination, explaining “the most salient contemporary images of the poor—the homeless beggar, the welfare queen, the teenage ghetto gang member, the heroin addict shooting up in an abandoned building—are strongly associated with minorities in both the mass media and the public imagination.”<sup>16</sup> Gilens traces the racialization of poverty back to the politics of poverty in the 1960s, the urban riots and the Civil Rights movement’s turn to issues of poverty.<sup>17</sup> However, he goes further in his analysis than simply asserting that Americans have a racialized perception of poverty. Gilens also argues that the association between poverty and African-Americans extends to “welfare” and attaches a racially-charged stigma to welfare programs.<sup>18</sup> He claims that Americans’ beliefs about poverty and welfare are “permeated by their beliefs about blacks.”<sup>19</sup> In particular, Gilens concludes that Americans hate welfare because Americans associate welfare

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<sup>13</sup> Robert Lieberman, *Shifting the Color Line: Race and the American Welfare State* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998) 6.

<sup>14</sup> See Katz, *The Undeserving Poor*; Michael Katz, *Improving Poor People: The Welfare State, the “Underclass,” and Urban Schools in History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995); Michael Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America* (New York: BasicBooks, 1986).

<sup>15</sup> Katz, *The Undeserving Poor*, 23.

<sup>16</sup> Martin Gilens, *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media and the Politics of Anti-Poverty Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999) 67.

<sup>17</sup> Gilens, 107-111.

<sup>18</sup> Gilens defines “welfare” programs as programs that are generally means-tested, provide cash or near-cash form benefits, and give benefits to working-age, able-bodied adults. See Gilens, 12. He mainly focuses on AFDC and food stamps in his book.

<sup>19</sup> Gilens, x.

with African-Americans and view African-Americans as lazy and undeserving.<sup>20</sup> Gilens argues that traditional “welfare” programs—AFDC and food stamps—became racialized and, consequently, stigmatized in American consciousness beginning in the 1960s. I argue that this same process of racialization and stigmatization occurred with the National School Lunch Program

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Borrowing from the methods used by APD scholars, I employed a mixed methodology in researching this thesis. I analyzed a variety of primary sources to demonstrate the racialization and stigmatization of school lunches. Government documents constituted the most important category of primary sources I analyzed. These include statistics on participation in the school lunch program, legislation, Congressional reports and Congressional hearings. I also studied several key sources on the “discovery of hunger” in America in the late 1960s, including the 1968 study *Their Daily Bread*, the 1968 report *Hunger USA*, the 1968 documentary *Hunger in America*, and journalist Nick Kotz’s 1969 book *Let Them Eat Promises*.

Finally, an analysis of mass media coverage of the National School Lunch Program in the 1960s and 1970s represented a substantial portion of my primary source research. I conducted two media surveys that analyzed the coverage of school lunches in *The New York Times* and the *New York Amsterdam News* between 1962 and 1974. I looked for trends in the attitudes and content of school lunch coverage as the program changed. I included the results of this media survey in Appendix A and discuss individual articles and trends throughout the thesis. While I conducted a comprehensive survey of only these two newspapers, I also performed more limited reviews of the coverage of *The Black Panther*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *The*

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<sup>20</sup> Martin Gilens, *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media and the Politics of Anti-Poverty Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999) 77-78.

*Washington Post*, and the *Hartford Courant*, as part of my research. I primarily used these reviews to confirm that the trends in coverage from New York newspapers also occurred nationwide. I discuss some of the results of these reviews throughout the thesis.

This thesis is divided into three chapters, in which I trace the process of racialization and stigmatization in the 1960s and 1970s. In Chapter 1, I outline the legislative changes that the school lunch program underwent in the 1960s and 1970s as it transformed from an agricultural subsidy program to a poverty program and show how these legislative changes left African-Americans disproportionately represented in the program. In Chapter 2, I explain the political environment in which the legislative changes and racialization of program participation discussed in Chapter 1 occurred. I also place the National School Lunch Program within the larger politics of poverty in the 1960s and demonstrate how the racial politics and increased African-American advocacy for the NSLP helped to spur its racialization. In Chapter 3, I discuss the increasingly racialized public perception of the National School Lunch Program in the late 1960s and early 1970s. I use evidence from my analysis of mass media sources to demonstrate that the racialization of school lunches also led to their stigmatization in the 1970s through their association with laziness and the stereotype of the “welfare queen.” In my conclusion, I discuss the impact of the racialization and stigmatization of school lunches on the later history of the program, placing Reagan’s ketchup proposal within the larger trajectory of declining political support for school lunches in the late 1970s and 1980s.

## Chapter 1

### From Middle America to the Inner City: A Legislative and Statistical Overview of the National School Lunch Program

#### Legislative History of the National School Lunch Program

The 1960s and early 1970s were a crucial period of transformation for the National School Lunch Program. The school lunch program began the 1960s as an agricultural subsidy program that served lunches to predominantly middle-class children. By the mid-1970s, school lunches had entered the arena of social welfare as an anti-poverty program. Furthermore, the NSLP began to serve a disproportionately black clientele by the 1970s, racializing the program.

Considering its early history, however, the school lunch program was an unlikely candidate to become an anti-poverty program, much less a black one. Although federal support for school lunches began in the 1930s, the National School Lunch Program was not established until Congress passed the Richard B. Russell National School Lunch Act in 1946. Lobbying by child welfare and nutrition advocates and a postwar concern for the health of the nation's children contributed to the NSLP's establishment. However, school lunches' role as an outlet for surplus agricultural commodities was far more integral to the program's establishment. The Department of Agriculture, farm lobbies and Southern Democrats believed that government price supports were essential for the prosperity of American farmers, and school lunches would serve as a market for government-purchased, surplus agricultural commodities. The political pull of these farming interests was central in the National School Lunch Act's passage—the fact that Georgia Senator Richard B. Russell was the legislation's namesake is a testament to this centrality.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Susan Levine, *School Lunch Politics: The Surprising History of America's Favorite Welfare Program* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 71-72.

For the first decade and a half of its history, the National School Lunch Program reflected its political origins. Its primary purpose was as an agricultural program; feeding children was just a secondary benefit.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, most of the children that the school lunch program fed were middle-class. The original legislation directed, but did not require, local school districts to provide free or low-cost meals to needy children.<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately, for reasons discussed later in this chapter, few schools actually provided students with free lunches. Thus, for the first years of its existence, the school lunch program functioned primarily for the benefit of American farmers and middle-class children.

Beginning in 1962, Congress enacted a series of changes that transformed the NSLP into an anti-poverty program, moving school lunches into the realm of social welfare.<sup>24</sup> Even as it became an anti-poverty program, the NSLP continued to benefit American farmers and remained an important outlet for agricultural commodities.<sup>25</sup> Congress actually increased appropriations for purchase of surplus agricultural commodities for the NSLP by \$40 million per year beginning in 1972.<sup>26</sup> However, while the NSLP's role in supporting American farmers did not end in the late 1960s and early 1970s, legislative changes did cause anti-poverty efforts to become the dominant aspect of the NSLP both fiscally and in public perception. These legislative changes

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<sup>22</sup> Susan Levine, *School Lunch Politics: The Surprising History of America's Favorite Welfare Program* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 7.

<sup>23</sup> Kathy Michelman, *Legislative History of Child Feeding Programs*, Congressional Research Service (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976), 7.

<sup>24</sup> Norwood Allen Kerr. "Drafted into the War on Poverty: Usda Food and Nutrition Programs, 1961-1969." *Agricultural History* 64, no. 2 (1990): 154-66.

<sup>25</sup> For further reading on the history of agriculture in the United States and the trajectory of government support for agriculture through domestic and international food aid, see Adam Sheingate, *Rise of the Agricultural Welfare State: Institutions and Interest Group Power in the United States, France and Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); Brian L. Gardner, *American Agriculture in the Twentieth Century: How It Flourished and What It Cost* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002); William W. Cochrane, *The Development of American Agriculture: An Historical Analysis* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1979); Carolyn Dimitri, Anne Effland and Neilson Conklin, "The Twentieth Century Transformation of United States Agriculture and Farm Policy," United States Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2005); Christopher B. Barrett and Daniel G. Maxwell, *Food Aid After 50 Years: Recasting Its Role* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

<sup>26</sup> Michelman, 46

fall into three basic categories: the expansion of school lunch programs to low-income schools, the establishment of additional child feeding programs under the umbrella of the NSLP and new emphasis on and funding for the provision of free and reduced-price lunches to needy children.

Before the Child Nutrition Act of 1966, the National School Lunch Program was largely absent from the nation's low-income schools. The primary reason for this absence was fiscal. The original school lunch legislation established payments of matching funds to states for the purchase of food for lunch programs at both public and non-profit private schools; however, the federal government did not provide money for states and localities to cover facilities, equipment or labor for the school lunch program.<sup>27</sup> Thus, the cost for equipment and facilities to establish school lunch programs was a major barrier for schools serving low-income children. The Child Nutrition Act of 1966 removed this barrier by providing funding for non-food assistance and promoting program initiation in low-income schools.<sup>28</sup> By 1974, the federal government had spent an estimated \$126.1 million for non-food assistance.<sup>29</sup> This funding was highly effective in expanding the school lunch program to low-income schools; 90% of all schools had food service programs by 1974.<sup>30</sup>

Congress further moved the National School Lunch Program into the realm of social welfare by adding supplementary child feeding programs, including the school breakfast program and lunches at daycare and preschool facilities, under the umbrella of the NSLP in the late 1960s. The Child Nutrition Act of 1966 established a pilot school breakfast program, which

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<sup>27</sup> Kathy Michelman, *Legislative History of Child Feeding Programs*, Congressional Research Service (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976), 6.

<sup>28</sup> Michelman, 10-11.

<sup>29</sup> Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, Subcommittee on Agricultural Research and General Legislation, *Comprehensive Study of the Child Feeding Programs*, 93<sup>rd</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> Sess., 1974 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974), 31.

<sup>30</sup> *Comprehensive Study of the Child Feeding Programs*, 28.

targeted children in low-income areas.<sup>31</sup> The 1968 amendments to the Child Nutrition Act extended the school lunch program to institutions such as pre-schools and daycare centers. This expansion specifically focused on low-income areas and areas with a large concentration of working mothers.<sup>32</sup> These additions to the school lunch program shifted the focus of the program to provision of services to the needy.

The most important legislative change to the school lunch program during the 1960s and 1970s was the federal government's prioritization of and funding for the provision of free and reduced-price lunches for needy children. As mentioned previously, the original school lunch legislation stated that schools should provide free and reduced-price lunches for the needy. However, there were no federal guidelines to determine which children were needy, and the provision of free and reduced-price meals was not a priority in the early years of the program. The 1970 amendments to the Child Nutrition Act established uniform guidelines to determine eligibility for the free and reduced-price lunches.<sup>33</sup> In 1971, Congress again amended the Child Nutrition Act, strengthening provisions for free and reduced-price meals. The 1971 amendments also provided additional reimbursements for free and reduced-price lunches and allocated special funds for low-income schools that had large numbers of free and reduced-price lunch recipients.<sup>34</sup> The federal funding provided in the 1971 amendments made it feasible for schools to offer free and reduced-price meals for all needy students. The effects of these legislative changes were dramatic. In fiscal year 1969, only 3.9 million children received free or reduced-

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<sup>31</sup> Kathy Michelman, *Legislative History of Child Feeding Programs*, Congressional Research Service (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976), 10.

<sup>32</sup> Michelman, 13.

<sup>33</sup> Michelman, 15.

<sup>34</sup> Michelman, 18.

price lunches. By fiscal year 1974, that figured had more than doubled to 9.3 million children.<sup>35</sup>

The focus on and funding for free and reduced-price lunches, the expansion of school lunches to low-income schools, and the addition of new child feeding programs together constituted a major shift in the National School Lunch Program. While the NSLP began the 1960s as a program for middle-class children, it had become a poverty program by the mid-1970s.

The popular press quickly discerned the importance of the NSLP's transition from a program focused on agricultural subsidies to a social welfare program. An analysis of the *New York Times*'s coverage between 1962 and 1974 reveals the trend. Until 1964, the paper's coverage of the NSLP focused almost exclusively on the program's role as a mechanism of price support through the diversion of surplus commodities.<sup>36</sup> In March, 1962, for example, the *Times* explained how the NSLP's decision to purchase a large volume of eggs immediately raised the commodity's trading price.<sup>37</sup> In contrast, only a small number of articles during this period described the NSLP's role within anti-poverty efforts.<sup>38</sup> However, trends in media coverage began to change between 1964 and 1966. By 1967, articles that linked school lunches with anti-poverty efforts and the needy began to dominate *The New York Times*'s while school lunch's support of agriculture, which remained a component of the program, was almost completely

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<sup>35</sup> Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, Subcommittee on Agricultural Research and General Legislation, *Comprehensive Study of the Child Feeding Programs*, 93<sup>rd</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> Sess., 1974 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974), 38-39.

<sup>36</sup> For articles from 1962, see "Freeman Claims Farm Successes," *The New York Times*, January 3, 1962; "U.S. Buys Eggs to Ease Glut," *The New York Times*, July 4, 1962; "U.S. Buys Meat for School," *The New York Times*, October 20, 1962.

For articles from 1963, see "U.S. to Start Buying Lard," *The New York Times*, April 6, 1963; "Poultry Business Faces Drop," *The New York Times*, July 4, 1963; "U.S. to Buy Cranberries," *The New York Times*, September 13, 1963.

For articles from 1964, see "President's Message to Congress Outlining His Program for Agriculture," *The New York Times*, February 1, 1964; "Cattle Feeders Hit Senate Vote," *The New York Times*, March 8, 1964; "U.S. is Buying Eggs to Support Prices," *The New York Times*, April 12, 1964.

For full listing of articles, see Appendix A.

<sup>37</sup> "Chicago Egg Prices Climb," *The New York Times*, March 5, 1962.

<sup>38</sup> See "School Lunch Recipe: Take 437,000 Pupils and Fill Them Well," *The New York Times*, September 27, 1963; "Kentucky to Get Aid This Winter," *The New York Times*, November 14, 1963; "To Help the Poor," *The New York Times*, January 19, 1964. For a full listing of articles, see Appendix A.



absent from later coverage.<sup>39</sup> Trends in *The New York Times*'s coverage of school lunches parallel the legislative shifts in the program in the 1960s and 1970s, demonstrating that the public perception of the school lunch program also evolved as the program evolved.

### Patterns of Program Participation

What impact did these legislative shifts have on participation in the school lunch program? First and most apparently, the legislative changes that transformed school lunches into an anti-poverty program greatly increased the participation of low-income children. In 1968, the Committee on School Lunch Participation estimated in *Their Daily Bread* that only 4 percent of schoolchildren received free or reduced-price lunches.<sup>40</sup> By 1972, that figure had risen to nearly 20 percent.<sup>41</sup> As needy children began to constitute a larger portion of school lunch recipients, middle-class participation in the program declined. A 1974 Congressional report estimated that about 80 percent of needy children participated in the school lunch program, compared to about 50 percent of non-needy children.<sup>42</sup> One of the reasons cited for the lack of middle-class participation was an attitude that that school lunch program was for the "needy."<sup>43</sup> Another factor in declining participation was the rising cost of school lunches for students paying full-

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<sup>39</sup> See "Putting First Things First," *The New York Times*, August 21, 1967; "Senate Approves Pilot School Lunch Plan," *The New York Times*, April 18, 1968; "Hunger is Not for Quibbling," *The New York Times*, June 23, 1968; "Rockefeller to Ask Anti-Hunger Bill," *The New York Times*, April 21, 1969; "Study Links Malnutrition and Poverty," *The New York Times*, April 28, 1970; "Feeding Hungry Children," *The New York Times*, September 6, 1971; "Panel Finds Half of Poor Still Hungry," *The New York Times*, October 27, 1972; "Senators Urge 860 Million More to Fight Hunger," *The New York Times*, March 19, 1973; "Gibson Visits 5 Centers in City Nutrition Project," *The New York Times*, August 9, 1974. For full listing of articles, see Appendix A.

<sup>40</sup> Committee on School Lunch Participation, *Their Daily Bread* (Atlanta, GA: McNelley-Rudd Printing Service, Inc., 1968) 2.

<sup>41</sup> U. S. Department of Agriculture, Food and Nutrition Service, *1972 National School Lunch Program Survey*, 45.

<sup>42</sup> Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, Subcommittee on Agricultural Research and General Legislation, *Comprehensive Study of the Child Feeding Programs*, 93<sup>rd</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> Sess., 1974 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974), 34.

<sup>43</sup> *Comprehensive Study of the Child Feeding Programs*, 36.

price.<sup>44</sup> The composition of participants began to reflect the NSLP's new role as an anti-poverty program by the early 1970s.

The transformation of the NSLP also dramatically increased participation amongst African-American children. Prior to the 1970s, the barriers to African-American participation in the school lunch program were particularly strong. Black children were more likely to be from low-income families than white children. In 1972, 42.7 percent of black children were in families in poverty compared with 10.7 percent of white children.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, the lack of funding and requirements for the free and reduced-price lunch program had a larger impact on black participation than on white participation. Furthermore, black children were more likely to attend low-income schools and schools in urban areas, which often did not have facilities and equipment for lunch programs before Congress established funding for non-food assistance in 1966.<sup>46</sup> The spread of school lunches to low-income schools as well as the provision of funding and national standards for free and reduced-price lunches added many African-American children to school lunch rolls. Jim Crow segregation was another barrier to black participation in the school lunch program.<sup>47</sup> The Committee on School Lunch Participation found in their 1968 survey that most black schools in the segregated South did not offer school lunches.<sup>48</sup> Since

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<sup>44</sup> Susan Levine, *School Lunch Politics: The Surprising History of America's Favorite Welfare Program* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2008) 8.

<sup>45</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Poverty of People by Age, Race and Hispanic Origin, 1959-2006*, Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplements. Poverty and Health Statistics Branch/HHES Division.

<sup>46</sup> 58 percent of black Americans lived in central cities in 1974, compared with 28 percent of white Americans. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, *The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States, 1974*, Current Population Reports, Social and Economic Status Administration, 9.

<sup>47</sup> It should be noted that the trend of white students fleeing to private schools following integration should not have had a significant impact on white participation in the NSLP since federal funding for school lunches extended to both public and non-profit private and parochial schools. In some cases, non-profit private schools were prohibited by law from administering school lunch programs themselves; in these cases, the Secretary of Agriculture directly administered the program, see Kathy Michelman, *Legislative History of Child Feeding Programs*, Congressional Research Service (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976), 45.

<sup>48</sup> Committee on School Lunch Participation, *Their Daily Bread* (Atlanta, GA: McNelley-Rudd Printing Service, Inc., 1968) 31.

approximately 54 percent of African-Americans lived in the South in the 1960s, this exclusion had a significant impact on African-American school lunch participation nationally.<sup>49</sup> As segregation was dismantled in the South throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, many African-American children were able to enter schools with school lunch programs for the first time.

With these barriers to black participation removed, it stands to reason that black children would begin to participate in the National School Lunch Program at rates equivalent with white children. However, statistics from NSLP reports reveal a different outcome. By the 1970s, African-Americans were over-represented in the school lunch program in general and in the free lunch component of the program in particular. Taken as a whole, statistics indicate that participation in the NSLP became racialized by the 1970s.

Figure 1 illustrates the percent of black and white students nation-wide enrolled in schools that offered school lunch programs in 1972. It also shows the percent of black and white students enrolled in the school lunch program in that year. If participation in the school lunch program were independent of race, these statistics should be roughly equivalent. However, Figure 1 indicates that black children participated in the school lunch program at higher rates than white children in 1972. Black children represented 15.4 percent of the total enrollment in schools with a federal school lunch program but 18.5 percent of program participants—a 3.1 percent over-representation. Conversely, white children represented 77.6 percent of the total enrollment in schools with a federal school lunch program but only 73.9 percent of program participants—a 2.7 percent under-representation.

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<sup>49</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States, 1974*, Current Population Reports, Social and Economic Status Administration, 13.

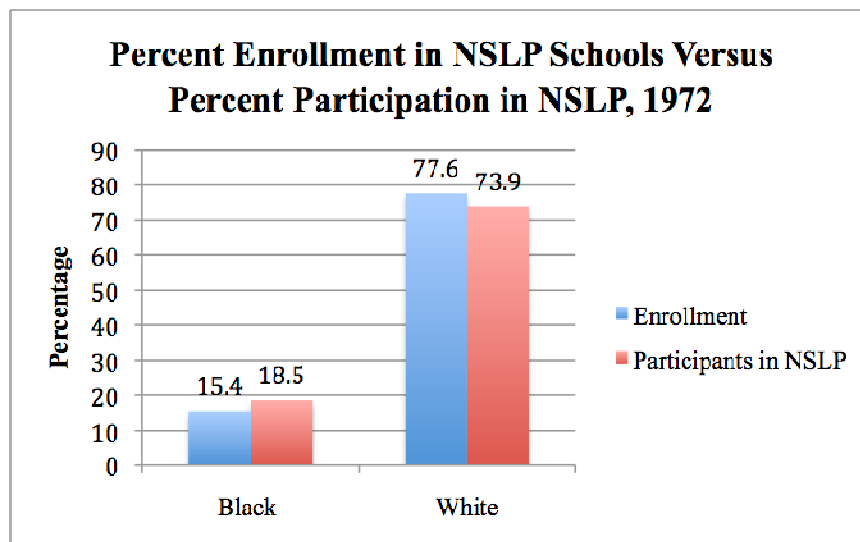


Figure 1 Statistics from U. S. Department of Agriculture, Food and Nutrition Service, *1972 National School Lunch Program Survey*, 53.

