



University of Pennsylvania
ScholarlyCommons

Publicly Accessible Penn Dissertations


2016

Supply-Side Education: Race, inequality, and the Rise of the Punitive Education State

Daniel Stephen Moak

University of Pennsylvania, danielmoak@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: <http://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations>

 Part of the [Education Commons](#), and the [Political Science Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Moak, Daniel Stephen, "Supply-Side Education: Race, inequality, and the Rise of the Punitive Education State" (2016). *Publicly Accessible Penn Dissertations*. 1901.

<http://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations/1901>

This paper is posted at ScholarlyCommons. <http://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations/1901>

For more information, please contact repository@pobox.upenn.edu.

Supply-Side Education: Race, inequality, and the Rise of the Punitive Education State

Abstract

The 1930s were dominated by an understanding that unemployment and inequality were primarily the result of structural failures of the market economy. However, the unraveling of New Deal liberalism throughout the 1940s and 1950s shifted ideological understandings of problems like unemployment, poverty and racial inequality to explanations focused on individual deficiencies. This development had dramatic consequences for federal education policy. Buttressed by a coalition of civil rights groups and educational organizations pushing for federal involvement in education, Democratic policymakers turned towards education as a cheaper and more effective replacement to earlier redistributive taxation and full employment policies. The success of this coalition in passing the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act meant that the institutions of the federal education state were designed with an eye towards solving poverty, unemployment, and racial inequality. This left public schools vulnerable to political attack as these social problems failed to disappear. By the end of the 1960s, Democratic politicians and civil rights groups began to call for greater accountability and punishment for schools that failed to live up to expectations. This critical view was eventually adopted by Republicans and conservative interest groups, who pushed for the introduction of market forces in public education as a necessary corrective. These earlier developments explain why punitive sanctions became the cornerstone of federal education policy, with particularly negative consequences for racial minorities and poor communities.

Degree Type

Dissertation

Degree Name

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

Graduate Group

Political Science

First Advisor

Marie Gottschalk

Second Advisor

Adolph Reed

Keywords

Accountability, Education, Political Science, Progressive, Punitive, Race

Subject Categories

Education | Political Science

SUPPLY-SIDE EDUCATION: RACE, INEQUALITY, AND THE RISE OF THE
PUNITIVE EDUCATION STATE

Daniel Stephen Moak

A DISSERTATION

in

Political Science

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania

in

Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2016

Supervisor of Dissertation

Co-Supervisor of Dissertation

Marie Gottschalk

Adolph Reed

Professor of Political Science

Professor of Political Science

Graduate Group Chairperson

Matthew Levendusky, Professor of Political Science

Dissertation Committee

Rogers Smith

Professor of Political Science

Sigal Ben-Porath

Professor of Political Science

SUPPLY-SIDE EDUCATION: RACE, INEQUALITY, AND THE RISE OF THE
PUNITIVE EDUCATION STATE

COPYRIGHT

2016

Daniel Stephen Moak

This work is licensed under the
Creative Commons Attribution-
NonCommercial-ShareAlike 3.0
License

To view a copy of this license, visit

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/3.0/us/>

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

With full awareness that it is an impossible task to convey the extent of my gratitude to the many people that have been essential to the creation of this dissertation, I will now attempt to do just this.

I would first like to thank my family. My parents, Mark and Rhett Moak, were the first to teach me that the value of education extended beyond some abstract future financial reward. Their tireless support, encouragement, and love made this endeavor possible. For three decades, my sisters, Leah and Ellen, have been my first, fiercest, and most frequent interlocutors. The ability to run ideas by their two brilliant minds has been invaluable. Chaco, while not the most vocal contributor, was always up for hike and gave nothing but positive feedback when I ran my ideas past him.

In my time at Penn, I have been fortunate to work with incredibly gifted scholars. Marie Gottschalk, my advisor since my first day of graduate school, has been an incredible mentor. I am in awe of her scholarship and her teaching. When my dissertation threatened to veer into the realm of the uninteresting for the sake of expediency, her advice to reevaluate my core interests and arguments rescued the project. Throughout the many seminar courses, one-on-one meetings, and after-work drinks, Adolph Reed has profoundly shaped my view of the world. His encouragement, careful guidance, and engagement in this project have improved it immensely. His friendship throughout this process has made a difficult road much more enjoyable. Rogers Smith's willingness to make time for his students is astounding. Despite an inhumane schedule, through his amazingly quick feedback he shed light on paths forward through some of the thorniest patches of the dissertation. His course on American Political Development was one of the most influential of my graduate career. The courses I took with Sigal Ben-Porath provided the foundation for several of the chapters of the dissertation. Her advice, optimism, and tireless advocacy were critical to final product. After every meeting, the project was improved and I left feeling better than when I came.

The support and comradeship of my colleagues throughout graduate school made time. The influence of our conversations run throughout dissertation. I will be forever grateful for our time together in Philadelphia.

Finally, no person had greater influence on this project than Sarah Cate. Her critical eye and profound intellect has made this project better and her wisdom, selflessness, and humor has made my life better.

ABSTRACT

SUPPLY-SIDE EDUCATION: RACE, INEQUALITY, AND THE RISE OF THE PUNITIVE EDUCATION STATE

Daniel Stephen Moak

Marie Gottschalk

Adolph Reed

The 1930s were dominated by an understanding that unemployment and inequality were primarily the result of structural failures of the market economy. However, the unraveling of New Deal liberalism throughout the 1940s and 1950s shifted ideological understandings of problems like unemployment, poverty and racial inequality to explanations focused on individual deficiencies. This development had dramatic consequences for federal education policy. Buttressed by a coalition of civil rights groups and educational organizations pushing for federal involvement in education, Democratic policymakers turned towards education as a cheaper and more effective replacement to earlier redistributive taxation and full employment policies. The success of this coalition in passing the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act meant that the institutions of the federal education state were designed with an eye towards solving poverty, unemployment, and racial inequality. This left public schools vulnerable to political attack as these social problems failed to disappear. By the end of the 1960s, Democratic politicians and civil rights groups began to call for greater accountability and

punishment for schools that failed to live up to expectations. This critical view was eventually adopted by Republicans and conservative interest groups, who pushed for the introduction of market forces in public education as a necessary corrective. These earlier developments explain why punitive sanctions became the cornerstone of federal education policy, with particularly negative consequences for racial minorities and poor communities.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

AKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES.....	vii
LIST OF GRAPHS.....	viii
CHAPTER ONE The Politics of the Federal Education State: Faith in Education and the Turn Towards Punitiveness.....	1
CHAPTER TWO To Reconstruct or Adjust? The Battle within Progressive Education, 1920s-1940s.....	37
CHAPTER THREE Education vs. Economy: Race and Class in Black Political Visions, 1930s - 1950s.....	94
CHAPTER FOUR Communism, Courts, and Context: Political Developments in the 1940s and 1950s and the Death of the Educational Left.....	185
CHAPTER FIVE The Victory of Liberal Incorporationism: The Great Society and the Origin of Punitive Education Policies.....	282
CHAPTER SIX Conclusion: Liberal Incorporationism and the Modern Punitive Education State.....	344
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	380

LIST OF TABLES

1. Political and Educational Program of Four Ideologies.....	379
--	-----

LIST OF GRAPHS

1. Number of Black Teachers in Southern States.....	333
2. Number of Teachers by Race in Southern States.....	334
3. Percent of Black Teachers of Total Teacher Workforce.....	335

Chapter One

The Politics of the Federal Education State: Faith in Education and the Turn Towards Punitiveness

The belief that education holds the key to individual success, social mobility and national competitiveness has driven the construction of an expansive and increasingly punitive federal education state committed to addressing broad social problems through the public education system. This project traces the origins and contours of federal primary and secondary education policy and institutions since the 1930s. My central claim is that federal policymakers built an education order in which faith in education as a solution to poverty, unemployment, and racial disparities led to the development of an increasingly punitive education state. Those on the left concerned with inequality, unemployment and the status of racial minorities—but ultimately unwilling to fundamentally challenge the economic system—looked to education as the most effective way to solve these problems. By adopting an understanding of these problems as best addressed at the individual rather than the structural level, these actors turned to education as an alternative to more direct economic redistribution or federal intervention in the labor market. Most accounts of the modern education state focus on the 1980s and the Reagan revolution as the origin of a punitive shift away from an egalitarian orientation in federal education policy. Examination of the ideological and political compromises of the 1940s and 1950s and the initial construction of federal educational institutions in the 1960s reveals that the roots of modern punitive education policies run much deeper.

The presence of a powerful and punitive federal education state is surprising when looking to the not-too-distant past. In the 1930s, the national discussion of education was dominated by a powerful coalition of educational progressives and civil rights activists during the Great Depression that advocated for public educational institutions and a pedagogy centered on transforming the existing capitalist economic order with the aim of greater equality through economic redistribution and full employment. With several academic journals as outlets, this coalition included prominent educators and black intellectuals and received support from many of the most powerful civil rights and educational organizations throughout the 1930s and into the 1940s. However, a changing international context and domestic political situation that shifted decidedly to the right and was increasingly less tolerant of challenges to the economic order in the post-WWII era gave rise to a different dominant coalition and understanding of education. Unlike the previous coalition that pointed to macroeconomic causes and solutions to inequality and poverty, the new educational coalition framed education as a particularly effective means of addressing poverty, unemployment, and racial disparity. This emergent education ideology, committed to equality of educational opportunity in order to fairly and effectively incorporate individuals into a free market economy, was fully institutionalized into the federal education state with the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) in 1965.

The ideological developments of the 1930s through 1950s and the institutionalization of these ideas in the ESEA mark the beginning of a new, liberal incorporationist education order.

This new order was *liberal* in its commitment to extend to all the liberal democratic ideal of equality of opportunity through education. Furthermore, this commitment to equality of opportunity was to be backed by a robust commitment of the federal government. The order was *incorporationist* in its goal of bringing all citizens, particularly racial minorities and other previously disadvantaged groups, into the broader existing economic and social structures. For racial minorities, incorporation implied integration and educational opportunity in order to ensure they would be able to compete on equitable terms with their white counterparts. Incorporation implied the elimination of arbitrary barriers —like race or economic condition— to success, adjusting individuals to succeed in the established societal structures. For many it also implied assimilation into the dominant cultural norms and expectations of the middle and upper classes. Importantly, incorporation implied that the broader existing economic and social structure would remain intact. Since the 1960s, this commitment to liberal incorporation has been the dominant educational order, what Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek refer to as “the constellation of rules, institutions, practices, and ideas that hang together over time.”¹

The liberal incorporationist education order, tracing its ideological roots to the debates of the 1940s and 1950s, has structured federal education policy ever since the

¹ Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek, *The Search for American Political Development*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004): 14.

passage of the ESEA in 1965. The liberal incorporationist order justified an expansive federal commitment in the realm of education. It also led to demands that schools be held accountable for addressing poverty, unemployment and racial inequality. These lofty expectations meant that funding was attached to increasingly harsh measures to ensure accountability. The measures have punitive consequences for teachers, students, and schools. Teachers who fail to raise test scores face loss of pay and firing; students who fail to meet sufficient scores on standardized exit exams face denial of high-school diplomas; and schools that fail to achieve benchmarks on face transformation into a charter school, privatization, or closure. The educational commitments established during the New Deal and Great Society have driven the rise in increasingly punitive education policies.

While many scholars have noted the neoliberal turn in governance of education and social policy more broadly, the change has typically been described as a conservative reaction to the excesses of the progressivism of the New Deal and Great Society programs. However, my study of the first forays of the federal government into the realm of education policy at the height of the Great Society, as well as an understanding of the debates among educational professionals that occurred in the 1930s and 1940s, complicates this account. The justification for, and crafting of, the ESEA positioned education as a poverty and unemployment program, and relied on an understanding that education policy should ultimately support and strengthen existing competitive economic structures by making them more fair and efficient through providing equal opportunity.

In an important shift, the liberal incorporationists positioned poverty, unemployment, and wage disparity as fundamentally individual failings rather than the result of fundamentally flawed economic system. As the federal role was justified in new ideological terms, public funding of education did in fact increase, but it did so at the expense of undermining the ideological justification for more direct means of addressing poverty, unemployment and inequality. Furthermore, this ideological understanding of education had profound consequences for federal education policy, as it supported the construction of a powerful federal education state that, abetted by the rise of the Reagan coalition, would increasingly shift towards punitive policies as the education system failed to meet the lofty goals set by the liberal incorporationist order.

Overview of Argument

My account begins with the debate over the purpose of education during the Great Depression. Beginning in the early 1930s, a group of progressive educators known as the social reconstructionists articulated a vision of education and the public school system as the handmaiden of economic transformation. Led by George Counts and his best selling 1932 pamphlet *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?*,² the social reconstructionists were highly critical of the excessive individualism, exploitation, and widespread poverty that characterized the existing economic order. The inclusion of John Dewey and Harold Rugg, among others, meant that this group included many of the most prominent education leaders of the era. The social reconstructionists advocated for a new

² George S. Counts, *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* (New York: John Day, 1932).

educational outlook in which teachers in the public schools would be the vanguard of social transformation away from an exploitative economic system.

As the social reconstructionists were pushing for changes to the economic structure in the 1930s and early 1940s, a group of black intellectuals was urging civil rights groups to shift their focus to an economic analysis of the problems facing blacks in the United States. Some of the most influential black leaders of the era, including Ralph Bunche, A. Phillip Randolph, and Doxey Wilkerson, comprised this group. These authors cautioned that the existing strategic course had placed too much emphasis on the racial aspect of problems like poverty and unemployment. They pushed for an analysis that placed the origins of these problems squarely as a result of an exploitative economic system. This group was committed to a vision of economic democracy, in which the education system would educate students on the importance of interracial class consciousness, the necessity of unionization, and need for government-supported full employment.

Remarkably, these economic progressive visions of education's purpose were some of the most prominent views expressed throughout the 1930s and into the early 1940s. Both the social reconstructionists and economic democrats offered an understanding of education that stressed the need to ground education policy and aims in a strong commitment to economic equality as a critical aspect of democratic citizenship. Ultimately, since these groups traced the responsibility for unemployment, poverty and

racial inequality to the economic system, any educational program that hoped to address these problems would have to take aim at the economic system itself.

Despite their prevalence, these economic analyses always sat uneasily with many on the political left who were less comfortable directly challenging the economic system. Influential intellectual leaders including Charles S. Johnson (sociologist and editor of the National Urban League's journal *Opportunity*), Howard Hale Long (associate superintendent of the public schools in Washington, D.C.), and prominent psychologist Kenneth Clark directly challenged the wisdom of pursuing a political agenda centered on economic claims. Throughout the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, a fierce debate played out among those on the left over how far to push the challenge to the existing order. Within the progressive education movement, the social reconstructionist position competed with the position offered by the social efficiency progressives. Although both fell under the broad banner of the progressive education movement, they differed considerably in respect to their end goals and pedagogy. Social efficiency progressives were committed to developing the educational tools that would most efficiently aid the adjustment of the individual into the existing economic and social structures. These educators pushed for the implementation of educational tools like intelligence and achievement testing, student tracking and vocational training to aid in the creation of a meritocratic society. Importantly, the social efficiency progressives saw the appropriate role of education as facilitating the entrance of students into the existing economic and social structure by providing the appropriate skills necessary to succeed in the labor market.

A similar divide characterized thinking about black education, as several prominent black intellectuals who were uncomfortable with the more radical claims of the economic democrats, called instead for a program of racial democracy. This group sought fair incorporation into the existing order, or for blacks to be treated “like everyone else,” rather than broad transformation of the economy.³ Instead of capitalism, these authors identified racial prejudice and cultural problems among lower-class blacks as foundational to disparate levels of black poverty, unemployment and other social inequalities.⁴ The educational perspective of these racial democrats was centered around preparing black students for fair competition with their white counterparts through programs aimed at combating white prejudice, facilitating cultural assimilation or acculturation, and ensuring the equitable provision of educational opportunity. These scholars saw public education as one of the most effective means of addressing the most pressing problems facing the black community including poverty, unemployment and racial inequality.

A number of important political developments in the 1940s and 1950s help explain why the racial democracy and social efficiency visions of education became dominant. The shifting international context at the end of the WWII meant that the federal government was particularly concerned about domestic racial politics. Facing the need to appeal to a number of non-white nations, the federal government increasingly

³ L. D. Reddick, “What Should the American Negro Reasonably Expect as the Outcome of a Real Peace?” *The Journal of Negro Education* (Summer, 1943), 569.

⁴ Indeed, many of these authors openly embraced a capitalist economy as essential to protecting individual freedom.

embraced integration and racial democracy as a means of demonstrating the appeal of the economic and political system of the United States.⁵ At the same time, federal courts became increasingly sympathetic to challenges to Jim Crow under the Equal Protection Clause. In the critical 1954 *Brown* case, the Supreme Court based its decision on the psychological harm (rather than material) harm that segregation posed to black children, an argument that emerged from scholars committed to racial democracy. The judiciary's increasing willingness to accept equal protection arguments strengthened the hand of racial democrats.⁶

Another critical factor in the demise of the economic coalition was the brutal political repression of many of the most vocal supporters of social reconstruction and economic democracy during the Second Red Scare. As several scholars have noted, the loyalty investigations of the 1940s and 1950s had a chilling effect on individuals and coalitions on the political left.⁷ The investigation of prominent intellectuals on the left like George Counts, Harold Rugg, and Doxey Wilkerson by state and national government officials had serious consequences for the ability of economic progressives to

⁵ See Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); Phillip A. Klinkner and Rogers M. Smith, *The Unsteady March: The Rise and Decline of Racial Equality in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

⁶ See Risa L. Goluboff, *The Lost Promise of Civil Rights* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010); Leah N. Gordon, *From Power to Prejudice: The Rise of Racial Individualism in Midcentury America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015); Lani Guinier, "From Racial Liberalism to Racial Literacy: *Brown v. Board of Education* and the Interest-Divergence Dilemma," *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 1 (June 1, 2004).

⁷ See Landon R. Y. Storrs, *The Second Red Scare and the Unmaking of the New Deal Left* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012); Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1998); Andrew Hartman, *Education and the Cold War: The Battle for the American School* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

maintain social networks or organize politically. Indeed, under the threat of loyalty investigations, many openly rejected or substantially modified their earlier positions. Finally, the shifting macroeconomic position of federal policymakers in the 1940s created an environment that was much more amenable to the vision of education put forth by the social efficiency progressives and racial democrats. Moving away from a firm commitment to full employment, policy actors increasingly supported a commercial Keynesianism that privileged concerns about inflation and pursued tax cuts as the most effective means of economic management. Unlike their New Deal predecessors who argued unemployment was in large part the result of fundamental flaws in a market economy, commercial Keynesians shifted explanatory focus to the individual, arguing that unemployment was largely the result of marginal workers failing to keep up with skill demands of the changing labor market.⁸

Changes in the international context, court doctrines, political repression and macroeconomic policy beliefs created a political situation in which the collective understanding of the purpose of the public education system shifted away from the economic progressive understandings that dominated the 1930s and 1940s. These political developments created the conditions that led to the establishment of a liberal incorporationist order in education. A broad coalition united by a commitment to providing equality of educational opportunity in a free market economic system

⁸ See Robert M. Collins, *The Business Response to Keynes, 1929-1964* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982); Michael B. Katz, *The Undeserving Poor: America's Enduring Confrontation with Poverty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Gary Mucciaroni, *The Political Failure of Employment Policy, 1945-1982* (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1991); Margaret Weir, *Politics and Jobs: The Boundaries of Employment Policy in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

supported this new liberal incorporationist education order. Racial democrats, pushing for fair incorporation into the existing economic and social structures, argued that such a commitment was necessary to address the undemocratic relegation of blacks to inferior status simply because of skin color. Social efficiency progressives, commercial Keynesians, and conservative economists backed this commitment to equitable educational opportunity as the most efficient way of ensuring individual success in the labor market, and of effectively using national human resources. They positioned education as the best policy tool available to address the problems of poverty, unemployment, and racial disparity. Additionally, by the 1960s, as it became clear that the liberal incorporationist ideology was better able to accommodate the changing political environment, many prominent supporters of economic democracy shifted their positions to align more closely with that of liberal incorporation. Among this group were George Counts, Ralph Bunche, Abram Harris, who all significantly modified or rejected their previous support of economic democracy.⁹ The education policy proposals that

⁹ Not everyone abandoned the economic democracy position. Several authors and public servants continued to maintain this position well into the 1960s. For example Willard Wirtz, President Lyndon Johnson's Secretary of Labor, Leon Keyserling, former head of the Council of Economic Advisors under President Harry Truman, and Bayard Rustin, a lead organizer of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, offered spirited but unsuccessful advocacy of full employment and aggressive public job creation as the most effective poverty program during Johnson's administration. The shifting political context and shifting positions of many previous supporters meant that these holdouts were increasingly marginalized and their effect on federal education policy was minimal. As labor historian Judith Stein argues more generally, the economic crises of 1970s saw the last gasps of those advocating for broad structural reform, as the federal government turned to supply-side solutions instead. See Judith Stein, *Pivotal Decade: How the United States Traded Factories for Finance in the Seventies*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Judith Russell, *Economics, Bureaucracy, and Race: How Keynesians Misguided the War on Poverty* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004); Leon Keyserling, "Economic Progress and the Great Society" in *The Great Society Reader: The Failure of American Liberalism*, eds. Marvin E. Gettleman and David Mermelstein (New York: Random House, 1967), 85-96; Bayard Rustin, "From Protest to Politics" in *The Great Society Reader: The Failure of American Liberalism*, eds. Marvin E. Gettleman and David Mermelstein (New York: Random House, 1967), 261-277.

emerged were committed to facilitating incorporation into the existing economic and social structures, rather than challenging them.

Importantly, this understanding of education guided the construction of the federal education state. The interpretation of poverty, unemployment, and racial disparity as attributable to individual deficiencies in skill or culture helped build a coalition of policymakers committed to addressing these problems through an expansive federal education state. The liberal incorporationist framing of education as a solution to poverty, racial disparity and unemployment provided a powerful vehicle for the establishment of the first major federal intervention into the realm of primary and secondary education policy, the 1965 ESEA. Indeed, it was this ideological framing that proved especially effective at neutralizing and overcoming much of the fierce and longstanding legislative opposition to an expansive federal role in education.