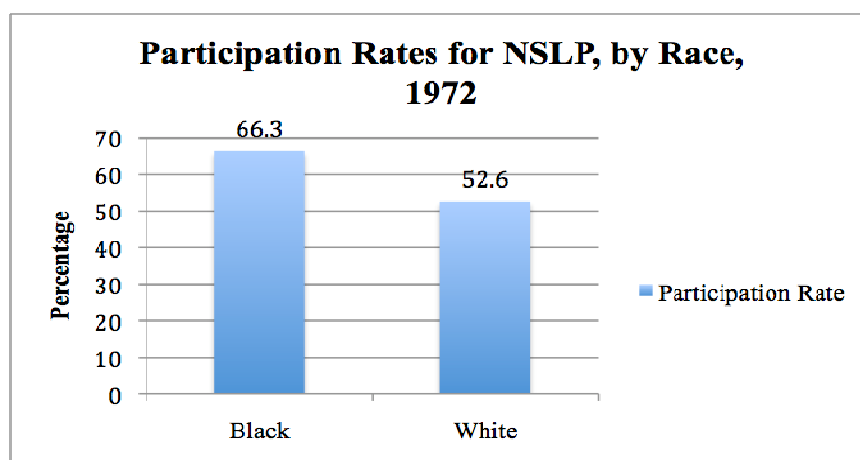


Figure 2 Statistics from U. S. Department of Agriculture, Food and Nutrition Service, *1972 National School Lunch Program Survey*, 45.

The statistics displayed in Figure 2 reveal similar trends for program participation. The data, drawn from the *1972 National School Lunch Survey*, corresponds to the percent of black children and the percent of white children in schools with lunch programs nation-wide who received a lunch (free, reduced-price or full-price) on the day that researchers administered the survey. 66.3 percent of black students and 52.6 percent of white students received a lunch on the day of the survey. Figures 1 and 2 clearly establish that white and black participation in the

NSLP was uneven; by the early 1970s, black children made up a disproportionate number of the children in the NSLP.

However, these statistics alone do not prove that participation in the National School Lunch Program was racialized by 1972. Since black children were more likely to be needy than white children, the statistics in Figures 1 and 2 could simply indicate that the school lunch program was divided along class lines. In the 1970s, about 80 percent of needy children participated in the school lunch program compared to about 50 percent of non-needy children.<sup>50</sup> Applying these estimated participation rates with poverty statistics produces the following predictions for school lunch participation rates by race in 1972.

<p><u>For white students:</u><sup>51</sup></p> <p><b>10.7%</b> of students needy x <b>80%</b> participation rate for needy children → <b>8.6%</b>  <b>+ 89.9%</b> of student non-needy x <b>50%</b> participation rate for non-needy children → <b>45.9%</b>  <hr/> predicted participation rate for white students = <b>54.5%</b></p> <p><u>For black students:</u></p> <p><b>42.7%</b> of students needy x <b>80%</b> participation rate for needy children → <b>34.2%</b>  <b>+ 57.3%</b> of student non-needy x <b>50%</b> participation rate for non-needy children → <b>28.7%</b>  <hr/> predicted participation rate for black students = <b>62.9%</b></p>
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These predictions align well with actual participation rates in 1972—52.6 percent participation for white students and 66.3 percent participation for black students. Thus, the data on overall program participation does not definitively prove that participation in the NSLP was racialized.

However, when considered in conjunction with statistics on participation in the free lunch component of the program, the evidence that the school lunch program was racialized by 1972 becomes more compelling. Figure 3 shows the distribution of black and white children living in

<sup>50</sup> Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, Subcommittee on Agricultural research and General Legislation, *Comprehensive Study of the Child Feeding Programs*, 93<sup>rd</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> Sess., 1974 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974), 34.

<sup>51</sup> Poverty statistics for black and white students found in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Poverty of People by Age, Race and Hispanic Origin, 1959-2006*, Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplements. Poverty and Health Statistics Branch/HHES Division.

families in poverty compared with the distribution of black and white children certified for free lunches in 1972. Since the Department of Agriculture's eligibility guideline for free lunches was roughly equal to the federal poverty line, the racial distributions of children living in poverty should be equivalent to the racial distributions of children participating in the free lunch program. However, this was not the case. While black children represented 39.9 percent of children in poverty in 1972, they represented 51.5 percent of children certified for free lunches—an 11.6 percent over-representation. White children represented 57.4 percent of children in poverty but only 29.0 percent of children certified for free lunches—a 28.4 percent under-representation. Clearly, class divisions do not explain these disparities in school lunch participation. By 1972, school lunch participation was divided along racial lines—black families were more willing to participate in the program than white families.

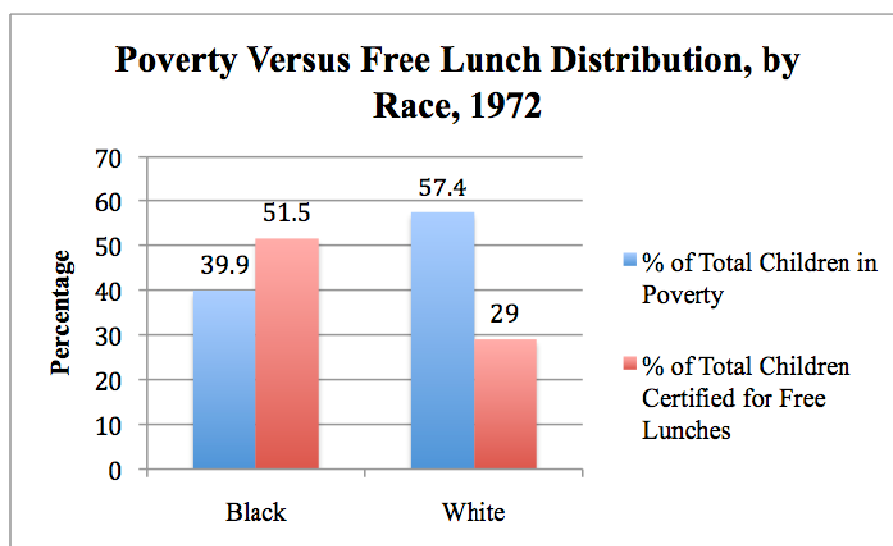


Figure 3 Statistics from U. S. Department of Agriculture, Food and Nutrition Service, 1972 National School Lunch Program Survey, 53 and U.S. Bureau of the Census, Poverty of People by Age, Race and Hispanic Origin, 1959-2006, Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplements. Poverty and Health Statistics Branch/HHES Division.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the National School Lunch Program underwent an enormous period of transformation. The school lunch program entered this period of transformation as an agricultural subsidy program for middle-class children and emerged as an anti-poverty program.

School lunches did not just become anti-poverty in this period; they also became black. By the 1970s, African-Americans were disproportionately represented across the school lunch program in general and in the free lunch program in particular. How did this racialization happen? The answer to that question lies in the political environment in which the transformation of the school lunch program occurred—the politics of poverty in the 1960s.

## Chapter 2

### From Southern Democrats to the Black Panthers: School Lunches and the Politics of Poverty in the 1960s

The previous chapter shows that in the 1960s and early 1970s the school lunch program went through a series of legislative changes that dramatically altered its clientele, leaving black children disproportionately represented by the early 1970s. The transformation and racialization of the National School Lunch Program was not an isolated event—it was caused by and was, ultimately, a victim of the larger politics of poverty in the 1960s.

#### The Politics of Poverty in the 1960s

The postwar years were times of growth and prosperity for America. Home ownership soared, consumer culture boomed, and most Americans believed that the poverty that had crippled the nation a few years earlier in the Great Depression was all but eliminated from American soil. Of course, poverty had never truly disappeared from America, but this perception of ubiquitous prosperity made the “discovery of poverty” in the early 1960s a true shock to many Americans. A series of events precipitated the discovery of poverty, including the publications of John Kenneth Galbraith’s *The Affluent Society* in 1958 and Michael Harrington’s *The Other America* in 1962 and President Kennedy’s exposure to Appalachian poverty during his 1960 presidential campaign.<sup>52</sup> The discovery of poverty and Kennedy’s early response focused on white poverty in areas like Appalachia; black poverty was largely ignored. As Martin Gilens explains, “the poverty programs of the early 1960s, and the popular images of the poor that went

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<sup>52</sup> See Martin Gilens, *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media and the Politics of Antipoverty Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999) 104; Michael Katz, *The Undeserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989) 82.



along with them, were just as pale in complexion as those of the turn of the century.”<sup>53</sup> As the 1960s continued, the complexion of poverty began to change.

President Johnson’s 1964 declaration of the War on Poverty, with its emphasis on urban poverty, was a first step towards exposing the problems of the black poor. The main front of the War on Poverty was the Office of Economic Opportunity, which launched programs targeting juvenile delinquency, civil rights, job training and education in cities across America.<sup>54</sup> Increased spending and expansion of social welfare accompanied the War on Poverty—Congress broadened AFDC and food stamps, expanded Social Security benefits and created the Medicare and Medicaid systems.<sup>55</sup>

Scholars disagree about the political origins of the War on Poverty. Some, such as Gareth Davies, view it as a continuation of postwar liberalism. Davies believes that the War on Poverty arose from President Kennedy’s mantra that “a rising tide lifts all boats” and that it embodied American optimism, individualism and commitment to equality of opportunity.<sup>56</sup> Other scholars, such as Richard Cloward and Frances Fox Piven, view the War on Poverty as an attempt by Johnson and the Democratic Party to court the black vote.<sup>57</sup> While scholars debate the role of race in its political origins, the urban focus of the War on Poverty made African-Americans the targets of many of its programs, and other historical events quickly moved black poverty to the center of anti-poverty efforts by the mid-1960s.

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<sup>53</sup> Martin Gilens, *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media and the Politics of Antipoverty Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999) 104.

<sup>54</sup> Michael Katz, *The Undeserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989) 80.

<sup>55</sup> Katz, *The Undeserving Poor*, 101-102.

<sup>56</sup> Gareth Davies, *From Opportunity to Entitlement: The Transformation and Decline of Great Society Liberalism* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1996) 31 and 39.

<sup>57</sup> Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare* (New York: Random House, 1971).

Black poverty was largely invisible until the mid-1960s. The predominant national images of the struggles of African-Americans were those of the fight against Jim Crow— student sit-ins at Woolworth’s lunch counters and fire hoses blasting down marchers in Birmingham. Americans saw segregation, not poverty, as the main barrier to black equality. A series of urban race riots in the middle and late 1960s changed the nation’s understanding of the plight of African-Americans. The first major riot occurred in Watts in the summer of 1965. Days of unrest left dozens dead and millions of dollars in property damage. Most importantly, the event dramatically called national attention to the problems of black poverty and frustration in the inner city. Urban race riots continued across the country in the second half of the 1960s and helped to move the national perception of poverty from Appalachia to the black, urban ghetto.<sup>58</sup>

At the same time, following the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Civil Rights movement changed its focus from the pursuit of legal equality to economic equality.<sup>59</sup> The new focus of the Civil Rights movement altered the purpose of anti-poverty programs, making African-Americans the intended recipients. As Michael Katz explains, “in the 1960s, welfare acquired a new purpose as part of the Civil Rights movement: to reverse the consequences of racial injustice.”<sup>60</sup> Black leaders began to push for economic equality through initiatives such as the SCLC’s Poor People’s Campaign and the Black Panthers’

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<sup>58</sup> Michael Katz, *The Undeserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989) 23.

<sup>59</sup> There is a general consensus among historians that most Civil Rights organizations had been involved in economic issues for much of their histories. However, from the media and public perspective, their economic agendas took a backseat to issues of desegregation until after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 when economic and anti-poverty issues began to take center stage. See Kenneth T. Andrews, "Social Movements and Policy Implementation: The Mississippi Civil Rights Movement and the War on Poverty, 1965 to 1971," *American Sociological Review* 66, no. 1 (2001): 71-95; Dona Cooper Hamilton and Charles V. Hamilton, "The Dual Agenda of African American Organizations since the New Deal: Social Welfare Policies and Civil Rights," *Political Science Quarterly* 107, no. 3 (1992): 435-52; Thomas F. Jackson, *From Civil Rights to Human Rights : Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Struggle for Economic Justice* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Michael K. Honey, *Going Down Jericho Road : The Memphis Strike, Martin Luther King's Last Campaign* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2007).

<sup>60</sup> Michael Katz, *Improving Poor People: The Welfare State, the "Underclass," and Urban Schools in History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995) 30.

provision of social services. By the end of the 1960s, the urban riots and activities of the Civil Rights movement had made poverty a “black” issue in American politics.<sup>61</sup>

Poverty’s moment in the American political spotlight was limited to a few short years. By the late 1960s, the War on Poverty lost support in the face of increasing pressure from both the right and the left. On the left, the growing militancy and radicalism of the black freedom movement and the rise of grassroots poverty organizations that espoused ideas of entitlement rather than opportunity, such as the National Welfare Rights Organization, challenged War on Poverty efforts. On the right, a growing conservative reaction against the War on Poverty and Great Society liberalism ultimately manifested itself in the “silent majority” that swept Nixon into office in 1968.<sup>62</sup> Budget pressures, escalating conflict in Vietnam and economic problems of the early 1970s compounded the declining support for anti-poverty efforts.

By the mid-1970s, poverty was no longer a priority in American public policy. With the conservative reaction in full swing, elected officials dismantled the poverty programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity and slashed social welfare benefits.<sup>63</sup> Despite the brevity of the War on Poverty, the politics of poverty in the 1960s had lasting ramifications for American social welfare. The racial politics of the 1960s—the urban riots and the shifting focus of the Civil Rights movement—spurred institutional changes to the American social welfare state. However, far from encouraging racial economic equality, these changes to social welfare “helped to redraw lines of divisions within and between races by sorting both black and white Americans into

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<sup>61</sup> Martin Gilens, *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media and the Politics of Antipoverty Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999) 107-111.

<sup>62</sup> Gareth Davies, *From Opportunity to Entitlement: The Transformation and Decline of Great Society Liberalism* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1996).

<sup>63</sup> Michael Katz, *The Undeserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989) 4.

categories defined by their relationship to programs of social provision.”<sup>64</sup> The politics of poverty in the 1960s effectively made poverty and anti-poverty programs “black.” This racialization of poverty set the stage for the “War on Welfare” that raged in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s—with slashing of benefits, espousal of racially-charged stereotypes of “welfare queens” and pledges to “end welfare as we know it.”

### School Lunches and the Politics of Poverty in the 1960s

The National School Lunch Program’s journey from operating mainly as an agricultural subsidy program to an anti-poverty program was part of this larger politics of poverty in the 1960s. Although school lunches entered the politics of poverty late, the school lunch program traveled a similar road as anti-poverty programs such as AFDC. Racial politics encouraged legislative changes to school lunches, and these changes ultimately morphed the NSLP into a “black” program.

For the first two decades of its existence, the National School Lunch Program hardly could have been considered a “black” program. The primary advocates for the passage of the original legislation were Georgia Senator Richard B. Russell and Louisiana Senator Allen Ellender. The potential benefit of its agricultural purchases for their white, farming constituencies motivated Russell and Ellender’s support. Russell actually threatened to disband the NSLP if Congress removed the purchase of surplus agricultural commodities from the program.<sup>65</sup> Through the mid-1960s, Southern Democrats remained the primary supporters of school lunches, and they kept the focus of the program on its benefits to farmers rather than the needy.

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<sup>64</sup> Robert Lieberman, *Shifting the Color Line: Race and the American Welfare State* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1998) x.

<sup>65</sup> Susan Levine, *School Lunch Politics: The Surprising History of America’s Favorite Welfare Program* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2008) 75.

The influence of the Southern Democrats was strong, and school lunches remained outside the politics of poverty until the late 1960s despite legislative changes that nudged the program into the realm of social welfare. The passage of the Child Nutrition Act of 1966 exemplifies this trend in school lunch politics. By 1966, the War on Poverty was in full swing, and the focus of poverty and anti-poverty legislation had migrated from white, rural poverty to black, urban poverty. In some ways, the provisions of the Child Nutrition Act reflect the influence of the War on Poverty and demonstrate an increased attention to black poverty in the NSLP. In particular, the introduction of the pilot school breakfast program and the federal funding for equipment primarily benefited low-income and urban schools, which had large African-American student populations. However, the Congressional hearings preceding the passage of the Child Nutrition Act reveal that the school lunch program was still a long way from being an arm of the War on Poverty. At the Senate Agriculture and Forestry Committee's June 1966 hearing on the Child Nutrition Act, the senators resisted any efforts to move the school lunch program into the realm of social welfare. At one point, Senator Allen Ellender expressed his desire to keep school lunches out of the War on Poverty, saying:

Here is a program [the school lunch program] that we have had on the books now for 20 years. It has worked well. I do not want to mix it in with the "Headstart" or "Head-on" or whatever you might call the programs in the poverty program. What we want to do is to try to maintain the school lunch program and to improve on it.<sup>66</sup>

While the reforms of the mid-1960s displayed some movement of the school lunch program towards a focus on African-American poverty, it was clear that some catalyst was needed to propel school lunches fully into the politics of poverty of the 1960s.

The "discovery of hunger" in the late 1960s was that catalyst. With the "discovery of

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<sup>66</sup> Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. *School Milk and School Breakfast Programs: Hearings on S. 3497*, 89<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> Sess. 1966, 11.

hunger,” school lunches moved into the arena of anti-poverty legislation and became connected with African-Americans. Like the “discovery of poverty,” the “discovery of hunger” shocked the nation. Senator George McGovern explained that before this discovery, “Americans assumed that hunger and malnutrition [were] the afflictions of Asia and other faraway places.”<sup>67</sup> Several events precipitated the “discovery of hunger”—Senators Joseph Clark and Robert Kennedy’s 1967 trip to the Mississippi Delta, the 1968 CBS documentary *Hunger in America*, the Citizen’s Board of Inquiry’s 1968 study *Hunger USA*, and the Committee on School Lunch Participation’s 1968 study *Their Daily Bread*. While the “discovery of poverty” focused predominantly on white poverty, the “discovery of hunger” brought to light the issue of hunger in African-American communities.

The first major event in the “discovery of hunger,” Senator Clark and Senator Kennedy’s trip to the Mississippi Delta in 1967, showcases this new attention to black poverty. A rural, cotton-producing region, the Mississippi Delta was home to an overwhelmingly poor and primarily black population, who lived amongst the plantation houses of cotton planters. As Nick Kotz describes in his 1969 book on the discovery of hunger, Senators Clark and Kennedy entered a region that had “the worst poverty the black South had known since the Depression of the 1930s.”<sup>68</sup> The Civil Rights movement influenced the trip from its inception. Senator Clark became convinced that hearings in Mississippi were necessary after Marian Wright, a young lawyer for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, spoke powerfully before Congress about the degree of poverty and hunger amongst African-Americans in the rural South.<sup>69</sup> Once the senators arrived in the Mississippi Delta, Wright urged them to tour the shacks of black residents of the

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<sup>67</sup> George McGovern, “Foreword” in *Let Them Eat Promises: The Politics of Hunger in America* by Nick Kotz (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), vii.

<sup>68</sup> Nick Kotz, *Let them Eat Promises; The Politics of Hunger in America* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ; Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), 2.

<sup>69</sup> Kotz., 2-5.

region.<sup>70</sup> It was during this tour that Clark and Kennedy encountered horrific scenes of black hunger. After meeting a malnourished, listless child, Senator Kennedy reportedly said, “I’ve seen bad things in West Virginia, but I’ve never seen anything like this anywhere in the United States.”<sup>71</sup> This experience propelled the senators into immediate action on the issue of hunger while the cohort of journalists that accompanied them began to disseminate narratives of hunger into the media. In this moment, America discovered hunger. Initiated by an NAACP lawyer and concentrating on an African-American community, this initial discovery of hunger in America represented hunger as black.



Figure 4 Senator Robert Kennedy in tours poverty conditions near Greenville, Mississippi. Marian Wright Edelman stands second from right. April 11, 1967. Source: AP Photos. Accessed on Accunet

Marian Wright’s tour with Senators Clark and Kennedy through the Mississippi Delta was a breakthrough moment following years of Civil Rights advocacy against hunger in the South.<sup>72</sup> The centrality of the Civil Rights movement to the “discovery of hunger” ensured attention to black communities in the subsequent national conversation on hunger. A number of

<sup>70</sup> Nick Kotz, *Let them Eat Promises; The Politics of Hunger in America* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ; Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), 2.

<sup>71</sup> Robert Kennedy, qtd. in Kotz, 2.

<sup>72</sup> Ardith L. Maney, *Still Hungry After All These Years: Food Assistance Policy from Kennedy to Reagan* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989) 70-80.

exposés on hunger and the failings of government feeding programs followed the senators' tour of the Delta, including the documentary *Hunger in America* and the reports *Their Daily Bread* and *Hunger USA*; each of these exposés highlighted in some way the burden of hunger in black communities.<sup>73</sup> In contrast with the “discovery of poverty,” the “discovery of hunger” showed the nation the multi-racial faces of hunger.

With the “discovery of hunger,” the school lunch program attracted new allies. Black leaders increasingly replaced agricultural interests as advocates for school lunches, and liberals, such as Senators McGovern and Humphrey, replaced Southern Democrats as the program's champions in Congress. The witness lists for Congressional hearings on school lunches demonstrate this shift. In June 1966, witnesses at a school lunch hearing included two members of the Department of Agriculture, two representatives from farm lobbying organizations, a Congressman and the director of a parent organization.<sup>74</sup> Just two years later, Revs. Ralph Abernathy and Rev. Jesse Jackson, both of the SCLC and residents and community representatives from East St. Louis served as witnesses at a hearing on hunger, food stamps and school lunches.<sup>75</sup> A review of *The New York Times's* coverage of school lunches reveals headlines featuring liberals and black leaders, rather than Southern Democrats, calling for changes to the school lunch program in the late 1960s and early 1970s.<sup>76</sup> This shift in advocates points to the school lunch program's entrance into the politics of poverty by the late 1960s.

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<sup>73</sup> See Committee on School Lunch Participation, *Their Daily Bread* (Atlanta, GA: McNelley-Rudd Printing Service, Inc., 1968); Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States, *Hunger, U.S.A.: A Report* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968); *Hunger in America*, CBS Documentary, May 21, 1968.

<sup>74</sup> Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. *School Milk and School Breakfast Programs: Hearings on S. 3497*, 89<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> Sess. 1966.

<sup>75</sup> Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, *Nutrition and Human Needs Part 10: SCLC and East St. Louis*, 90<sup>th</sup> Cong. 3<sup>rd</sup> Sess. May 14 and June 27 1968.

<sup>76</sup> See “McGovern Asks Lunch Aid,” *The New York Times*, February 21, 1969; “Text of Rustin Call for Rally in Support of Poor,” *The New York Times*, June 3, 1968; “Humphrey Bill Would Give Free School Lunch to All,” *The New York Times*, September 30, 1968. For a full listing of articles, see Appendix A.



While black leaders and liberals served as the primary public supporters of NSLP in the late 1960s and early 1970s, it is important to note that Southern Democrats maintained some influence over the NSLP throughout this period. Georgia Senator Herman Talmadge succeeded Senator Ellender in 1971 as chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, which controlled school lunch legislation, and remained in that position through 1981. The Southern Democrats' influence over the legislative process, as well as their continued lobbying by farming interests, explains how they were able to maintain and slightly increase the purchase of surplus commodities through the NSLP even as the program increasingly focused on alleviating poverty.<sup>77</sup>

However, the Southern Democrats influence over the NSLP was far less from the late 1960s and early 1970s onward than it had been in the first twenty years of the program. Part of this waning influence was due to generational change. When Senator Russell and Senator Ellender passed away in office in 1971 and 1972, Southern Democrats lost two established voices for the NSLP in the Senate. At the same time, the Southern Democrats political power and dominance in Congress declined in the late 1960s and 1970s.<sup>78</sup> The Southern Democrats were simply unable to shape and control the NSLP in the same way that they had in the 1950s and early 1960s. The decline of Southern Democratic influence allowed the NSLP to enter the politics of poverty in the 1960s and become the endeavor of black and liberal interests.

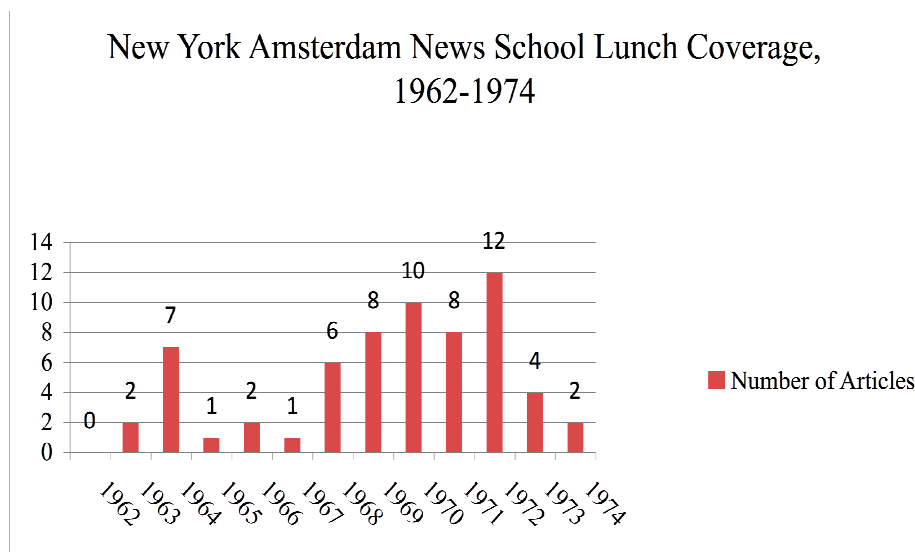
The African-American media's coverage of the NSLP serves as a window into the strength of black advocacy against hunger and for school lunches. The *New York Amsterdam News* is a newspaper that has served the African-American community in New York City since

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<sup>77</sup> For data on federal spending on surplus commodities for the NSLP, see U.S. Department of Agriculture, Food and Nutrition Service, "Federal Cost of School Food Programs," <http://www.fns.usda.gov/pd/cncosts.htm>, accessed March 2, 2010. Federal purchase of surplus agricultural commodities increased in the late 1960s and early 1970s but increased at a slower rate than cash spending for the NSLP.

<sup>78</sup> Nicol Rae, *Southern Democrats* (London: Oxford University Press, 1994), 65.

1909 and is one of the largest African-American newspapers in the nation. Thus, while the *Amsterdam News* does not represent the totality of African-American public opinions, it does provide insight into black political engagement in school lunch politics.



**Figure 5 Data from *New York Amsterdam News* Media Survey. For a full listing of articles, see Appendix A**

The *Amsterdam News*'s coverage of school lunches from 1962 to 1974 indicates that African-American communities became increasingly engaged in school lunch politics in this period. The primary indicator of this increased engagement is the volume of articles that the newspaper published on school lunches, shown in Figure 5. With the exception of 1964, the coverage of school lunches remained sparse prior to 1968 and then exploded between 1968 and 1972. The brief spike in coverage in 1964 may be attributed to the announcement of the War on Poverty and the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; four of the seven articles related in some way to these events.<sup>79</sup> The sustained increase in coverage of school lunches between 1968 and 1972 correlates with the school lunch program's entry into the politics of poverty in the late

<sup>79</sup> See "The Danger of Little Progress," *The New York Amsterdam News*, February 15, 1964; "The Segregated Tax Dollar," *The New York Amsterdam News*, July 18, 1964; "Agencies Aiding Cities Jobless Youth," *The New York Amsterdam News*, April 18, 1964; "List 140 Cities, 24 States with Bias in Federally Aided Programs," *The New York Amsterdam News*, August 15, 1964.

1960s and the shift in program advocates to liberals and black leaders. The rise in coverage also reflects the mounting investment of black communities in the NSLP.

Besides the quantity of articles, the emergence of articles in the *Amsterdam News* describing school lunches as an exclusively black program reflects the growing importance of and sense of ownership over school lunches in black communities. Unlike *The New York Times*, the *Amsterdam News* centered their school lunch coverage on the program's service to needy children and the quality of the program throughout the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>80</sup> While the focus of their coverage remained constant, the newspaper's representation of the racial nature of school lunch politics did evolve over the period of the media survey. In the late 1960s, the *Amsterdam News* characterized hunger and anti-hunger programs as a multi-racial concern. A December 1968 editorial, "Hunger in America," discussed how hunger affected blacks, whites and Native Americans alike.<sup>81</sup> An article on anti-hunger legislation reported a senator's claims that hunger was not a black or a white issue.<sup>82</sup> However, beginning in the early 1970s, the *Amsterdam News* began to represent school lunches and hunger as an exclusively black issue. In October of 1971, the paper ran a story about the New York Urban League director's response to federal plans to eliminate school lunch subsidies. The director clearly frames school lunches as a black issue, saying, "now—when they say it would eliminate 400,000 needy children in New York City alone—that means 400,000 Black children. If the administration has its way—this is going to affect every Black child in the United States."<sup>83</sup> The characterization in the *Amsterdam News* of school lunches as a black issue and the NSLP as primarily benefiting black children suggests the development of a sense of ownership of the NSLP in black communities by the 1970s.

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<sup>80</sup> For a full listing of articles, see Appendix A.

<sup>81</sup> Whitney J. Young Jr., "Hunger in America," *The New York Amsterdam News*, December 14, 1968.

<sup>82</sup> "Javits Introduces Anti-Hunger Bill," *The New York Amsterdam News*, August 30, 1969.

<sup>83</sup> "Wingate slams Nixon, aides: charges 'deliberate neglect,'" *The New York Amsterdam News*, October 23, 1971.

Possibly the two most striking examples of the black leadership's advocacy for and sense of ownership of school lunches were the SCLC's calls for school lunch reform during the Poor People's Campaign (PPC) and the Black Panthers' breakfast program. Martin Luther King Jr. formulated the PPC's campaign in 1967, with the vision to merge economic and racial concerns in a mass movement for economic justice. After King's assassination in April 1968, Ralph Abernathy took over leadership of the SCLC and oversaw the establishment of a shantytown—"Resurrection City"—in Washington D.C. in May, 1968, as the first step in the mass movement that King had envisioned. While the goals of "Resurrection City" and the Poor People's Campaign were broad, ranging from jobs to housing, hunger and school lunches were key issues. A mother of seven from Marks, Mississippi, the Delta town that made King cry when he first saw it, said that she hoped to gain "free school lunches and a job" from her participation in the PPC.<sup>84</sup> Campaign leaders made free school lunches and food stamps their main demands from the Department of Agriculture, and Abernathy and Jackson's Congressional testimony on school lunches and hunger in the midst of the campaign further demonstrates their commitment to these issues.<sup>85</sup> Overall, the Poor People's Campaign was a failure; disorganization marred its public image, and it fell short of achieving its major legislative goals. However, the advocacy of the PPC for school lunches was an important moment in the history of school lunch politics. Not only did Congress eventually heed the campaign's demands for expansion of free lunches, the Poor People's Campaign clearly demonstrated that school lunches had entered the politics of

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<sup>84</sup> "The anger and problems and sickness of the poor of the whole nation were in this one shantytown," *The New York Times*, July 7, 1968.

<sup>85</sup> See Susan Levine, *School Lunch Politics: The Surprising History of America's Favorite Welfare Program* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2008) 75; "Poor People's Leaders Expect Extensions for Permits for Camp," *The New York Times*, June 15, 1968; "Poor People's Drive Makes Gains, but Fails to Reach Goals," *The New York Times*, June 30, 1968; Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, *Nutrition and Human Needs Part 10: SCLC and East St. Louis*, 90<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2nd. Sess., May 14 and June 27 1968.

poverty and emerged a black program. No longer the project of Southern Democrats, the National School Lunch Program was the cause of the huddled masses of “Resurrection City.”

The Black Panther Party also became advocates for the issue of child hunger in the late 1960s through their free breakfast program. The Panthers began providing free breakfasts to children in the Bay Area and Seattle in 1968 and expanded the program to all Panther sites in 1969. The free breakfast program was part of larger efforts by the Black Panther Party to raise awareness for issues of hunger and poverty.<sup>86</sup> In line with Black Panther ideology and practices, their advocacy for school lunches did not involve direct federal lobbying for expansions to the NSLP, as the SCLC had done. They were notably absent from the extensive witness list for a 1968 Congressional hearing on hunger in California while SCLC representatives participated in another hearing in the same series.<sup>87</sup> Instead, the Panthers advocated through example, providing black children with the meals that the “evil government” had been unwilling to provide.<sup>88</sup> Each morning, members of the party provided hot breakfasts of eggs, bacon and grits to children, and this program quickly became what the FBI characterized in May 1969 as the “best and most influential activity going for the BPP.”<sup>89</sup>

The Black Panther Party’s newspaper, *The Black Panther*, prominently featured the breakfast program and the issue of hunger in the black community, revealing the importance of

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<sup>86</sup> JoNina M. Abron, “‘Serving the People:’ The Survival Programs of the Black Panther Party,” in *Black Panther Party (Reconsidered)*, ed. Charles E. Jones (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1998) 182-183.

<sup>87</sup> Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, *Nutrition and Human Needs Part 9: California*, 90<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2nd. Sess., May 8-9 1968; Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, *Nutrition and Human Needs Part 10: SCLC and East St. Louis*, 90<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2nd. Sess., May 14 and June 27 1968.

<sup>88</sup> “Statement to the Press on the Breakfast for Children,” *The Black Panther*, Vol III (No. 1), April 27, 1969.

When the Black Panther Party launched their free breakfast program in 1968, the School Breakfast Program, which targeted children in low-income areas, was already in existence. However, it was still in pilot phase. It was later established as a permanent program.

<sup>89</sup> FBI Air-tel from Director to 27 Field Offices, May 15, 1969 qtd in Edward P. Morgan, “Media Culture and Public Memory of the Black Panther Party” in *In Search of the Black Panther Party*, eds. Jama Lazerow and Yohuru Williams (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 335.

the free breakfast program and the issues of child hunger and feeding to party members.<sup>90</sup> On April 27, 1969, *The Black Panther* devoted an entire issue to the free breakfast program. The issue featured a cover-photo of a black child enjoying his free breakfast, statements on the motivations behind the program, articles on the program, and reports of local police breaking up a free breakfast rally in Des Moines.<sup>91</sup> The Black Panther Party's focus on and commitment to the free breakfast program is yet another example of black communities and black leadership's political engagement with the issue of hunger and school lunches in the 1960s and early 1970s.

School lunch politics fell into the politics of poverty in the 1960s. Following the "discovery of hunger," black communities became increasingly engaged in school lunch politics, and local and national black leaders ultimately replaced Southern Democrats as the program's primary advocates. As a result, many of the major legislative changes to the program in the late 1960s and early 1970s occurred in a racially-charged environment. Racial politics encouraged legislative changes to the NSLP, and these changes reshaped school lunches into a program that served disproportionate numbers of African-American children. When it emerged from the politics of poverty in the 1960s, the National School Lunch Program had become "black." The final chapter discusses the stigmatization of the National School Lunch Program and its recipients following this racialization.

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<sup>90</sup> See *The Black Panther* Vol III (No. 1), April 27, 1969; *The Black Panther*, Vol X (No. 14), August 18, 1973; *The Black Panther* Vol X. (No. 8): July 7, 1973.

<sup>91</sup> *The Black Panther* Vol III (No. 1), April 27, 1969.

### Chapter 3

## Pink Cadillacs and Free Lunches: The Racialization and Stigmatization of the School Lunch Program in American Public Thought



Figure 6 : Photograph of Aline Johnson, *The New York Times*, Oct 29, 1974

On October 29, 1974, *The New York Times* featured the above photograph of Aline Johnson, an African-American woman from rural Arkansas, as part of a special article on hunger in America. *Times* reporter William Robbins met Ms. Johnson in the waiting room of a county welfare office. He describes how Ms. Johnson was “so fat she cannot rise unaided” yet she suffered from malnutrition. Robbins also explains that she was “unwed but the mother of eleven children” and that two of her daughters were unwed with four and six children each. Robbins categorizes Ms. Johnson’s situation as “one of a type that has drawn attacks from critics of food and welfare.”<sup>92</sup> The “type” that Robbins alludes to is the stereotype of the “welfare queen,” an already popular narrative by the mid-1970s. Indeed, Ms. Johnson’s story fits the racist stereotype of the “welfare queen” quite well. She was poor and black. She had numerous children out of

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<sup>92</sup> William Robbins, “Hunger in U.S. a Problem of Want Amid Plenty,” *The New York Times*, October 29, 1974.

wedlock. She was unemployed. And, most importantly, she was found in a welfare office waiting room, implying that she was living off of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) payments. AFDC was not the only social welfare program that Americans associated with the “welfare queen.” By the 1970s, public conversations about the problems of the “welfare queen” and the “welfare trap” focused on a number of government programs that supported the poor, including AFDC, food stamps and even the National School Lunch Program.

Scholars, such as Martin Gilens, have established that “welfare” programs, mainly AFDC and food stamps, became associated with African-Americans and subsequently stigmatized in the American public imagination beginning in the late 1960s and early 1970s. I argue the public perception of the National School Lunch Program underwent a similar process of racialization and stigmatization. The shifting legislative focus and racial demographics of the program, discussed in Chapter 1, and the program’s entanglement in the politics of poverty in the 1960s, discussed in Chapter 2, connected school lunches and African-Americans. The racialization of the NSLP was not limited to the demographics of its participants or the politics behind its legislation; it expanded to the public perception of the program and its participants. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, the complexion of the average school lunch recipient and especially the average free lunch recipient had darkened in the American mind. Like with AFDC and food stamps, this racialization ultimately led to the stigmatization of the program and its participants. The media characterized black school lunch recipients as lazy, and Americans viewed free school lunches as one of the many trophies of the “welfare queen.”

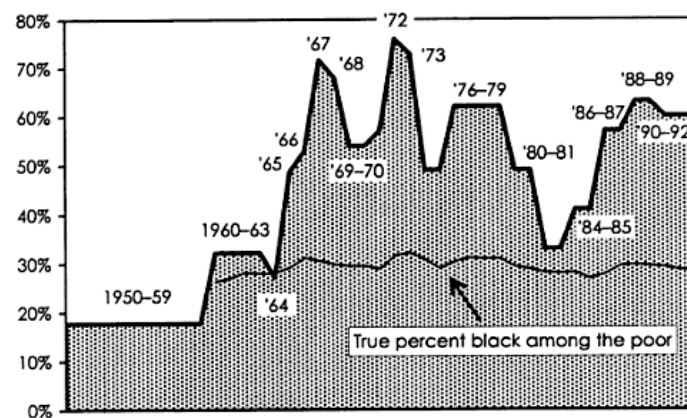
#### The Racialization of the School Lunch Program

The media’s over-representation of African-Americans in coverage of the NSLP helped to racialize school lunches in the American public imagination in the late 1960s and early 1970s.



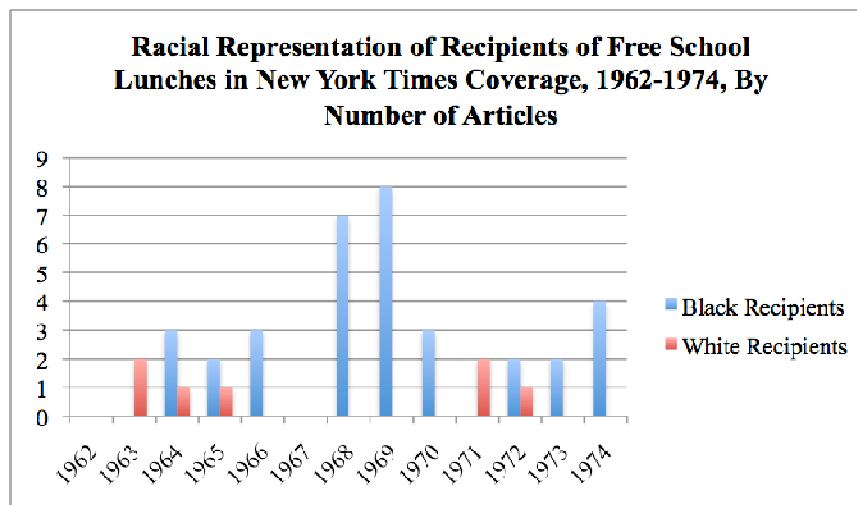
In *Why Americans Hate Welfare*, Martin Gilens argues that one of the factors in Americans' exaggerated perception of black poverty is an over-representation of black Americans in media coverage of poverty beginning in 1965. Figure 7 shows a chart from Gilens's book that illustrates this over-representation. Beginning in 1965, the percent of African-Americans featured in photos accompanying newsmagazine stories on poverty was higher than the percent of African-Americans who were poor. Although there were some fluctuations in the coverage, African-Americans remained disproportionately represented in these photos throughout the period of Gilens's media survey.

Figure 5.3 Percent African American in Newsmagazine Pictures of the Poor, 1950–1992 (compared with true percent black)



Sources: True percent black—Baughner and Lamison-White, *Poverty in the United States*: 1995, pp. C2–C4. Magazine pictures—*Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News and World Report*.

**Figure 7 Percent African American in Newsmagazine Pictures of the Poor, 1950-1992 From Martin Gilens, *Why Americans Hate Welfare*, Chapter Five: News Media and Racialization of Poverty**



**Figure 8 Results from media survey of *The New York Times* coverage of school lunches, 1962-1974<sup>93</sup>**

My media survey of *The New York Times*'s coverage of school lunches from 1962 to 1974 revealed similar patterns of racialization as Gilens's media survey. Figure 8 compares the number of the articles and editorials from *The New York Times* that discussed school lunches as an anti-poverty program for needy white children versus needy black children. It shows that the over-representation of African-Americans in articles about needy recipients of school lunches first occurred in 1964 but became a more prominent feature of coverage beginning in 1968.

As school lunches transformed into a social welfare program and *The New York Times* began to run more articles that discussed the school lunch program's role in fighting hunger and poverty, the connection between school lunches and black children strengthened. In the early 1960s, only a handful of articles discussed school lunches as an anti-poverty program, and they were largely race-neutral or focused on white poverty. For example, *The New York Times* ran

<sup>93</sup> In creating this graph, I ignored all articles on needy recipients of the school lunch program that were "race-neutral" (i.e. did not strongly imply the race of recipients). Therefore, this chart does not represent the total coverage of needy recipients of school lunches in *The New York Times*. If an article discussed needy recipients in a geographic region that was predominantly one race, I categorized the article under that race (for example, articles about needy recipients in Harlem was categorized as black recipients, articles about needy recipients in Appalachia were characterized as white recipients). I categorized articles about lobbying efforts of Civil Rights organizations for free school lunches under black recipients unless the article specifically mentioned needy recipients outside the African-American community. I did not include articles that linked AFDC/food stamps and free school lunches under black recipients unless race was explicitly mentioned.

five articles on the school lunch program and needy children in 1963.<sup>94</sup> Of these articles, two discussed the conditions in Kentucky mining communities, focusing on poverty and school lunch availability for poor white children, while none featured black children.<sup>95</sup> With Johnson's announcement of the War on Poverty in 1964, more articles discussed school lunches as an anti-poverty program. These articles also began to feature more African-Americans, including two articles from 1964 that discussed the importance of school lunches to the poor children of Harlem.<sup>96</sup> Although the over-representation of African-Americans in coverage was not as substantial in 1964 as it became in 1968, it was significant nonetheless. The over-representation of African-Americans that was seen in coverage from 1964 coverage held relatively steady in 1965 and 1966. In 1967, coverage of needy recipients of school lunches was race-neutral.

Nineteen Sixty-Eight was a watershed year. Americans discovered hunger in their own nation. The Civil Rights movement turned increasingly towards issues of hunger and poverty. The assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy and urban race riots shook the nation. All of these events contributed to increased coverage of the school lunch program's provision of free lunches to the needy and a growing racialization of school lunch coverage. *The New York Times* featured multiple articles on Civil Rights organizations' advocacy for school lunches, including the NAACP's actions in support of school lunches and the SCLC's advocacy for school lunches during the Poor People's Campaign.<sup>97</sup> These advocacy activities by Civil

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<sup>94</sup> "Kennedy Insists on Tax Reforms as Well as Cuts," *The New York Times*, March 7, 1963; "Text of President Kennedy's News Conference on Foreign and Domestic Affairs," *The New York Times*, March 7, 1963; "School Lunch Recipe: Take 437,000 Pupils and Fill Them Well," *The New York Times*, September 27, 1963; "Kentucky Miners: A Grim Winter," *The New York Times*, October 20, 1963; "Kentucky to Get Aid This Winter," *The New York Times*, November 14, 1963.