In addition to the providing the justification for the ESEA, the liberal incorporationist understanding of education shaped the particular education policies that emerged.

In his message to Congress urging passage of the ESEA, President Lyndon Johnson underlined its importance by arguing, “with education, instead of being condemned to poverty and idleness, young Americans can learn the skills to find a job and provide for a family.”¹⁰ This interpretation of the origins of poverty, unemployment and racial disparity drove the institutional structure of the ESEA, which was centered around

¹⁰ Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, “Report on Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965” (Washington, D.C.: United States Senate, April 6, 1965): 3

providing compensatory funds for schools with high numbers of disadvantaged students. The decision to invest heavily in education was a clear indication of the move away from more directly interventionist approaches to address these problems, as policymakers sought to attack the hypothesized individual causes of poverty and unemployment rather than pursue broad macroeconomic solutions such as a full employment through public-sector job guarantees, aggressively redistributive taxation, and a robust social safety net.

Passage of the ESEA represented institutionalization at the federal level of the liberal incorporationist ideology that had emerged from earlier debates over the purpose of education. The institutionalization of this ideology marks a significant moment for the development of accountability policies in education. The understanding of education as the central mechanism for overcoming poverty and unemployment also drove many policymakers and scholars to criticize public schools and teachers as responsible for these problems and to demand strict accountability for federal funds distributed by the ESEA. Senator Robert Kennedy (D-NY), Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel, psychologist Kenneth Clark and other liberal incorporationists led the charge in the 1960s for extensive evaluation and reporting requirements, and pointed to standardized tests as the best means of evaluating program success.¹¹ The belief that the equalization of educational opportunity would help eliminate poverty, unemployment and racial disparities drove these policies.

¹¹ See Kenneth Bancroft Clark, *Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965); Harlem Youth Opportunities, Inc, *Youth in the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and a Blueprint for Change* (New York: HARYOU, 1964); Samuel Halperin, "ESEA Ten Years Later," *Educational Researcher*, January 1975.

Notably, the ESEA and subsequent federal education policies did substantially increase federal funding of public schools, addressed some of the most egregious funding inequities in the education system, and facilitated partial desegregation. However, it is important to recognize that many of these same policies pushed the federal education state in a punitive direction. Despite evidence that schools had limited, if any, capability to substantially raise student test scores, federal funding was attached to requirements that demanded that schools demonstrate that the money was being put to good use, which most often meant an ability to show an increase in student test scores. As the association between effective use of federal money and test scores tightened in the mind of policymakers, students, teachers, and schools were increasingly subjected to policies that punished for failing to live up to expectations. As the liberal incorporationist order triggered broad support for federal involvement in education, it also triggered demands for accountability due to suspicion of the role existing educational institutions had played in perpetuating social problems.

The liberal incorporationist terms on which the ESEA was established has framed and structured subsequent developments. As federal investment in education failed to show the lofty results predicted by the liberal incorporationists, federal policies grew increasingly punitive. Early reports indicating educational programs targeted towards the poor had little to no effect on educational outcomes prompted swift reaction from Congressional actors. Disappointed policymakers pushed passed a number of amendments in the 1960s and 1970s that increased evaluation and reporting requirements

for ESEA programs and strengthened the reliance on standardized achievement tests as the best evaluation metric. Additionally, these amendments mandated strict sanctions against states and schools systems that failed to meet expectations and increased funds for the enforcement activity of federal agencies in charge of oversight.

While segments of the Republican Party provided some of the fiercest opposition to the liberal incorporationist order, this opposition mostly centered on the appropriateness of a federal role, not over the understanding of education that it implied. By the mid-1980s with the ESEA firmly established, and on the heels of the explosive federal report *A Nation At Risk*, warning of the national peril posed by a failing public education system, much of the Republican opposition to federal involvement had dissipated. But the Republican embrace of the liberal incorporationist order also opened avenues for the party to craft educational policies that aligned closer to its ideology. As Robert Collins has noted, a given ideological commitment like liberal incorporation in education, “offe[rs] policy formulations which diffe[r] significantly in their ideological, political, and economic potentials.”¹² In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Republican policymakers, national business organizations, and a number of civil rights groups voiced increasing concern over the fact that public schools had failed to raise standardized test scores and eliminate racial disparities on these tests. This concern, coupled with the persistence of poverty and perception of a workforce unprepared for changing globalized

¹² Collins, *The Business Response to Keynes*, 10.

economy, led these groups to push for the introduction of market incentives to increase accountability in the public school system.

Policies like high stakes standardized tests, merit-based teacher pay, mass closings of schools or firings of teachers deemed underperforming, and the expansion of charter and private options in schooling became solutions to a system in crisis. Crucially, all of these policies are consistent with the liberal incorporationist understanding of the purpose of education. These policies were predominantly promoted by the federal government through legislation like the Improving America's Schools Act under President Bill Clinton, the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act under President George W. Bush era, and the Race to the Top (RTT) initiative under President Barack Obama. This list of legislation indicates the consolidation of bipartisan consensus around the a punitive education state committed to the introduction of market incentives in public education..

The introduction of market incentives and punitive education policies has not undermined the liberal incorporationist education order. In fact, these reforms are the result of a constant source of tension embedded within the liberal incorporationist order. The vision of education as a solution to poverty, unemployment, and racial disparity meant that the continued existence of these problems spurred continuous calls for education reform. Debates over the benefits of charter or private schools or strict sanctions have all centered on how best to achieve liberal incorporationist goals. Recent shifts towards punitive accountability and school choice policies are driven by the belief that if schools are effective in raising test scores and reducing racial disparities on these

achievement metrics, it will ultimately lead to a reduction in poverty, unemployment, and racial inequality. And as earlier, the willingness to fund the buildup of an increasingly punitive education state corresponds with a rejection of interventionist macro-economic policies to address these problems more directly. Critically, the increasing use of privatization, high-stakes testing, and mass firings of public school teachers do not represent a challenge to the liberal incorporationist order established during the Great Society, but are rather an increasingly destructive extension of the institutional and ideological commitments it established.

Rethinking the Origins of the Federal Education State

The effects of the punitive accountability turn in education policy have been a major focus of education researchers, particularly in the wake of NCLB and RTT. While these reforms have been promoted as solutions to an inequitable and deficient education system, several scholars have found that these reforms have had distinctly negative consequences for students, teachers, and the public education more broadly. Researchers have found evidence that the high-stakes tests and punitive turnaround strategies for failing schools such as transformation into charters, merit pay for teachers, privatization, and school closure required by NCLB and RTT have had numerous and severe unintended consequences. In the classroom, studies have suggested that these reforms

have narrowed the curriculum,¹³ caused teachers to focus on borderline or “bubble” students most likely to increase their test scores,¹⁴ led to deceitful reclassification or expulsion of low performing students as a means raising test averages,¹⁵ increased teacher turnover and decreased teacher satisfaction,¹⁶ and increase in student dropout rates.¹⁷ Scholars have also found that these negative consequences disproportionately

¹³ David Berliner, “Rational Responses to High Stakes Testing: the case of Curriculum Narrowing and the Harm that Follows,” *Cambridge Journal of Education* 41, no. 3 (October 2011): 287-302; Margaret S. Crocco, “The Narrowing of Curriculum and Pedagogy in the Age of Accountability Urban Educators Speak Out,” *Urban Education* 42, no. 6 (November 2007): 512-535; Audrey L. Amrein and David C. Berliner, “An Analysis of Some Unintended and Negative Consequences of High-Stakes Testing,” report from Education Policy Studies Laboratory, (Tempe: Arizona State University, 2002); George Madaus and Michael Russell, “Paradoxes of High-Stakes Testing,” *The Journal of Education* 190, no. 1/2 (2010/2011): 21-30; Smith, Mary Lee et al., *Political Spectacle and the Fate of American Schools* (New York: Routledge Falmer, 2004); Linda Darling-Hammond, “Race, Inequality and Educational Accountability: The Irony of ‘No Child Left Behind,’” *Race Ethnicity and Education* 10, no. 3 (September 2007): 245-260.

¹⁴ Jennifer Booher-Jennings, “Below the bubble: “Educational triage” and the Texas Accountability System,” *American Educational Research Journal* 42, no. 2 (June 2005): 231-268; Linda M. McNeil, *Contradictions of School Reform: Educational Costs of Standardized Teaching*, (New York: Routledge, 2000); George F. Madaus et al., “The Influence of Testing on Teaching Math and Science in Grades 4-12, report from Center for the Study of Testing, Evaluation, and Educational Policy (Chestnut Hill, MA: Boston College, 1992); Amrein and Berliner, “An Analysis of Unintended and Negative Consequences,” 2002.

¹⁵ Julian Vasquez Helig and Linda Darling-Hammond, “Accountability Texas-Style: The Progress and Learning of Urban Minority Students in a High-Stakes Testing Context,” *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 30, no. 2 (June 2008): 75-110; Amrein and Berliner, “An Analysis of Unintended and Negative Consequences,” 2002; Booher-Jennings, “Below the bubble,” 2005.

¹⁶ William A. Mehrens, “Consequences of Assessment: What is the Evidence?” *Education Policy Analysis Archives* 6, no. 13 (July 1998): 1-30; Kennon M. Sheldon and Bruce J. Biddle, “Standards, Accountability, and School Reform: Perils and Pitfalls,” *Teachers College Record* 100, no. 1 (1998): 164-180; Dana Goldstein, *The Teacher Wars: A History of America’s Most Embattled Profession* (New York: Doubleday, 2014); Crocco, “The Narrowing of Curriculum and Pedagogy,” 2007; Gerson, “The Neoliberal Agenda,” 2012.

¹⁷ Gary Orfield and Johanna Wald, “Testing, Testing,” *The Nation* 270, no. 22 (June 5, 2000): 38-40; Linda M. McNeil, “Faking Equity: High-Stakes Testing and the Education of Latino Youth,” *Leaving Children Behind: How “Texas-style” Accountability Fails Latino Youth*, ed. Angela Valenzuela (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005) 57-112; Madaus and Russell, “Paradoxes of High-Stakes Testing,” 2010/2011; Helig and Darling-Hammond, “Accountability Texas-Style,” 2008; Darling-Hammond, “Race, Inequality and Educational Accountability,” 2007; Smith et al., *Political Spectacle*, 2004.

affect the poor, racial minorities, and urban communities.¹⁸ These negative consequences and their inequitable distribution have led to serious concerns that the current educational policy landscape has hobbled the democratic responsiveness and purpose of public education.¹⁹

As evidence of the negative consequences of recent educational reforms has become widespread, scholars from several disciplines have sought to explain the origins of these policies. Though otherwise very valuable, many of the most influential recent accounts fail to recognize the deeper roots and the key turning points in the development of modern educational politics just sketched. While some scholars suggest that the ideological roots trace for current reforms stretch back the late 1970s,²⁰ education professor Ann Winfield reflects a broad consensus in claiming, “the historical dividing line that marks the starting point for the present era, few would argue, is the election of

¹⁸ Wayne Au, *Unequal By Design: High-Stakes Testing and the Standardization of Inequality*, (New York: Routledge, 2009); Kenneth J. Saltman, *Capitalizing on Disaster: Taking and Breaking Public Schools* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2007); Darling-Hammond, “Race, Inequality and Educational Accountability,” 2007; Smith et al., *Political Spectacle*, 2004; McNeil, *Contradictions of School Reform*, 2005.

¹⁹ Sigal Ben-Porath, “Deferring Virtue: The New Management of Students and the Civic Role of Schools,” *Theory and Research in Education* 11, no. 2 (July 2013): 111-128; Alex Molnar, *School Commercialism: From Democratic Ideal to Market Commodity* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Michael Fabricant and Michelle Fine, *Charter Schools and the Corporate Makeover of Public Education: What’s at State?* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2012).

²⁰ See Larry Cuban, *The Blackboard and the Bottom Line: Why Schools Can’t Be Businesses* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004); Pauline Lipman, *The New Political Economy of Urban Education: Neoliberalism, Race and the Right to the City* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Lois Weiner, *The Future of Our Schools: Teachers Unions and Social Justice* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2012).

Ronald Reagan.”²¹ According to these accounts, the “conservative restoration” brought to power a broad coalition of groups opposed to egalitarian Great Society education policy. This coalition composed of religious conservatives seeking greater funding for religious schools and a greater religious emphasis in the public classroom,²² neoconservatives concerned about declining test scores and a decaying national culture,²³ and neoliberal and corporate interests seeking to introduce market forces in public education are pointed to as the the progenitors of the current constellation of punitive education policies.²⁴

²¹ Ann G. Winfield, “Resuscitating Bad Science: Eugenics Past and Present,” *The Assault on Public Education: Confronting the Politics of Corporate School Reform*, ed. William H. Watkins (New York: Teachers College Press, 2012), 154. For a similar periodization, see William H. Watkins, “The New Social Order: An Educator Looks at Economics, Politics, and Race,” *The Assault on Public Education: Confronting the Politics of Corporate School Reform*, ed. William H. Watkins (New York: Teachers College Press, 2012); David C. Berliner and Bruce J. Biddle, *The Manufactured Crisis: Myths, Fraud, and the Attack on America’s Public Schools* (Reading, MA: Addison Wesley Publishing, 1995); Smith, Mary Lee et al., *Political Spectacle and the Fate of American Schools* (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004); Malila N. Robinson and Catherine A. Lugg, “The Role of the Religious Right in Restructuring Education,” *The Assault on Public Education: Confronting the Politics of Corporate School Reform*, ed. William H. Watkins (New York: Teachers College Press, 2012), 125-142; David K. Cohen and Susan Moffitt, *The Ordeal of Equality: Did Federal Regulation Fix the Schools?* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

²² Robinson and Lugg, “The Role of the Religious Right,” 2012; Cuban, *Blackboard and Bottom Line*, 2004; Michael W. Apple, *Educating the “Right” Way: Markets, Standards, God, and Inequality*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006).

²³ Kristen L. Buras, *Rightist Multiculturalism: Core Lessons on Neoconservative School Reform* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Apple, *Educating the “Right” Way*, 2006, Berliner and Biddle, *The Manufactured Crisis*, 1995.

²⁴ Kenneth J. Saltman, *Capitalizing on Disaster: Taking and Breaking Public Schools* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2007); Kenneth J. Saltman, *The Failure of Corporate School Reform* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2012); Smith et al., *Political Spectacle*, 2004; Lipman, *The New Political Economy*, 2011; Watkins, “The New Social Order,” 2012; Jack Gerson, “The Neoliberal Agenda and the Response of Teachers Unions,” *The Assault on Public Education: Confronting the Politics of Corporate School Reform*, ed. William H. Watkins (New York: Teachers College Press, 2012), 97-124; Diane Ravitch, *Reign of Error: The Hoax of the Privatization Market and the Danger to America’s Public Schools* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013); Jeffrey Henig, “Education Policy from 1980 to the Present: The Politics of Privatization,” *Conservatism and American Political Development*, eds. Brian J. Glenn and Steven M. Teles (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 291-323; Alex Molnar, *School Commercialism: From Democratic Ideal to Market Commodity* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Deron Boyles, *American Education & Corporations: The Free Market Goes to School* (New York: Falmer Press, 2000).

Several existing accounts point to the inflammatory 1983 *Nation at Risk* report and the 1988 ESEA reauthorization as critical moments in the reorientation of the federal education state.²⁵ As fears of a loss of national standing and decreased social mobility drove public dissatisfaction with public education, this coalition successfully pushed for reforms that centered on holding schools accountable. The changes initiated by the political right were solidified in the 1990s as members of the Democratic Party recognized the need to adjust their stance as Republican efforts gained traction with voters. This shift accelerated as it became clear that the many of the educational policies advocated by Republican Party appealed to many racial minority and urban families, constituencies that were traditionally Democratic.²⁶ Since the passage of the NCLB in 2001, Democrats and Republicans have been united in pressing for market-based reforms as a means of improving education. Importantly, this bipartisan consensus on the appropriate role and policies of the modern federal education state is positioned as having its foundations in the “watershed of a new economic and political world order” ushered in by Reagan Revolution.²⁷

²⁵ Elizabeth H. Debray, *Politics, Ideology, & Education: Federal Policy During the Clinton and Bush Administrations* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006); Ravitch, *Reign of Error*, 2013; Fabricant and Fine, *Charter Schools and the Corporate Makeover*, 2012.

²⁶ Jesse H. Rhodes, *An Education in Politics: The Origins and Evolution of No Child Left Behind* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012); Thomas C. Pedroni, *Market Movements: African American involvement in School Voucher Reform*, (New York: Routledge, 2007); Michael W. Apple and Thomas C. Pedroni, “Conservative Alliance Building and African American Support of Vouchers: The End of *Brown’s* Promise or a New Beginning?” *Teachers College Record* 107, no. 9 (September 2005): 2068-2105; Jeffrey Henig, “Education Policy from 1980 to the Present,” 2009.

²⁷ Watkins, “The New Social Order,” 2012:10. See also Frederick Hess and Patrick McGuinn, “Seeking the Mantle of Opportunity: Presidential Politics and the Educational Metaphor. 1964-2000.” *Educational Policy* 16, no. 1 (March 2002)” 72-95; Debray, *Politics, Ideology, & Education*, 2006:150

Like the scholarship emerging from other disciplines, much of the recent political science scholarship on the development of the federal education state maps a distinct shift in the 1980s from a progressive focus on educational equality to policies promoting excellence through standards and accountability.²⁸ Political scientists Patrick McGuinn, Paul Manna, and Jesse Rhodes all characterize the early federal education state established in the 1960s as an equity regime focused on targeting funds to disadvantaged students. These authors all point to the 1980s as a moment of a paradigm shift in education, when excellence replaced equity as the guiding principle of the federal education state, ushering in policies designed to raise the educational achievement of all students through standards, accountability, and standardized testing.²⁹

It should be clear that from the perspective defended here, the ideological change and periodization stressed by the equity to excellence account is at best overstated, because it severely neglects crucial contributors to these developments. It fails to offer an explanation for the fact that demands for accountability for failing schools, and policies like sanctions and annual testing designed to ensure laggards were held accountable, were embedded in the original construction of the federal education state in 1965. The most vocal supporters of accountability policies in federal education came predominantly from the political left and minority groups in the 1960s and 1970s. To fully grasp this development requires an understanding of the how the ideological cleavages and battles

²⁸ Janice Petrovich and Amy Stuart Wells, eds., *Bringing Equity Back: Research for a New Era in American Educational Policy* (New York: Teachers College Pr, 2005), 3.

²⁹ See Manna, *School's In*; McGuinn, *No Child Left Behind*; Rhodes, *An Education in Politics*.

of the 1940s and 1950s resulted in the construction of a federal education state centered around holding schools responsible for solving poverty, racial disparity and unemployment. Accountability politics and policies were firmly established in the federal education state well before the 1980s. Pointing to the 1980s as the origins of this movement masks the considerable ideological continuity between the 1960s and 1980s in federal education policy.³⁰ The accountability turn in education policy emerged from the ideological battles of the 1940s and 1950s and was firmly institutionalized in the Great Society expansion of the federal education state.

This accounts adds to a growing literature that argues that the political compromises and state-building activities of the New Deal and Great Society eras were critical to facilitating the neoliberal turn in social policy.³¹ Analysis of the scholarship that traces this dynamic in the welfare state suggests that looking to these eras is critical in understanding the modern education order. Marie Gottschalk demonstrates how the political context and strategic decisions in the 1940s and 1950s tied the labor movement in the United States to support of job-based health benefits and the private welfare state model, a political settlement that proved to be a substantial barrier to the development of universal insurance over the long run.³² Similarly, in their examination of development

³⁰ This is not to say that there is no difference between the 1960s and 1980s, there are important institutional and coalitional differences. However, the ideological understanding of the purpose of education as the cure to economic hardship remained largely consistent from throughout the time period.

³¹ Ira Katznelson, "Was the Great Society a Lost Opportunity?" in *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980*, ed. Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989). See also Anthony S. Chen, *The Fifth Freedom: Jobs, Politics, and Civil Rights in the United States, 1941-1972*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

³² Marie Gottschalk, *The Shadow Welfare State: Labor, Business, and the Politics of Health Care in the United States*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).

of Medicare, Morgan and Campbell show how a coalition of southern Democrats and conservative Republicans turned to a “delegated welfare state” model of private, state, and local operation as a means of state-building in the post-WWII context that was no longer supportive of broad expansion of the federal welfare state. Although this was politically expedient in the 1960s, this institutional structure hampered effectiveness and exposed the program to political attacks and market-based reforms as the political environment shifted.³³ Detailing the transition from welfare to workfare, Eva Bertram demonstrates that the foundations of the punitive workfare state were laid in the 1960s by powerful southern Democrats in Congress.³⁴ Margaret Weir argues that the possibility for robust public employment programs was undercut by the War on Poverty which constructed policies based on an understanding that attributed poverty to individual attributes rather than larger structural forces.³⁵ An examination of ideological debates of the 1930s through the 1950s, and the state-building activities of the Great Society is key in understanding the origins of the punitive accountability education policies that characterize the current era.

In surveying the deeper origins of current policies and institutions, scholars of American political development have argued that the role of race looms large in explaining the peculiarities of the American social welfare state. This scholarship, which

³³ Kimberly J. Morgan and Andrea Louise Campbell, *The Delegated Welfare State: Medicare, Markets, and the Governance of Social Policy*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

³⁴ Eva Bertram, *The Workfare State: Public Assistance Politics from the New Deal to the New Democrats* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

³⁵ Weir, *Politics and Jobs*, 1992.

focuses on the ways in which race has shaped the institutional structure of the welfare state, suggests the need for close attention to the role of racial hierarchies in shaping the development of the education state. In his examination of New Deal social welfare policy, Robert Lieberman argues that “race inhibited the development of a strong, unitary, centralized welfare state in the United States,” as the desire to maintain racial hierarchies drove policymakers to develop a decentralized, non-contributory social welfare programs designed to push blacks to the margins of the welfare state.³⁶ Similarly, Judith Russell argues “institutional racism” shifted the approach of the War on Poverty to a service delivery model of largely ineffectual programs, despite the overwhelming preference of black leaders that the federal government focus on jobs and employment issues. Russell suggests the refusal of federal officials to acknowledge the demands of the black community limited the programs that emerged from the Great Society.³⁷ In her study of the federal penal state, Naomi Murakawa demonstrates how the state-building activities of racial liberals in the 1940s through 1960s combined with conservative hardliners to build a more “fair” penal system, but one that was capable of locking up significantly more citizens, especially poorer non-white citizens.³⁸ Finally, Lani Guinier has noted that the legal strategy of the racial liberals pursuing desegregation through the courts in the

³⁶ Robert C. Lieberman, *Shifting the Color Line: Race and the American Welfare State*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1998): 6.

³⁷ Russell, *Economics, Bureaucracy, and Race*, 2004

³⁸ Naomi Murakawa, *The First Civil Right: How Liberals Built Prison America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

1950s limited the direction of subsequent social policy by reframing the structural origins of racism as a problem of individual psychology.³⁹

In addition to shaping the institutional structure of the welfare state, scholars from a wide array of disciplines have shown how racial ideology has shaped the political demands and agendas of individuals and coalitions, particularly of those of black Americans. The important political and policy consequences of developments in racial ideology points to the need for an examination of the role of race in structuring the ideological contours of the educational order. Several scholars have demonstrated how the embrace of particular racial ideologies had important consequences for the political demands of black Americans. In his study of tracing the marginalization of class-based accounts of racial oppression among prominent black intellectuals in the 1920s through the 1940s, historian Jonathan Holloway demonstrates the way in which “people have used ‘race’ to constrain the possibilities of radical politics and social science thinking.”⁴⁰ Touré Reed demonstrates how the Urban League’s embrace of assimilationist theories emerging from the social sciences led to a racial uplift agenda that focused on changing individual behavior rather than structural transformation as the best means of addressing racial and economic inequality.⁴¹ Similarly, historian Leah Gordon demonstrates how the post-WWII retreat from New Deal economic liberalism and the rise in antidiscrimination

³⁹ Guinier, “From Racial Liberalism to Racial Literacy”, 61.

⁴⁰ Jonathan Scott Holloway, *Confronting the Veil: Abram Harris Jr., E. Franklin Frazier, and Ralph Bunche, 1919-1941*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002): 17.

⁴¹ Touré F. Reed, *Not Alms But Opportunity: The Urban League & the Politics of Racial Uplift, 1910-1950*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

and antiprejudice policies were facilitated by federal and foundation support of social science that identified prejudice and attitudes, rather than labor exploitation and class struggle, as the source of racial oppression.⁴²

Adolph Reed, Robert Korstad, Nelson Lichtenstein, and Risa Goluboff have shown how these developments in the understanding of race facilitated a shift in black political demands from a focus on union organizing and redistributive economic demands in the 1930s and 1940s to a politics centered on legal administrative demands for equal inclusion into existing social structures by the 1960s.⁴³ In his examination of housing policy in Chicago, Preston Smith demonstrates how the post-WWII adoption of “racial liberalism” by black elites legitimized their claim to leadership and help consolidate a liberal politics that limited political demands to “equal treatment in the marketplace.”⁴⁴ Smith traces the class-inflected nature of this politics, showing how black elites targeted racial segregation reform while accepting the class-segmented housing arrangements promoted by pro-growth white business and political elites. Tracking the consequences of these settlements for the current political landscape, Lester Spence examines the neoliberal turn in black politics over the past few decades. Spence argues that the “neoliberalization of black politics” replaced political organization and mobilization with

⁴² Gordon, *From Power to Prejudice*, 2015

⁴³ Adolph Reed, forthcoming; Robert Korstad and Nelson Lichtenstein, “Opportunities Found and Lost: Labor, Radicals, and the Early Civil Rights Movement,” *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 3 (December 1988): 786-811; Risa L. Goluboff, *The Lost Promise of Civil Rights*. Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2010.

⁴⁴ Preston H. Smith II, *Racial Democracy and the Black Metropolis: Housing Policy in Postwar Chicago*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012): 5.

a politics “in which racial inequality is managed through black elite-promoted techniques designed to get black people to act according to market principles.”⁴⁵

Close attention to the ideological and institutional structuring of race in American political development helps illuminate why certain ideologies, coalitions and institutions gained prominence and how they continue to shape the educational landscape. The debates and developments in the ideological understanding of race and racial inequality in the 1930s through the 1950s were central to building the educational coalition and politics that proved integral in the push to build a federal education state. As this coalition succeeded in institutionalizing their demands with the 1965 ESEA, the expectation that public education would eliminate broader racial disparities significantly affected the structure of the educational programs and policies that emerged. The consequences of these early debates and institutional developments shaped by race continue to reverberate in the educational order today.

One of the greatest strengths of these works has been the incorporation of ideas, coalitions, and institutions in a comprehensive account of political development. Rogers Smith notes the importance of analytical approaches that include both ideas and institutions in explanations of political change. Smith argues that ideas are crucial “constitutive elements” of political order, but that accounts of political development must also include the institutional focus as “[i]deas can produce political change only when

⁴⁵ Lester K. Spence, “The Neoliberal Turn in Black Politics,” *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture and Society* 14, no. 3-4 (July-December, 2012): 146.

particular, identifiable political institutions, groups, and actors advance them.”⁴⁶ This project will trace the political development along what Smith refers to as the “spiral of politics.”⁴⁷ Smith suggests a model of general political development in which ideas are essential constitutive elements in constructing coalitions that press for institutional change, which ultimately change the political context. Smith’s argument is one that highlights the importance of ideas, as “coalitions, institutions, and the policies they eventually produce are all *constituted* in significant measures by the ideas that define the shared purposes of the coalitions and the aims of the governing officials who create institutions or seek to turn existing ones to their ends.”⁴⁸

The shortcomings of existing accounts tracing the development of the education state suggest the value of this type of APD approach. The close focus on the growth of the federal role in education has obscured the ideological continuity guiding its development for the last fifty years. An examination of the ideas that shaped, and continue to shape, the institutional development of the federal education state is a critical component in understanding the educational order. In addition to the ideological focus,

⁴⁶ Rogers M. Smith, “Which Comes First, the Ideas or the Institutions?” In *Rethinking Political Institutions: The Art of the State*, ed. Ian Shapiro, Stephen Skowronek, and Daniel Galvin (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 109. For scholars that take a similar view of the need to focus on both ideas and institutions, see Robert C. Lieberman, “Ideas, Institutions, and Political Order: Explaining Political Change,” *The American Political Science Review* 96, no. 4 (December 1, 2002): 697-712; Vivien A. Schmidt, “Taking Ideas and Discourse Seriously: Explaining Change through Discursive Institutionalism as the Fourth ‘new Institutionalism,’” *European Political Science Review* 2, no. 01 (March 2010): 1-25; Timothy Paul Ryan Weaver, *Neoliberalism in the Trenches: Urban Policy and Politics in the United States and United Kingdom* (Dissertations Available from ProQuest, January 1, 2012, 1-459).

⁴⁷ Rogers M. Smith, “Ideas and the Spiral of Politics: The Place of American Political Thought in American Political Development,” *American Political Thought* 3, no.1 (2014): 126-36

⁴⁸ Rogers M. Smith, *Political Peoplehood: The Roles of Values, Interests, and Identities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 30 - emphasis in original.

understanding the current landscape requires an investigation of the individuals, coalitions, and institutions enlisted in supporting one idea over another, which ultimately explains why some ideas win and others lose out. Providing a compelling explanation for the current educational order dominated by a pedagogy devoted to holding schools, teachers, and students accountable through increasingly punitive means requires an approach that takes ideas, coalitions, and institutions seriously.

The 1965 passage of the ESEA represents the institutionalization of a particular vision of education that cannot be understood without a comprehension of the ideological, institutional, and political battles that paved the way for its passage and structured its creation. The construction and motivation for the ESEA was driven by a liberal incorporationist ideological understanding that positioned federal involvement in education as necessary for providing equality of opportunity and an essential program for addressing poverty, unemployment, and racial disparity. The dominance of this understanding of education during the 1960s represented an ideological and political victory for those committed to shoring up the liberal capitalist order. Throughout much of the 1930s and 1940s, a sizable group of academics and educational organizations were committed to a much different vision of education. This coalition advocated for the use of schools and education more broadly to end excessive individualism and the competitive nature among students, to instill working-class solidarity, and to position teachers as the vanguard in the transition to a different economic and social order. The fierce debate was settled as the liberal incorporationist vision ultimately proved better

able to accommodate the shifting political context of the nascent Cold War, a resurgent business community, and a federal judiciary increasingly sympathetic to claims under the Equal Protection Clause.

The liberal incorporationist understanding of the purpose of education, and the social problems it could and should address drove actors to articulate specific educational programs and policies, and create educational institutions that reflected this idea. The justification for the ESEA was built solidly on liberal incorporationist ideas, and these ideas shaped the policies of the new federal education state and the means by which these policies would be evaluated. The institutionalization of this vision of education in the federal education state had substantial long-term effects as the liberal incorporationist ideology has shaped development of education policy for the past fifty years. Establishing education as the solution to poverty, unemployment, and racial disparity ensured continued dissatisfaction with public education and drove punitive reforms. Attention to these ideas and the context in which they originated illuminates why the federal education state developed when it did, why federal education institutions took the form they did, and why actors advocated for particular educational policies. In other words, an analysis of ideas guiding the federal education state demonstrates “why the different components of the political order adhere to it and why its central objectives are what they are.”⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Smith, “Which Comes First”, 108.

This account of political development in education policy demonstrates that the liberal incorporationist ideology was distinct from previous ideological interpretations of the role of education and important for the construction of a political coalition that pressed for a federal education state and specific educational policies. This ideology was the dominant justification for institutional change represented by the ESEA and continues to be the dominant frame for current understandings of the role of education.⁵⁰ The liberal incorporationist order structured and limited subsequent developments in education policy and facilitated the rise of punitive policies.

Chapter Outlines

The dissertation begins with a focus on the coalitions that engaged in heated battles over the future of education in the United States from the 1930s to the 1960s. Chapters 2 through 4 trace the rise and fall of the economic transformational coalition and its replacement with a coalition committed to an educational system that did not radically challenge existing economic structures. I show that throughout the 1930s and into the 1940s, a powerful alliance of educational progressives and civil rights activists advocated for an educational pedagogy centered on transforming the existing social structures, with the aim of greater equality through economic redistribution. These educational progressives stressed the need to ground education policy and aims in a strong commitment to economic equality as a critical aspect of democratic citizenship.

⁵⁰ This articulation is similar to that of Smith, *Political Peoplehood* and Timothy Paul Ryan Weaver, *Neoliberalism in the Trenches*.

The development of this economic egalitarian coalition fostered the growth of a counter-movement of racial liberals and social efficiency educators seeking a fairer and more effective education system within the existing economic framework. These groups ultimately formed a broad coalition united by a commitment to equality of educational opportunity in a free market economic system, or what I term a liberal incorporationist ideology. Significantly, the purpose of education that emerged from the battles of this time period was strongly connected to human capital and culture of poverty theory. Liberal incorporationists advocated for equality of opportunity for all races within the existing economic structure and pushed for the development of standardized testing as means of guiding education policy and holding educators accountable.

Chapter 2 traces the individuals that made up two distinct coalitions within the progressive education movement, mapping the political and policy cleavages between the social reconstructionist educational coalition grounded in a critique of the economic system and a counter coalition of social efficiency progressives committed to introducing scientific educational methods in order to aid the adjustment of individuals into the labor market. Chapter 3 outlines a similar divide within black educational thought between an economic democracy coalition committed to an educational program that challenged the economic order, and a racial democracy coalition that sought to institute educational policies they believed would facilitate integration into the existing public institutions and economy. Chapter 4 examines how the changing political context of the 1940s and 1950s, and the

response by individuals and coalitions to these changing conditions, led to the victory of liberal incorporationist ideology in education.

Having examined the ideological battles that preceded it, Chapter 5 focuses on the construction of the federal education state and the institutionalization of the liberal incorporationist order. Covering the period between 1960 and 1975, this chapter examines how the ideological understanding of education that emerged from prior debates structured the institutions of the new federal education state, with a particular focus on the role of federal policymakers and the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) and its subsequent amendments. Chapter 5 traces how liberal incorporationist ideology drove policy and institutional construction of the federal education state in the ESEA. The moment when Democrats succeeded in institutionalizing the federal role in education policy coincided with a moment of dramatic limitation in the commitment to use federal power to intervene in the national economy for redistributive purposes. This political context, coupled with the decisive ideological victory of the liberal incorporationist coalition described in earlier chapters meant that much of the programmatic structure that emerged from the ESEA established a liberal incorporationist pedagogy and understanding of public education's purpose. This understanding served as the basis for much of the punitive policies of the modern education state. Rather than stressing the need for economic reform, Great Society liberals shifted towards a narrower vision of equality that focused on the provision of equitable opportunity to succeed as sufficient for democratic legitimacy.

The belief that education was central in overcoming a culture of poverty and developing human capital drove the debate over ESEA. This belief subsequently determined the contours of federal programs and policies. As Democrats backed off earlier commitments to full employment and strong federal intervention in the economy, they increasingly looked to the public schools as a solution to the problems of poverty and unemployment. The retreat of the Democratic Party from redistributive policies was accompanied by increasingly punitive policies in the education state. From the start, the nascent federal education state relied on standardized tests and sanctions as a means of holding recipients of federal funds accountable. Furthermore, it was liberals that were the most vehement in calling for these punitive accountability policies. My account runs counter to much existing scholarship, which views the ESEA as a progressive triumph that was later shifted towards punitiveness with the reemergence of a powerful conservative coalition during the Reagan era. By ignoring the ideological underpinnings of the ESEA and the fundamental ideological continuity of the education state after its passage, scholars have failed to grasp the role of the ESEA and Great Society liberals in setting the education state on a path towards punitiveness.

The concluding chapter briefly traces the emergence of an era of bipartisan consensus from the 1970s to the present. An analysis of the recent developments in the federal education policy, such as Improving America's Schools Act from the Clinton era, the No Child Left Behind Act of the Bush era, and the Race to the Top Initiative and Every Student Succeeds Act under President Obama, shows that the parties have converged on a

common ideological understanding about the purpose and problems of education. Public education is seen as broken and the federal government is viewed as the most effective driver of badly needed reforms. Policies like high stakes standardized tests, merit-based teacher pay, mass closings of schools deemed underperforming, and the expansion of charter and private options in schooling became bipartisan solutions to a system in crisis. These policies have had particularly harmful effects on the poorest students and communities. The past twenty years have represented a remarkable period of agreement over the purpose of education and the role of the federal government. Significantly, the development of this broad and durable bipartisan coalition pressing for educational reform occurred in era that many scholars have characterized as marked by unparalleled polarization. The result is a firmly entrenched federal education state committed to punitive accountability policies, with particularly pernicious consequences for the most disadvantaged.

Chapter Two

To Reconstruct or Adjust? The Battle within Progressive Education, 1920s-1940s

Education is an economic issue -- if not 'the' economic issue of our time...

It's an economic issue when countries that out-educate us today are going to out-compete us tomorrow. For years, we've recognized that education is a prerequisite for prosperity. And yet, we've tolerated a status quo where America lags behind other nations...

Meanwhile, when it comes to black students, African American students trail not only almost every other developed nation abroad, but they badly trail their white classmates here at home -- an achievement gap that is widening the income gap between black and white, between rich and poor.

-Barack Obama, Remarks by the President on
Education Reform at the National Urban League Centennial Conference, July 29, 2010

There is agreement today across the political spectrum in the United States around the idea that the education system is in crisis, and that educational reforms are key to solving myriad social problems. The above quote from President Obama is indicative of the current consensus on the problems and purpose of education. Both major political parties and important interest groups have voiced concerns about the quality of schooling, the effectiveness of teachers, the difficulty of the curriculum, the need for more accountability, and the comparative effectiveness of the public education system in the United States. Underlying this diagnosis of school deficiency is a remarkable consensus about the purpose of the education system. Elites from across the political spectrum promote the idea that the public education system should be centered around imparting skills that offer *individuals* the potential for future success within the existing social and economic order. From the political right, this view of education is defended as the most efficient way of ensuring that individual earnings are tied to the skills the individual

brings to marketplace, that there is a steady supply of skilled workers for the labor market, and as the best means of preserving the nation's international preeminence.⁵¹ The political left embraces this understanding out of a belief that an education system ordered on these principles provides the best means of economic mobility for the meritorious, and provides a path to success even for individuals from traditionally disadvantaged groups.⁵²

This current political consensus on education understands the broader economic structure as set, and therefore the proper focus of the education system is to ensure that all children have an equal shot at success (or failure) in the existing social order.

Although promoters of this vision of education acknowledge that such a system entails winners and losers, the goal is to create an educational system that ensures that winners and losers are determined on individual merit, not on the circumstances of birth. Under this view, critiques of the education system have been twofold. First, critics charge that the system broadly does not effectively prepare students for the demands of the labor

⁵¹ The conservative Heritage Foundation recently issued a report on education reform that argued that the nation's ability to meet "challenges will depend on our economic strength, our ability to innovate, and our ability to produce highly skilled workers . . . And all of these will depend, in turn, on how well we educate our children." (Dan Lips, Jennifer Marshall, and Lindsey Burke, "A Parent's Guide to Education Reform" (Washington, D.C.: The Heritage Foundation, September 8, 2008): 11). The most recent Republican Party Platform claimed that education was the surest means of "[m]aintaining America's preeminence" in the global economy. (Republican Party Platforms: "2012 Republican Party Platform," August 27, 2012. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project* <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=101961>).

⁵² For example, the 2011 annual report from the NAACP claimed, "[e]ducation is the great leveler; it allows the recipient to overcome any circumstances of birth." ("Affirming America's Promise: 2011 Annual Report" (Baltimore, MD: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 2011): 16.). The 2012 Democratic Party Platform argues that education as "the surest path to the the middle class" for individuals, and the NEA recently promised to help "fulfill the purpose" of education by "[p]repar[ing] all students to thrive in college, careers, and life." (Democratic Party Platforms: "2012 Democratic Party Platform," September 3, 2012. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project* <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=101962>; National Education Association, "NEA's Message to Members of Congress on the Reauthorization of ESEA," March 2011, <http://www.nea.org/assets/docs/NEAESEAMessagetoHillMarch2011.pdf>).

market. Second, the education system faces criticism for providing some groups better preparation for future success than others.

What is striking about this vision of the purpose and function of education in American society is its narrowness. The role of education is reduced to developing and then efficiently and equally distributing the abilities of individuals to compete in the existing social and economic order. If these educational conditions are met, subsequent inequalities that arise are viewed as essentially justified. Absent from this vision of education is any notion that it is possible or desirable for the public education system to challenge the existing structural order which guarantees that even equitable educational opportunity ultimately results in inequality.⁵³ In short, the current educational consensus has no broader social vision for challenging the extreme inequities that can result from a capitalist economic system.

This chapter seeks to explain the emergence and current prominence of this view of education. An examination of the past indicates that this is a relatively recent historical development, and that this particular vision was not always the hegemonic force in education that it is today. The Progressive Era in the early decades of the twentieth century was characterized by a growing national faith that methods and knowledge of the sciences could be harnessed as a means of addressing national concerns such as the growth of large corporations and corruption in government. A group of individuals who held similar hope for the promise of science in guiding best practices in

⁵³ Indeed, merit encouraged by unequal rewards is central aspect of the existing system.

the organization and methods of teaching dominated the national conversation in education during this time period. Broadly known as the progressive education movement, these social scientists and educators advocated for a sharp departure from the traditional curricula and methods of teaching, pushing for new approaches that were better suited to address current national problems and needs. United by their faith in science and their rejection of traditional educational methods, the progressive education movement had a powerful and continuing effect on the ideas and methods of nation's education system. However, the broad label of Progressive Education masks substantial and significant differences within this group. As educational historian David Labaree has noted, "[t]he progressive education movement in the United States was not a single entity, but a cluster of overlapping and competing tendencies."⁵⁴ This chapter traces the most significant division within the progressive education movement throughout the 1920s and 1940s - the division between the social efficiency progressives and the social reconstructionists.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ David F. Labaree, E. D. Hirsch, and Barbara Beatty, "The Ed School's Romance with Progressivism," *Brookings Papers on Education Policy*, no. 7 (2004): 93.

⁵⁵ Several scholars have noted a similar general division within the progressive education movement, but disagree about the terms used to describe the different coalitions. Stephen Tomlinson refers to the division conservative and liberal visions, which is similar to the liberal progressive and conservative progressive terminology used by Robert L. Church and Michael W. Sedlak. Both David Tyack and David Labaree use the terms administrative and pedagogical progressives to draw a similar distinction. My use of social efficiency and social reconstructionist labels is closest to Herbert Kliebard's, who actually distinguishes three groups, social reconstructionists, social efficiency, and child-centered progressives. For the time period this chapter examines, the terms social reconstructionist and social efficiency most clearly capture the most significant division of interest. Robert L. Church and Michael W. Sedlak, *Education in the United States* (Free Press, 1976); Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-1958*, 3rd edition (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004); Labaree et al., "The Ed School's Romance", 92-100; Stephen Tomlinson, "Edward Lee Thorndike and John Dewey on the Science of Education," *Oxford Review of Education* 23, no. 3 (1997): 365-83; David Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974). See also Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, "The Plural Worlds of Educational Research," *History of Education Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (1989): 183-214.

The social efficiency progressives believed that the primary purpose of education was to facilitate the successful integration of children into the existing economic and social landscape. Many in this group came from the world of educational psychology and were firmly committed to the use of quantitative measurement including intelligence, aptitude, and achievement tests as a means of determining educational best practices. Social efficiency progressives pressed for educational opportunity to be distributed on the basis of intelligence and likelihood of success, and advocated for a differentiated curriculum based on student ability. Alternatively, the social reconstructionists believed that the public schools, teachers, and the curriculum should be primarily concerned with educating students about social problems, as well as preparing students with the tools to address these social problems directly. In the wake of the stock market crash of 1929 and the nascent New Deal, the social reconstructionists were highly critical of the excessive individualism, extreme competitiveness, and economic exploitation that characterized the existing economic and social institutional landscape.⁵⁶ Unlike the social efficiency progressives, the social reconstructionists advocated that students of all abilities be educated together and were highly critical of standardized tests. More broadly, the central cleavage between the two groups was that whereas the scientific efficiency progressives believed that education should help adjust the individual for success in the

⁵⁶ Although social reconstructionism traces many of its roots to romanticism and child centered pedagogy of John Dewey's early writings that appeared well before the Great Depression, social reconstructionism, and its theorized relationship between education, existing institutions, and political change was a distinctly post 1929 phenomena.

existing social order, the social reconstructionists argued that the schools should help prepare students to fundamentally change the social order.