<sup>95</sup> "Kentucky Miners: A Grim Winter," *The New York Times*, October 20, 1963; "Kentucky to Get Aid This Winter," *The New York Times*, November 14, 1963.

<sup>96</sup> "Harlem Tenants Cope with Cold," *The New York Times*, January 1, 1964; "Who Shall Integrate?," *The New York Times*, February 24, 1964.

<sup>97</sup> See "Women's Panel Charges School Lunch Program Ignores Needy," *The New York Times*, April 17, 1968; "March's Leaders Oust Youth Gangs," *The New York Times*, May 23, 1968; "Text of Rustin Call for Rally in

Rights organizations implicitly represented free lunch recipients as black. The over-representation of African-Americans in *The New York Times*'s coverage continued through 1974 and included implicit as well as explicit representations of free lunch recipients as black.<sup>98 99</sup>

The racial nature of coverage of free school lunches in *The New York Times* follows a similar pattern to the racial nature of poverty coverage in Gilens's media survey. This similarity demonstrates that the school lunch program and, specifically, the free lunch component of the program were not exempt from the racialization of poverty and welfare in public thought and perception that followed the politics of poverty in the 1960s.

#### Free Lunches and Pink Cadillacs: The Stigmatization of the National School Lunch Program

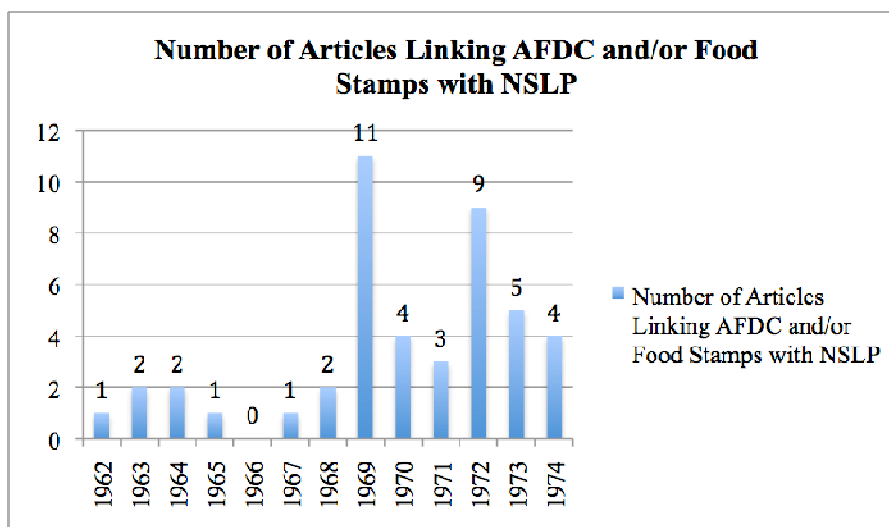
As occurred with AFDC, once Americans began to associate school lunches with African-Americans, they also began to attach racist stigmas to the National School Lunch Program. The first suggestion of this stigmatization is media coverage that links school lunches with more typical "welfare" benefits, such as AFDC and food stamps. The connection between school lunches, food stamps and AFDC suggests that Gilens's thesis about the stigmatization of "welfare" programs may also apply to school lunches.

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Support of Poor," *The New York Times*, June 3, 1968; "Poor People's Leaders Expected Extensions of Permits for Camp," *The New York Times*, June 15, 1968; "Poor People's Drive Makes Gains, Fails to Reach Goals," *The New York Times*, June 30, 1968; "House Votes Funds for School Lunches," *The New York Times*, July 2, 1968; "The anger and problems and sickness of the poor of the whole nation were in this one shantytown: Resurrection City," *The New York Times*, July 7, 1968.

<sup>98</sup> See "White House Food and Health Parley in Trouble," *The New York Times*, September 14, 1969; "Text of President Nixon's Speech to the White House Conference on Food, Nutrition and Health," *The New York Times*, December 3, 1969; "Quotation of the Day," *The New York Times*, December 25, 1969; "P.S. 39 in Harlem Picketed by Parents for Third Day," *The New York Times*, April 19, 1969; "Poverty in Passaic," *The New York Times*, August 12, 1969. For full listing of articles, see Appendix A.

<sup>99</sup> The only exception was 1971. In this year, there were three separate that mentioned school lunches and featured white Americans suffering from hunger and poverty while there were no articles that focused specifically on black poverty. It is unclear why there was this large increase in coverage of white poverty in 1971. However, the over-representation of African-Americans resumed in 1972 and continued through the end of the media survey.



**Figure 9 Results from New York Times Media Survey- 1962-1974<sup>100</sup>**

Figure 9 shows the trends in association of school lunches and AFDC/food stamps in *The New York Times's* coverage between 1962 and 1974. Links between school lunches and AFDC/food stamps occurred infrequently from 1962 to 1968, averaging 1-2 articles per year. Beginning in 1969, the number of articles linking AFDC/food stamps and school lunches increased notably, with 11 separate articles connecting the programs. Although 1969 represented the zenith of associations between the programs, the average number of articles tying the programs together was much higher following 1969 than it had been prior to 1969. The association between AFDC, food stamps and school lunches indicates a connection between the programs in American perception. If Americans associated school lunches with the “welfare” programs AFDC and food stamps and associated “welfare” with African-Americans, it is logical to assume that Americans also associated school lunches with African-Americans. The previous analysis of the growing racialization of coverage of needy school lunch recipients in *The New York Times* supports this conclusion.

<sup>100</sup>In determining the number of articles that linked AFDC and/or food stamps with the National School Lunch Program, I only included articles that suggested some type of association between the programs, mainly that they were serving the same populations. I did not include articles that simply mentioned both school lunches and AFDC/food stamps.

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As Americans increasingly began to imagine free lunch recipients as black, they also began to view families whose children received free lunches as lazy. This trend parallels Gilens's thesis on the racialization and stigmatization of welfare—Americans hate welfare because Americans views welfare recipients as black and view black people as lazy and undeserving. Comparing two *New York Times* articles on white and black free lunch recipients suggests that Americans applied this label of laziness along racial lines. On April 25, 1965, *The New York Times* ran a 5-page article on poverty in a rural Appalachian county, “Appalachia—Poverty, Beauty and Poverty.” The article details the hardships facing the people of the region, and photographs of the white population of Appalachia accompany the article. The article speaks of the pride of the people and their resistance to government assistance. One example of this “mountain pride” is the community's reaction to the free school lunch program. The director of the Department of Family and Children's services describes one needy family's response:

The widow she spoke of has a daughter in high school who receives a free lunch at school under the Federal lunch program, but mother and daughter see to it that it is not a truly free meal. The daughter cleans the tables in her lunchroom in payment for her lunch, although she is not required to do so. “Could you make your boys say they wanted to eat free?” the mother asked Mrs. Smith.<sup>101</sup>

This description paints the family as hard-working and unwilling to accept “hand-outs” from the government. The daughter's willingness to work for her lunch also stands in sharp contrast to the complaints of the Committee on School Lunch Participation, who in their 1968 report *Their Daily Bread*, strongly criticized the practice of making students work for their lunch. The article goes on to explain that the school lunch program fed about 80 percent of the students in the county. Hundreds of these pupils qualified for free lunches but “hardly any of them accept the

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<sup>101</sup> “Appalachia—Poverty, Beauty and Poverty,” *The New York Times*, April 25, 1965.

free meal tickets available.”<sup>102</sup> Overall, the article sends a clear message that the impoverished white Americans in Appalachia were independent, hard-working and reluctant to accept free lunches despite their extreme poverty.

Four years later, *The New York Times* painted a very different image of black free lunch recipients in Harlem. The April 19, 1969 article, “P.S. 39 in Harlem Picketed by Parents For the Third Day,” reports on protests by parents at P.S. 39 in Harlem following disputes over school governance. The article presents an unflattering portrait of the parent protestors, whom, given the location of P.S. 39, the reader would presume to be black. The article describes the parents jeering at a group of teachers and also reports incendiary and racially-charged slogans on the parents’ signs, including “Give us back our school, Massuh” and “Racists Will Not Teach our Children.”<sup>103</sup> The article notes that the parents had kept their children out of school for three days during the protest. Despite withholding their children from school, the parents were still willing to have them receive free lunches. *The New York Times* reports:

When the seven teachers emerged for lunch, still under police escort, they reported that there were no pupils at all in school. However, more than a dozen youngsters had come for the daily free school lunch, and just before the teachers went home at 2:45 P.M., again under escort, a score of youngsters went into a side entrance to take home boxes of left-overs and sandwiches.<sup>104</sup>

Juxtaposing these articles, it becomes clear that *The New York Times* viewed white recipients of free lunches as hard-working and reluctant to take assistance while they characterized black recipients of free lunches as lazy and relishing government hand-outs. The view of black welfare recipients as lazy, which Gilens identifies in his study, clearly extends to some extent to recipients of free school lunches. This perception of black free lunch recipients as lazy or

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<sup>102</sup> “Appalachia—Poverty, Beauty and Poverty,” *The New York Times*, April 25, 1965.

<sup>103</sup> “P.S. 39 in Harlem Picketed by Parents For the Third Day,” *The New York Times*, April 19, 1969.

<sup>104</sup> “P.S. 39 in Harlem Picketed by Parents For the Third Day,” *The New York Times*, April 19, 1969.

ungrateful began in the late 1960s but came to full fruition in the early 1970s when her child's receipt of a free school lunch became one of the markers of the "welfare queen."

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During his 1976 presidential campaign, Ronald Reagan entered the now common-place term "welfare queen" into general political parlance. Throughout his campaign, he repeatedly discussed "welfare queens" who burdened the American tax-payer through their manipulation of and reliance on the welfare system, including the woman from Chicago who had "eighty names, thirty addresses, twelve Social Security cards, and is collecting veterans' benefits on four nonexistent deceased husbands. . . She's collecting Social Security on her cards. She's got Medicaid, food stamps and she is collecting welfare under each of her names. Her tax-free cash alone is over \$150,000."<sup>105</sup> While Reagan's 1976 campaign provided the most famous and pervasive narrative of the "welfare queen," Ange-Marie Hancock explains in her book *The Politics of Disgust: The Public Identity of the Welfare Queen* that Reagan did not invent the public perception of the "welfare queen;" he simply turned that perception into a political symbol.<sup>106</sup> The public perception of the welfare queen entered the American mindset between the 1950s and 1970s.<sup>107</sup> The perception was that of an African-American woman who was lazy and hyperfertile.<sup>108</sup> She produced irresponsible numbers of children, typically out of wedlock, adding "immoral" to her descriptor. Because of her laziness, she was unwilling to work and content to rely on benefits from the government. This perception was based on long-held stereotypes of

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<sup>105</sup> Ronald Reagan qtd. in Ellen Reese, *Backlash Against Welfare Mothers: Past and Present* (University of California Press: Berkeley, 2005) 173-174.

<sup>106</sup> Ange-Marie Hancock, *The Politics of Disgust: The Public Identity of The Welfare Queen* (New York University Press; New York, 2004) 57.

<sup>107</sup> Reese, 57.

<sup>108</sup> Hancock, 25.



African-American women, many of which dated back to the times of slavery.<sup>109</sup>

In addition to these aspects of the stereotype, reliance on particular social welfare programs categorized women as “welfare queens.” The Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program was the predominant anti-poverty program associated with the “welfare queen.” However, an analysis of portrayals of the “welfare queen” in several national newspapers reveals that inclusion in other social welfare programs labeled women as “welfare queens.” In particular, her children’s receipt of free school lunches was considered one of the characteristics of the “welfare queen” by the 1970s.

Some aspects of the media coverage of the “welfare queen” were sympathetic and understanding of the plight of these women, focusing on the problem of the “welfare trap.”<sup>110</sup> The basic idea behind the “welfare trap” was that a number of social services, including free school lunches, constituted a “disincentive” for families to earn income because they would no longer qualify for these benefits. One article estimates that a family of four would need to earn over \$8,000 per year before they could match the loss of AFDC, food stamps, school lunches and Medicaid.<sup>111</sup> The logic behind the welfare trap suggests that “welfare queens” were not slothful but were simply making the best financial decisions for their families by staying unemployed and maintaining benefits.

However, other aspects of media coverage were less sympathetic and suggested laziness

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<sup>109</sup> Ellen Reese, *Backlash Against Welfare Mothers: Past and Present* (University of California Press: Berkeley, 2005) 57.

<sup>110</sup> See “Welfare Study Cites Inequities,” *The Hartford Courant*, July 8, 1973; “Welfare Outstrips Some Pay,” *The Washington Post*, July 22, 1974; “Rethinking Welfare Reform,” *The New York Times*, January 28, 1973; “Employable Members Found in Half of City’s Relief Families,” *The New York Times*, September 9, 1974; “U.S. Study Scores City Aid Programs,” *The New York Times*, July 8, 1973.

<sup>111</sup> “Employable Members Found in Half of City’s Relief Families,” *The New York Times*, September 9, 1974.

and irresponsibility on the part of welfare recipients.<sup>112</sup> This negative media coverage reinforced the stereotype of the “welfare queen.” A *New York Times* article, “Drop in Job Force is Analyzed Here,” reported a decline in black women between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-four in the workforce. The article suggests that the reason for the decline was “attractive alternatives” to work, mainly living off of benefits from AFDC, food stamps, the National School Lunch Program and Medicaid, and characterizes the decline as “purposeful.”<sup>113</sup> The focus on African-American women ages twenty-five to thirty-four, who are in the peak of their child-rearing years, feeds into the stereotype of the “welfare queen.” The language of article, especially the use of the phrase “attractive alternatives” rather than “welfare trap,” places blame on welfare recipients, rather than the welfare system, and implies that black mothers were lazy and manipulating social welfare. This coverage portrays the National School Lunch Program as one of the elements of the social welfare system that allowed the “welfare queen” to maintain her idle lifestyle. Media coverage in the early 1970s also insinuated that the National School Lunch Program allowed “welfare queens” to be irresponsible mothers. A 1971 letter to the editor in the *Los Angeles Times* criticized the school lunch program and its role as a welfare program; the author believed that parents should be “reminded, not relieved, of their responsibility” to their children.<sup>114</sup> In this coverage, social service programs, including school lunches, were not part of a “trap” that kept mothers out of the workforce by financial necessity. Instead, school lunches became one of the many tools that “welfare queens” used to revel in idleness and irresponsibility on the dollar of the American taxpayer.

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<sup>112</sup> See “Welfare Outstrips Some Pay,” *The Washington Post*, July 22, 1974; “Letter to the Editor—School Lunch Program,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 23, 1971; “Employable Members Found in Half of City’s Relief Families,” *The New York Times*, September 9, 1974; “Drop in Job Force is Analyzed Here,” *The New York Times*, September 16, 1973; William Robbins, “Hunger in U.S. a Problem of Want Amid Plenty,” *The New York Times*, October 29, 1974;

<sup>113</sup> “Drop in Job Force is Analyzed Here,” *The New York Times*, September 16, 1973.

<sup>114</sup> Letter to the Editor—School Lunch Program,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 23, 1971

Once Americans identified enrollment in the National School Lunch Program as a characteristic of the “welfare queen,” school lunches had become stigmatized in American public thought. In the late 1960s, Americans and the media began to view the NSLP increasingly as a service for poor and black Americans. The racialization of the NSLP in American public thought eventually gave way to the stigmatization of the program’s participants. The media began to group school lunches with traditional welfare benefits, such as AFDC and food stamps, and portray black free lunch recipients as lazy. The stigmatization of school lunch recipients culminated with the link between the National School Lunch Program and the racially-charged stereotype of the “welfare queen.” By the early 1970s, Americans did not just view school lunch participants as black; they viewed participation in the National School Lunch Program as a mark of shame.

### Conclusion:

In September 1975, the *Chicago Tribune* featured an article on then-Governor Ronald Reagan's proposals for the federal budget. On the day that the article appeared on Chicagoans' front steps, a Reagan presidency and the slashes to social welfare that it would bring were still only a possibility. However, the article foreshadows the priorities of the eventual Reagan presidency, including the disregard for the National School Lunch Program displayed during the ketchup debacle of 1981. The article reports that Reagan proposed an \$82.4 billion budget cut, with \$21.6 billion of the cut coming from food stamps, welfare, special unemployment and school lunch programs. The article quotes Reagan as saying that while his proposed budget cuts would produce "howls of pain from those who are benefiting from the present system" he believed that the cuts were necessary for the preservation of America and the American way of life.<sup>115</sup>

When he entered the White House five years later, Reagan and American lawmakers indeed ignored the howls of pain of millions of children and families who benefited from the school lunch program. Reagan introduced budget cuts in 1980 and 1981 that reduced federal funding for the NSLP by more than a quarter; most of these cuts came from the anti-poverty, rather than agricultural support components of the NSLP.<sup>116</sup> The cuts disqualified millions of children, a disproportionate number of them black, from the free and reduced-price lunch program and resulted in three million fewer children participating in the NSLP in the following years.<sup>117</sup> These budget cuts were a crushing blow to the NSLP, and, along with loosening of

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<sup>115</sup> "Reagan: Cut Spending by \$82.4 Billion," *Chicago Tribune*, September 27, 1975.

<sup>116</sup> While the total NSLP budget was reduced by about 25% between 1980 and 1982, purchase of surplus agricultural commodities was only reduced by about 16%. See U.S. Department of Agriculture, Food and Nutrition Service, "Federal Cost of School Food Programs," <http://www.fns.usda.gov/pd/cncosts.htm>, accessed March 2, 2010.

<sup>117</sup> Susan Levine, *School Lunch Politics: The Surprising History of America's Favorite Welfare Program* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2008) 174-175.

federal regulations, they brought about major declines in the quality of and participation in the program.

Ronald Reagan did not single-handedly destroy the National School Lunch Program. Politicians were only able to ignore the cries of its beneficiaries and cut school lunch funding because of the program's public perception by the 1970s and 1980s. The legislative changes to the National School Lunch Program in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as the politics of poverty that spurred these changes, made the school lunch program a "black" program in the American imagination. This racialization eventually spawned stigmatization, as Americans mixed their beliefs about school lunches with their beliefs about African-Americans. By the mid-1970s, the National School Lunch Program was a black program, a program for the lazy, a mark of shame, and, thus, a low priority for American voters and politicians. By the 1970s and 1980s, the overt racism of the Jim Crow South had faded, but racism did not entirely disappear from American society. The battlegrounds of racism simply moved. Having won in courtrooms and at Woolworth's counters, African-Americans began to fight a war of latent racism in welfare offices and school cafeterias across the nation. The National School Lunch Program fell victim to that war.

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## Appendix A

Coverage of the National School Lunch Program in *The New York Times*, January 1, 1962-December 31, 1974<sup>118</sup>

- 1962
- January 3, 1962- Freeman Claims Farm Successes
  - o Article about successes in agriculture and prosperity
  - o Cites the donation of commodities to school lunches as part of success in department
- January 19, 1962- Farm Programs Pledge Cut
  - o Dept. of Ag. plans to cut about ½ billion from the farm budget, mainly by cutting price controls
  - o At the same time, there would be an increase in the school lunch budget
- January 19, 1962- President’s Message on the Budget
- January 29, 1962- Random Notes in Washington
  - o Freeman wants to change name of Dept of Ag to Dept of Food, Ag and Forestry. Cites school lunches as example that their business is not just for farmers.
- January 30, 1962- Ribicoff Moves to Aid Mothers
  - o HEW proposes legislation that would send welfare mothers to work and allow them to use their earnings to contribute to children’s educational costs, such as school lunches
- February 1, 1962- Local Assistance Fund Appropriations
- February 1, 1962- Text of President’s Message Outlining New Agriculture Programs to Congress
  - o Kennedy’s speech focuses on the need to reduce costs and maintain farmers. School lunches are mentioned briefly, in reference to the need to keep commodity costs low for these programs.
- March 5, 1962- Chicago Egg Prices Climb
  - o Government’s announcement that they would buy eggs for “school lunches and needy institutions” led to an increase in the price
- March 12, 1962- Edward Kennedy Hints at Senate Bid
  - o One of the issues that Kennedy discusses is federal aid, such as school lunches, to parochial schools, which he supports and does not believe to be unconstitutional
- March 12, 1962- Increasing Urged in Food for Peace
  - o McGovern, director of Food for Peace, wants to increase lunches for children abroad.
- March 12, 1962- The Proceedings in Washington
  - o Info about McGovern and international school lunches
- March 31, 1962- Price Drop Doubted in Milk Support Cut
  - o Only reference to school lunches was the program in Japan
- April 6, 1962- US Food Reaches Brazil

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<sup>118</sup> Methods: These articles were found by entering the search term, “school lunch,” in the ProQuest Historical Newspapers database. I only included articles that discussed the school lunch program or its participants. I did not include articles that focused on school lunch workers, such as job postings for school lunch workers or articles on union disputes.