This chapter focuses on the key individuals and organizations of the two progressive groups. It begins by outlining the core ideological commitments and the educational program of the social efficiency progressives through an examination of the writings of some of the most important members of this coalition. This group dominated the progressive educational landscape for much of the early decades of the twentieth century. However, the stock market crash of 1929 and the extended economic hardship of the Great Depression gave rise to a rival group of progressives, the social reconstructionists. The second part of the chapter maps the educational reforms and ideological commitments of the social reconstructionists. Given the radicalness of their critiques, this group of progressive educators held surprising influence throughout the 1930s. The different educational ideologies of these two groups of progressive educators led to distinct, and often contradictory, policy prescriptions from the two coalitions. These educational disagreements mapped onto broader political disagreements between the two groups over fairness of a capitalist economy, the requirements of equality of opportunity, and support of New Deal policies. These two groups vigorously competed with one another for the soul of public education. Understanding the differing political commitments and policy differences and between these two groups is central to understanding why one group ultimately proved more successful in implementing its

educational programs. Indeed, the consequences of the victory by the social efficiency progressives continue to reverberate throughout the education system today.

The Social Efficiency Progressives

A powerful new coalition of academics and educators, the social efficiency progressives, emerged in the early decades of the twentieth century. In the spirit of the era, this group of progressive educators pressed for dramatic educational reforms, arguing that children and society more broadly could best be served by creating a more rational and systemic approach to education. Many of the most prominent members of the social efficiency progressive coalition, including Edward L. Thorndike, Henry H. Goddard, Charles H. Judd, and Robert M. Yerkes, came from the newly emerging academic field of psychology. Education was also emerging as an academic field and separate department in many universities, and influential early members of the field such as John Franklin Bobbitt, Elwood P. Cubberly, David Snedden, and Charles Prosser were also social efficiency progressives. Although this coalition was certainly not uniform in their ideological outlook, it was united by several common commitments and beliefs about needed educational reforms. Focused on the need to make the schools more efficient and more reflective of the needs of society, social efficiency progressives proposed a number of reforms to school governance, organization, and teaching methods, including tracking, intelligence testing, standardized achievement testing, routinized teaching methods, and vocational education. This educational vision was accompanied by a belief that children were fundamentally not equal in intelligence or potential value to society, and efficiency

therefore demanded that children of different intelligence be treated differently. This group of progressives advocated turning away from the rote formalism of the three R's that implied teaching students of all abilities the same thing and the tendency to focus on college preparation in high school with methods that were scientifically proven to be effective and were more appropriate for each student's ability and future station in life. The educational vision and ideological commitments of the social efficiency progressives dominated the landscape of the early progressive education movement.

Scientific Management

One of the core commitments that united social efficiency progressives was a desire to introduce the principles of industrial management into the public school system. Largely inspired by Frederick W. Taylor's writings about effective industrial management, social efficiency sought to adapt the management principles outlined by Taylor to the day-to-day operation of the school. For this group of progressives, the implementation of industrial management methods such as routinization, constant evaluation, differentiation, and efficiency provided promising avenues of reforming the education system. The desire to introduce scientific management techniques spawned dramatic reform proposals that touched nearly every aspect of the schooling, including administrative organization, the curricula, and the act of teaching itself.

One of the staunchest and most influential advocates of intruding the logic of industrial management into the schools scientific management was John Franklin

Bobbitt. A long-time professor of school administration at the University of Chicago, Bobbitt also served briefly as assistant schools superintendent of Los Angeles and Toledo.⁵⁷ Bobbitt was one of the most enthusiastic proponents of extending the methods of business management into the schools, a position he outlined early in his career for the 1913 Yearbook of the National Society for the Science of Education. In the extensive piece, entitled “The Supervision of City Schools: Some General Principles of Management Applied to the Problems of City-School Systems,” Bobbitt argued that since “[e]ducation is a shaping process as much as the manufacture of steel rails,” it made sense to apply the scientific management techniques used in business to realm of education.⁵⁸ Extending the metaphor of the school as a business, Bobbitt’s educational approach described school administrators as supervisors, the teachers as workers on the line, and the students as the educational products, and put forth a number of management principles designed to maximize efficiency in education. In this new educational system envisioned by Bobbitt and others, “‘social efficiency’ is to become the chief watchword and the chief aim.”⁵⁹

The most pressing tasks in applying scientific management techniques to the school was to develop standards in order to rationalize and routine the educational process. Bobbitt argued that each subject should have a set of concrete standards that

⁵⁷ John F. Ohles, *Biographical Dictionary of American Educators* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 1978): 143-144.

⁵⁸ John Franklin Bobbitt, *The Supervision of City Schools: Some General Principles of Management Applied to the Problems of City-School Systems* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1913): 12.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 50.

outlined the expectations of what students should know by the time of the completion of each grade. Bobbitt cited favorably the example of math standards that required students to complete a certain number of problems with a set level of accuracy within a given time limit as an ideal type of standard. Bobbitt believed that similar standards could and should be set for every school subject.⁶⁰ Standards were the foundation of the scientific management program, as they allowed for the evaluation of which teaching methods were most effective as well as the personal evaluation of students, teachers and principals.

Importantly, given that the usefulness of standards was largely a function of the ability to make different aspects of the educational process comparable, the most effective standards would involve reducing the educational process to easily quantifiable and comparable metrics. Social efficiency progressives believed that quantifiable standards could even be set for subjects such as history and social studies. The faith in the ability to quantify and measure all aspects of the educational process is reflected in Edward Thorndike's exclamation that "[w]hatever exists, exists in some amount."⁶¹ The development of quantified standards would allow for quick and easy comparison of students and teachers within schools, as well as comparisons between different schools using the same standards.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 14, 43.

⁶¹ Edward L. Thorndike, "The Nature, Purposes, and General Methods of Measurement of Educational Products," in *The Measurement of Educational Products*, ed. S.A. Curtis, 17th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Pt. 2 (Bloomington, IL: Public School: 1918): 16.

Significantly, for Bobbitt, the setting of these standards was not the role of the teachers or others within the education system. Rather, the educational standards should be set by the needs of the broader community, and the demands of labor market in particular. Bobbitt's belief that "it is the need of the world affairs that determines the standard specifications for the educational product," led him to privilege the input of business and corporate leaders in the creation of education standards.⁶² Bobbitt argued that "[t]he commercial world can best say what it needs," and called for the "business world [to] state in specific terms the kinds of educational product that it desires in the workers that come to it."⁶³ By informing the schools about the labor needs of industry, Bobbitt hoped to use educational standards to help schools shape and prepare the students for their position in the labor market.

Given the role of the schools in helping to facilitate entry into the labor market, social efficiency progressives believed that one function of a rationalized school system was to sort students into different categories based on ability and future vocation. Bobbitt advocated for differentiation of standards based on the "native ability" of students and envisioned three separate tracks of educational standards based on the results of intelligence test.⁶⁴ Significantly, Bobbitt claimed that differentiation of standards allowed for schools to begin the process of preparing the students for the vocational task and social role for which their intelligence best suited them. As Bobbitt

⁶² Bobbitt, "Supervision of City Schools," 34.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 26.

argued, “differentiation of standards on the basis of native ability is closely related to the differentiation of standards according to vocational and social destiny.”⁶⁵ Differentiation would allow for the development of different standards and curricula for the different groups of students, which would ultimately smooth the transition of each group of student into their appropriate place in the labor market.⁶⁶

The commitment to different educational tracks based on intelligence scores was a central aspect of the social efficiency progressive movement. Edward Thorndike echoed Bobbitt in calling for the differentiation of educational standards and resources on the basis of intelligence, arguing “[i]t certainly is not reasonable that the intellectually ablest 5 per cent of boys should be kept in school to an age only four months beyond that to which the least able are kept” and that “increased resources should be used to aid young men and women whom nature and nurture have chosen to profit from schooling.”⁶⁷ The differentiation of standards was framed as a means of rationally distributing educational resources. This differentiation of educational standards also supported subsequent social and class differentiation, framing the unequal distribution of educational resources and opportunities as a rational extension of meritocracy.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Bobbitt also believed that the measurement of students and the differentiation of standards was an important aspect of holding teachers and principles accountable, particularly for schools serving disadvantaged areas. Bobbitt argued that once differentiated standards were developed and students assigned to their appropriate tracks, teachers and principles could no longer “hide behind the plea that he has an inferior social class in his school, and therefore, high performance should not be expected of him or his teachers.” Ibid., 29.

⁶⁷ Edward L. Thorndike, “The Distribution of Education,” *The School Review* 40, no. 5 (May 1932): 343, 345.

The creation of standards was also meant to help define the role of the teachers in the classroom and to determine the most effective teaching methods. In applying the methods of scientific management in business to the classroom, Bobbitt conceptualized the teacher as an assembly line worker whose “task is to turn out a product of definite sort in the shape of developed abilities within the pupils.”⁶⁸ According to Bobbitt, “[t]he burden of finding the best methods is too large and too complicated to be laid on the shoulders of the teachers,” instead, the “doctrine of scientific management” required that teaching method should instead be determined by school administrators.⁶⁹ The quantified common educational standards would allow school administrators to determine the effectiveness of a variety of different methods in helping students meet the standards for each subject. The goal was a standardized approach in all classrooms, as Bobbitt argued, “[a]fter experimentation and statistical comparisons have shown the methods that are best, then *these methods must be used* by the teachers.”⁷⁰

For the teacher, the implementation of scientific management techniques would mean the substantial loss of professional autonomy. The social efficiency progressives believed that the the freedom of teachers in the classroom had to be curtailed, as it implied variation from methods that had been shown to be effective. As Bobbitt claimed, “Teachers cannot be permitted to follow caprice in method. When a method which is

⁶⁸ Bobbitt, “Supervision of City Schools,” 23.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 89 (emphasis added).

clearly superior to all other methods has been discovered, it alone can be employed.”⁷¹

The methods proposed by Bobbitt, Thorndike, and others removed teachers as the authorities in education, replacing them with the administrators who evaluated which methods were most effective. The role of the teacher reduced to little more than that of a technician implementing methods that had been determined to help students reach the standards set for each grade and subject.⁷²

Finally, in addition to rationally distributing educational opportunities and defining the appropriate role of the teacher, social efficiency progressives valued the ability of educational standards to aid in accountability. Once clear standards had been set and effective methods been determined, there could be no excuse for failing to produce the desired educational product. Although the development of standards held the possibility of accountability for principals and administrators, it was clear that social efficiency progressives were most interested in evaluating the performance of teachers. Bobbitt claimed that current system of promotion and salary tied to length of service was irrational and argued that it should be replaced by one in which teacher appointment, promotion, and salary were all tied to their ability to get their students to reach the appropriate educational standards.⁷³ Furthermore, according to Bobbitt, the implementation of standards would provide supervisors with “incontestable evidence of inefficiency against the weak teacher who cannot or who refuses to improve. And the

⁷¹ Ibid., 95; see also page 50.

⁷² Tomlinson, “Edward Lee Thorndike and John Dewey,” 367.

⁷³ Bobbitt, “Supervision of City Schools,” 46, 73.

present day difficulty of removing such a teacher from the service, transferring her, or retiring her, will be instantly overcome.”⁷⁴ As on the efficiently managed shop floor, the implementation of scientific management techniques in the schools would aid supervisors in the identification and termination of inefficient workers. Bobbitt argued that accountability in education required more or less constant testing of the students and extensive record keeping, just as it did in the business world.⁷⁵

Bobbitt was one of the earliest and most vocal advocates of the the introduction of scientific management techniques, but he certainly was not alone. The desire to implement scientific reforms that would increase the efficiency of the educational system was shared by many other prominent social efficiency reformers, including Edward Thorndike, David Snedden, Charles Judd, and Henry Goddard.⁷⁶ Elwood Cubberly, an well known and early leader in the emerging field of educational administration, offered a nearly identical assessment as that of Bobbitt in 1916, writing:

Our schools are, in a sense, factories in which the raw products (children) are to be shaped and fashioned into products to meet the various demands of life. The specifications for manufacturing come from the demands of of twentieth-century civilization, and it is the business of the school to build its pupils according to the specification laid down. This demands good tools, specialized machinery, continuous measurement of production to see

⁷⁴ Ibid., 28; This was a clear reference to, and argument against, teacher tenure, which Bobbitt viewed as inefficient and inappropriate for a well managed educational system.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 45-47.

⁷⁶ Labaree et al., “The Ed School’s Romance”, 95; Clarence J. Karier, “Testing for Order and Control in the Corporate Liberal State,” *Educational Theory* 22, no. 2 (April 1, 1972): 158-161; Raymond E. Callahan, *Education and the Cult of Efficiency: A Study of the Social Forces That Have Shaped the Administration of the Public Schools* (Chicago; London: University Of Chicago Press, 1964).

if it is according to specifications, the elimination of waste in manufacture, and a large variety in the output.⁷⁷

The faith that reforms that had revolutionized the factory floor could also help revolutionize social institutions motivated many of the progressive efforts of the day. This faith also was a significant factor in the expansion of the one of the most consequential educational reforms to emerge from this era: widespread standardized testing.

Testing

The desire to introduce scientific management techniques into the schools was a primary driver of increased demand for the development and implementation of standardized tests in education. Social efficiency progressives argued that efficiency demanded the use of standardized tests to determine both the appropriate educational track for students and also to evaluate the success of schools in meeting newly developed standards. As a result, educational psychologists devoted substantial time and resources to developing intelligence tests, meant to differentiate students by inborn intelligence, and also achievement tests, meant to evaluate the progress students had made towards meeting newly developed standards. These tests would be the central tools in the attempt to reorganize the schools in most socially efficient manner, allowing for appropriate distribution of educational resources, determination of the best educational methods, and increased accountability.

⁷⁷ Ellwood Patterson Cubberley, *Public School Administration: A Statement of the Fundamental Principles Underlying the Organization and Administration of Public Education* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Riverside Press, 1916): 338.

Although the goal of widespread standardized testing of intelligence and achievement in education had long been the goal of the social efficiency progressives, this position gained substantially broader endorsement after World War I (WWI). As the United States entered the conflict, the military turned towards scientific management techniques as a means of efficiently dealing with the dramatic increase in the scale of operations and number of soldiers for which it was now responsible. The Army hired a number of the nation's most prominent psychologists, including Edward Thorndike, Henry Goddard, Lewis Terman and Robert Yerkes, to help implement new methods of dealing with massive increase in manpower. Seizing the opportunity, Yerkes led a team of psychologists that developed and deployed an intelligence test in 1917 and 1918. The forty-minute test given to groups of new recruits was designed to help military authorities quickly and efficiently identify those candidates that were intelligent enough to be officers, as well as identify those who were unfit for service due to low intelligence. As a greater number of soldiers were tested, the psychologists developed intelligence guidelines for increasingly specific army vocations. Ultimately, throughout the War, more than 1.75 million soldiers took intelligence tests. The adoption of intelligence as a category that influenced placement was a radical development for the military, which had never considered intelligence or mental capacity a meaningful qualification prior to

WWI. By the end of WWI, the United States military had fully embraced psychological methods and intelligence testings.⁷⁸

The widespread use of intelligence tests in the war effort helped legitimize and popularize the concept of intelligence and its potential use for guiding social institutions. By 1920 Henry Goddard, a prominent psychologist and first person to translate the Binet intelligence test into English, asserted that “this army experience it is no longer possible for any one to deny the validity of mental tests.”⁷⁹ After the war, social efficiency progressives quickly turned their attention back to the schools and attempted to implement a similar program in education. In their post-War assessment of the Army intelligence tests, Robert Yerkes and Clarence Yoakum, two of the individuals intimately involved in developing tests, advocated for the introduction of intelligence tests in schools. In discussing the practical applications of testing after the end of the war, the two psychologists proposed “that children should be classified in accordance with mental ability either as they enter school or shortly thereafter and that mental ability should thereafter be taken into account in connection with their educational treatment.”⁸⁰ Much like their function in military, social efficiency progressives hoped that the tests would be

⁷⁸John Carson, “Army Alpha, Army Brass, and the Search for Army Intelligence,” *Isis* 84, no. 2 (1993): 278–309; see also Clarence Stone Yoakum and Robert Mearnes Yerkes, *Army Mental Tests* (H. Holt and company, 1920), <http://archive.org/details/armymentaltests05yerkgooq>; Henry Herbert Goddard, *Human Efficiency and Levels of Intelligence*, Fifth Printing (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1922).

⁷⁹ Goddard, *Human Efficiency*, 28. Another reason that social efficiency progressives and other testing advocates dominated the WWI landscape was due to the widespread repression and elimination of the influence of radical populists and socialists during the First Red Scare. The general demoralized state of the American left meant that it provided little pushback to the efforts of the social efficiency progressives during and immediately after the War effort. (Karier, “Testing for Order,” 158; Lawrence A. Cremin, “John Dewey and the Progressive-Education Movement, 1915-1952,” *The School Review* 67, no. 2 (Summer 1959): 164).

⁸⁰ Yoakum and Yerkes, *Army Mental Tests*, 191.

used to sort children into their appropriate track, and eventually the vocation most suited to their intelligence level. In 1919, the General Education Board, a philanthropic organization funded by John D. Rockefeller, provided \$25,000 for the development tests designed to measure the intelligence of children in elementary schools. The group of psychologists that comprised the committee in charge of developing the standards was comprised of many of the same individuals who had developed army intelligence tests, including Lewis M. Terman, Edward L. Thorndike, and Robert M. Yerkes. Yerkes served as chairman, the same role he served in the military effort, of the new effort to develop intelligence tests for elementary school students. The committee developed two different tests, and by 1920 had secured an agreement from the World Book Company to publish and distribute the new tests under the title of “National Intelligence Tests.”⁸¹

According to social efficiency progressives it was not only tests of intelligence that would prove useful in education, achievement tests were also critical to ensuring an efficiently run educational system. Edward Thorndike, the educational psychologist who had been in charge of examining the accuracy of the intelligence tests during the War, pressed for the extension of both intelligence and achievement testing in education, arguing, “[e]ducation is one form of human engineering and will profit by measurements of human nature *and* achievement, as mechanical and electrical engineering have profited by using the foot-pound, calories, volt, and ampere.”⁸² Similarly, Henry Goddard

⁸¹ Robert M. Yerkes, “News Items and Communications,” *The Journal of Educational Research* 1, no. 4 (April 1920): 321.

⁸² Edward L. Thorndike, “Scales and Tests Supersede Old-Fashioned School Marks,” *The Journal of Education* 94, no. 15 (October 27, 1921): 395, emphasis added.

advocated for the introduction of an initial intelligence test to sort students into appropriate educational tracks, to be followed by frequent testing of achievement throughout the educational career of the student. The ultimate goal, was “not only to give each student a mental rating but to discover by proper tests the special abilities of various students with an idea to guiding them in their choice of work or profession.”⁸³ The faith that social efficiency progressives placed in the ability of tests to accurately determine intelligence and measure educational achievements meant that this group proselytized for the extension of testing throughout the educational process.

The enthusiasm for testing was largely motivated by the desire to increase the efficiency of the schools. The psychologists advocating for intelligence and achievement tests fundamentally agreed with Bobbitt’s prescription for school reform, and viewed the extension of testing as a necessary aspect of bringing scientific management to the education system. Goddard argued that “a knowledge of the intelligence level and a conscious effort to fit every man to his work in accordance with his intelligence level, is the surest way of promoting social efficiency.”⁸⁴ The introduction of testing would allow for the sorting and assignment of students to the most appropriate educational track for their intelligence level and for a tailoring of the educational program to the future place in the labor market as determined by the mental capacity of the student. The social efficiency progressives believed that this reform would represent a substantially more efficient school system, as it avoided wasting educational resources on those with low

⁸³Goddard, *Human Efficiency*, 116.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 48.

intelligence who could not benefit, and allowed for greater educational investment in the highly intelligent students who would be most likely to benefit.⁸⁵ Edward Thorndike captured the centrality of testing of the social efficiency progressive educational vision in a 1920 Harper's essay, where he argued:

Exact and complete knowledge about the correlations of mental traits will be of enormous importance for the utilization of man-power by schools, churches, employers, and the state. When we have such exact knowledge, we shall be able to make up a bill of specifications of the sort of intellect and character required for a certain job, select men efficiently instead of haphazard, and train them according to their individual needs instead of indiscriminately.⁸⁶

The legitimacy granted to the psychologists after their perceived success in World War I meant that these recommendations carried substantial weight. By the 1920-1921 school year, over one million school children had been given general intelligence tests, and over two million achievement tests had been administered in a number of school subjects.⁸⁷

Heredity

The desire of social efficiency progressives to increase testing in the education system, was motivated to a substantial degree by the belief that intelligence was a fundamentally fixed and heritable individual quality. Social efficiency progressives such as Thorndike and Goddard were some of the most prominent national exponents of the

⁸⁵ Henry H. Goddard, "The Bearing of Heredity Upon Educational Problems," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 2, no. 9 (November 1911): 491-97; Henry H. Goddard, "A Scientific Program of Child Welfare," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 105, Public Welfare in the United States (January 1923): 258-259; Yoakum and Yerkes, *Army Mental Tests*, 191-193; Thorndike, "The Distribution of Education."

⁸⁶ Edward L. Thorndike, "Intelligence and Its Uses," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, January 1920: 234.

⁸⁷ Thorndike, "Scales and Tests," 396.

theory that intelligence was a trait passed down from parents to children. This genetic theory positioned intelligence as a static trait of individuals, meaning that there was little that social institutions could do to alter this inherited individual trait. Many of the educational reform proposals of social efficiency progressives, including differentiated curriculum and standards, the routinization of teaching, and greater focus on vocational education, were motivated by their understanding of the nature of intelligence as a genetic trait.

The belief in the heritability of intelligence meant that social efficiency progressives had a particular interest in the family background of students. Henry Goddard pushed for teachers to collect information on the intelligence of student's relatives, arguing "could we but know the ancestral tendency of all children in our public schools, we would have one very helpful guide toward the direction in which the child's mind could be most easily and successfully developed."⁸⁸ For Goddard, if a student's family background containing a number of low-intelligence or "feeble-minded" individuals, it was a good indication that the student was likely also of low intelligence given that intelligence was a genetic trait. Thorndike traced the differences in intelligence levels to the "enormous amount of variation in the nature of fertilized ova which are the original nature of men."⁸⁹ This belief that intelligence was heritable also provided the foundation for the belief that there were identifiable intelligence differences between sexes, social class, and in particular, racial groups. Pointing to the fields of

⁸⁸ Goddard, "The Bearing of Heredity," 492.

⁸⁹ Edward L. Thorndike, "The Goal of the Social Effort," *Educational Record* 17, no. 2 (April 1, 1936): 166.

psychology and anthropology, Thorndike asserted that there was ample evidence that “there are inborn difference between human strains” when it came to intelligence.⁹⁰ In a 1946 article outlining his belief that intelligence was correlated to racial groups, Thorndike compared racial groups to different breeds of cows, arguing:

Jersey cows, Guernseys, Holsteins, Herefords, etc. are distinguishable as Norwegians, South Italians, Bantu Negroes, and Japanese are. Cows can be ranked on value scales for production of milk and butterfat, for production of meat, for resistance to disease, etc., as men can be ranked for intellect, character, skill, and other qualities serviceable for human welfare.⁹¹

Given the social efficiency contention that educational resources should be distributed on the basis of the intelligence, the belief in racial differences in intelligence necessarily implied racial difference in educational resources.

In addition to the assertion that intelligence was inherited, the social efficiency progressives also argued that it was essentially an unalterable individual trait, much like hair color. Thorndike also believed that the inborn trait of intelligence was correlated with a number of other socially desirable and hereditary traits, asserting that “in human nature good traits go together. To him that hath a superior intellect is given also on the average a superior character; the quick boy is also in the long run more accurate; the able boy is also more industrious.”⁹² For the social efficiency progressives, the measurement

⁹⁰ Edward L. Thorndike, “Racial Inequalities,” *The Educational Forum* 10, no. 2 (January 1, 1946): 133.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² Thorndike, “Intelligence and Its Uses,” 233. According to the hereditarians, the reverse was also true. Goddard argued that the actions of criminals, misdemeanants, delinquents and other anti-social groups could be attributed to low levels of intelligence. Goddard, *Human Efficiency*, 72.

of intelligence in school children could then be used as a proxy for a number of desirable traits and ultimately, future success.

The identification of intelligence as a static trait possessed by the individual meant that it could be a particularly useful tool in efficiently organizing the education system. As Thorndike wrote, “[a]n individual’s intelligence compared with that of other individual’s of his age is within limits, a stable, permanent characteristic of him. It can be at least roughly measured and the measurement used to prophesy and direct his career.”⁹³ Social efficiency progressives argued that because intelligence was a unchangeable trait within the individual and was highly correlated with other desirable qualities and the likelihood of future success, individual intelligence was a particularly useful tool in engineering an efficient education system. If an individual’s intelligence was fixed at birth, then the assignment of an individual to a particular educational track on the basis of intelligence test made sense from a scientific management perspective. The differing distributions of inborn intelligence required different educational curricula and experiences for different levels of individual intelligence.⁹⁴

Importantly, the belief in the fixed nature of intelligence also implied that there was little that teachers, schools, or the educational system more broadly could do to change the social destiny of the individual student. This understanding justified existing inequalities in wealth and power as largely the natural result of differences in

⁹³ Thorndike, “Intelligence and Its Uses,” 232; see also Goddard, “A Scientific Program of Child Welfare,” 264.

⁹⁴ Yoakum & Yerkes, *Army Mental Tests*; Goddard, *Human Efficiency*; Goddard, “A Scientific Program,”; David Snedden, “Seeking Realistic Objectives,” *California Journal of Secondary Education* 25 (January 1, 1950): 455–59.

intelligence. Goddard argued that failure to grasp the unchangeable nature of intelligence had resulted in dangerous public acceptance “of the sophistry ‘that education and environment will offset the handicap of heredity.’”⁹⁵ The belief that intelligence was hereditary meant that the educational vision social efficiency progressives was one in which the transformative power of education was necessarily limited. In his discussion of the racial differences of intelligence, Thorndike reflected his belief in the limited ability of education to change fundamental aspects of heredity, claiming, “if large random samplings of North Europeans and Central Africans ... were given identical opportunities from birth and fully tested at age twenty, there would be substantial differences in ability to manage ideas and symbols in favor of the North Europeans.”⁹⁶ The educational implications of this belief were clearly anti-egalitarian, as equality in education would mean an inefficient distribution of educational resources. Instead of treating every student the same, Thorndike argued that it was important to recognize “the differences between the genes of races,” and that “education should be informed about the raw material with which it operates.”⁹⁷ Similarly, Goddard pressed for educational reforms that acknowledged “all children are not of equal value,” and pushed for a distribution of educational resources based on the principle that “[e]ach child has a value to society in

⁹⁵ Goddard, “A Scientific Program,” 264.

⁹⁶ Thorndike, “Racial Inequalities,” 134.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 137.

proportion to his degree of intelligence.”⁹⁸ Focusing more educational resources and opportunities on the most intelligent was efficient because those with low intelligence could not benefit from increased educational opportunities. Failure to tailor educational opportunities on the basis of intelligence also harmed the most intelligent, as they were forced to learn at the slower pace of their less intelligent peers. Social efficiency progressives therefore advocated for a distribution of educational resources and differentiated educational tracks that reflected the distribution of intelligence.⁹⁹

Political Commitments

The ideological positions of the social efficiency progressives that motivated their educational reform proposals, including the heritability of desirable traits and the drive to implement scientific management techniques, also structured their broader political beliefs and positions. The consequences of these beliefs became particularly clear in the wake of the market crash of 1929 and the subsequent New Deal policies. Although the individuals in this group were broadly progressive, many were openly hostile to the reforms pursued by the New Deal coalition and by their more radical colleagues in the progressive education movement. The ideological commitment of the social efficiency

⁹⁸ Goddard, “A Scientific Program,” 257, 259. Goddard also praised the benefits of eugenics, a common position among hereditarians and many social efficiency progressives. In addition to strong advocacy of sterilization, Goddard claimed that those with lower grade intelligence were social liabilities, and that the most rational and efficient approach would be to “put out of existence” those individuals with low grade intelligence. (Ibid., 259; see also Goddard, *Human Efficiency*, 1920).

⁹⁹ See Thorndike, “The Distribution of Education”; Goddard, *Human Efficiency*; Goddard, “A Scientific Program”; Snedden, “Seeking Realistic Objectives.”

progressives caused many to portray broad political and economic reforms as irresponsible, undemocratic, and inefficient.

The belief in the wide variation of fixed levels of intelligence shaped the social efficiency progressives' understanding of democracy. Although Henry Goddard acknowledged that "[t]he essential point of democracy is that every citizen shall have a chance to say whom he thinks is the best," he also believed that only those with high levels of intelligence were suited to lead.¹⁰⁰ For Goddard, the "perfect Government" was an "Aristocracy *in* Democracy," where the most intelligent were elected to lead.¹⁰¹ A knowledge of varied intelligence levels was central to the democracy, as "a perfect democracy is only to be realized when it is based upon an absolute knowledge of mental levels and the organization of the social body on that basis."¹⁰² Thorndike offered a similar understanding of democracy, noting that "[t]he argument for democracy is not that it give power to all men without distinction, but that it gives greater freedom for ability and character to attain power."¹⁰³ For Thorndike, the fact that "the abler persons in the world ... are more clean, decent, just, and kind" made them ideal leaders. Thorndike openly advocated for leadership on the basis of intelligence, arguing, "[i]t seems entirely

¹⁰⁰ Goddard, *Human Efficiency*, 96. According to Goddard, the tendency of those with low levels of intelligence to seek and follow the advice of those with high levels of intelligence was a law of human nature. (Ibid., 97) And of course, Goddard did not believe that democracy required the participation of all citizens. He advocated for intelligence based restrictions to the rights of citizenship, arguing "[w]hile we all believe in democracy, we may nevertheless admit that we have been too free with the franchise and it would seem a self-evident fact that the feeble-minded should not be allowed to take part in civic affairs; should not be allowed to vote"(Ibid., 99).

¹⁰¹Ibid., 99.

¹⁰² Ibid., 126-127.

¹⁰³ Thorndike, "Intelligence and Its Uses," 235.

sage to predict that the world will get better treatment by trusting its fortunes to its 95- or 99-percentile intelligences than it would get by itself.”¹⁰⁴

Social efficiency progressives justified this elitist vision of democracy on the utilitarian grounds that giving the most resources and the reins of power to the most intelligent would ultimately result in greater social benefit than a more egalitarian distribution of power. This position also provided substantial justification for the status quo, and the extreme inequities in income and power that characterized the 1920s. Thorndike viewed these inequities arising from “natural processes which gives power to the men of ability to gain it and keep it,” and argued that these inequities were fundamentally moral because “[s]uch men are, by and large, of superior intelligence, and consequently of somewhat superior justice and good-will.”¹⁰⁵ By justifying existing power disparities as both natural and desirable, the social efficiency progressive ideology was essentially a ruling class ideology.¹⁰⁶

The Great Depression, and the widespread economic chaos and unemployment that resulted, provided a fundamental challenge to the faith in ruling class. The federal elections of 1932 ushered in unified control of the congress and the Presidency under the Democratic Party, as the Republicans lost over 100 seats in the House of Representatives, 12 seats in the Senate, and lost the Presidency in a landslide. The newly-elected Congress rushed to enact the dramatic economic reforms President Franklin D.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 235.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Indeed, Thorndike pointed to the superior intelligences of the European monarchical families as an explanation for how they had gained and maintained power.

Roosevelt. These reforms, and much of the New Deal policy agenda, were based in part on significant distrust of the business and financial elites, who were believed to bear substantial culpability for the catastrophic consequences of the Great Depression. The market crash of 1929 and the subsequent New Deal policies substantially shifted power from private business to the federal government, and laws such as the National Labor Relations Act shifted power from management to workers. Weighing in on this new political climate, many social efficiency progressives were skeptical of New Deal policies that pushed for greater equality in industrial relations and in economic distribution of resources.

Henry Goddard had been explicit in his criticism of a left politics centered on economic redistribution well before the market crash. In 1920, he claimed that those advocating for economic redistribution and greater incomes for laborers were fundamentally misguided because they failed to take into account the differences in levels of intelligence. Goddard criticized the idea that laborers and workmen needed the same kinds of housing, luxuries, and incomes as their more highly intelligent fellow citizens. According to Goddard, individuals with different levels of intelligence required different economic resources to be content. Furthermore, Goddard claimed that even if society were to give more resources and higher wages to those with low intelligence, the end result would be the same since this group always has foolish spending habits and inability to save and plan ahead. Goddard argued that these fact fundamentally undercut the arguments of those advocating for better housing, better incomes, and more opportunities

for the poor. As Goddard rhetorically asked, “How can there be such a thing as social equality with this wide range of mental capacity?”¹⁰⁷ In the aftermath of the market crash of 1929, Goddard remained hostile to redistributive politics and sought to blame those with low intelligence for the negative consequences of the Great Depression. In an 1931 address commemorating the anniversary of the Vineland laboratory, where he had helped Yerkes and others develop the Army intelligence tests, Goddard stated:

The very serious problems that are confronting us right now in unemployment and the consequent poverty and starvation are to a very large degree due to the fact that the great mass of these people have not had the intelligence and foresight to save some of their earnings, when they had employment at good wages, in anticipation of just such difficulties as they are now facing.¹⁰⁸

Although the market crash and prolonged depression had caused many in the United States to rethink their faith in business leaders and question the fairness of a loosely

¹⁰⁷ Goddard, *Human Efficiency*, 101. After criticizing the arguments of those advocating for better housing, Goddard dismissed economic redistribution, stating “As for the equal distribution of the wealth of the world that is equally absurd.”

¹⁰⁸ Henry H. Goddard, “Anniversary Address,” in *Twenty-Five Years: The Vineland Laboratory, 1906-1931* (Vineland, NJ, US: The Smith Printing House, 1931): 59. Goddard was not alone in blaming those suffering the worst effects of the Depression for their own situations. In a remarkable 1934 essay in *Scientific American*, Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace criticized the *laissez-faire* political orientation of scientists that had resulted in the tendency to turn “loose upon the world new productive power without regard to the social implications.” Wallace argued that the scientific efficiency reforms and new productive technologies had contributed to both increased production but also substantial unemployment, which was a particularly pressing concern in the Depression (Henry A. Wallace, “The Scientist in an Unscientific Society,” *Scientific American*, June 1934: 287). Two months after the Wallace article was published, biologist Charles Davenport, who worked closely with Yerkes, Thorndike, and Goddard at the Eugenics Records Office, responded to Wallace. Davenport blamed the economic hardships that many were facing on the fact that many individuals had grown too soft during prosperous times, and were now unwilling to work in positions that did not pay as well. Appearing to completely miss the implications of the collapse of the labor market, Davenport’s main suggestion for the improvement of economic conditions was to note that “[i]t would be better if every person with normal mentality had two or more occupations,” and also to cut down on “extravagance in governance” by reducing taxes. (Charles B. Davenport, “Science Replies to Secretary Wallace Article: ‘The Scientist in an Unscientific Society,’” *Scientific American*, August 1934: 77-78).

regulated capitalist economy, Goddard remained convinced of the fundamental efficiency of organizing social institutions along the lines of intelligence.

Goddard was not alone in his continued adherence to scientific efficiency and hereditarian ideological commitments in the starkly changed political environment. In a 1936 article, Edward Thorndike directly criticized the “desire to have many or all men equal” that he believed served as the foundation of many of the recent New Deal reforms, claiming that “equality is a false and useless God.”¹⁰⁹ Thorndike argued that the push for equality was both against the tendencies human nature and inefficient. Rather than on focusing on equalizing material wealth, Thorndike asserted that “[i]t is better to expend the time and energy in increasing goods than in equalizing them.”¹¹⁰ Thorndike still claimed that the best means of improving human welfare and increase the overall wealth of the country to give favorable opportunities and more resources to the most intelligent “rather than to distribute them equally.”¹¹¹ Even as much of the country was calling for greater equality in economic distribution in the face of the prolonged hardship of the Great Depression, social efficiency progressives continued to advocate for strongly differentiated opportunities and outcomes distributed on the basis of intelligence.

¹⁰⁹ Thorndike, “The Goal of the Social Effort,” 165-166. Thorndike echoed this sentiment two years later in an article about the consequences of economic disparity in city life, claiming, “parity for parity’s sake is a false god. There may conceivably be a magic potency in economic equality which would show itself in certain sorts of civilization and in our cities if life were fundamentally different from what it is. It does not show itself in the facts for our cities.” (Edward L. Thorndike, “The Influence of Disparity of Incomes on Welfare,” *American Journal of Sociology* 44, no. 1 (July 1938): 35).

¹¹⁰ Thorndike, “The Goal of the Social Effort,” 166. Thorndike reiterated this claim a few pages later, warning that “[I]acking omniscience, we should experiment very carefully with the redistribution of wealth, concerning ourselves chiefly with increasing it”(168). Thorndike’s argument that the central focus should be put on growing the broader economy rather than redistribution as a response to the terrible conditions facing the working class is substantively similar to the argument of growth liberalism.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 168.

The Social Reconstructionists

The changed political context of the Great Depression caused many to question the core ideological commitments of the social efficiency progressives. The social efficiency progressives maintained their allegiance to their pre-1929 educational programs even as the Great Depression spurred the rise of new coalition of progressive educators. While still progressive in their opposition to the rigidity and formalism of traditional schooling methods, this new group of educators had core ideological differences with the social efficiency progressives and rejected much of their educational proposals. Known as the social reconstructionists, this new coalition was highly critical of the excessive competitiveness and individualism that they believed characterized American life and the education system. In stark contrast with the social efficiency progressives, the social reconstructionists rejected educational tracking, were suspicious of standardized testing, and argued that teachers should have the central role in leading transformation of social and economic institutions that the Great Depression had exposed as fundamentally unfair. Throughout the 1930s, the social efficiency progressives and social reconstructionist offered starkly different visions of a path forward for the progressive education movement.

George Counts and the Alternative Progressive Vision

With unemployment hovering around twenty percent, the national income at half of what it had been three years earlier, and an outbreak of violent incidents between police and desperate men with no means to support themselves or their families, the year 1932 was at the heart of one of the most tumultuous periods in the nation's history. Franklin Roosevelt's decisive victory against an incumbent president provided a good indication of the widespread disillusionment in the existing political order, and a hunger for extensive political change to drag the country out of depths of the Great Depression and to ensure that such an event could never happen again. The dissatisfaction in structural status quo was soon extended to the public education system, as educational professionals began to take a critical look at the role of public education system in society. In the wake of the extreme conditions, some academics began to express frustration over "feelings of impotence against the depressed conditions that threatened the children's health, school budgets and even their own jobs."¹¹² It was in this context that George Counts, a professor at the Teachers College, launched the social reconstructionist movement in education in a series of speeches before several national meetings before leading educators in February of 1932. The speeches, later published as *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?*, offered both a critique and a path forward for progressive educators progressives seeking dramatic reform in the new context of the Great Depression.

¹¹² C. A. Bowers, *The Progressive Educator and the Depression, The Radical Years* (New York: Random House, 1969): 15.

In his speeches, Counts offered deep criticism of the existing social, political and economic structures. Spelling out the existing contradictions of a system in which “dire poverty walks hand in hand with the most extravagant living the world has ever known” and “an abundance of goods of all kinds is coupled with privation, misery and even starvation,”¹¹³ Counts laid the blame squarely at the feet of the “ideal of rugged individualism...used to justify a system which exploits pitilessly and without thought of the morrow.”¹¹⁴ Educators, specifically, were condemned for the role of the school in the current crisis, as Counts claimed existing schools were organized around preparing students to fit into and embrace the problematic existing social orders. This had led to an educational philosophy that made success “an individual rather than a social goal, driv[ing] every one of us into an insane competition with his neighbors.”¹¹⁵ This critique ultimately indicted the existing form of capitalism and “its deification of the principle of selfishness,”¹¹⁶ leading Counts to proclaim “if democracy is to survive in the United States, it must abandon its individualistic affiliations in the sphere of economics.”¹¹⁷

In the extreme volatility of the early 1930s, Counts sensed a moment of great possibility. With the times “literally crying for a new vision of American destiny,” Counts argued that the “teaching profession, or at least its progressive elements, should

¹¹³ George S. Counts, *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* (New York: John Day, 1932): 33.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 34-35.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 26-27.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 46.

eagerly grasp the opportunity which the fates have placed in their hands.”¹¹⁸ If teachers “could increase sufficiently their stock of courage, intelligence, and vision, [they] might become a social force of some magnitude.”¹¹⁹ Counts called teachers to “make certain that every Progressive school will use whatever power it may possess in opposing and checking the forces of social conservatism and reaction,”¹²⁰ and instead “become centers for the building, and not merely for the contemplation, of our civilization.... We should.... give to our children a vision of the possibilities which lie ahead and endeavor to enlist their loyalties and enthusiasms in the realization of the vision.”¹²¹ For Counts, this involved the active cultivation of “democratic sentiments” in schoolchildren as a means of to bring about desirable social reconstruction.

This represented a major challenge to the social efficiency progressive positions. Counts’ proposals of greater teacher autonomy in direction of the classroom ran directly counter to the routinized and standardized role that scientific management techniques demanded in order to ensure efficiency. Furthermore, his argument for the teacher-led development of educational content as a means of combatting social conservatism was directly counter to the fundamental belief of social efficiency progressives that educational standards and curriculum content should largely come from the business leaders who best understood the skill demands of the labor market. Counts’ critique of

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 54.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 28.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 24.

¹²¹ Ibid., 37.

the social order was fundamentally also a critique of an education system designed to differentiate children and prepare them life in an extremely inequitable social system, which was the educational system for which scientific efficiency progressives had long advocated.

For Counts, this position was untenable. In a speech given at the annual convention of the Progressive Education Association in Baltimore in 1932, Counts addressed this directly, telling the audience “If an educational movement, or any other movement, calls itself progressive, it must have orientation; it must possess direction.”¹²² Counts charged that by maintaining silence in the classroom on major political issues, progressive were complicit in the creation of a system that favored the upper-middle class. Clearly aware that the progressive education movement had been wary of the label of “indoctrination,” Counts nonetheless told the audience that “[n]eutrality with respect to the great issues that agitate society, while perhaps theoretically possible, is practically tantamount to giving support to the forces of conservatism.”¹²³ This critique was especially stinging considering both the audience and the dire circumstances of the economic calamity facing most Americans.

Counts offered a clear path forward for educators and politicians concerned about what type of social reform to pursue in the wake of the Great Depression. Noting that “[t]here can be no good individual apart from some conception of the *good* society; and

¹²² Ibid., 6.

¹²³ Ibid., 54.

the good society....must be fashioned by the hand and brain of man,”¹²⁴ Counts issued a clear call to teacher to “deliberately reach for power and then make the most of their conquest”¹²⁵ and “the school must shape attitudes, develop tastes, and even impose ideas.”¹²⁶ The vision put forth was one in which a clear vision of social good (and one quite distinct from the ‘rugged individualism’ of a capitalist economy) was the guiding educational principle, with teachers taking a leading role in the development of a new social order through the schools. Education was to be the midwife of social transformation.

Building the Social Reconstructionist Coalition

The challenge issued by Counts soon drew other prominent educational figures to join the call for teachers to usher in a new social order. William H. Kilpatrick, who at the time was perhaps the nation’s second most famous progressive educator (behind only his mentor, John Dewey), soon joined the cause with the publication of *Education and the Social Crisis*. At the time of publication, Kilpatrick, also on the faculty of the Teachers College, was well-known for his development of the popular “project method” of teaching, the establishment of the National Conference on Educational Method, and for

¹²⁴ Ibid., 15.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 28.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 19.

founding *The Journal of Educational Method*.¹²⁷ Like Counts, Kilpatrick criticized the extreme individualism that the schools were currently emphasizing, and called for the teaching of cooperative attitudes to schoolchildren instead. Like Counts, Kilpatrick's critique was couched in a broader critique of the existing economic order, and he called for a new order based on social control of economic institutions. For Kilpatrick, teachers would be a vital as leaders of a coalition seeking broader social reform.