- April 10, 1962- Mayor's Budget Request
- April 12, 1962- School Boards Reject New Aid
  - o A poll of school boards found that most rejected new federal aid to public schools
  - o However, there was general approval of existing programs such as school lunches, which the NYT characterized as "surprising"
- May 24, 1962- New Plan on School Integration Approved by Powell Committee
  - o Article is mainly about desegregation, but it also mentions the committee's recommendation to remove the separate but equal provision from school lunches and that more children from low-income families be included in the program
- June 6, 1962- Bill for School-Lunch Aid to Depressed Area Gains
  - o House makes tentative approval of additional 10 million for school lunches for low-income individuals, the legislation would also change the funding formula to be based on participation rather than number of kids
- June 10, 1962- 30 Million Children Aided by Food-for-Peace Project
- June 16, 1962- US Aids Pupils Abroad
- July 4, 1962- US Buys Eggs to Ease Glut
  - o US bought eggs to ease oversupply in market, eggs went to school lunch program
- July 15, 1962- The Nation; Shift in HEW
  - o Article about change of directors of HEW
  - o Claims that one of the responsibilities of HEW is the 271 million dollar school lunch and special milk program
- July 20, 1962- Softer Farm Bill Passed by House
  - o Bill lessens the price controls for farmers, also retains a provision where surplus crops can be sent to the school lunch program in foreign countries
- July 20, 1962- US Assails Coup in Peru, Halts Aid Program
- August 18, 1962 Peru Junta Gets US Recognition But No Arms Aid
  - o Alliance for Progress program also restarted, which provides school lunches to needy children in foreign countries
- August 21, 1962- Peace Lunches Increase
- August 29, 1962- Senate Adopts Samoa Bill
  - o Senate adopts a bill that will expand the school lunch program to American Samoa
- August 31, 1962- Johnson To Warn Cyprus on Reds
  - o School lunch programs of initiatives sent to Cyprus
- September 1, 1962- City Study Shows. .
  - o Smaller article below states that the dept of ag was purchasing turkeys to stabilize price and distributing them to the school lunch program
- September 1 1962- Johnson Arrives for Athens Talk
  - o Mention of the school lunch program in Cyprus
- September 3, 1962- School Boards Shun Wide Federal Aid
  - o School board surveys again show lack of support for federal aid but support for special programs such as school lunches
- September 6, 1962- Italy to Get US Food
  - o Food to be used for school lunches
- September 16, 1962- Caught in the Junior Rat Race

- Article about kids in suburbia, begins with example of kid given a fifty dollar bill to pay for a 35 cent school lunch
- September 18, 1962- Farm Bill Cleared- GOP Will Fight It
  - Mention of approval for overseas school lunches in the bill
- September 22, 1962- U of Wis
  - Article below notes that the senate passed the bill changing the school lunch formula to one based on participation, senate passed a three-year transition while house had had a one-year transition
- September 26, 1962- Farm Bill Sent to White House
  - Again, provisions about school lunches overseas mentioned. Kennedy expected to sign bill, despite uniform republican opposition
- September 29, 1962- Cento Ministers Meet with Rusk
  - School lunches mentioned in reference to humanitarian efforts in foreign countries
- October 3, 1962- School Lunch Bill Gets Conferees Fast Approval
  - Quick approval of two versions of bill to change apportion formula for school lunches
- October 8, 1962- Food News
  - Suggestions for mothers on packing interesting lunch boxes
- October 10, 1962- Far Right Groups Flourish in Texas
  - Article about the far right, mentions conservative rejection of school lunches
- October 16, 1962- Growers of Seed to Get 1.5 million
  - Mentions to the funding of school lunch program and its role as an outlet for surplus perishable commodities
- October 16 1962- Preparation Corner for School Lunch Advised
  - Is a suggestion for mothers on preparing school lunches
- October 17, 1962- New School Plan Approved by President
  - Kennedy signs amendments that change apportionment formula and gives extra funding for school lunches in needy areas
- October 20, 1962- US Buys Meat for Schools
  - Government purchase over 7 million pounds of meat for school lunches and assistance to needy persons
- October 22, 1962- Reid and Church Vie to Succeed Dooley in 26<sup>th</sup> District
  - The republican candidate supported school lunches although he did not support expanded federal aid to schools
- December 3, 1962- US to Help Brazil Improve Education
  - Alliance for Progress signed in Brazil, initiatives include school lunch programs
- 1963
- January 28, 1963 Fiscal Facts on Line
  - Opposition was occurring to President Kennedy's proposed budget, which increased spending and decreased taxes, leading to a deficit
  - One of the issues that was mentioned in unified opposition was that some programs, such as school lunches, were seen as wasteful to some groups and political necessary to others
- February 26, 1963 Budget Cuts Asked by Business Groups

- State chambers of commerce ask that the federal budget—including “health, space, school lunch, and public works and other programs” be cut to allow for tax reductions
- March 7, 1963 Kennedy Insists on Tax Reforms as Well as Cuts
  - Article follows a Kennedy speech on the budget; he desired a reform to the tax plan as well as tax cuts. He also discussed the budget cut recommendations; the administration had considered cutting “school lunches and aid to dependent children” but decided to hold funding steady rather than increasing funding to the programs
- March 7, 1963 Text of President Kennedy’s News Conference on Foreign and Domestic Affairs
  - Discusses ADC and school lunches together, characterizes them as programs that are “essential to a better life for our people”
- March 28, 1963 10-Year Farm Aid Put at 9.6 Billion
  - The budget reports for farm aid from 1952-1962 totaled 9.6 billion. 3.5 billion of that expense came from the Section 32 Tariff Law and school lunches
- April 6, 1963 US to Start Buying Lard
  - The US was buying lard to bolster prices, the lard would go to needy institutions and school lunches
- April 14, 1963 US Gains Found in Latin America
  - The Alliance for Progress school lunches are discussed. There is some concern that the program encourages children to go to schools that are led by Communist teachers
- April 16, 1963 Digest of Mayor’s Budget Requests
  - cites addition of 3.4 million free lunches and expansion of day care center lunches as budget factor for city
- May 1, 1963 Untitled
  - US sold excess milk to Japan at a reduced price for their school lunch program
- May 21, 1963 Ribicoff Offers School Aid Plan
  - Part of his plan on private school was to provide federal funding for services such as school lunches at private schools
- June 22, 1963 3 Billion Budget Signed by Mayor
  - School lunches are listed as an income of nearly 10 million per year for the city
- July 4, 1963 Poultry Business Faces Drop
  - Fear of drop in chicken prices. The article mentions that depressed prices in 1961 were alleviated by selling to the school lunch program
- August 17, 1963 Pupils to Lunch on Turkey
  - Gov announced that it would buy turkeys for school lunch program, no mention of price drops
- August 18, 1963 Persuasive Mister Ed Changes Nigerian Outlook on Peace Corps
  - Subject of article was first to persuade Nigeria to accept school lunches from the US
- August 18, 1963 Stroessner Modernizing Paraguay
  - Mention of US providing school lunches in Paraguay
- August 18, 1963 US Ships Fight for Milk Cargo, Terming it as Part of Aid Program
  - The milk involved is part of foreign school lunches

- August 25, 1963 1600 Negroes to Go to Virginia Schools
  - o Students going to private schools, issues of funding their school lunches was mentioned
- August 29, 1963 2 Weeks Are Proclaimed
  - o Kennedy declares national school lunch week
- September 7, 1963 Mints Work Overtime to Cut Coin Shortage
  - o Mentions parents using change to give children money for school lunches
- September 13, 1963 US to Buy Cranberries
  - o US buying cranberries to bolster prices, were being given to “school lunches and eligible public institutions”
- September 19, 1963 School Aid in State Put at \$953,579,515
  - o A portion of that aid went to the school lunch program
- September 27, 1963 Report Card on School Meals
  - o Article mentions needy children, but focuses more on middle-class children in the school lunch program and discusses nutritional value and kids’ enjoyment of meals. A white child is featured in the accompanying photograph
- September 27, 1963 School Lunch Recipe: Take 437,000 Pupils and Fill Them Well
  - o Article focuses more on needy children’s participation in the NSLP. Claims that half of school lunches in NYC are free lunches and claims that priority is given to free lunch children.
- October 4, 1963 Dinner Dance for Haiti
  - o Proceeds from dance went to school lunches in Haiti
- October 8, 1963 State Asks Budget of 1.1 Billion for Schools, a 75 Million Rise
  - o 12.5 million went to the school lunch program
- October 20, 1963 Kentucky Miners: A Grim Winter
  - o Article about the impoverished people of Kentucky mines
  - o Mention of school lunches; they don’t exist in many rural schools because of lack of facilities
- Nov 14, 1963 Kentucky to Get Aid This Winter
  - o Emergency services to Kentucky included strengthening of the school lunch program
- Dec 19, 1963 5 Held on Charges of Padding Payroll for School Lunches
- 1964
- January 1, 1964 Harlem Tenants Cope With Cold
  - o Article is about extreme poverty in Harlem. The meal that the children get through the school lunch is credited with their health
- January 5, 1964 US Food for Peace Act to Aid Brazilian Children
  - o International school lunch mentioned
- January 15, 1964 Government’s Drive on Poverty Will Emphasize Local Initiative
  - o Discussion of Johnson’s announcement of War on Poverty, expansion of school lunch program to include breakfast was one of the proposed initiatives
- January 19, 1964 To Help the Poor
  - o Discussion of the war of poverty, the issues of pockets of poverty and the cycle of poverty. The expansion of school lunches to include breakfasts is seen as part of efforts to combat this.
- January 20, 1964 Albany Awaits Budget Message

- Among budget increases was a mandated increase in funding for the school lunch program
- January 22, 1964 Text of President's Message on Budget
- January 23, 1964 Text of Governor Rockefeller's Annual Budget Message to State Legislature
- February 1, 1964 President's Message to Congress Outlining His Program for Agriculture
  - Emphasis on use of school lunch program as an outlet for agriculture. Also emphasizes providing food to low-income areas
- February 1, 1964 Rights Bill Opened in House
  - Discussion of civil rights bill. Issue of southerners believing bill threatened federal funding for programs such as school lunches
- February 8, 1964 Churchmen Back Some School Aid
  - Issue of federal aid to parochial schools. Protestant clergymen agree to support federal aid to health and welfare programs such as school lunches
- February 17, 1964 Food News: Balance Vital in Diet of Teen-Agers
  - Article focuses on poor nutrition, but the home environment is focused as solution. School lunches only mentioned as time when boys and girls are eating in the same place
- February 23, 1964 India's Southland
  - CARE school lunches seen as factor in good health of children
- February 24, 1964 Who Shall Integrate?
  - Article claims that issues of Negro are not simply solved by integration; there are larger social problems. Mention of school lunches as only good meal for child in Harlem
- February 29, 1964 US Will Buy Beef in Move to Block Curb on Imports
  - Beef would go to school lunch and welfare programs
- March 6, 1964 Washington Proceedings
  - Freeman claims that all beef for school lunch program is produced in US
- March 8, 1964 Cattle Feeders Hit Senate vote
  - Purchase of beef for school lunches part of government's solution to overproduction of domestic beef
- March 23, 1964 Wagner Reports Poverty Afflicts One in Five Here
  - Focuses of the article were that poverty persists despite spending and that contrary to beliefs, the majority of the poor were white. However, more large families who were poor were non-white
- March 29, 1964 Welfare Group Will Celebrate Its 50<sup>th</sup> Year
  - Private charity has begun by serving school lunches to needy children before the board of education provided the same purpose
- April 1, 1964 School Lunches Face Check
  - Testing of radioactivity levels in school lunches initiated
- April 12, 1964 US is Buying Eggs to Support Prices
  - Dept of Ag supposedly beginning to buy eggs to bolster prices. Eggs to go to school lunch program
- April 15. 1964 Pentagon Buying More Beef for US Bases Overseas
  - Part of effort to bolster beef prices; beef purchases for school lunch programs another part of the effort



- April 16, 1964 Digest of Mayor's Budget Request
- April 26, 1964 School Foes Vie in Indianapolis
  - o One of the issues was previous administration favoring wealthier areas and spurning available federal aid for school lunches
- April 27, 1964 American Can Turns to Paper to Add Profits
  - o School lunches cited as potential source of profits for paper
- May 17, 1964 US Aid and Health II
  - o Article about success of the food for peace program worldwide
- May 19, 1964 Food Price Study Voted By Senate
  - o Study looks into pricing of marketing of food. Issue of falling beef prices and subsequent government purchases for school lunches is mentioned
- May 19, 1964 Rights Turnout Here Falls Short of Leaders' Goal
  - o As part of a protest for Negro rights and integration, several Negro students participated in a study-in at a white school where they were treated hospitality and ate school lunches
- June 20, 1964 Actions by Senate
  - o Passage of civil rights legislation
  - o Article ends with mention of Gore amendment that qualifies the cut-off of federal support for education programs, including school lunch, for districts that do not comply
- July 3, 1964 Farm Agency Hits Beef Import Curb
  - o More issues over cattle prices and imports. Purchase of beef for school lunches mentioned
- July 16, 1964 School Lunch Week Set
  - o School lunch week set; focuses on the need for adequate nutrition for school children
- July 30, 1964 Beef Bill Called Wrong Remedy
  - o State Department opposes efforts to control beef prices through limiting imports; efforts to stabilize prices through school lunch purchases mentioned
- August 4, 1964 US Buys Canned Cherries
  - o Used to bolster prices, given to school lunch program
- August 7, 1964 Vote Drive Urged by Urban League
  - o Article links the civil rights movement and anti-poverty efforts
- August 25, 1964 Text of Democratic Party Platform's Domestic Section as Approved by Committee
  - o Expansion of school lunches part of "rural America" section rather than social welfare portion of the platform
- August 30, 1964 Japanese Show a Gain in Height
  - o School lunch program cited as factor
- September 10, 1964 Humphrey Pledges Aid for Cattlemen
  - o Beef purchases for school lunches and needy families part of plan
- September 25, 1964 Senate Approves 3.3 Billion Plan for Foreign Aid
  - o School lunch programs part of effort—food for that from US farms, part of US farm price supports
- October 6, 1964 Food News: An Address by Freeman

- Freeman addresses overproduction of farmers as example of efficiency; says school lunch program expanding but still has a way to go
- October 10, 1964 Garment District Greets Keating
  - Candidate attacked as not being liberal due to several positions, including opposition to free school lunch program
- October 10, 1964 Mayor Attacks Pose of Keating
  - Similar to previous article; opposition that was characterized as “unliberal” because of opposition to programs included housing, food stamps, free school lunch, anti-poverty legislation, etc
- October 11, 1964 Keating Mends Italian Fences
  - Keating opposes many of the mayor’s claims, including his supposed opposition to school lunches
- October 12, 1964 Keating, Kennedy Show Agreement on Many Policies
  - One area of agreement was their support of federal aid to parochial schools for school lunches
- October 30, 1964 Canned Applesauce Sought
  - No mention of the purchase being for price controls, being purchased for school lunch program
- November 15, 1964 More School Lunches to India Will Be Furnished by CARE
  - Provisions come from surplus US stocks
- November 18 1964 Spellman Urges Clear Council Stand for School Aid
  - Another article discussing federal support for religious schools; school lunches mentioned
- November 19, 1964 2 Schools Test Frozen Lunches
  - Good general description of school lunches
  - Children photographed from multiple races; however, a school with kids from a variety of nationalities was purposefully selected for the test
- November 22, 1964 Brotherly. . . Love?
  - Article on sibling rivalry, seems to be targeted at upper crust, mention of school lunch boxes
- December 5, 1964 Rules to Enforce Rights Act Signed
  - One of the issues that was mentioned was the guarantee of equal distribution to Negroes of benefits under food stamps and school lunch program
- 1965
- January 1, 1965 Schools in South Face Loss of Aid
  - School lunches were one of the services that were threatened if South didn’t comply with Civil Rights legislation
- January 9, 1965 US Aid is Pledged for Jersey Eggs
  - Aid included a pledge to increase the consumption of eggs in the school lunch program
- January 10, 1965 Revolution in the Classroom
  - Suggestion of new program to distribute books to children who did not have books at home, seen as similar to the school lunch program
- January 13, 1965 Washington: How to Be an Artful Dodger in a Good Cause
  - Issue of federal aid to parochial schools, emphasis on impoverished kids in Catholic schools, school lunches mentioned

- January 15, 1965 Johnson's Message to Congress Outlining His 1966 Foreign Assistance Program
  - o Issue of communism versus freedom, school lunches mentioned as part of anti-communism effort
- January 26, 1965 Text of President's Message and An Analysis of Federal Budget of 99.7 million
- January 30, 1965 Aid to Parochial School
- February 7, 1965 Petronillo Learns to Write His Name
  - o Article about aid and conditions of poverty in Guatemala. The school lunch program through CARE is mentioned
- February 23, 1965 Roadblock to School Aid
  - o Powell withholding school aid legislation because income limits would exclude welfare recipients in NYC, constitutionality of school lunch program for parochial schools mentioned
- March 7, 1965 Schools in South Integrate to Bar Loss of US Aid
  - o Thought that Negro children would be most hurt by withdrawal of school lunch funds
- March 13, 1965 Church-State Schools- Letter to the Editor
  - o Corrects Roadblock to School Aid's portrayal of the constitutionality of school lunches. Also addresses mechanisms of federal funding
- April 1, 1965 President Hails Food-for Peace
  - o 40 million kids served through school lunch programs; focuses on it as an outlet for surplus supplies
- April 4, 1965 The Son of the Kingfish
  - o One of candidate's initiatives under his uncle's gubernatorial reign was free school lunches, which the article characterized as an "old school Louisiana Long program"
- April 7, 1965 Voice of Teenager Heard in Market
  - o School lunches one of expenses for teenagers
- April 9, 1965 Johnson's Cabinet Nearly Meets Press
  - o Cabinet meeting opened to the press. Freeman discusses food stamps, school lunches and insects
- April 10, 1965 Ervin Bid Raises School Aid Doubt
  - o Issue of federal funding to religious schools. School lunches one of programs that would be funded.
- April 15, 1965 Appalachia: Poverty, Beauty, Poverty
  - o Focuses on poverty in Appalachia. School lunch program is discussed, claims that people are too proud to take free lunches
- May 14, 1965 1.2 Billion Budgeted for City's Social Services
  - o school lunch program mentioned
- May 14, 1965 Digest of Mayor's Budget Message
- May 26, 1965 Washington: The Push to the Left
  - o Article about the upcoming Negro battle for economic equality
- June 21, 1965 Summer Lunch Program
  - o Focus on the poverty element of school lunches, sees the program as anti-poverty. No mention of crops.

- July 6, 1965 US Guide to List Helpful Agencies
  - o List of various welfare programs; school lunch program listed as one of food programs
- July 7, 1965 Chicago Officials Warn on Schools
  - o Notes that school lunch program is aimed at inferior children
- July 17, 1965 Free Food Plan for Mexico Halts
  - o Issues around Mexico's selling of wheat to communist china leads to end of donated supplies for school lunches from the US.
- August 3, 1965 May A. Healy, 67, Aide to Teachers
  - o Woman was a lobbyist for various education issues, including school lunch legislation
- October 26, 1965 Initials of Children's Fund Seen in Hinterlands of World
  - o Article about international relief efforts of UN, including provision of school lunches in Guatemala
- November 4, 1965 Chester, PA School Board to Consider Lunch Rule
  - o The school board was considering a rule that required all children to pay for their lunch, regardless if they brought a lunch from home
- November 8, 1965 Johnson May Revise Food Aid Policy
  - o The revision of food aid policy would limit US distribution of food internationally. Supplies of US surplus had dwindled
- November 12, 1965 Board Shifts Stand on School Lunches
  - o The board overturned the rule that all children had to pay for the school lunches, even if they bring food from home. The board indicated that this decision might force them to discontinue hot meals for poor children
- November 23, 1965 Brooklyn Opens Ultramodern School
  - o School is majority Negro. Has new methods of serving hot school lunches through a grant from the Ford Foundation
- November 28, 1965 New Board Asked on City Colleges
  - o Organization had been instrumental in other education efforts, including free school lunches
- 1966
- January 25, 1966 Text of President's Message and Analysis of Federal Budget
- January 28, 1966 Millions Face Loss of Low-Cost Milk
  - o Johnson recommends slashing the budget for the federal special milk program and adding more funding in the school lunch program for needy children and children in schools without school meal programs
- February 5, 1966 M'Namara Balks at Public Inquiry
  - o Argument made that if the school lunch program can be cut for the Vietnam war effort then foreign aid could also be cut
- February 17, 1966 Johnson Tells Educators US Must Stay in Vietnam
  - o Article mainly about Vietnam, but he also said in his speech that one of his priorities for American education was an overhaul of the school lunch system
- March 2, 1966 School Food Plan Faces Stiff Fight
  - o Johnson's proposed cuts to special milk program along with new focus on the needy received a lot of disagreement in Congress
  - o Some believed that it was simply a Vietnam ploy

- Also opposition occurred because expansions for the needy resulted in cuts to the regular school lunch program
- March 17, 1966 Patton Quits Post with Farm Union
  - one of changes that new administration called for was restoration of cuts to the school lunch and milk plan
- April 1, 1966 Transcript of President's Message on Foreign and Domestic Affairs
  - Johnson complains that the congress reversed his reductions in special milk program
  - Quote- " I would like to have a million and a half children who have no school lunch at all to have a school lunch before a rich man's child gets milk at a subsidy"
- April 16, 1966 Digest of Mayor Lindsay's Budget Message
- April 20, 1966 Kennedy Assails Johnson's Plans for Budget Cuts
  - Kennedy claims that Johnson's proposed cuts to programs, including school lunches, hurt "particular the disadvantaged children who live in the vast urban ghettos and the rural hollows of the nation"
- April 20, 1966 Officials Doubt a Tax Rise in '66
  - The questions at a luncheon indicated "grassroots doubts about cutbacks in school lunches, mixups in Medicare and rising grocery prices"
  - Mother of 9 asked "with all the programs concentrating on the poor, the young and the aged, what can be done for the middle-class and middle-aged?"
- April 23, 1966 House Panel Rebuffs Johnson on Cuts in School Lunch Aid
  - Johnson's proposed cuts to the school lunch and milk program were rejected
  - The cut to the milk program would have eliminated milk subsidies for approximately 80% of children
  - Claims that Johnson's budget proposal would give less support to the agricultural sector, threatening the whole economy
- April 27, 1966 Johnson Set back By House on Cuts to School Meals
  - The rejection of cuts to milk and lunch program passed by 366 to 23 as part of 6.9 billion agriculture appropriation bill
- April 28, 1966 The Five Percent Budget-Cut Fiasco
  - Republicans had called for an overall 5% budget cut; however, this goal was eliminated with the agricultural department appropriations because members of Congress believed that the milk and school lunch programs would be the most vulnerable
- May 1, 1966 The Nation: Nobody Wants to Make Those Budget Cuts Now a Tough One
  - Johnson's cut to the school lunch programs viewed as strategic, to get congress to up spending
  - "such programs tend to generate considerable public emotion. Congressmen know that their constituents are likely to bridle at the idea of cuts in funds to feed poor American children, while the US simultaneously is feeding the poor abroad"
- May 8, 1966 House Republicans Will Press Help for Farmers
  - Attempted cuts to school lunch and milk programs seen as efforts to keep down agricultural prices and an attempt by Johnson to make farmers the scapegoat of inflation
- May 9, 1966 Johnson Supports Freeman's Policy