Another of Counts' colleagues at the Teachers College, Harold Rugg, soon joined to call for a more socially conscious schooling. Rugg was another high profile educator, with widespread name recognition. In addition to his professorship, Rugg was the director of research at the progressive Lincoln School in New York City, and in 1929 had written a series of textbooks called *Man and His Changing Society*, in which the social purpose of schooling was central. The series was quite successful, selling 1,317,960 books and 2,687,000 workbooks between 1929 and 1939.¹²⁸ In December 1932, Rugg clearly indicated his embrace of Counts with an article in *Progressive Education* entitled "Social Reconstruction Through Education," in which he forcefully claimed "[n]othing less than thoroughgoing social reconstruction is demanded, and there is no institution known to the mind of man that can compass that problem except education."¹²⁹ Rugg

¹²⁷ Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *An Elusive Science: The Troubling History of Education Research*, 1 edition (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2002): 110-111. Kilpatrick's article "The Project Method" was turned into a pamphlet which sold over 60,000 copies. Also, in his long tenure as a professor of education at Teachers College, Kilpatrick lectured to over 35,000 students, a major source for the dissemination of his ideas about education.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 127.

¹²⁹ Harold Rugg, "Social Reconstruction Through Education," *Progressive Education* 9, no. 12 (1932): 11.

echoed the call by Counts for teachers to engage in the problems of the day, and construct an educational program centered on the problems of the current social situation. Rugg argued that in the current era, this would mean a new educational program in which youth “will be brought to see how the concept of *laissez-faire* in the marriage of politics and economics has produced enormous inequalities in wealth and social income...the disastrous imperialistic exploitation of agrarian and non-militarized peoples, and thus to mad international rivalries and world war.”¹³⁰ The ultimate goal was the reconstruction of a society no longer based on the “doctrine of individual success through competition,” but rather one in which students would have a “strong loyalty for the brotherland of all men on the earth.”¹³¹ The open embrace by another prominent educator (and an educator with one of the most widely used textbooks of the era) suggests the breadth of influence the social reconstructionist idea.

Individual professors were not the only ones that showed interest in the social reconstructionist position. The National Education Association (NEA), at the time the largest and most powerful education group in the nation, also suggested that it was sympathetic to this new approach to the education in the early 1930s. In his 1932 report to the Association’s annual meeting, Fred J. Kelly, the president of the NEA’s Committee on Social Economic Goals for America, issued a call strikingly similar to that of Counts. After acknowledging *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order*, the report called on the NEA to take the lead in transforming the social order. In a remarkable passage for an

¹³⁰ Ibid., 13.

¹³¹ Ibid., 13-15.

organization that had traditionally been quite timid in embracing controversial political positions, the report stated, “The NEA is saying, and I hope saying more or less militantly, that a social order can be built in which a social collapse such as the present one, will be impossible. They are saying further that the educators of America propose to assume major responsibility for building such a social order.”¹³²

The records of the annual meeting of the NEA throughout the 1930s provide evidence that the ideas of the social reconstructionists were taken seriously and that many in the organization supported this mission for the association. The proceedings of the 1933 annual meeting are littered with favorable references to Counts, Kilpatrick, and Rugg. In a speech before the general session entitled “Applying Ethics to Economics,” Robert Moore, the Secretary of the Illinois State Association, argued that the breakdown in the economic system offered both a challenge and an opportunity to teachers. With specific reference to Harold Rugg and William Kilpatrick, Moore excoriated “rugged individualism” and proclaimed that, “[t]he public mind must be informed of the evils of the present system of economics.”¹³³ Moore claimed that, “such diffusion is in part the work of teachers, since they are teachers and molders of the minds of youth. Teachers must have a real understanding of the wrongs in recent economic practices,” and “a burning zeal to correct them.”¹³⁴

¹³² As quoted in Bowers, *The Progressive Educator*, 23.

¹³³ Robert Moore, “Applying Ethics to Economics,” in *Proceedings of the Seventy-First Annual Meeting Held at Chicago, Illinois, July 1-7, 1933*, vol. 71 (Annual Meeting of the National Education Association, Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1933): 158-159.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

In another speech before the general session on the issue of “Teacher Training for the New Age,” H. L. Donovan, the president of Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College, noted that he “thoroughly agree[d] with Dr. George Counts” on the issue of the role of the teacher in ushering a new age.¹³⁵ Donovan then called for a new teachers education that stressed the knowledge of social and political programs that produced teachers who were “active, aggressive, competent, and effective participants in society” and who were willing to engage in politics and run for political office.¹³⁶ The annual conventions also served as a means for some of the most prominent social reconstructionists to address the NEA directly, as Kilpatrick did in his 1935 speech that reiterated key positions from *Education and the Social Crisis*. Kilpatrick told the assembly that “the effecting of the desired social-economic changes will have to be a matter of decades, so that education....can and must be a significant factor in the process.”¹³⁷ The attention given to these ideas about the active role of teachers in reforming education to help reform society further demonstrates the penetration of social reconstructionist ideology into the most mainstream educational organizations.

The American Historical Association (AHA) was another source of support for the social reconstructionist position. Noting the importance of social studies curriculum

¹³⁵ H.L. Donovan, “Teacher Training for the New Age,” in *Proceedings of the Seventy-First Annual Meeting Held at Chicago, Illinois, July 1-7, 1933*, vol. 71 (Annual Meeting of the National Education Association, Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1933): 96.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 100.

¹³⁷ William H. Kilpatrick, in *Proceedings of the Seventy-First Annual Meeting Held at Chicago, Illinois, July 1-7, 1933*, vol. 71 (Annual Meeting of the National Education Association, Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1933): 58.

for “the life, the institutions, the thought, the aspirations, and the far-reaching policies of the nation in its world setting,” the AHA undertook a multiyear study on how schools should arrange the social studies curricula.¹³⁸ The conclusion of the study, published in 1934, offered an analysis of how schools should teach social studies based on “the conclusion that, in the United States as in other countries, the age of individualism and *laissez faire* in economy and government is closing and that a new age of collectivism is emerging.”¹³⁹ In an echo of Counts’ thoughts on the possibility of neutrality in education, the report noted, “Education *always* expresses some social philosophy, either large or small, involves some choices with respect to social and individual action and well-being, and rests upon some moral conception.”¹⁴⁰ The report found that current educational orientation emphasized “the traditional ideas and values of economic individualism” and warned that failure to adjust would “intensify the conflicts, contradictions, maladjustments, and perils of the transition” that it saw as inevitable.¹⁴¹ Given the failure of the capitalist economy in its existing form, the report stated:

[t]he great purpose of American public school....is to prepare the younger generation for life in a highly complex industrial society....that is in rapid transition to from an economy based on individual enterprise and competition for private gain to an economy essentially co-operative and

¹³⁸ American Historical Association Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools, *Conclusions and Recommendations of the Commission* (New York: Scribner’s, 1934): 1.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 30, emphasis added.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 35.

integrated in character and dependent for efficient operation and careful planning on co-ordination of production and consumption.¹⁴²

The similarities in the report's findings and recommendations were directly in line with those proposed by Counts two years prior. Teachers were to abandon attempts at neutrality, and the schools were to prepare students for the new social order. The AHA report provided unqualified support for the social reconstructionist vision for public education.¹⁴³

The position initially advocated by George Counts thus quickly gathered support from a variety of sources. Equally striking given the fairly radical nature of the claims, their deviation from previous progressive positions, and the stature of the individuals making the case was the very limited criticism that the social reconstructionist position faced. Although there were a few journalists that called some of the assumptions about the viability and appropriateness of this position, the response to the increasing popularity from the vast majority of scholars and educators was either silence or support.¹⁴⁴ In the early 1930s, the position outlined by Counts was supported by a broad coalition of educators and social scientists as a feasible and desirable path forward in reforming the public education system.

¹⁴² Ibid., 46.

¹⁴³ This is not to say that the NEA explicitly endorsed the social reconstructionist position, it did not. In fact, the annual conventions also often had speeches from representatives of the American Legion and Daughters of the American Revolution, two groups who would grow to be some of the most virulent critics of leftist influence in education. The point, rather, is that there was time in which the social reconstructionist vision of the purpose of education was viewed as a serious and viable alternative path of reform.

¹⁴⁴ Bowers, *The Progressive Educator*, 38-39.

The Social Frontier

With the individual efforts of prominent scholars already bringing significant attention, a group of professors and graduate students centered in the Teachers College decided to establish a regular journal to provide a unified voice for the social reconstructionist position. After George Counts agreed to serve as the editor, the founding members spent much of 1934 gathering funding, working out organizational structure, and gathering material for the new journal, which was to be called *The Social Frontier*. The inaugural issue of new journal was published in October of 1934, and the journal found immediate support, with over 2,000 subscriptions for the first edition.¹⁴⁵

The journal opened with a message on the mission of the journal from William Kilpatrick, who was serving as the chairman of the board of directors. Kilpatrick noted the auspiciousness of the past few years and boldly laid out the vision of the journal, noting “education has an important, even strategic, role to play in the reconstruction of American society,” and that the organizers’ goal was to make “*The Social Frontier* a prime medium for the development of a constructive social consciousness among educational workers.”¹⁴⁶ The initial edition attempted to unify the strands of progressivism from a variety of academic sources, a tactic that would remain a strength of the journal throughout its existence. The cover of the first journal carried a quote from the previously cited AHA report on social studies about the transition to the age of collectivism, and the journal contained articles by prominent intellectuals from various

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 44, 96.

¹⁴⁶ William H. Kilpatrick, “Launching The Social Frontier,” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 1 (October 1934): 2.

academic fields including historian Charles Beard, economist Harold Laski, philosopher Sidney Hook, psychologist Goodwin Watson, and sociologist Henry Fairchild. All took seriously the challenge the opening editorial's call to actively shape a new educational frontier, recognizing that reform would "either make easy or difficult the transfer of the democratic ideal from individual to social foundations."¹⁴⁷

The first issue of the journal was also notable for clear statement of support from John Dewey, the most renowned and respected educational scholar of the era. In what was to be the first of many articles for *The Social Frontier*, Dewey offered a full-throated defense of the social reconstructionist vision.¹⁴⁸ Hitting the familiar criticisms of "rugged individualism,"¹⁴⁹ and the essential conservatism of teachers attempting to remain neutral,¹⁵⁰ Dewey noted that there was a clear means through which teachers, and the system of education more broadly, could lead a transformation of the existing societal structures. According to Dewey, the public education system should be reformed around a purpose of "[l]aying the *basis*, intellectual and moral, for a new social order," which he hoped would "arouse a new spirit in the teaching profession and to give direction to

¹⁴⁷ George S. Counts, Mordecai Grossman, and Norman Woelfel, eds., "Orientation," *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 1 (October 1934): 4.

¹⁴⁸ John Dewey had a standing column in every issue for many years.

¹⁴⁹ Dewey wrote: "The assumption is - or was - that we are living in a free economic society in which every individual has an equal chance to exercise his initiative and his other abilities, and that the legal and political order is designed and calculated to further this equal liberty on the the part of all individuals. No grosser myth ever received general currency."(John Dewey, "Can Education Share in Social Reconstruction?," *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 1 (October 1934): 11).

¹⁵⁰ Dewey warned against teacher adherence to a notion of neutrality, arguing "The plea that teachers must passively accommodate themselves to existing social conditions is but one way - and a cowardly way - of making a choice in favor of the old and the chaotic"(Ibid., 12),

radically changed effort.”¹⁵¹ Dewey continued to reiterate his support throughout his association with the journal, with his considerable prestige and influence offering a prominent boost to the social reconstructionist vision.¹⁵²

Although much of the first issue involved a restatement and consolidation of many previously expressed ideas, the first volume (issues 1-9) provides a good indication of the types of articles and topics that would be central throughout the journal’s ten year existence. The editorial pages and articles touched repeatedly on topics ranging from the most recent meeting of the NEA (the first of what would become a regular update to readers on the positive and negative actions of other education associations, with the NEA and Progressive Education Association being primary targets),¹⁵³ to evaluations of the promise and limitations of President Roosevelt’s New Deal programs (another ubiquitous topic of discussion in the journal),¹⁵⁴ the need for centralization and greater

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² For example, John Dewey, “The Meaning of Liberalism,” *The Social Frontier* 2, no. 3 (December 1935): 74–75; John Dewey, “The Social Significance of Academic Freedom,” *The Social Frontier* 2, no. 6 (March 1936): 165–66; and John Dewey, “Education and Social Change,” *The Social Frontier* 3, no. 26 (May 1937): 235–38.

¹⁵³ See George S. Counts, Mordecai Grossman, and Norman Woelfel, eds., “Educating for Tomorrow,” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 1 (October 1934): 5-7.

¹⁵⁴ See Charles A. Beard, “Property and Democracy,” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 1 (October 1934): 13–15; Henry P. Fairchild, “A Sociologist Views the New Deal,” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 1 (October 1934): 15–18; and Broadus Mitchell, “The Choice Before Us,” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 2 (November 1934): 13–16.

federal presence in education,¹⁵⁵ and presciently, the danger of loyalty oaths and conservative opposition.¹⁵⁶

The pages of *The Social Frontier* also provide a good indication of the popularity of the social reconstructionist position. The journal often reprinted newspaper editorials and letters of support received from educators across the country. Although not all of the editorial reaction to the first edition was positive, *The Social Frontier* did receive encouragement from several prominent newspapers, including the *New York World-Telegram*, which noted, “the contents of the first number are indeed gratifying,” *The Portland Oregonian* which proclaimed that if the contents of “the first issue are a fair indication of what is to come, at least the new collectivism is to have a brilliant and clear advocacy,” and a glowing review from *The New York Times*, whose editorial board raved:

That men of such high professional knowledge and strong patriotic purpose should undertake this venture will at any rate lead to a fresh appraisal of educational values in the face of the changing order and make against the lethargy into which fixed systems are so apt to lead....It is a good thing for society to have such educational leaders out on the frontiers, ever in search for the better.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ See George S. Counts, Mordecai Grossman, and Norman Woelfel, eds., “National Education Policy,” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 6 (March 1935): 3–4 and John Dewey, “Toward a National System of Education,” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 9 (June 1935): 9–10.

¹⁵⁶ See George S. Counts, Mordecai Grossman, and Norman Woelfel, eds., “The Ives Law,” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 1 (October 1934): 7–9; George S. Counts, Mordecai Grossman, and Norman Woelfel, eds., “Professional Security,” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 1 (October 1934): 9–10; George S. Counts, Mordecai Grossman, and Norman Woelfel, eds., “On the Eve of a New School Year,” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 1 (October 1934): 10; George S. Counts, Mordecai Grossman, and Norman Woelfel, eds., “W.R. Hearst Bait College ‘Reds,’” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 4 (January 1935): 3–4; William H. Kilpatrick, “Loyalty Oaths - A Threat to Intelligent Teaching,” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 9 (June 1935): 10–15.

¹⁵⁷ The New York Times, “Editorial Comments on The Social Frontier,” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 2 (November 1934): 22.

The first several issues indicate broader support from education community, including professors of education, professional groups like the Colorado Education Society, and prominently placed educational bureaucrats.¹⁵⁸ Positive reviews also streamed in from other progressive organizations like the Consumer Research Bulletin, whose editor exclaimed, “I think your journal has by far the best combination of intelligence and social drive . . . in what it is talking about, of any periodical published today.”¹⁵⁹ The positive reception of *The Social Frontier* and the social reconstructionist vision for education would not last. Indeed the very popularity and the seriousness with which the education community seemed to take the charge for social reconstruction of the social, economic and political institutions prompted vociferous opposition from both conservative groups and the social efficiency progressives.

Progressive Divisions

The division between the social reconstructionists and the social efficiency progressives represented a significant split within the broader progressive education movement. Throughout the 1930s and into the early 1940s, these two groups articulated distinct visions of progressive education reform. The varying, and in some instances, opposing proposals of the educational programs of the two coalitions flowed from their

¹⁵⁸ For example, the Commissioner of Education for Puerto Rico noted the need for reform and expressed confidence that, “*The Social Frontier* should contribute the sort of sympathetic leverage needed” (Joe Padin, “Prodding the Educational Worm,” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 4 (January 1935): 34). See also, W.B. Mooney, “On the Line of Battle,” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 4 (January 1935): 33.

¹⁵⁹ F. J. Schlink, “Correspondence,” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 3 (December 1934): 28.

fundamentally distinct understandings of the purpose of education and its relation to the broader social and economic structures.

The social efficiency progressives understood the role of education to be the efficient integration of students into the existing social and economic landscape. This belief resulted in an educational program that focused on detecting the most efficient means of organizing the education system around this goal. Furthermore, the belief that children were unequal in intelligence meant that an efficiently organized education system required differentiation, with educational resources and opportunities distributed on the basis of these inequalities. This set of beliefs about the purpose of education and human nature led to the advocacy of a particular set of educational policies, including educational tracking, widespread use of intelligence and standardized achievement tests, and increased emphasis on vocational education.

The social reconstructionists viewed the role of the education system as primarily one of helping to bring about desired social transformation. This coalition critiqued existing economic and social institutions as fundamentally unfair, arguing that they favored a small class of wealthy individuals at the expense of the masses. For the social reconstructionists, the existing educational system and the proposals of the social efficiency progressives were part of the problematic social order because it was organized largely to reproduce and justify existing economic and social arrangements. The appropriate role of teachers and the education system more broadly was to prepare students to change these unfair social arrangements, rather than to prepare them for roles

in the existing landscape. This belief about the purpose of education resulted in proposals for classroom instruction focused on social problems of the community, economic literacy, project based learning in common classroom, and the inducement of economic class mentality.¹⁶⁰ Social reconstructionists pushed for significant teacher autonomy and academic freedom in developing their preferred methods in the classroom, and advocating for social reforms outside of it.¹⁶¹

Significantly, these groups understood their visions to be in conflict with one another. Much of the motivation behind the organization of the social reconstructionist coalition was in response to what they viewed as the deficiencies in the social efficiency progressive vision. The editorial board of *The Social Frontier* criticized social efficiency progressives as “apostles of merely transmissive education,” stating that they “would have schools contribute to nothing but repetition of what society already is or is doing.”¹⁶² Given the dramatic events and prolonged economic suffering of the Great Depression, the social reconstructionists argued that reducing schools to “a mere tool implement that is applied to social material as instruments for molding, stamping, and welding are lied to steel in a factory” was a deeply problematic educational vision that promised to reproduce an unfair social order.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ George S. Counts, Mordecai Grossman, and Norman Woelfel, eds., “‘Class’ and Social Purpose,” *The Social Frontier* 2, no. 5 (February 1936): 134–35.

¹⁶¹ See Volume 2, number 6 of *The Social Frontier* for an entire issue dedicated the academic freedom of teachers, and the more limited role for administrators.

¹⁶² George S. Counts, Mordecai Grossman, and Norman Woelfel, eds., “The Social Order Desired by Society,” *The Social Frontier* 2, no. 5 (February 1936): 133–34.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

The social efficiency progressives were similarly critical of the educational vision of the social reconstructionists. One of the most vocal critics of the social reconstructionists was Charles H. Judd, a professor and educational psychologist at the University of Chicago who also worked as the director of education program of the National Youth Administration. In a number of articles throughout the 1930s, Judd characterized the social reconstructionists as “extremists” who were “repelled by logic.”¹⁶⁴ Judd criticized the unwillingness of this group to make use of the important educational methods found to be effective through experimentation and “scientific instruments of evaluation.”¹⁶⁵ Judd was publicly critical of prominent social reconstructionists such as Charles Beard, and in particular, George Counts. Judd accused Counts of being “blinded by the present-day shadow of unemployment which darkens the world,” and of reducing teachers to role of teachers to nothing other than “correct[ing] the evils of capitalism and industrialism.”¹⁶⁶ According to Judd, in their zeal to move past the “formalism of certain types of logical arrangements, they have discarded all organization.”¹⁶⁷ For Judd and other social efficiency progressives, the failure of the social reconstructionists to understand that “[th]e cure for industrial chaos is intelligent

¹⁶⁴ Charles H. Judd, “Is Contact with Logically Organized Subject Matter Sufficeint for the Education of Children?,” *The Elementary School Journal* 36, no. 9 (May 1936): 657. Elsewhere, Judd referred to this group as a “small cult.” Charles H. Judd, “The Training of Teachers for a Progressive Educational Program,” *The Elementary School Journal* 31, no. 8 (April 1931): 577.

¹⁶⁵ Charles H. Judd, “What Constitutes a Good Secondary School and by What Standards Should It Be Evaluated?,” *Secondary Education* 3, no. 2 (March 1, 1943): 60.

¹⁶⁶ Charles H. Judd, “Programs of Social Studies for the Schools of the United States,” *The Elementary School Journal* 33, no. 1 (September 1932): 22.

¹⁶⁷ Charles Judd, “Contact With Logically Organized,” 659.

adaptation of individuals to the conditions which surround them” had resulted in an educational program that was unwise and unsound.¹⁶⁸

Throughout the 1930s, one of the central and most pressing cleavages between the two groups of educators remained over whether schools should adjust individuals to the demands of the social order, or whether they should play a role in transforming these fundamentally unfair social institutional arrangements. The consequences of the differing perspectives were particularly clear when it came to the relationship between the labor market and the classroom. In a 1940 article entitled “Occupational Adjustment of Young Adults,” Judd reiterated the social efficiency progressive commitment to organize the schools around the demands of the labor market. He argued that inefficient organization of curriculum in many schools had contributed to the high levels of unemployment. Judd suggested that part of the unemployment problem could be traced to the fact that the high school still tended to train students for college and professional life, despite the fact that the vast majority would end performing jobs that required substantially different skill sets. According to Judd, “the curriculum of these schools has not been changed to keep up with changes in the population and in vocational opportunities; it is still largely organized to prepare students for the professions.”¹⁶⁹ Judd, like many social efficiency progressives before him, was arguing that the education system needed to better reflect

¹⁶⁸ Charles H. Judd, “The Era of Uncertainty in Education,” *School and Society* 44 (September 19, 1936): 357-emphasis added.

¹⁶⁹ Charles H. Judd, “Occupational Adjustment of Young Adults,” *Journal of Adult Education* 12, no. 4 (1940): 526. This formulation was substantially similar to that of Goddard, “A Scientific Program,” 1923; Edward Thorndike, “The Distribution of Education,” 1932; David Snedden, “Seeking Realistic Objectives,” (1950); and *National Conference on Life Adjustment Education, Life Adjustment Education for Every Youth* (Washington: Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, 1948).

the skill demands of the available jobs, and to design curriculum tracks that better reflected the student's social destiny. By focusing too much on preparing students for college through classical training, the schools were doing a disservice to the students and society by training too many students for jobs that they would never have.¹⁷⁰ This perspective framed the inefficient organization of schools and curriculum as a substantial factor in the overproduction of students with professional training, which ultimately contributed to their unemployment when they could not find a job in the oversaturated job market.

At the time that Judd was making his argument for efficient organization as a means of addressing unemployment, William Carr, the director of research for the NEA, articulated a very different understanding of the relationship between school and the labor market. Carr and the broader NEA at the time were staunch advocates for many of the educational reforms proposed by the social reconstructionists. Carr was called to appear before a Congressional hearing on the "Concentration of Economic Power," and was asked about the mismatch of students receiving professional training and the number that actually went on to work in white collar professional jobs. In his testimony, Carr argued that the fact that there were so many students on the college and professional track rather than the vocational track was primarily due to student demand. According to Carr, students preferred these courses because they understood them as the path towards jobs

¹⁷⁰ Unlike many of the social efficiency progressives, Judd did envision support some of the political and economic reforms of the New Deal. However, his overall educational perspective and reform proposals placed him squarely in the social efficiency camp.

that promised higher wages and more prestige.¹⁷¹ Rather than adjust the curriculum and force students into particular courses based on intelligence or achievement, Carr suggested that economic reforms could be used to change the preferences of students in the classroom. Referencing the high numbers of students choosing to pursue professional rather than vocational education, Carr told the committee, “I can imagine, for instance, that if I could take a group of high school students and tell them, ‘If you will go into domestic service you can look forward to \$25 a week,’ that situation . . . would not exist, in quite as great a degree, at least.”¹⁷² Carr’s suggestion reflected the broader social reconstructionist perspective of the need to adjust institutional and economic arrangements outside the walls of the schoolhouse to better serve students. As prominent historian and *Social Frontier* contributor Harold Laski noted, “those who seek any serious adaptation of our educational system must work for the transformation of the our economic system as the necessary condition of their success.”¹⁷³ This was a clear point of disagreement between the social reconstructionists and social efficiency progressives.

The differences in the educational vision of the two groups of progressive educators also reflected fundamentally different understandings of the requirements of democratic governance. The social reconstructionists emphasized the need for

¹⁷¹ Carr testified that “[t]here is always going to be this ambition to rise, but I would like to point out that this so-called ambition to rise in the professions is due partly to the halo of prestige which attaches to professions and partly to the fact that the professions are, on the whole, very much better off economically.” *Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power. Part 30: Technology and Concentration of Economic Power: Temporary National Economic Committee, Senate*, 76 Cong. 17181 (1940) (testimony of William G. Carr, Secretary, Educational Policies Commission).

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ Harold J. Laski, “A New Education Needs a New World,” *The Social Frontier* 2, no. 5 (February 1936): 146.

introducing a spirit of cooperation and respect for fellow students in the classroom as a necessary reform to the anti-democratic competitiveness and excessive individualism of the existing social order. This implied the need for a common and egalitarian classroom where students of all backgrounds and abilities learned together. Additionally, social reconstructionists stressed the need for schools to provide economic literacy on the consequences of various economic arrangements, because “[u]nless the average citizen is the final arbiter of economic issues, democracy is functioning poorly.”¹⁷⁴

For the social efficiency progressives, democracy required differentiation. The social efficiency progressives argued that because children by their nature had differing levels of intelligence, merit, or talent a truly democratic educational system would take this into account when developing an educational system. As Henry Goddard argued, “[i]f democracy means equal opportunity for all ... then special classes are required; for no child has an equal opportunity in a any class where he is forced to mark time because the majority are slower than he.”¹⁷⁵ The hope was that educational differentiation in the schools would better prepare those individuals that were best suited for leadership. For the social efficiency progressives, differentiation of educational opportunity and social power on the basis of intelligence represented a rational and beneficial organization of a democratic nation.

Conclusion

¹⁷⁴ *Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power. Part 30: Technology and Concentration of Economic Power* 76th Cong. 17172 (1940) (testimony of Dr. William G. Carr, Secretary, Educational Policies Commission).

¹⁷⁵ Henry Herbert Goddard, “The Gifted Child,” *The Journal of Educational Sociology* 6, no. 6 (February 1933): 354–61.

These two visions of progressive education competed for the soul of the education system throughout the 1930s and into the 1940s. As discussed in chapter 4, when the extreme economic instability and policy experimentation of the New Deal era gave way to a more conservative era of involvement in WWII and the subsequent Cold War, the changed political context proved particularly unfavorable to the political and educational programs of the social reconstructionists. Given how much the social reconstructionist position was dependent upon commitment to broader social transformation, once the political support for dramatic economic transformation subsided, the energy behind the social reconstructionist educational vision also faded. Although social efficiency progressives also faced challenges in the post-WWII context, ultimately, their educational vision and policy proposals were much better positioned to accommodate the demands of the more conservative political era.¹⁷⁶

Grasping the fundamentally distinct visions and political implications of the educational programs of these two coalitions is critical for understanding the origins of many of the educational policies of today. As historian of education Ellen Lagemann has noted, “one cannot understand the history of education in the United States during the twentieth century unless one realizes that Edward L. Thorndike won and John Dewey

¹⁷⁶ The most notable challenge to the ideological commitments of the social efficiency progressives in the post-War II context was their hereditarianism. The Nazi ideology and extermination efforts had made this position political unpalatable for much of the country. Although many social efficiency progressives dropped the strict hereditarianism of Thorndike and Goddard, the educational policies they advocated remained fundamentally similar, with more nebulous definitions of intelligence or merit replacing the earlier fixed and hereditarian definitions.

lost.”¹⁷⁷ The quote from President Obama that opens this chapter, which positions the education system as centrally economic program that has been inefficiently distributed opportunity for future success on the arbitrary basis of race (rather than the more meaningful basis of merit, and all determined by standardized achievement testing), has more than a passing similarity the social efficiency progressive vision. The Obama administration’s educational reform agenda, with its focus on standardized tests, increasing teacher accountability, and national standards is also much more reflective of the policies advocated by the social efficiency progressive than those of the social reconstructionists.

Although understanding the divisions within the progressive education movement and the ultimate victory of the social efficiency progressive vision provides critical insight into the current educational moment, to fully appreciate the contours of the modern education policy landscape requires an understanding of the racial politics that has shaped their formation. Chapter 3 turns to an exploration of the cleavages that divided black political organizations - which in some ways were quite similar to those dividing the progressive education community - and the consequences for education policy.

¹⁷⁷ Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, “The Plural Worlds of Educational Research.” *History of Education Quarterly*, 29 (1989): 185. Lagemann is not the only one who has noted the apparent victory of the social efficiency progressives. Although David Labaree notes that the social reconstructionist vision lingers in the way that many people talk about education, particularly those that teach in education schools, at the level of school practice the social efficiency progressive vision remains dominant (Labaree, “The Ed School’s Romance with Progressivism”).

Chapter Three

Education vs. Economy: Race and Class in Black Political Visions, 1930s - 1950s

The 1930s through the 1950s represent some of the most tumultuous and significant years in black politics in America. As Risa Goluboff has noted, the popular and scholarly focus on the politics of this era has often emphasized the fight against segregation in transportation, education and private accommodations as the dominant priorities of black politics. This view is often accompanied by a triumphalist interpretation of the political victories of this era, culminating in the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, that set the stage for the subsequent achievements of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s.¹⁷⁸ This interpretation of this era obscures critical and substantial divisions within black politics. A full accounting of these years requires understanding the deep and fundamental disagreements within black politics about the source of, and the policies required to overcome, racial subordination in the United States.

Much like the progressive education movement, black political movements from the 1930s through the 1950s were riven by divisions over interpretations of the existing economic landscape. The central cleavage in black political thought during these years was between economic democrats and racial democrats. The economic democrats argued that the racial subordination was fundamentally a problem of the exploitative economic system, and advocated prioritizing solutions such as interracial labor organization,

¹⁷⁸ Risa Lauren Goluboff, “‘Let Economic Equality Take Care of Itself’: The NAACP, Labor Litigation, and the Making of Civil Rights in the 1940s,” *UCLA Law Review* 52, no. 5 (June 2005): 1393–1486.

economic redistribution, and public job creation as the most effective ways to address the poor position of black Americans. The pedagogical approach of the economic democrats thus included teaching students about the problematic aspects of existing social and economic institutions, and encouraged educational program that promoted class solidarity, educated workers, and unionization. Alternatively, racial democrats interpreted the primary problem facing blacks as arbitrary exclusion on the basis of skin color. They were committed to the goal of fair incorporation into the existing economic and social order. Racial democrats placed great faith in the ability of equality of educational opportunity to facilitate the fair incorporation of black students into economic order, and thus pushed for an educational program that privileged combatting segregated schools, combatting racial prejudice, and ensuring equitable opportunity. Importantly, the two groups disagreed vehemently over the fundamental compatibility of the existing economic institutions with democracy, and over the ability of education to address racial subordination in absence of broader economic reform.

This chapter examines the competing political visions of economic democrats and racial democrats. The chapter begins by describing the fundamental political commitments that distinguished these two coalitions in the 1930s and 1940s. The most significant distinction between these two groups was the disagreement over whether to pursue racial incorporation into the existing social and economic order, or to fundamentally challenge and change this order. After identifying the broad political visions of these groups, the chapter then turns to an examination of how these visions

guided the differing educational programs promoted by the two coalitions. As in the case of the progressive education movement, examining the divisions within black politics during this era is critical for understanding why education policy took the shape it did. The ultimate victory of the racial democrats and their vision of education continue to shape the educational landscape today.

The Problems with Democracy

The clearest indication of the disagreements over the appropriate direction for black politics, and the implications for education policy, come from articles of *The Journal of Negro Education (JNE)*. The debates that raged in the pages of the *JNE* in part reflected earlier intellectual debates over the purpose of education from the Progressive Era. In the early 1930s, there were substantial disagreements over whether to pursue integration in education. Indeed several authors argued against strong efforts at integration that they saw as unlikely to be achieved,¹⁷⁹ and instead advocated embracing segregation as an opportunity to control the education of black students.¹⁸⁰ As Ralph Bunche noted, in 1935 these voices came from across the political spectrum, with Marcus Garvey and the “back to Africa” movement on the same side as adherents to the “economic separatism” ideas of Booker T. Washington in expressing doubts about the

¹⁷⁹ W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, “Does the Negro Need Separate Schools?,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 4, no. 3 (1935): 328–35.

¹⁸⁰ Du Bois was probably the most visible supporter of the position, arguing that segregated institutions offered certain advantages. Du Bois noted that, “when our schools are separate, the control of the teaching force, the expenditure of money, the choice of textbooks, the discipline and other administrative matters of this sort out, also, to come into our hands.” Du Bois also argued that black students might require and benefit from a different type of education than their white counterparts, suggesting, “Negroes must know the history of the Negro race in America, and this they will seldom get in white institutions” (Ibid., 333, 335).

efficacy and desirability of pursuing integration.¹⁸¹ Others like Congregationalist minister Buell Gallagher advocated embracing segregation in order to build black schools aimed at reconstructing broader societal institutions, eventually including segregation.¹⁸² Perhaps the most prominent scholar to question the pursuit of integration in the 1930s was W.E.B. Du Bois. Although Du Bois clearly felt that “mixed schools” would be preferable in a perfect world, given the degree of white opposition, the efforts of blacks would be better spent in improving the schools that black children attended. Indeed, he noted several benefits of segregated schools, arguing “when our schools are separate, the control of the teaching force, the expenditure of money, the choice of textbooks, the discipline and other administrative matters of this sort ought, also, to come into our hands, and be incessantly demanded and guarded.”¹⁸³ Although the push for desegregation had its skeptics within the black political community, by the 1930s, it was clear that majority of black activists and organizations were firmly in support of pursuing integration.

¹⁸¹ Ralph J. Bunche, “A Critical Analysis of the Tactics and Programs of Minority Groups,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 4, no. 3 (1935): 308–20. Of course, the proposed solutions of these two groups differed radically. The Garveyites and other “racial separatists” advocated physical and political separation in an autonomous nation. Bunche notes that the “economic separatists” were often black business owners that in part depended on black business and racial loyalty to survive, and the political program of this group was limited to advocacy to create mirror images of white institutions in the black community.

¹⁸² Buell Gordon Gallagher, “Reorganize the College to Discharge Its Social Function,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 5, no. 3 (1936): 464–73.

¹⁸³ Du Bois, “Does the Negro,” 335. Again, this was clearly a strategic choice to embrace what he saw as a situation that was unlikely to change. He knew that some would take his article a positive endorsement of segregated schools, to which he responded; “It is not. It is simply calling a spade a spade. It is saying in plain English: that a separate Negro school, where children are treated like human beings, trained by teachers of their own race, who know what it means to be black in the year of salvation 1935, is infinitely better than making our boys and girls doormats to be spit and trampled upon and lied to by ignorant social climbers, whose sole claim to superiority is the ability to kick ‘niggers’ when they are down”(Ibid.).

Those in favor of integration represented by far the majority position among black political thinkers in the mid-1930s, attracting a broad coalition from across the political spectrum. The editors of *The Journal of Negro Education (JNE)* and *Opportunity: A Journal of Negro Life*,¹⁸⁴ and *The Journal of Negro History (JNH)* all endorsed integration as an appropriate political goal. Du Bois's support of a planned segregated economy led the NAACP to openly repudiate his view, which resulted in his resignation in 1934 as editor of *Crisis*, the NAACP's flagship publication.¹⁸⁵ The journals published the most prominent black intellectuals, who in large part also advocated the pursuit of integration in education. The NAACP, which had been founded in part as an explicit repudiation of the accommodationism of Booker T. Washington and whose founding platform included a commitment to the elimination of segregation, was already pursuing a legal strategy aimed at integration by the mid-1930s.¹⁸⁶ Even the normally cautious National Urban League (NUL) actively joined the push for integration during the

¹⁸⁴ This journal was the official organ of the National Urban League (NUL), an organization that operated on the conservative wing of the broader civil rights movement.

¹⁸⁵ Elliott M. Rudwick, "Du Bois' Last Year as Crisis Editor," *The Journal of Negro Education* 27, no. 4 (1958): 526–33.

¹⁸⁶ National Negro Committee, "Platform Adopted by the National Negro Committee, 1909," 1909, Manuscript Division, NAACP Records, <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/naacp/founding-and-early-years.html#obj10>. Both Du Bois and John Dewey were members of the National Negro Committee, the committee responsible for planning the permanent advocacy organization that eventually became the NAACP. See also The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, "A Letter to President Woodrow Wilson on Federal Race Discrimination," August 15, 1913, Manuscript Division, NAACP Records, <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/naacp/founding-and-early-years.html#obj20>.

mid-1930s.¹⁸⁷ The opposition to segregation was supported by a variety of other political organizations on the left as well, including the Workers Party, the Socialist Party, and the Communist Party.¹⁸⁸

Importantly, the broad coalition supporting a project of desegregation consisted of groups with substantial ideological disagreements over pedagogy, the role of education in society, and the political path forward for blacks in the United States. Although the dimensions of disagreement were many, the most consequential division that emerges from an analysis of the early discussions within this community centered on whether to pursue a political program centered on economic or on racial democracy. The economic democracy position pointed to broad economic inequality resulting from an economic system that concentrated wealth in the hands of the few at the expense of the majority of workers.¹⁸⁹ This ideology suggested a vision of reform that centered on confronting a capitalist political economy to redress inequality.¹⁹⁰ The support for integration from this

¹⁸⁷ This appears to due in no small part to the more confrontational approach adopted by T. Arnold Hill who headed the Urban League from 1933 to 1936. Hill was eventually pushed out of the leadership of the Urban League due to rising tensions with the organization's leader, Eugene Kinckle Jones. Jones and prominent white allies of the Urban League were increasingly dissatisfied with the direction that Hill had set for the Urban League, particularly his willingness to push the organization towards a closer association with the Labor and a more politically confrontational engagement. Jones "slammed on the brakes" when he returned to reassume the leadership position of the organization. Felix L. Armfield, *Eugene Kinckle Jones: The National Urban League and Black Social Work, 1910-1940*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014): 74.

¹⁸⁸ James W. Ford, "The Communist's Way Out for the Negro," *The Journal of Negro Education* 5, no. 1 (1936): 88–95; Norman Thomas, "The Socialist's Way Out for the Negro," *The Journal of Negro Education* 5, no. 1 (1936): 100–104; Ernest Rice McKinney, "The Workers Party's Way Out for the Negro," *The Journal of Negro Education* 5, no. 1 (1936): 96–99.

¹⁸⁹ Preston H. Smith II, *Racial Democracy and the Black Metropolis: Housing Policy in Postwar Chicago* (Minneapolis: Univ Of Minnesota Press, 2012): 5. I have chosen the term "economic democracy," but substantively it is similar to the terms "industrial democracy" and "social democracy" that other authors have chosen to employ.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 10.

view stemmed from a broader commitment to expanding democracy to all aspects of economic life, including the workplace.¹⁹¹ The racial democracy framework identified the failure of the United States to fully extend civil and political rights to blacks as a fundamental flaw in American democracy. Advocates of racial democracy argued that until all citizens were guaranteed equal access to the social and economic opportunities offered by the free market, the United States had failed to live up to its democratic ideals. Programmatically, racial democracy ideology privileged securing individual equality of opportunity within the existing political and economic order, and as such the elimination of segregation was central to this political project.

The fact that these two ideological programs were both united in the fight against integration throughout the 1930s and into the mid-1940s masked important differences in the end goals of groups within the black popular front coalition. The writings of central figures and the educational programs of black political organizations during this period reveal the starkly divergent understandings of the purpose of education and appropriate pedagogical approaches suggested by these different ideological outlooks. This chapter draws from articles published in the *JNE*, the *JNH*, and *Opportunity* as well as the political programs of the NAACP and the NUL to highlight these distinct educational visions.

Broadly, those subscribing to the racial democracy position identified segregation as a violation of the equality of opportunity ethos. Inequities in education were

¹⁹¹ In fact, as historian Nelson Lichtenstein notes, “integration and desegregation might well be products of this struggle, but they were secondary to the main objective” (Nelson Lichtenstein, *State of the Union: A Century of American Labor* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003): 79).

considered especially pernicious as they ultimately put minorities at a disadvantage in the labor market and led to a host of other arbitrary disparities between white and black citizens. Ideally the schools should offer an equitable chance to black and white students to succeed or fail, ensuring that those of equal merit had the same footing when leaving the public education system. Given the understanding that the races did not differ when it came to intelligence, any disparity in educational outcome could be considered a failure of the education system to provide equal opportunity. The central concern with equitable outcomes for those of equal merit led to a natural focus on metrics of comparison of inputs and outputs between white and black schools and students, including school funding, intelligence tests, achievement tests, and teacher quality.¹⁹² Pedagogically, this meant a focus on determining best methods of eliminating differential educational outcomes between similar white and black students as well as testing to ensure that racial outcomes were indeed substantially similar.

Those committed to an economic democratic vision tended to view segregation as symptomatic of the types of inequities and exploitation that resulted from a relatively unrestrained capitalist economic system. This meant that the fight against segregation was not necessarily primary in the ordering of political grievances, but was rather connected to a larger program of broad economic demands such as higher and equal wages, fair employment, political enfranchisement, and fostering interracial class solidarity. Inequities in education were not necessarily more problematic than inequities

¹⁹² It was assumed that the commitment to equality of outcomes at schools would take care of the disparities that existed in the labor market.

elsewhere, a reality reflected by the fact that in general economic democrats focused much less on the specifics of educational policy and organization. However, schools could serve as important sites in which to foster worker solidarity and much of the pedagogical practices that were advocated tended to stress the importance of grounding education in the problems of the community and connecting these problems to the existing economic order. There was substantial criticism of the excessively individualistic and competitive ethos that of the existing school system and suspicion of the value of standardized educational programs and tests.

Economic Democracy

An examination of the pages of the *JNE* and the *JNH* demonstrates that throughout the 1930s and into the mid-1940s, the center of gravity in black political thought was grounded in a commitment to economic democracy that was strongly critical of the existing economic order. Many advocating the economic democracy position had deep ties with unions and left political parties. This group also included several of the most prominent black academics and government employees. Writing in the wake of the Great Depression and during the height of the New Deal, these authors identified exploitation under the existing economic order as the central problem facing blacks in the United States.

For the economic democrats, a political program centered on organizing the black masses as workers provided the clearest means of confronting the existing economic order. While individual economic democrats differed on many particular policy

prescriptions and end goals, they were united by their belief in the fundamentally economic nature of the problems facing blacks in the United States. This was an important unifying commitment and distinguished this group from the other dominant strand of black intellectual thought, which sought to center black politics on racial solidarity. Despite several common policy positions, the boundaries of the economic democracy ideology were in part advanced by drawing clear differences with more traditional civil rights organizations advocating racial inclusion in the status quo. In 1936, just one year after he had helped found the National Negro Congress, John P. Davis wrote, “There can be little doubt that the inequalities experience by the Negro masses under the New Deal stem from economic and not racial causes.”¹⁹³ This clear identification of the primacy of the economic over the racial was echoed by former school superintendent E.E. Lewis in the *JNE*’s 1939 yearbook devoted to the position of blacks in the social order. Lewis argued that when comparing the importance of racial and economic elements in the problems facing blacks, “one is led inevitably to the conclusion that the economic rather than the racial factor is fundamental.”¹⁹⁴

Many economic democrats were focused on the economic system as not only a problem for blacks, but as a challenge to the democratic ideal more generally. The existence of broad economic inequality was interpreted as evidence of an unjust economic order that concentrated wealth and power in a the hands of the wealthy few at

¹⁹³ John P. Davis, “A Survey of the Problems of the Negro Under the New Deal,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 5, no. 1 (1936): 11.