- Johnson's failed attempt to cut the school lunch budget mentioned
- Idea that Johnson was trying to make farmers absorb the shock of inflation by reducing controls
- May 10, 1966 President's Proclamation
  - Tribute to Truman, school lunch act mentioned as one of his contributions to the welfare of American people
- May 25, 1966 Excerpts from Recommendations of White House Civil Rights Council
  - Expansion of school lunches mentioned in section entitled "restructure public assistance and related welfare programs"
- June 28, 1966 Dry Milk Going to Japan
  - US selling milk to Japan at reduced cost for their school lunch program
- June 30, 1966 Breakfast Plan for Pupils Gains
  - Breakfast program had initially been suggested by Johnson as a substitute for cuts in school lunch and milk program.
  - Congress instead added the program on
  - Indicates that a large portion of the federal support for school lunch goes to buying surplus agricultural commodities
  - Price supports for milk were also increased
- July 3, 1966 Poor Regain Jobs in Philadelphia
  - One of services that was provided to the poor as part of OEO programs was school lunches
- July 13, 1966 Washington Proceedings
  - Appropriations committee of Senate approved a 7 billion agriculture bill, rejecting the attempt to slash school lunch program
- July 16, 1966 Senate Votes Funds for Farm Programs
  - Another article about appropriations bill
  - Fact that school lunch cuts were rejected mentioned
  - Food stamps budget also mentioned; characterized as for the "needy" while school lunches was not
- July 23, 1966 US to Buy Turkeys
  - US to buy turkeys to raise prices, turkeys will be given to the school lunch program
- July 31, 1966 School Lunch Week Proclaimed
- August 7, 1966 New Direction in the US: Right?
  - Predicts that the US could move to the right in upcoming elections because of displeasure with the economy, Vietnam, the war on poverty and the extremism of civil rights movement
  - Article disagrees with conservatives who supported the increase in school lunch program funding
- August 14, 1966 Education: Still Church vs. State in Schools
  - Federal support for private school lunches mentioned
- August 30, 1966 US Analyses Said to Cheat Farmers
  - Congressman Quie claims that US cheated farmers. He had previously accused the country of keeping farm prices down by trying to cut back on the school lunch and milk program
- September 17, 1966 All White Private School Opens in Louisiana

- Because of boycotts, the public school's school lunch program was not functioning
- October 6, 1966 House Votes an Extension of School Milk Program
  - School breakfast program was introduced but 355 of 435 million billion went to school milk program
- October 10, 1966 Scarsdale Split on School Lunch
  - About the desire for Scarsdale parents to allow lunch at the schools; does not indicate that they want a program but that they want children to be allowed to bring their lunches to schools because of dangerous traffic and mother's volunteer commitments
- October 12, 1966 Johnson Signs Bill to Provide Meals for Needy Pupils
  - Passage of the Child Nutrition Act, focuses mainly on the act's role as a measure for the hungry
- October 23, 1966 Dirksen Appraises the Great Society
  - Highly critical of Great Society, school lunch program included as part of this
- October 23, 1966 Catholic Pupil Aid Stirs Philadelphia
  - Approval of government funding for school lunches mentioned
- November 6, 1966 Food-makers Get Profit Nutrition
  - Article about the growth of processed and frozen foods industries. The growth of the school lunch program (6%) and their turn towards processed foods was mentioned
- November 6, 1966 Pre-school 'Irrelevance'
  - Article about the need for education to be in touch with the community. Need for administrators not to treat the school lunch program as an 'afterthought' because of the problem of nutrition
  - Focuses on an inner-city setting, mentioning Harlem and Spanish immigrants
- November 7, 1966 Chile at Critical Point of Revolution
  - US support of Chilean school lunches mentioned
- November 13, 1966 Turkey and Trimming Likely to Cost More This Year
  - One of the reasons for the rising turkey prices was the government's removal of turkeys from the market for the school lunch program
- December 17, 1966 US Will Assist Citrus Industry
  - Made plans to purchase citrus to bolster prices. Citrus would be used for the school lunch program
- December 28, 1966 US to Give More to School Lunches
  - Department of Agriculture planned to give more commodity donations in the second half of the year because this was when school lunch programs ran into the greatest issues
- 1967
- January 24, 1967 Freeman Vows to Act on Dipping Farm Prices
  - Freeman again concerned by dips in farm prices; was going to purchase more food for school lunch programs and programs for welfare recipients
- January 25, 1967 25.6 Billion in Aid to Poor Listed in US Programs
  - No racial element to the story
  - School lunches listed as one of existing programs for the poor
- January 25, 1967 Text of President's Budget Message

- January 26, 1967 Interfaith Leaders Seeking Ways to Avoid Controversy in Albany
  - o Another article about state aid to parochial schools
- February 9, 1967 Text of President Johnson's Special Message to Congress on Children and Youth
  - o One of Johnson's suggestions was to expand the lunch program to preschools
  - o Besides this, school lunches are oddly left out of his entire address
- March 18, 1967 Children's Meal Plan Held Up
  - o House agriculture committee was postponing decision on expanding school lunch program to group homes
- March 19, 1967 Study Here Finds Living Cost Gains
  - o Increased school lunch costs one factor in rise
- April 14, 1967 Johnson Offers Technological Projects to Latins
  - o Expansion of school feeding program included
- April 14, 1967 Text of Johnson's Speech at Uruguay Conference
- April 15, 1967 Johnson Hails Conference
- June 7, 1967 House Votes to End Cropland Aid
  - o Reduction seen as measure to allow more food to go to Vietnam and prevent starvation in Asia
  - o Program would put more land in production
  - o Lack of food for school lunch program seen as factor in legislation
- June 14, 1967 Dominicians Find Economic Progress Coming Slowly
- August 17, 1967 Johnson Calls on Senate to Pass Full Urban Aid
  - o References the civil disorders of the summer and what can be done to address them. School lunches not major part of article but part of aid request breakdown
- August 21, 1967 Putting First Things First
  - o Article claims that school lunches are "scarcely controversial and only peripherally related to the current racial unrest"
- August 29, 1967 Letter to the Editor
  - o Related to parochial school funding controversy
- August 31, 1967 School Lunch Week Set
- October 8, 1967 School Lunch Drive Asked
  - o Drive focused on expanding programs to needy children
- October 15, 1967 De Gaulle Urging Birth Rate Rise
  - o France's president urging rise in birth rate by offering incentives, such as cheaper school lunches, to families with more children
- October 18, 1967 Indian Sees End of Food Shortage
  - o Notes the help of school lunch programs to children in India
- October 27, 1967 Supports of Aid to Parochial Schools Call Ad Inaccurate
- October 28, 1967 New York Trouble Over 'Blaine'
  - o Another article about aid to parochial schools
- November 4, 1967 Students in Church Schools Get \$60 million a year in Federal Aid
- November 5, 1967 New York Vote
  - o Parochial school aid for school lunches mentioned
- November 8, 1967 Parts of Defeated Charter May Be Salvaged and Put on Later Ballots
  - o Elections demonstrated public support for aid to parochial schools
  - o School lunches mentioned



- 1968
- January 3, 1968 Kennedy Interrupts Ski Trip to Visit Indian Reservation
  - o Discovered that weekly school lunch costs were straining families' budgets
- January 29, 1968 Few Lose Jobs as Attrition Reduces Government Spending
  - o The agriculture department cut school lunch program by 5.8 million, but it was the smallest dollar cut in their department
- March 6, 1968 House Votes an Extension of School Lunch Program
  - o School lunches expanded to day-care centers for preschoolers in low-income areas
- March 6, 1968 The Proceedings in Washington
  - o Another mention of House bill; includes that the bill extended the free breakfast program in impoverished areas
- March 28, 1968 School Board Learns Some Basic Economics
  - o School board discovered way to open cans of peanut butter from government that were used as part of school lunch program
- April 17, 1968 Women's Panel Charges School Lunch Program Ignores Needy
  - o Article on Committee on School Lunch Participation's book
  - o NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund were pursuing a law-suit aimed to improving the inadequacies of the school lunch program
- April 18, 1968 Senate Approves Pilot School Lunch Plan
  - o Program to expand breakfast program and provide meals to children in preschools in poor areas was passed by senate despite disapproval by Senate Agriculture Committee
  - o Ellender of Agriculture Committee opposed the measure as one that turned the program into a "welfare program"
- April 19, 1968 City School Lunch Program Will Be Discussed By Panel
  - o It was noted that program had special significance in disadvantaged areas; no mention of race
- April 23, 1968 High Court Scans Private Pupil Aid
- May 6 1968 Free Lunch—For Some
  - o Appears to be editorial sparked by committee on school lunch participation report
  - o Focus on poor children and children in slums and rural or urban schools
  - o No overt mention of racism
- May 9, 1968 Johnson Signs Food Bill
  - o Johnson signs appropriations of 96 million to states to set up or expand pilot food programs
  - o No mention of demographics (targeting poorer areas, etc)
- May 23, 1968 March's Leaders Oust Youth Gangs
  - o Article about Resurrection City and the activities by gang members and various problems that they were encountering
  - o One of the only political activities mentioned was a march to the capitol to obtain an open hearing on the food stamp and school lunch program before the House Education and Labor Committee
- May 30, 1968 Funds for Poor Freed by Senate
  - o Amendment expanding food relief through commodities distribution and school lunch program passed the senate narrowly

- June 3, 1968 Text of Rustin Call for Rally in Support of Poor
  - o Bayard Rustin was coordinator of Poor People's Campaign
  - o Opposes major subsidies to wealthy farmers while 2 out of 3 poor children don't get a free school lunch
- June 9, 1968 Freeman Criticized on Nutrition
  - o Letter to the editor from a nutritionist in response to Freeman's criticism of CBS documentary *Hunger in America*
  - o Criticizes his being a lobbyist for special farming groups rather than a proponent of nutrition
- June 15, 1968 Poor People's Leaders Expect Extensions of Permits for Camp
  - o The group's goals were outlined, which included a number of food initiatives, including an expansion of the number of free school lunches
- June 19, 1968 Proceedings in Washington
  - o House Education and Labor approved an additional 100 million for the school lunch program
- June 23, 1968 Hunger is Not for Quibbling
  - o Article about the CBS documentary, *Hunger in America*; very favorable of the documentary and very critical of the Department of Agriculture and Secretary Freeman
  - o Does connect the documentary to the events in Resurrection City
- June 23, 1968 Reuther Plans Food Watch
  - o President of United Auto Workers planned a watchdog group to make sure that food was distributed appropriately to the needy
- June 30, 1968 Poor People's Drive Makes Gains, Fails to Reach Goals
  - o One of successes was a potential increase in appropriations for the school lunch program
- July 2, 1968 House Votes Funds for School Lunches
  - o House increased appropriations by 100 million; listed as one of goals of Poor People's Campaign; needy were identified as major target
  - o Passed with little opposition
- July 7, 1968 Federal Food Programs
  - o Letter to the editor by Orville Freedman in response to Jean Mayer's report
- July 7, 1968 The anger and problems and sickness of the poor of the whole nation were in this one shantytown: Resurrection City
  - o Long article/essay about the events and activities in Resurrection City, including their lobbying for school lunches
- July 8, 1968 A Victory For Hungry Children
  - o Editorial praising the House's passage of an additional 100 million for the school lunch program; notes that the battle for school lunch is far from finished
- July 21, 1968 14 States Forfeit US Help to Poor
  - o Article cites states not taking or using federal money for programs, mainly AFDC and also the school lunch program, to aid the poor adequately
- July 22, 1968 Week's Votes in Congress
  - o Ellender amendment replaced Javits amendment for school lunch appropriations; increased appropriations but less so than Javits would have
- July 26, 1968 School Lunches Backed

- House and Senate passed additional 59 million for school lunch funds for needy children
- Aug 27, 1968 Key Planks of Democratic Platform Accepted by Convention Platform Committee
  - Expansion of free meals to needy children part of platform
- September 3, 1968 Suburban School Face Big City Problems
  - Some of these problems included the elimination of school lunch programs due to budgetary concerns
- October 31, 1968 Bronx Contest Pits Young Challenger Against Scheuer
  - Fight to gain votes in a district with more Puerto Rican and black voters; one of the candidates initiatives had been expansion of school lunch program
- November 20, 1968 US Sued for Rise in Food for Poor
  - Group of lawyers funded through anti-poverty grants sued the federal government to gain food program changes that the Poor People's Campaign had been unable to achieve previously
  - The group was seeking to distance themselves from the Poor People's Campaign SCLC saying they had "the same goals but different methods"
- December 3, 1968 School Lunch Purchases
  - Agriculture department resuming purchases of ground beef and corn for the school lunch program
- December 10, 1968 1.34 Billion Budget Asked for Schools
  - Decentralized method was introduced for NYC schools; this could result in increased costs for some programs, including school lunches
- December 14, 1968 US Moves to Spur School Lunch Plan
  - New funding formula introduced that would encourage the spread of school lunch program to cover more poor children
- 1969
- January 9, 1969 Freeman Urges Drive on Hunger
  - Freeman tells Senate panel that another 1 billion could end problem of hunger
  - Mentions that school lunches compromise about half of food programs now
  - There is opposition to expanded food programs by Southern conservatives, who do not support the transition of farm price controls to welfare programs
- January 22, 1969 Excerpts from Rockefeller's Message to Legislature Asking a Trimmed Budget
- January 29, 1969 Board Publishes City School Plan for 30 Districts
  - Administration of school lunches mentioned
- January 29, 1969 Hungry Americans
  - Editorial argues that in order to combat nutrition, agricultural policies designed to keep prices high need to be abandoned
- January 31, 1969 Mayor Will Seek New Fire Engine
  - Convenience food kitchens being installed in 350 kitchens throughout the city
- February 2, 1969 Malnutrition "The Morbid Chain Must Be Broken"
  - Discussion of Senate hearings on issues of malnutrition
  - Race not mentioned, but Mississippi a center of focus
  - Complaint that programs such as school lunches designed for agriculture rather than the poor

- Article begins with McGovern's dismay
- February 6, 1969 Federal Food Aid
  - Letter to the editor
  - Argues that immediate action is needed to combat hunger
  - Cites the US Commission on Civil Rights claiming that welfare recipients are not receiving food stamps; claims that most school districts do not offer school lunch
- February 7, 1969 Governor Details Federal Food Plan
  - One of efforts was to eliminate the inclusion of school lunch payments in welfare plans because students were receiving lunch free
- February 14, 1969 Student's Ouster Backed by Judge
  - Student distributed disruptive underground school paper in his school lunch room
- February 21, 1969 McGovern Asks Lunch Aid
  - McGovern asks that school lunches be exempt from the cut off of federal aid for Southern school due to Civil Rights issues
- February 21, 1969 Nixon Aides Plan Free Food for Poor in Carolina
  - Article focused on food stamps in South Carolina. NAACP featured as part of effort
  - School lunches mentioned as part of funding issue for the new program
- February 24, 1969 The Hungry Are Heard
  - Issue of agricultural policies not being helpful to poor, school lunches mentioned
- March 4, 1969 7 Youths Seized in School Melee
  - Negro students arrested in fight that broke out in school cafeteria
- March 14, 1969 Lindsay Warned on School Budget
  - Economies in operation of school lunch program part of proposed budget cuts
- March 18, 1969 1 Billion Sought to Attack Hunger
  - Initiatives included consolidation of school lunch, daycare and breakfast programs
  - No mention of race, but call to place issue of hunger above politics
- March 23, 1969 Hunger and Politics: Democrats and Republicans Argue About Who Cares Most
  - "prejudice" in some more conservative counties cited for reason of failure of programs including school lunches
- March 28, 1969 Jersey City Gets a "Mom Squad" for Delinquents
  - No mention of race, belief that presence of moms in places like school lunch rooms will reduce delinquency
- April 4, 1969 School Lunch Cut is Weighed by City in Face of Budget Gap
  - Other issues weighed were rise in real estate tax. Medicaid and welfare had been cut in addition to school lunches
- April 6, 1969 Does Robert Finch Have A Soul?
  - Long article about Robert Finch, Nixon's Secretary of HEW
- April 16, 1969 Text of Mayor Lindsay's Message Submitting City's 6.6 Billion Expense Budget
- April 18, 1969 City Faces Delay on Food Stamps
  - Budgetary problems reason for delay
  - Article also mentions that DC was developing programs for school lunches in summer recreation centers and WIC; New York was thinking of instituting similar programs

- April 19, 1969 PS 39 in Harlem Picketed by Parents for Third Day
  - o Issues of racism reasons for picket; children still came for free school lunch and were seen taking extra food away
- April 21, 1969 Rockefeller to Ask Anti-Hunger Bill
  - o New bill mainly focuses on increases to food stamps and aid to welfare recipients; a cut to the school lunch program for welfare recipients was part of legislation
- May 8, 1969 More City Funds Seen for 3 Units
  - o Some racism towards the poor who were protesting cuts seen (Spanish speaking, note of accents, etc); one complained of poor school lunches
- May 9, 1969 The Council's Budget Magic
  - o Characterizes school lunches as a vital aspect of the war on hunger
  - o Expresses desire that council can stop proposed cuts to city budget
- May 13, 1969 50 % Realty Tax Cut for Elderly Due for Vote Today
  - o Desire to restore cuts to school lunch program mentioned
- May 20, 1969 In Its Final Hours, School Board Gives Raise to Food Aides
  - o School lunch workers given raise
- May 21, 1969 Restoration of 79 Million to City Budget is Assured
- May 24, 1969 Hunger Reports Scored in House
  - o FBI and House committee attempts to undercover inaccuracies in *Hunger in America* and *Hunger USA*
  - o Also approved more money for programs including school lunches
  - o Also ended the school milk program and channeled money for food programs for needy
- May 25, 1969 The 80 Million Misunderstanding
  - o Money returning to school lunch programs mentioned
- May 28, 1969 Farm Aid Ceiling Revoted in House
  - o Republicans are against farm subsidies while democrats support it
  - o Issue of farmers getting money while food programs are not able to provide for hungry
- May 31, 1969 Inadequate Nutrition: A Classless Problem
  - o Type A school meals seen as model for good nutrition
- June 1, 1969 Farms: An Attack on Big Subsidies Kicks Up Storm
  - o Another article about the cuts to subsidies for farmers; this cut is linked with increases to school lunch program and aid to needy
- June 1, 1969 Members of Hadassah Volunteer to Aid Pupils as Homework
  - o Hadassah is a women's Zionist organization; working as school lunch volunteers as part of their efforts to assist poor children
- June 6, 1969 Bias Against Welfare Children is Reported
  - o Bias in programs including the school lunch program is reported by mothers; reports are coming from Harlem
- June 9, 1969 New School Board Warns of "Disaster" in Budget Cut
  - o One of things that may be cut is 1/3 cut to free school lunch program for needy
- June 11, 1969 Board of Education Refuses to Take "Even One Step Backward" Because of Budget Reductions
  - o One of promises is that all needy children will get school lunches
- June 12, 1969 Threat to Schools

- Editorial about previous article; believes that other services besides education need to be cut, but believes that school board needs to work with budget also
- June 20 1969 US Lunch Plan Scored in Study
  - Ford Foundation report attacked school lunch calling it “America’s most persistent food scandal”
  - Issue of lunches not being delivered to poor
- August 7, 1969 New Hampshire’s Poor
  - Letter to the editor, race not mentioned, but school lunches grouped with welfare and food stamps
- August 8, 1969 High Cost Placed on Ending Hunger
  - 4 billion estimated to end hunger
  - food commodities, food stamps and school lunch program mentioned
- August 12, 1969 Poverty in Passaic
  - Letter to the editor; argues that the Board of Education’s cuts to free school lunch program hurt the poor and the black.
  - “Many black and Puerto Rican children come to school without breakfast and get no lunch”
- September 6, 1969 In City’s Schools. Increasing Numbers of Hot Lunches Start in a Freezer
  - Cites ethnic diversity in school lunches; Negroes mentioned, but other ethnic groups are also. Photo shows children in Chinatown
- September 11, 1969 Rockefeller Seeks Relief for Hospitals
  - Rockefeller does not respond to Lindsay’s call for restoration of state aid for school lunches
- September 11, 1969 US Aide Suggests School Lunch Idea for Feeding Aged
- September 13, 1969 Governor Seeks a Surplus of 35 Million in Budget
- September 14, 1969 White House Food and Health Parley in Trouble
  - Participants in White House conference on nutrition included representatives from NAACP and SCLC
- September 17, 1969 Lunch Plan in City Schools Threatened
  - Threat of having to cut the free lunch program by half
  - Free lunch program characterized as “program which serves children from welfare families and others in need”
- September 18, 1969 Lunch Program Under Fire
  - White House conference on nutrition criticizes the school lunch program for not reaching 2 of 3 schoolchildren
- September 19, 1969 School Lunch Price Goes Up 10 Cents
  - Reasons for increase include salaries for school lunch workers and increased food costs
- September 20, 1969 Welfare Charges Rebutted By City
  - Interesting article about Lindsay dropping blacks and Puerto Ricans off welfare rolls for political purposes, school lunches barely mentioned though
- September 30, 1969 Washington Proceedings
  - Senate heard testimony that only 1/3 of poor children reached by school lunch program
- October 6, 1969 Schools Lunch Up 16c to 45c to 60c Today

- Similar to previous article; free lunches again characterized as going to welfare recipients and other needy children who qualify
- October 15, 1969 Daily Products Bill Favored
  - Bill would provide dairy products for school lunch and other programs
- October 15, 1969 Hadassah Widens Efforts to Aid Under-privileged Children
  - No mention of race, welfare, etc in the article
- November 21, 1969 State Unit Offers School-Aid Plans
  - Issue of school lunches in private schools being paid for by federal benefits
- November 23, 1969 Panels Planning White House Conference on Nutrition Urge Substantial Cash Aid to Poor
  - Other recommendations included more money for school lunches and transfers of food stamps, commodities and school lunch to HEW
- November 28, 1969 Pupil Lunch Program Held Deficient in Aiding the Poor
  - Political games blamed for school lunch program not fulfilling its mission of providing lunches to poor children
- December 2, 1969 Nixon and Hunger: Parley Called Test of Commitment
  - Main goals of White House conference were guarantee of minimum income of poor, expansion of existing programs such as food stamps and expansion of school lunch programs to include poor
- December 3, 1969 Text of President Nixon's Speech to the White House Conference on Food, Nutrition and Health
  - Photo features Jean Fairfax, black head of NAACP legal services and director of the conference
- December 7, 1969 Cities Look in Vein For a Lifeline
  - Mentions issues of American cities; issue of money being diverted from school lunches (some confusing state/city funding thing); state of negroes in inner city mentioned, but not in relation
- December 9, 1969 Transcript of the President's News Conference on Foreign and Domestic Affairs
  - Question of why Nixon was lobbying against food stamp and school lunch program bill that were stuck in the house; Nixon says that conference's recommendations would result in tax increases for Americans
- December 11, 1969 NEA Urges Nixon to Free Money for School Lunches
  - Based on recommendations from White House conference, urged emergency money for school lunches, also urged transfer of lunches to HEW
- December 12, 1969 Orange Crop Dip in Florida Seen
  - Juice bought for school lunch program to raise price of Florida oranges
- December 15, 1969 Free Lunches Missing
  - Cites discrimination and humiliation of children on free lunches; sees lunch program as failure to translate federal money to effective programs
- December 25, 1969 Governor Pledges 17 Million to Save Free School Lunches
- December 25, 1969 Quotation of the Day
  - Quotation from Jean Fairfax on the costs of increasing school lunch program—"it will cost what it will cost"
- December 25, 1969 White House Acts to Provide Meals for More Pupils

- Rule allows private school lunch companies to provide lunches, touted as potentially increasing the number of lunches to poorer children
- December 26, 1969 New Plan for School Lunches
  - Editorial praises new initiative to allow private companies to serve to poorer children, but calls for more changes to increase the spread of school lunches
- December 30, 1969 In The Nation: Whispering Hope
  - Sees Nixon's plan to provide private meals to students to expand school lunch program part of effort to reach out to black Americans
- 1970
- January 8, 1970 Excerpts from Governor Rockefeller's Address at the Opening of the Legislature
  - Rockefeller wants to establish a breakfast program for children in inner-city schools
- January 9, 1970 Welfare March on Albany Set Up
  - Free school breakfasts and lunch part of demands asked by mothers in march
- January 15, 1970 Rockefeller Asks Fund for Harlem
  - Part of money Rockefeller asked for was for school lunch program
- January 15, 1970 Book of the Times: Seven Million Hungry Children
  - Review of Nick Kotz's *Let Them Eat Promises*
  - Described as a sort of unhappy birthday card for MLK
- January 20, 1970 Citizens Committee Exerts Strong Influence in Childcare Plans
  - Citizens Committee is organization of women who were looking into inadequacies of school lunches, including lack of facilities and increased price
  - Photo has black women and one white woman, unclear if organization was primarily white or black
- January 20, 1969 Excerpts from Rockefeller's Message to the Legislature Asking a Higher Budget
- January 21, 1970 Mothers Disrupt HEW Hearing
  - Group of welfare mothers stormed hearings, among demanded services were more free lunches and daycares
- February 3, 1970 Poverty: Poor People Will Get More Aid, But Federal Emphasis Changes
  - One aspect of the program will provide additional money to school lunches which should cover free school lunches for all poor children
- February 6, 1970 2 Business Groups Hit State Budget
  - Business groups claim that revenues are not available for recent state budget allocations like additional money for school lunches
- February 15, 1970 Education: New Battle Over the Blaine Amendment
- February 17, 1970 Assembly Votes Repeal of Blaine
- February 21, 1970 Washington: For the Record
  - Senate passed an extra 30 million for school lunches, which was running out of money
- February 24, 1970 Senate Amends Pupil-Lunch Bill
  - Legislation would do a number of things, including expand breakfast program, expand eligibility for free lunch, allow federal government to take over poorer



- counties programs and force states to report on spending for school lunch programs
- February 25, 1970 Senate Broadens School Lunch Aid
    - o Legislation discussed in previous article passed; set up national standards for free and reduced lunches for the first time
  - February 25, 1970 Washington For the Record
    - o Passage of Senate lunch legislation
  - February 27, 1970 Washington For the Record
    - o House passed by voice extra 30 million for school lunch program
  - March 2, 1970 This Week's Votes by Area Members of Congress
    - o Roll-call for previous senate legislation—results were all yeas and some non-voting for local politicians
  - March 4, 1970 State Seen Aiding Church Schools
  - March 14, 1970 Washington For the Record
    - o President Nixon signed previously discussed legislation
  - March 17, 1970 Cahill Planning Program To Aid Parochial Schools
  - March 22, 1970 Why Can't We Just Give Them Food?
    - o Long, detailed article about food programs and their role in ending hunger
  - March 27, 1970 Albany Approves Budget Cut of 117 Million
  - April 25, 1970 Report on Hunger in US to Be Released Monday
    - o Report released timed with welfare reform and reauthorization of school lunch and food stamp programs
  - April 26, 1970 Letter to the Editor
    - o From Jean Mayer, only half of letter present but declares that more can be done for school lunch reform but progress is being made
  - April 28, 1970 Study Links Malnutrition and Poverty
    - o Senate committee agreed to liberalize school lunch program and its provision of free and reduced lunches to needy children
  - May 3, 1970 School Lunch Plan Expanded by Senate
    - o Senate expands free and reduced lunches to poverty level children as part of war on hunger, no mention of welfare
  - May 5, 1970 Bill for Free School Lunches is Sent to Nixon by House
  - May 15, 1970 Washington: For the Record
    - o President signed school lunch act
  - May 17, 1970 Taller and Huskier Young Japanese Are Attributed to Increase of Protein in Diet Since World War II
    - o Dietary benefits added partially by the installation of the government-run school lunch program
  - May 26 1970 Survey Condemns School Lunches
    - o Citizens Committee complains of low quality of school lunches, calls for free lunches to be extended to all to avoid stigmatization, and asked for institution of free breakfasts
  - May 29, 1970 Costs Trim US Donations of Meat for School Lunches
    - o Rising costs of meat lowered donations of meat to the school lunch program
  - June 22, 1970 Churchmen Plan All-Faith Parley

- One of the activities of these church groups was neighborhood campaigns for school lunch programs for needy children
- June 22, 1970 Governor, 2 Rivals Help Dedicate Hadistic Center
  - State aid to church schools mentioned
- July 19, 1970 Number of Defeated Budgets for Schools Drops Sharply
  - Reasons for fewer defeated budgets theorized to be taxpayers realization that budget cuts can't be made without cutting programs such as school lunches or transportation
- July 26, 1970 Parochial School Desegregation Asked by Catholics in Louisiana
  - Fact that parochial schools use federal funds for things such as school lunches used in black Catholic's push for desegregation of parochial schools
- September 27, 1970 Now It's Welfare Lib
  - long article on welfare and NWRO; mentioned school lunches
- October 11, 1970 School Lunch Hearing Set
  - Senate planned to have a hearing reviewing national school lunch program
- October 16, 1970 President Is Meeting Delay on Proposed Reforms
  - Noted a large increase in the food outlays for hunger because of liberalized food stamp and school lunch programs
- November 13, 1970 Nixon Denounced on Hunger Policy
  - White House opposed southern, conservative critic who claimed that efforts on hunger policy were moving backwards rather than forwards
- November 15, 1970 It started with Elridge Cleaver: the Panther Paradox
  - Review of book *A Liberal's Dilemma*, which discusses the difficulty that the black panthers despite "all their talk of school-lunch programs and self-defense" threatened to tear down the wall on white liberals
- November 26, 1970 McGovern Scores Lunch Program
  - Criticism by McGovern of Nixon's failure of his promise to provide free school lunches to all children by Thanksgiving
- December 8, 1970 Letters to the Editor
  - Letter voices opposition to military build-up over the funding of school lunches for hungry children
- December 25, 1970 Children's Food Aid Report Imperiled
  - Nixon suggests dropping breakfast and out of school lunch program from the federal budget
- 1971
- January 24, 1971 Should They Be Totally Involved in a Child's Life?: Role of the Schools
  - Disagreements over spread of breakfast program to schools; idea that it is crossing boundaries of education into welfare
  - The Negro member of the council was also against the program, claiming that the school lunch program had been a failure and predicting that this would be too
- January 30, 1971 Big Urban Poverty Programs Would Be Shifted to Localities
  - Change in the funding formula; school lunch not categorized as one of the "controversial" programs
- January 30, 1971 Office of Economic Opportunity to be Riddled but Not Scuffled

- Main poverty programs that were seeing increases rather than decreases were anti hunger programs, these programs included food stamps and free/reduced lunches
- February 4, 1971 US Lunch Aid Cut Off in 92 Districts Across Nation
  - Districts that failed to provide free lunches by given date cut off from funding; no particular regional or racial pattern to these cut-offs
- February 5, 1971 Administration Making Significant Gains in Anti-Hunger Drive
  - Increases in food aid to the needy, including to school lunches, driven by congressional liberals; article mentions mainly poor who would be white
- February 15, 1971 Code to Be Sought On Food Ads On TV Shows Aimed At Children
- February 15, 1971 Peanut Butter Can Help Hold Budget Together
  - In article geared towards housewives, peanut butter and jelly described as old school lunch stand-by
- February 18, 1971 President Presents Foreign Aid Report
  - One aspect was provision of school lunches in Brazil
- February 27, 1971 Mayors Bid State Raise School Aid
  - Budget crises forcing schools, (one in Yonkers mentioned) to consider ending programs such as school lunches
- March 3, 1971 Nixon Aides Defend Hunger Drive Role
  - Article on the success/limits of Nixon's role on hunger. Article reports number of subsidized lunches served (6.4 million) rather than total lunches
- March 9, 1971 Report Asks Nixon to Enlarge Budget in Drive on Hunger
  - Language of "subsidized" school lunches used again; article reports on follow-up white house hunger conference that calls for more funds
- April 12, 1971 Small Share For Education
  - Editorial on funding issues; federal, state, local, etc
- April 13, 1971 Backers Say Plan. . .
  - Critics of business tax cut plan suggest school lunches as one of the ways that revenue could be spent
- May 2, 1971 School Lunch Hearings Set
- May 5, 1971 Badillo Says US Programs Are Excluding Puerto Ricans
  - Discrimination against Puerto Rican migrants cited in welfare, school lunches, health, etc
- May 12, 1971 25% of School Lunches Free or at Cut Prices
  - Reasons for increase include new poverty guidelines and changes to legislation
- May 18, 1971 Washington: For the Record
  - House approves 150 million for free or reduced-price school lunch
- June 3, 1971 A School Board Upheld By Court
- June 18, 1971 Many in Appalachia Hungry Despite US AID
  - Notes that school lunch program still excludes 1-3 million poor children nationwide
- June 29, 1971 Separating Church From State
- July 10, 1971 Lunch Money
  - Editorial rejects the federal proposal that the summer feeding program wouldn't expand from 600,000 to 2 million kids because of administrative problems (money had been allocated); cites the need to feed hungry children
- July 26, 1971 Vending Industry Is Widening Its Horizons

- Notes that the school lunch program had been revised to allow vending machines and food service companies to participate
- August 13, 1971 Defeat on Funds Upsets Ramapo
  - One of measures that was voted down was school lunch funds, which caused an increase in prices and an elimination of free lunches for 700 children
- August 25, 1971 Wage Price Answers
  - School lunch prices were affected by the 90 day wage/price freeze
- August 30, 1971 Federal School Lunch Plan Fails to Help 1.9 Million Poor Pupils
- September 4, 1971 School Lunch Cuts Feared
  - Georgia Senator Talmadge wrote to President Nixon that new regulations for school lunch program would prevent some districts from participating and providing food for the needy
- September 6, 1971 Feeding Hungry Children
  - Editorial finds the 1.9 million children still hungry unacceptable; criticized matching formulas that hurt programs in poor states, criticized fact that some programs don't have facilities
- September 8, 1971 McGovern Scores School Lunch Program
  - Issue of a new funding formula that guaranteed 35 cents for school lunch reimbursements
  - McGovern and liberals believed that formula would cut the program while Nixon administration believed it would allow program to expand
- September 15, 1971 44 Senators Send Appeal to Nixon
  - Letter asks Nixon to change new formula that would potentially cut children from school lunch program
- September 25, 1971 Cuts in Lunch Aid Are Called Near
  - Another article about the upcoming funding formula changes to the school lunch program; problem would be that "emergency" funds would be unable to be tapped because states would have to exhaust their funds first
- September 30, 1971 Humphrey Bill Would Give Free School Lunch To All
  - Universal free lunch would cost 3.6 billion, but would eliminate humiliation of children for free lunches
- October 2, 1971 Senate Pressing School Lunch Aid
  - Members of the senate (including Talmadge) were pressing for emergency legislation to get extra funds for the school lunch program to make up for the changing funding regulations
- October 3, 1971 Lunches for Hungry Children
  - Editorial calling for more funding for the school lunch program, claiming that the 35 cent reimbursement is very low
- October 7, 1971 US Increases Pupil Lunch Aid But Tightens Eligibility
  - New legislation revokes the 35 cent reimbursement- but sets income max which critics claims would remove the same number of kids from the program
- October 8, 1971 Fudge for Lunch
  - Criticism of the administration and Department of Agriculture's recent moves regarding school lunch
- October 10, 1971 Nixon Proclaims Lunch Week
- October 10, 1971 US Tightens Rules on School Lunches

- These rules would cut 350000 of 390000 New York kids from program
- October 15, 1971 Nixon's Own Expert Criticized Cutbacks in School Lunches
  - Another sharp critique of the cutbacks to school lunches; needy needs to be defined to include those who are poor but not destitute
  - Threats to push for universal free lunch
- October 16, 1971 Nixon Asked to Drop School Lunch Curbs
  - Bipartisan group of senators opposed cuts to school lunch act saying that it violated the initial spirit of the legislation
- October 17, 1971 The Script Called for Some Empty Trays
  - Another article expressing outrage over cuts in the school lunch program, seen as budget ploy that overlooks hungry children
- October 18, 1971 Nixon Order Clarification of School Lunch Policy
  - Nixon argues that increased emergency funds in his plans will actually expand the program to more children
- October 19, 1971 House Orders Nixon Aides Not to Cut Pupil Lunches
  - House ordered revoke of Nixon's new school lunch regulations; characterized the school lunch program as widely popular in congress
- October 21, 1971 Food, Not Promises
  - Editorial critical of Nixon questions his loyalty to the issue of hunger
- October 21, 1971 Pupil Lunch Bill is Sent to Nixon
  - House order passed by Senate and sent on to Nixon
- October 30, 1971 Schools to Get Kosher Beef
  - Beef would be distributed to Jewish parochial schools
- November 7, 1971 President Signs Resolution Barring School Lunch Cuts
- December 16, 1971 US to Buy Fresh Pears
  - Pears purchased for school lunch program, no price issues mentioned
- December 22, 1971 Record on Rural America
  - Letter to the editor on secretary of agriculture; mentions that Nixon wanted to put school lunches into a more "interested and sympathetic" agency but Democrats and congress opposed it
- December 26, 1971 Nixon Maps Shift in Farm Agencies
  - Outlines Nixon's proposals to remove everything except farmer related and price controls from the Department of Agriculture
- 1972
- January 4, 1972 2 Senators Demand Change in Rules to Benefits Food-Stamp Recipients in Populous States
  - Notes that the food stamp debate largely paralleled the recent school lunch debate and that both revolved around funding
- January 10, 1972 Wide US Aid in Prospect
  - Article about increased US involvement in education, mentions school lunches
- January 17, 1972 Excerpts from the Budget Message Set to The Legislature by the Governor
- January 18, 1972 The American Condition
  - Call for politicians to fix the problems of America; idea of marching up and down on programs such as food stamps and school lunches mentioned
- January 21, 1972 An Examination of the Written Message

- In state of the union summary, Nixon mentioned gains in food stamps and school lunches; he barely mentions civil rights
- January 22, 1972 No Place for Sophistry
  - Editorial about hunger; cites school lunch, food stamps and welfare programs as part of anti-hunger efforts; donations for CARE sought to fight hunger internationally
- January 23, 1972 How to Preempt the Middle Ground
  - Review of state of the union, cites that food stamp and school lunch increases that Nixon cited were actually a result of congressional pressure
- February 6, 1972 8.1 Million Needy Children Getting School Lunch Aid
  - 1/3 school children getting free or reduced lunches; same article mentions number of families receiving food stamp assistance
- March 8, 1972 Wider School Lunch Program Urged
  - Commission call for all needy children to be receiving school lunches within three years as well as more nutrition education in schools
- March 23, 1972 A Report Criticized Pupil Food Project
  - Report claims that the Department of Agriculture deliberately underestimated the number of schools that would need breakfast programs for budgetary reasons
- April 11, 1972 Agricultural Agency Accused of Underreporting Schools Wanting Breakfast for Children
- April 12, 1972 Kosher School Lunches Urged
  - Representative from Queens urges Secretary of Agriculture to include Kosher meals as part of school lunches
- April 22, 1972 Changing PTA: No Longer Concerned Only With School
  - PTAs activities included lobbying for school lunches; the organization actually came out in support of integrated education in the 1960s
- April 26, 1972 City Seeks State Approval for a Seat on Exchange
  - One of the questions that was addressed was funding; mentioning that that money could pay for “10 day-care centers, a lot of school lunches and books or pays for almost 100 new teachers”
- May 4, 1972 Washington: For the Record
  - Money diverted from the school lunch program for forestry
- May 7, 1972 Nixon Seeks More for Pupil Meals
  - Nixon seeking of expansion of school lunches to needy, especially school breakfasts, summer programs. The legislation would redo the formula so that poorer districts received more reimbursements and wealthier districts received lower reimbursements
- May 14, 1972 Bronx Supermarket Chain Gives 5% Cuts to Day-Care Facilities
  - Issue of family day care centers not being able to participate in school lunch program
- May 17, 1962 Governor Signs Bill to Spur Sex Equality in Schools
  - Initiatives around interscholastic sports would potentially take precedent over school lunches, textbooks, etc
- May 19, 1972 McClellan in Toughest Campaign

- In a campaign in Arkansas dominated by populist rhetoric, Senator McClellan's opponent accuses him of voting against initiatives including food stamps and school lunches
- May 19, 1972 School Lunch Limit Raised
  - Amount for families eligible for free or reduced priced lunches raised by \$170
- May 26, 1972 Guardian of Children Cited on Retirement
  - Initiatives that women mentioned working on included improving the nutritional value and setting for school lunches; next sentence discussed need to bring court action for welfare
- June 5, 1972 Teen-agers Choose the Meatless Diet
  - Mention of "packing school lunches for vegetarians" the children in the article seem to be affluent
- June 11, 1972 Eligibility for Schools Breakfasts is Argued
  - Discussion of expanding eligibility for school breakfast program. Article is set in Louisville, focuses on white poverty
- June 14, 1972 Suburbs Vote on School Boards and Funds
  - School lunches only mentioned as an issue for one suburban ballot
- June 15, 1972 Budgets and Other School Matters Are Put to the Test in Suburban Ballots
- June 18, 1972 Food Prices: Off Again in the Wild Blue Yonder
  - Government consumption of meat in food stamps and school lunch programs mentioned as reason for price increase
- July 7, 1972 I Wonder Why
  - Article about the various issues for black and Puerto Rican students in east Harlem, including a lack of nutritious lunches because the districts cannot afford equipment
- July 9, 1972 US Helps Poor to Rent Own Homes
  - Article features a black family in Kansas City; one of the bad things about the moves was the fact that kids moved into school where they could not receive free lunches
- July 23, 1972 Halt in School Lunch Program for Slum Children Threatened
- July 24, 1972 Congress Under Pressure
  - Issue of congress playing games before elections; one piece of legislation that will have to be passed in this political environment is reauthorization of school lunch program
- August 17, 1972 Senate Broadens School Lunch Aid
  - School lunch program expanded and WIC added as part of legislation; school breakfasts and non-school feeding also expanded
- August 19, 1972 Javits Says He Isn't Lonely GOP Liberal
  - Mentions Javits amendment to school lunch program that provides free breakfasts at daycares for children of welfare mothers
- August 22, 1972 The Republican Platform
  - Editorial on platform; mentions the recent republican successes in presenting welfare reform plan and expanding school lunches and food stamps
- August 27, 1972 Nixon Scored by Proxmire on Budget-Busting Charge
  - Democrats compare their spending on school lunches, social security and black lung insurance to republican spending on defense, etc

- September 7, 1972 For City Schools, a Change from Soup and Sandwich Lunches
  - o District being discussed is described as poly-ethnic; article outlines the difficulties, mainly dealing with bureaucracy, decentralization, budget, in getting school lunches
- September 25, 1972 Vouchers Reshape a School District
  - o Qualification for school lunch program results in these children being labeled as poor for the purposes of the voucher system
- September 27, 1972 Nixon Signs Bill Expanding Food Aid for School Needy
  - o Expands the federal subsidy for all types of meals
- October 8, 1972 This Week Gets Twin Billing
  - o Declaration of national school lunch week
- October 27, 1972 Panel Finds Half of Poor Still Hungry
  - o Article about Citizen's Board of Inquiry's findings; suggestion of guaranteed income and universal free lunch; also noted that gap in poor being fed in school lunches narrower than gap for food stamps
- November 2, 1972 4.5 Million Called Excluded from School Lunch Project
- November 26, 1972 For Fence-Climbing
  - o Letter to the editor suggesting that we eliminate the school lunch program to avoid accusations by Russians of professionalism of athletes
- December 3, 1972 Italians Here Search for Their Identity
  - o Discussion of eating dripping meatball sandwiches as opposed to the "approved ham and cheese of the mainstream American school lunch tradition"
- December 25, 1972 Government to Buy Beef and Pork Soon for School Lunches
  - o Prices were high so there was no pressure from livestock industry to buy meat; it was mainly a decision for nutritious meals for students
- December 29, 1972 Scribner Asks 2.5 Billion for Schools
- 1973
- January 12, 1973 Orders Affecting Food Prices will Be Cleared by Costs Panel
  - o Department of Agriculture price control measures, including purchases for school lunch program, will be regulated by another commission/committee
- January 18, 1973 Rethinking Welfare Reform
  - o Welfare trap includes AFDC, free school lunch, Medicaid, public housing and HeadStart
- February 4, 1973 Legislative Notes: Lunch Bill
  - o Amendment proposes that only schools with certain percentage of needy children be forced to provide school lunch program
- March 6, 1973 Lunch Bill Gaining
  - o Legislation passed to make full use of funds appropriated for school lunches
- March 15, 1973 More Funds Seen for Social Uses
  - o In it was reported that congress passed legislation requiring Department of Agriculture to maintain school lunches at full capacity, resulting in the need to buy products with cash rather than donate commodities
- March 19, 1973 Senators Urge 860 Million More to Fight Hunger
  - o Includes more money for free and reduced lunches, the breakfast program and food stamps



- March 20, 1973 Nixon's Education Revenue-Sharing Bill Gets Hostile Reception in House Panel
  - o Bill would place aid into several categories, including supporting service, which school lunches falls for
  - o Aid would be focused on most disadvantage areas and focus would move from urban to rural areas
- April 1, 1973 School Aid Loss Feared By State
- April 2, 1973 Nixon Signs a Bill Aiding School Lunch Programs
  - o Bill requires government to give cash assistance if surplus commodities are not available
- April 3, 1973 Glen Cove Butcher Joins Meatless Movement
  - o Local school district did not join meatless movement because many kids rely on the school lunch as their principal nourishment
- April 18, 1973 School Vending Machines Assailed for "Junk Food"
  - o Vending machines resulted in a decline in participation in school lunch and breakfast programs in one district
- May 3, 1973 Of Lies and Facts
  - o One of the lies was that Nixon was doing more for the poor, the sick and the elderly than Johnson. Nixon's attempts to slash school lunch program for needy cited as counter to that argument
- May 15, 1973 Alternate Foods in School Lunches Opposed by Group of Nutritionists
  - o Opposition by nutritionists to enriched and synthetic foods in the school lunch program
- May 16, 1973 Petition Says Philadelphia Ignores School Lunch Order
  - o Legal services claimed that no lunches were being provided for low income students in Philadelphia
- May 20, 1973 Growing Up Fast in Kenya—When You are 16 and American
  - o Mention of school lunch program in Africa
- May 29, 1973 A School Voucher Experiment Rates an "A" in Coast District
  - o Children were characterized as poor by their qualification for free lunches, resulted in more expensive vouchers
- June 3, 1973 Everyone Shows a Profit: School Shopping Education
  - o This article just defines poor kids as those "poor enough to qualify for the Government's school lunch program"
- July 8, 1973 US Study Scores City Aid Programs
  - o In study on welfare/work, school lunches is again grouped with welfare grants, food stamps and Medicaid
- July 12, 1973 Congress Asked to Delay School Lunch Expansion
  - o Department of Agriculture asked Congress to delay the expansion of the school lunch program because of increases in food prices
- July 26, 1973 Title I Federal Aid Approved Here
  - o Title I schools dropped in New York; Title I status determined by number of children from welfare families and number of children qualifying for free lunches
- August 3, 1973 Rising Prices to Cost City \$30-Million in Fiscal Year
  - o Issue of keeping low prices in school lunch program, referred to as "the city's paid school lunch program"

- August 19, 1973 US Shortages Peril World Food Aid Plan
  - o School lunch programs in foreign countries shutting down
- August 20, 1973 City to Cut Back on Meat in Public-School Lunches
  - o Possible increase in cost of lunch for paying students
  - o 83% of school lunches free in New York and about half of school children participate in program
- August 23, 1973 City Food Costs Dip After 6-Week Rise
  - o Attempts were being made to prevent the reduction of meat in school lunches
- September 2, 1973 Milk for Children
  - o Nixon and Congress were removing subsidies for milk in schools, appears to impact kids both paying and free; editorial is criticizing this
- September 5, 1973 School Aides, Aiming to "Hold Line," May Raise Food Prices
  - o Article discusses students paying for meals and later mentions free meals
- September 9, 1973 Funds a Major Problem as Nonpublic Schools Open
  - o Mention of state support for school lunches in nonpublic schools
- September 12, 1973 City Decides to Return to Buying Its Beef From Wholesalers' Bids
  - o Bids to congress to not cancel milk subsidies and provide cost of living increases in reimbursements
- September 12, 1973 US Not Surprised
  - o Mention of US aid for school lunches abroad
- September 13, 1973 School Lunches Facing Wide Cuts
  - o 800,000 kids losing school meals because districts did not have money to finance them
- September 13, 1973 Two School Districts are Hit By Protest
  - o Issue of district in New Jersey forcing children to go home during the school lunch hour
- September 14, 1973 House Backs a Rise in School Lunch Aid
  - o In response to report that 800,000 were being driven from schools, House increases reimbursement on free school lunches
- September 16, 1973 Drop In Job Force Analyzed Here
  - o Drop in number of people working was particularly concentrated in New York around black women ages 24-26. Idea that the combination of welfare, school lunches, Medicaid and food stamps made it unattractive to work
- September 16, 1973 Shortening the Rations
  - o Editorial about potential 800,000 losing the school lunch program
  - o Features a vaguely ethnic child in picture
  - o Begins "for thousands of ghetto children"
- September 17, 1973 Peace in the Schools. . .
  - o Editorial about the cut in school lunch programs
- September 18, 1973 School Lunch Aid Urged in Senate
  - o Urging more federal aid to prevent local districts from dropping school lunch programs
- September 25, 1973 School Lunches Pushed by Senate
  - o Senate approves additional 300 million for school lunches
- September 30, 1973 Milk on the Lunch Trays

- Letter to the editor about the special milk program; explains that it only benefits middle-class children
- October 3, 1973 Conferees Set Increase for School Lunches
  - Set a 25% increase for federal aid to school lunches
- October 13, 1973 House Votes a Rise in School Lunch Aid
  - Increase in the school lunch program of 25%
- October 20, 1973 There Were Apple for Pickers in Mid-Hudson Valley
  - Mother of 5 says she buys apples for school lunches
- October 21 1973 Stamford Keeps Pupil-Lunch Ban
  - Lack of compassion for poor people in Stamford cited
- October 25, 1973 White House is Given Measure Raising Aid for School Lunches
  - Congress sent 25% increase in federal support legislation to White House
- October 29, 1973 Poor Management in Schools
  - School lunch practices listed as factor that increased costs in schools
- October 29, 1973 Poor School Practices in State Said to Cost Taxpayers Millions
  - Incompetent food managers cited as source of losses in school lunch program
- November 1, 1973 US to Restore Funding of Milk Snack
  - Restoration of the special milk program; no mention of poor people
- November 9, 1973 Nixon Signs Bill Raising School Lunch Subsidies
- December 14, 1973 Maximum Income Is Raised For School Lunch Program
- December 27, 1973 Wheat Futures Show Price Drop
  - Mention of school lunch program purchase raising the price for certain type of wheat product
- December 30, 1973 Anker Asks 2.6 Billion in Record School Budget
- December 30, 1973 US to Increase Payment For School Lunch Program
- 1974
- January 16, 1974 Catholic Schools “Digging In” After a Year of Setbacks
  - Mention of government aid for school lunches
- February 13, 1974 McGovern Assails Plan to Phase Out Food Assistance
  - Opposes plan to phase out commodities and free lunches for welfare families and instead rely solely on food stamps and cash for school lunches
- February 18, 1974 Senate Unit Sees Nutrition Danger
  - Increase in participation in school lunch program and applications for food stamps viewed as warning of increased hunger
- March 23, 1974 Teachers Begin Drive On Congress
  - School lunch subsidies one of five votes that NEA based their congressional report cards on
- March 28, 1974 Been Industry Stunned by US Hamburger Decision
  - Plan would result in government buying large amounts of beef for school lunch program to prevent a collapse of the beef industry
- March 28, 1974 Swift Killing of Tainted Chickens Pushed in South
  - One grower used to sell chickens to the school lunch program
- March 30, 1974 Future Prices Rise for Cattle
  - Mention of US buying cattle for school lunch program to support price
- March 30, 1974 State Weighing New Rules for Local School Boards

- One proposal in New Jersey would require a school district to provide free breakfast and lunch to all students
- April 21, 1974 US Will Take Over Program for Children
  - Federal government taking over New York city summer feeding program because of concerns about affording it
- May 2, 1974 School Lunch Aid Backed in Senate
  - Agriculture Committee (despite Nixon's opposition) increased food commodity donations to school lunches; competing bill was presented that increased amount for reduced lunches
  - WIC was also expanded in Humphrey amendment
- May 12, 1974 Tight Supervision is Set in Election
  - Election is very racially divided, between older white voters and younger Hispanic and black voters; part of Hispanic and black platform was better school lunches
- May 16, 1974 Beame Proposes \$11.1-Billion Budget
- May 22, 1974 Senate Votes Rises in School Lunch Aid
  - Senate passes bill that raises federal contribution to school lunch program (no mention of free, just program in general): also raises money to WIC
- June 18, 1974 Cattlemen To Get Supermarket Bid
  - Cattlemen desired government to support meat prices through programs such as school lunches
- June 18, 1974 School Lunch Plan for Middle-class Approved in House
  - More money for free and reduced-price lunches from federal government because fear that middle-class children would lose program if it became too expensive
- June 19, 1974 Senate Sends Nixon a Bill Raising School Lunch Funds
  - Bill meant to counter the rising cost of food
- June 19, 1974 US Will Step Up Meat Purchases
  - More meat for school lunches purchased because of falling cattle industry
- June 22, 1974 House Votes \$13.4 Billion Omnibus Bill
- June 23, 1974 The Nation: In Summary
  - Short article about increasing hunger; school lunches does not seem to be named a solution for the poor (food stamps and income maintenance)
- June 27, 1974 Byrne Signs School Lunch Bill
  - NJ Governor signs bill that requires school lunches for all districts
- June 29, 1974 Prices to Farms off 6% in Month
- July 17, 1974 NATO's Southern Flank
  - Mention of school lunch program in Greece
- July 31, 1974 District One Board Limits Food Plan After Bitter Debate
  - Debate had involved black, Puerto Rican and Chinese who supported school lunches versus whites who opposed; school lunch plan was approved temporarily
- August 3, 1974 Meat Purchase Program for Schools Lags Greatly
- August 9, 1974 Gibson Visits 5 Centers in City Nutrition Project
  - Photo features black children
  - Article features the summer lunch program, no mention of it being free, but it is implied
- August 12, 1974 New Jersey Briefs: School Lunch Surveys

- September 9, 1974 Employable Members Found in Half of City's Relief Families
  - o "benefits from welfare, food stamp, school lunch and medical aid programs 'do constitute a disincentive' to taking lower-paying jobs"
- September 27, 1974 School Lunch Week Set
- October 17, 1974 US Begins Its Dairylea Investigation
  - o Issue of whether any imposter milk was bought by federally subsidized programs
- October 29, 1974 Hunger in US a Problem of Want Amid Plenty
  - o Pictures include photos of black people
  - o White man is mentioned as being hungry in article
  - o Describes condition of hunger in black families as more dire
  - o School breakfast and lunch (no free mentioned) used as example of programs to combat hunger
  - o Issue of the welfare queen mentioned
- October 31, 1974 Polls Find Dole Now Even in Kansas
  - o One of the false accusations against Dole was that he was against the school lunch program
- November 1, 1974 President, in Iowa, Assures Farmers on Import Curbs
  - o Ford had asked Secretary of Ag Butz to increase beef purchases for school lunches
- November 6, 1974 Fourth Term for Javits
  - o Editorial praising Javits work as a liberal Republican and for the state of New York; includes his getting more money from the federal government for school lunches
- December 11, 1974 New Militancy Bringing Gains for Japan's 'Outcasts'
  - o Discriminated group in Japan began to get new services, including school lunches
- December 20, 1974 California's Conservative Governor
  - o Mention of Reagan's attempts to reduce school lunch appropriations

Coverage of the National School Lunch Program in the *New York Amsterdam News*, January 1, 1962- December 31, 1974<sup>119</sup>

- 1962
- 1963
- March 23, 1963 Talk With Mrs. Ayer
  - o Discussion of a boy who behaved badly before school lunch was introduced; he had nothing to eat in the mornings
  - o References the racialization of failing, urban schools
- 1964
- February 15, 1964 The Danger Of A Little Progress
  - o Article by Martin Luther King Jr. on various measures of the black community's progress, includes the provision of lunches to children in this discussion
- April 11, 1964 Sinky's Son To Leave For Peru

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<sup>119</sup> Methods: These articles were found by entering the search term, "school lunch," in the ProQuest Historical Newspapers database. I only included articles that discussed the school lunch program or its participants. I did not include articles that focused on school lunch workers, such as job postings for school lunch workers or articles on union disputes.

- Provision of lunches in Peru part of son's Peace Corps works
- July 18, 1964 The Segregated Tax Dollar
  - Discussion of Title VI of Civil Rights Act, ending federal funding for segregated programs, including NSLP
- August 15, 1964 List 140 Cities, 24 States With Bias In Federally Aided Programs
  - Negro children being denied lunches under free lunch program
- October 17, 1964 Parents Demand Principal's Ouster For Remark
  - Outrage over principal who made assumptions about the black community, including idea that "school lunch is the best meal that they get"
- November 28, 1964 "TV Dinner" Delight P.S. 1 Kids
  - Frozen dinners introduced in school cafeterias
- 1965
- September 11, 1965 Stone Hits Dr. Clark with the Powell Record
  - Includes school lunches as part of the War on Poverty and part of Powell's Congressional record
- 1966
- October 8, 1966 Perk Up Those School Lunches
  - Suggestions for mothers on packed lunches
- October 22, 1966 Doctor in the Kitchen
  - Short history of the school lunch program, characterizes it as health programs, no mention of free lunches, blames "shiftlessness" of parents for poor nutrition
- 1967
- April 16, 1967 Mississippi Women Seek Better Homes, Education Family Living: Miss. Ladies Here For Summer Plans
  - Schoolchildren in Mississippi delta were not receiving school lunches with rise in prices
  - Providing lunches was part of services of group of Harlem women who traveled to the Mississippi
- 1968
- January 13, 1968 Rocky Led Women Out of Dark Ages
  - Harlem women's association set up school lunch program in Mississippi
- February 3, 1968 State Assemblyman Rangel Cites School Lunch Menus
  - Rangel tries to get more funding for campus lunch rooms to lead to more food variety
- April 28, 1968 'Soul Food' To Beef Up Lunches Served In School Cafeterias
  - Rangel works to bring hot, soul food to school lunches
- August 31, 1968 Humphrey For New Policy For Poor
  - Humphrey supports the notion that "every American must be provided enough to eat," vision includes school lunches
  - His statement was in response to Ralph Abernathy's letters
- November 30, 1968 Lunch Programs
  - Reports that nearly 20 million children were participating in the program
- December 14, 1968 Hunger in America
  - Notes poverty in all races across cities in the US
  - mentions free lunches and how poverty such as the NSLP should be preventing poverty but isn't

- 1969
- April 19, 1969 Bronx School Lunchrooms Filthy
  - o Issue of quality of school lunch program
- May 24, 1969 Congressman Scheuer Asks Bronx Lunch Program Probe
  - o Probe around the issue of quality of the school lunch program
- August 23, 1969 Welfare Crisis Mounts in City
  - o Cancellations of school lunch program mentioned
  - o School lunches are equated with welfare
- August 30, 1969 Javits Introduces Anti-Hunger Bill
  - o Sees hunger as neither a black nor a white problem
- August 30, 1969 Set Lunch Boycott to Reduce Prices
  - o Boycott of schools that don't offer free or reduced-price lunches
  - o Seen as civil rights issue
- September 27, 1969 The Three Mayoralty Candidates Tell Us 'Like It Is':The Candidates Speak Out Lindsay
- October 25, 1969 The Culture Bias: Vietnam and the Cities
  - o School lunches mentioned as program suffering because of Vietnam, described as program for poor, article focuses on African-American community
- November 15, 1969 Bronx Alliance Holds Mass "Poverty" Rally
  - o Rally consisting of Bronx residents and college students, demanded free lunch and breakfast for low-income children
- December 27, 1969 News of the Week: International
  - o Nixon announces \$100 million to provide all needy children with free or reduced-price meals
- 1970
- January 3, 1970 Pluses for Nixon
  - o Supports Nixon's expansion of school meals and pushing desegregation efforts
- January 17, 1970 Mrs. Coretta King Leads "Most Admired Women for '69"
  - o Another woman commended for efforts to bring school lunches to children
- March 28, 1970 Brown Asks Athletes' Help In Feeding Hungry Children
  - o Inspired to feed kids on trip to Mississippi, but mentions that hunger is an issue that affects "black, brown and white children"
- April 18, 1970 Free Lunches
  - o Only 2 of 7 million children eligible for free lunches receive them
- May 9, 1970 News of the Week: International
  - o Approval of bill by Senate expanding school lunches
- May 30, 1970 Citizens Committee Attacks School Lunch
  - o Complains of poor quality of food and lack of ethnic diversity
- July 25, 1970 Wright Asks Jury Probe
  - o One of the issues was cutting of school lunch programs
- August 22, 1970 Watercress for Your Salads
  - o Children pick favorite school lunch meals in NH, WI and NM
- October 31, 1970 A Talent for Living
  - o Article about Henry Sell (Town and Country editor) did not link being black and being poor, supported the school lunch program
- 1971

- January 16, 1971 OEO Provides Funds to Feed Needy Kids
  - o OEO expands programs to feed kids in Headstart and daycares
- April 3, 1971 District 3 Starts Breakfast Programs
- May 15, 1971 Computer Menus
  - o Computer system used to find lowest cost meals that meet nutrition requirements
- June 5, 1971 Good School Lunch
  - o NSL week emphasizes nutrition education, also mentions free lunches for the “needy”
- June 12, 1971 They Offer Food For Thought And Better School Lunches
  - o Complaints about food in school lunches and “problems some children face when labeled welfare recipients” in free lunch lines
- July 3, 1971 July 1--Day-Day Disaster For Newark Welfare:July 1 - D-Day; Disaster For Newark Welfare
  - o “poor people, meaning black people for the most part”
  - o “elimination of the school lunch program for children of “working poor” families”
- July 24, 1971 Reviewed Your Child’s Eating Habits Lately?
  - o One of the sources of poor nutrition was failure to take part in school lunch program
- October 23, 1971 Wingate slams Nixon, aides; charges “deliberate neglect”
  - o Upset over plans to eliminate federal subsidies of \$1.5 million for needy children
  - o “working against the interest of black children”
- November 13, 1971 Community Board No. 3 Tests Board of Ed
  - o One of the issues was transfer of money for school lunches
- 1972
- January 29, 1972 Parents Get Set to Rule
  - o Black and Puerto Rican parents gains more influence over school issues, including lunches
  - o Complaints that school lunches were white, middle-class
- January 29, 1972 School Happenings
  - o Talk and tasting for school lunches
- February 5, 1972 School Happenings
  - o Children getting “hot, nutritious, economical lunches: by contracting with new vendors
- February 19, 1972 Soul foods, rice and egg rolls in school lunches
  - o About a variety of ethnic foods being introduced in school lunch programs
- March 4, 1971 School Lunches Set a Record
  - o 8.1 million receiving free or reduced-price lunches in December 1971; only 2 million were receiving free or reduced-price lunches in December 1970
- March 18, 1972 Medical Association Sets 1972 Kansas Convention
  - o Tuskegee study shows that malnutrition among young is still a serious problem
  - o Malnutrition prevalent regardless of background
- April 1, 1972 School Lunch Program Rising
  - o “needy participation increasing, no mention of race
- April 22, 1972 From His Legislation



- Mentions how the legislation of Adam Clayton Powell, including the school lunch program, had benefited people of all races
- June 24, 1972 Calcium Deficiency
  - Low calcium levels in summer partially attributed to no participation in school lunch program
- August 26, 1972 Free breakfast for low income children
- September 23, 1972 Harlemites named aide in Sen. McGovern's Campaign
  - Mentions the direct impact of McGovern's policies for Harlemites, including the national school lunch program
- September 30, 1972 Approve Bill to Give Food to 6200 Kids
  - Suggestions for school breakfast programs suggest that most kids should have breakfast at home
- 1973
- June 16, 1973 ITT Proves it Has a Heart
  - ITT supports Charles Evers in programs in Jefferson County, Mississippi
  - Other initiatives they support include hot school lunches
- June 23, 1973 Workers Ask Council to Revise Budget
  - Municipal workers union protests decline in funding for school lunches
- September 1, 1973 Feeding Harlem Children
  - Features school lunches at daycares, etc
- 1974
- January 5, 1974 Nutrition Program
  - Discusses funding for the school lunch program
- August 24, 1974 Free Meals for 35,000 Children
  - Provision of summer meals, appears to be administered privately but government funded