¹⁹⁴ E. E. Lewis, “The Economic Position of the American Negro: A Brief Summary,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 8, no. 3 (1939): 446.

the expense of the vast majority of workers. Those who were able to unfairly accumulate wealth and power had an outsized voice in the political process, which they used to rig the system further in their favor. Ralph Bunche, one of the most prominent black intellectuals of the era, argued that democracy had never truly been extended to blacks or the working class as “modern democracy ... was early put out to work in support of those ruling middle-class interests of capitalistic society which fathered it.”¹⁹⁵ Unsurprisingly, blacks had fared particularly poorly under this system that consistently favored the interest of the largely white middle and upper classes.

Identifying the economic causes as the primary source of problems facing black Americans suggested a significantly different agenda than identifying racism as the central problem. Pivotal to the political program of the economic democrats was the unionization of the black working class.¹⁹⁶ Ralph Bunche, a professor of political science at Howard University, clearly articulated the central vision of many in this group in 1939. Bunche advocated for a for a program that “place[d] less emphasis on race and more on economics and broad political and economic forces.”¹⁹⁷ This political program would “avoid dependence on professional Negro leaders” and instead turn to labor leaders, and “devote its full energy to toward the incorporation of Negro workers in labor unions, and would carry on incessant educational propaganda among both black and white workers

¹⁹⁵ Bunche, “A Critical Analysis,” 308.

¹⁹⁶ Many of the most vocal advocates of industrial democracy were well positioned in the labor movement.

¹⁹⁷ Ralph J. Bunche, “The Programs of Organizations Devoted to the Improvement of the Status of the American Negro,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 8, no. 3 (1939): 549.

toward this end.”¹⁹⁸ George L.P. Weaver, the director of the civil rights committee of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), mirrored many of Bunche’s sentiments. Weaver stressed the importance of economic solidarity over racial solidarity arguing, “We must not only consider the raising of the black worker to a position of equality, but must also consider raising the standards of all workers,” and suggested that an “enlightened labor movement more and more considers this a workers’ problem, instead of a Negro problem.”¹⁹⁹ This stance was echoed by Willard Townsend, the first black man elected to the board of the CIO who pointed to the labor movement, noting “Since I firmly believe that economic security is a forerunner of social and political impartiality, it would follow that the Negro must look to organized labor for economic security.... the so-called racial problem is a workers’ problem and must be solved by the organizations and education of workers.”²⁰⁰

Beyond the call to unionize, full employment was the most common policy proposal that united those pushing the economic democracy view. The focus on full employment was driven not only by the belief that it would materially benefit blacks given their disproportionate share among the unemployed, but that the widespread availability of work would alleviate one of the main drivers of racial tension. George L.P. Weaver noted that full employment would strike at the heart of “racialism” among whites

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ George L-P Weaver, “The Role of Organized Labor in Education for Racial Understanding,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 420.

²⁰⁰ Willard S. Townsend, “Full Employment and the Negro Worker,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 14, no. 1 (1945): 6.

and blacks alike, which he understood to be founded on “the fear of job insecurity and competition.”²⁰¹ Throughout the *JNE*, the belief that problems between the races were primarily driven by job scarcity and economic competition was a common refrain from the economic democracy camp.²⁰² As Professor Lloyd Bailer articulated, the focus on full employment was thus driven by the belief that “the most important single issue facing the non-white population is the attainment of economic equality and that in so doing numerous other disadvantages presently suffered will be eliminated automatically.”²⁰³

The economic democrats saw advancement on the employment and unionization fronts as critical democratic advancements. A. Phillip Randolph framed the fight for organizing workers, higher wages, and better hours as essential to “the larger objective of industrial and political democracy.”²⁰⁴ For Mary Foley Grossman, vice president of the Philadelphia American Federation of Teachers, a strong public education system was critical for protection against “economic rulers” that “distrust democracy” and sought to “legalize and perpetuate their class oppression.”²⁰⁵ Lucy Randolph Mason, one of the

²⁰¹ George L.P. Weaver, “The Role of Organized Labor,” 414-5.

²⁰² Bunche, “The Programs of Organizations”; Eugene L. Hartley, “Psychological Investigations and the Modification of Racial Attitudes,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 287–94; Townsend, “Full Employment”; Weaver, “The Role of Organized Labor”; Oliver C. Cox, “An American Dilemma: A Mystical Approach to the Study of Race Relations,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 14, no. 2 (1945): 132–48; Lloyd H. Bailer, “The Negro in the Labor Force of the United States,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 22, no. 3 (1953): 297–306.

²⁰³ Bailer, “The Negro in the Labor Force,” 298.

²⁰⁴ A. Philip Randolph, “The Trade Union Movement and the Negro,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 5, no. 1 (1936): 58.

²⁰⁵ Mary Foley Grossman, “Redefining the Relationship of the Federal Government to the Education of Racial and Other Minority Groups,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 7, no. 3 (1938): 450.

CIO's most active organizers in the south, pushed for cooperation between industry, government and labor to protect unionization rights and achieve full employment since "economic democracy and political democracy are inseparable--the one cannot be realized without the other."²⁰⁶ Sociologist Oliver Cox, who advocated a more openly confrontational approach to capitalism, suggested that "the greater the development of democracy, the greater limitations upon capitalist freedom."²⁰⁷ Like Mason, Cox interpreted the push for full employment as "simply another attempt of workers and their leaders to push democracy another step forward."²⁰⁸ For the economic democrats, the push for unionization and full employment were central to rectifying key defects of modern democracy.

Those pressing for economic democracy argued not just for centrality of the economic structure as the the appropriate focal point for political contestation, but forcefully asserted the danger of pursuing a political project aimed only at racial incorporation into existing institutions. The economic democrats contended that the arguments emerging from racial democrats incorrectly placed the blame for the status of blacks on individual beliefs and racial prejudice rather than on the broader political economy. This logic led racial democrats to a political program centered on "the

²⁰⁶ Lucy Randolph Mason, "The CIO and the Negro in the South," *The Journal of Negro Education* 14, no. 4 (1945): 561.

²⁰⁷ Oliver C. Cox, "Modern Democracy and the Class Struggle," *The Journal of Negro Education* 16, no. 2 (1947): 156.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 162.

achievement of civil rights within the status quo”²⁰⁹ and calls for interracial and intercultural education programs aimed at eliminating the misconceptions of racial difference that were viewed as the foundation of racial prejudice. For the economic democrats like Cox, this was a fundamental misunderstanding that obscured the fact that “the exploitative act comes first; the prejudice follows.”²¹⁰ Former school administrator E.E. Lewis noted that “raising the Negro to the white man’s present level would mean at best the elimination of narrow margins,”²¹¹ a point echoed by Cox who argued that such a politics sought “to eliminate only the racial aspects of the exploitative system.”²¹²

Several authors pointed out that racial democracy was a class-inflected position that was “essentially an appeal to the consciousness of the ruling class.”²¹³ The sharpest critiques on this front were frequently aimed at the NAACP. Ralph Bunche noted “[t]he N.A.A.C.P. has elected to fight for civil liberties rather than for labor unity; it has never reached the masses of Negroes, and remains strictly Negro middle-class, Negro-*intelligentsia*, in its leadership and appeal.”²¹⁴ Ernest Neal of the Tuskegee Institute noted that the preoccupation with challenging segregation in universities, restaurants,

²⁰⁹ Oliver C. Cox, “The New Crisis in Leadership Among Negroes,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 19, no. 4 (1950): 463.

²¹⁰ Cox, “An American Dilemma,” 145.

²¹¹ Lewis, “The Economic Position,” 446.

²¹² Cox, “An American Dilemma,” 147.

²¹³ Emmett E. Dorsey, “The Negro and Social Planning,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 5, no. 1 (1936): 107; McKinney, “The Workers Party’s Way”; Randolph, “The Trade Union Movement,” Bunche, “The Programs of Organizations”; Cox, “An American Dilemma”; Cox, “The New Crisis in Leadership”; Ernest E. Neal, “Two Negro Problems Instead of One: A Challenge to Negro Colleges,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 21, no. 2 (1952): 161–66.

²¹⁴ Bunche, “The Programs of Organizations,” 546.

hotels and public transportation was evidence of the class bias of the NAACP's agenda, since only those relatively well-off in the black community would be able to afford such luxuries if segregation were defeated.²¹⁵ Emmett Dorsey, the head of the Political Science Department at Howard University, argued that the NAACP was incapable of developing a broadly progressive "economic program because such a program must necessarily stress labor solidarity and fundamental social relations reform," a position that was "incompatible with the Association's middle class and thoroughly racial philosophy."²¹⁶

Beyond simply not reflecting the concerns of the vast majority of poor blacks, several articles in the *JNE* pointed out that the NAACP was actively hostile to the some of the central efforts of the economic democrats. Ernest Rice McKinney, a journalist and labor organizer who had help found a NAACP chapter at Oberlin while in college, concluded that "[t]he day is rapidly passing and has almost passed in which such groups as the N.A.A.C.P. and the National Negro Business League can play any progressive role at all for the black worker."²¹⁷ As labor leader A. Phillip Randolph argued, efforts to unionize black workers had "suffered greatly and been incalculably hindered" by black leadership in the "old guard conservative group" that was "simply opposed to organized labor for the same reason that Mellon or Morgan is opposed to it."²¹⁸

²¹⁵ Neal, "Two Negro Problems," 1952.

²¹⁶ Dorsey, "The Negro and Social Planning," 107; see also Cox, "The New Crisis in Leadership".

²¹⁷ McKinney, "The Workers Party's Way," 98.

²¹⁸ Randolph, "The Trade Union Movement," 58.

These articles reveal the central tension between the economic and racial democracy ideologies. The economic democrats' belief that economic exploitation was the foundation of black oppression meant that any broad political strategy aimed at improving the position of blacks would include structural reforms to the existing economic order. Importantly, there was significant disagreement as to what these reforms would be. For many, this meant replacing capitalism with an alternative economic system like socialism. Others thought that reforms could be made within a capitalist system that would sufficiently address the problems of the working class. Despite these differences, these views were united in identifying economic reforms as central to improving the position of blacks. Such a commitment was not intrinsic to the racial democracy position. The racial democrats belief that status of blacks was due to the denial of equal civil rights and liberties as well as racial prejudice resulted in a political commitment first and foremost to equalizing opportunities within the existing order.²¹⁹ Although several racial democrats also supported the economic reforms advocated by the economic democrats, many others openly opposed them.

Racial Democracy

The main alternative to economic democracy, and the vision that would ultimately dominate black politics in the Post-War era, was the racial democracy vision. Mainline civil rights organizations, such as the NAACP and the NUL, as well as many prominent black professionals and businessmen were the most prominent proponents of this

²¹⁹ See Cox, "The New Crisis in Leadership," for more on this distinction.

position. Less radical than the economic democracy ideology, the racial democracy framework identified the failure to extend political and civil rights to blacks as the fundamental flaw of American democracy and the most pressing political grievance. The racial democracy ideology proved much more capable of adapting to and accommodating the changing political context as the populist fever of the New Deal era gave way to a more conservative economic and international political outlook in the postwar era.

The political program of this group was primarily based on fair access and incorporation into the existing social and economic structures of white America. Although the articulation of goals occasionally differed between individuals and organizations, racial democrats were united by a belief that the fundamental problems facing blacks in the United States could ultimately be traced back to the color line. The critiques offered of the social and economic institutions of the U.S were primarily based on the fact that they unfairly excluded blacks. This differed from the economic democracy framework, which tended to point the unfair treatment of blacks as a symptom of institutions that were fundamentally unfair for all Americans. Adopting the racial democracy framework resulted in a politics that took race as the primary analytical tool when determining the justness of societal arrangements. Given that these groups broadly rejected the notion of biological racial difference or inferiority, any disparity that correlated with race was *prima facie* evidence of an unjust societal arrangement requiring redress. Programmatically, racial democracy ideology privileged securing individual

equality of opportunity within the existing political and economic order, and as such the elimination of segregation was central to this political project.

The pages of the *JNE* provide a good example of the racial democracy framework. Dillard professor of History Lawrence Reddick offers an emblematic summary of the political end goals of racial democrats, arguing:

he (the negro) wants the elimination of the 'race' differential from the social order. He wants to be treated "like everybody else." for the Negro, as *Negro*, the end-purpose of his "struggle" is to wipe out every distinction on the basis of "color." This is the long-time goal.²²⁰

The desire to "be treated like everybody else" was a common refrain and underlined that the primary goal was incorporation into, rather than transformation of, the existing social and economic institutions. Like those in the economic democracy bloc, racial democrats were concerned about the economic condition of blacks, but they had a different notion of economic equality. Founder and longtime editor of the *JNE* Charles H. Thompson articulated the problem facing blacks as "Negro workers ... being denied *economic* equality--equal opportunity for employment and promotion without regard to race."²²¹

The notion of "equal opportunity" was fundamental to the racial democracy position and was often used as means of distinguishing it from the more radical calls for economic redistribution and institutional restructuring emanating from economic democrats. A.D. Beittel, the president of Talladega College, made this distinction quite clear, arguing, "[t]he American ideal does not demand that all be reduced to a dead level

²²⁰ L. D. Reddick, "What Should the American Negro Reasonably Expect as the Outcome of a Real Peace?," *The Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 3 (1943): 569.

²²¹ Chas. H. Thompson, "Editorial Comment: FEPC Hearings Reduce Race Problem to Lowest Terms--Equal Economic Opportunity," *The Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 4 (1943): 588, emphasis in original.

of mediocrity, but it does insist on a fundamental equality of opportunity.”²²² The former vice-president and provost of the University of California Monroe Deutsch echoed Beittel in a speech marking the opening of the NAACP at the university, claiming:

That is the word “Equality of opportunity;” all anyone of us has right to ask is “a fair chance,” and that means the open door to education, the opportunity to do the work for which he is fitted, such promotion as his abilities warrant (not limited by any form of discrimination) ... *In the race of life you have a right to toe the same mark as all others. You ask nothing more - no one of us can ask more.*²²³

The racial democracy framework did not reject economic differentiation or disparity, but it strongly objected to the arbitrary barriers, like segregation or discrimination, that rigged the game in favor of one group over another. In fact, in attacking discrimination based on race, racial democrats often actively supported discrimination on the basis of what it perceived to be non-arbitrary dimension, like academic merit. For example, F.D. Patterson, director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the the president of the United Negro Fund, called for high academic standards for entrance to college, arguing that “[t]he aristocracy of such institutions must be an aristocracy not of wealth but of talent.”²²⁴ The notion of “equality of opportunity” was critical in delimiting the political program of racial democracy. The focus on ensuring that whites and blacks were given a fair and

²²² A. D. Beittel, “Some Effects of the ‘Separate but Equal’ Doctrine of Education,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 20, no. 2 (1951): 146.

²²³ Monroe E. Deutsch, “Equality in Life as Well as in Death,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 23, no. 4 (1954): 500, emphasis added.

²²⁴ F. D. Patterson, “Colleges for Negro Youth and the Future,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 27, no. 2 (1958): 114. See also, Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, Ninth Edition (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1944): 672-74.

equal shot meant that disparities that did not correlate neatly along race lines faded to the back of the political agenda.

This ordering of political grievances was evident in one of the biggest differences between the racial and economic democracy position; their diverging view on the importance of material differences between individuals. For the economic democrats the existence of broad economic inequality, regardless of racial distribution, was evidence of a fundamental problem. The same was not true of the racial democrats, indeed many strenuously objected to the overarching emphasis some of their colleagues placed on material differences. Howard Hale Long, who held a Ph.D in psychology from Harvard and served as an associate superintendent of the Washington, D.C public school system from 1925 through 1948, claimed:

If we succeed in diverting some of the excess emphasis upon the material aspects of the Negro's struggle for survival to the subtler problem of the enduring and determining psycho-physical sets towards himself and the world about him, our efforts will have been more than repaid.²²⁵

This view appears in part attributable to the fact that many in the racial democracy camp were fundamentally less radical on the economic front than their economic counterparts, a distinction that would be sharpened by the 1940s.

Long's early call to shift focus to the non-material was typical of racial democracy ideology, and many scholars and organizations turned towards investigations of the psychological and cultural effects of segregation and discrimination. Psychologists played a particularly important role in the examination of these non-economic effects,

²²⁵ Howard Hale Long, "Some Psychogenic Hazards of Segregated Education of Negroes," *The Journal of Negro Education* 4, no. 3 (1935): 350.

and psychology studies began to appear with regularity appear in the *JNE* by the early 1940s. Several studies focused on the racial attitudes of school children, attempting to trace the age when children were first able to identify race,²²⁶ the beginning racial preference,²²⁷ and the awareness of racial hierarchy.²²⁸ These studies tended to stress the emotional and psychological awareness of inferior status. In a speech given before the the Association of Colleges and and Secondary Schools for Negroes, A.D. Beittel of Talladega College succinctly articulated the findings from psychology, stating, “Emotional problems are generated for the growing individual in segregated group in the process of adjustment and accommodation in a bifurcated society.”²²⁹ Beittel also noted the emerging dominance of this view among social scientists, citing a recent survey that found, “Ninety per cent of the total number of social scientists replying believe that enforced segregation has detrimental psychological effects on the segregated groups.”²³⁰ These studies tended to fit well with the racial democracy framework because they could be easily disconnected from a strict focus on the material differences of the races. This

²²⁶ R.E. Horowitz, “Racial Aspects of Self-Identification in Nursery School Children,” *The Journal of Psychology: Interdisciplinary and Applied* 7 (1939): 91–99; Kenneth B. Clark and Mamie K. Clark, “The Development of Consciousness of Self and the Emergence of Racial Identification in Negro Preschool Children,” *The Journal of Social Psychology* 10, no. 4 (November 1, 1939): 591–99; Kenneth B. Clark and Mamie K. Clark, “Segregation as a Factor in the Racial Identification of Negro Pre-School Children: A Preliminary Report,” *The Journal of Experimental Education* 8, no. 2 (1939): 161–63.

²²⁷ Kenneth B. Clark and Mamie K. Clark, “Skin Color as a Factor in Racial Identification of Negro Preschool Children,” *The Journal of Social Psychology* 11, no. 1 (February 1, 1940): 159–69; Evelyn Helgerson, “The Relative Significance of Race, Sex, and Facial Expression in Choice of Playmate by the Preschool Child,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 4 (1943): 617–22.

²²⁸ Kenneth B. Clark and Mamie P. Clark, “Emotional Factors in Racial Identification and Preference in Negro Children,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 19, no. 3 (1950): 341–50.

²²⁹ Beittel, “Some Effects,” 144.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

appealed to a stratum of upper-class and upwardly mobile blacks for whom economic concerns were not necessarily paramount.²³¹

These findings led racial democrats to place special emphasis on education and attitudes, especially that targeted towards youth. The turn towards intercultural education and intergroup relations was popular in the 1940s, particularly after Gunnar Myrdal endorsed the strategy.²³² This movement was based on the understanding that inaccurate beliefs and uncorrected racial stereotypes led to racial prejudice and discrimination, which ultimately propped up segregation. Intercultural education, according to school teacher and frequent *JNE* contributor Rose Zeligs, was “the instruction in knowledge, interest, respect and mutual appreciation of different cultures” with the goal to “make children conscious of the process by which they get and keep their prejudices, and to eliminate weird and grotesque concepts and stereotypes.”²³³ This educational strategy found broad support from several teachers, religious, philanthropic, and civil rights organizations.²³⁴

As the report from the Second National Conference on Intergroup Relations noted, this was an agenda that called for an “approach free from dependence upon

²³¹See Neal, “Two Negro Problems”.

²³² Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*. See also Oliver Cox’s critique of this point by Myrdal in Cox, “An American Dilemma,” 142.

²³³ Rose Zeligs, “Children Explain Their Intergroup Attitudes,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 22, no. 4 (1953): 534; Hartley, “Psychological Investigations”; Clark and Clark, “Emotional Factors”; Rose Zeligs, “Growth in Intergroup Attitudes During Brotherhood Week,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 19, no. 1 (1950): 94–102; Helen E. Amerman, “Perspective for Evaluating Intergroup Relations in a Public School System,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 26, no. 2 (1957): 108–20.

²³⁴ Layle Lane, “Report of the Committee on Cultural Minorities of the American Federation of Teachers,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 14, no. 1 (1945): 109–12; Zeligs, “Growth in Intergroup Attitudes”; Leander L. Boykin, “The Vocational Education and Guidance of Negro Youth in a Changing Social Order,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 17, no. 1 (1948): 42–49.

cliches,” such as a class analysis. The focus was instead on developing “knowledge of the dynamics of intergroup relations and conflicts...not explained by any one isolated factor such as the economic.”²³⁵ The intercultural education program fit well with the racial democracy framework, specifying the ultimate “ends to be achieved--complete and unqualified integration of all minorities into the total American community.”²³⁶ For proponents of intercultural education, and the racial democracy framework more broadly, achievement of integration did not require fundamental transformation of economic and social structures. Integration could be achieved through education to eliminate prejudice. As sociologist Mary Ellen Goodman argued in the *JNE*, “If we were to educate really intensively and extensively for human relations, from beginning to end of school experience, there might in two generations rather little awareness of race in our society and few problems arising from it.”²³⁷ For Goodman and others, proper education could reduce white prejudice, which would inevitably lead to an improvement in black societal standing.

This understanding of the origins of the problems facing blacks, and prejudice in particular, was the converse of that of the economic democracy framework. As Oliver Cox argued, “[t]he exploitative act come first; the prejudice follows,” and prejudice

²³⁵ “Second National Conference on Intergroup Relations,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 18, no. 2 (1949): 188.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ Mary Ellen Goodman, “The Education of Children and Youth to Live in a Multi-Racial Society,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 19, no. 3 (1950): 399–404; Regina M. Goff, “Problems and Emotional Difficulties of Negro Children Due to Race,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 19, no. 2 (1950): 152–58; Walter G. Daniel, “The Responsibility of Education for the Preparation of Children and Youth to Live in a Multi-Racial Society,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 19, no. 3 (1950): 388–98.

“belief is an empty, harmless, illusion, like beliefs in werewolves or fairies, without the exploitative interest with which it is impregnated.”²³⁸ Sociologist William Brown was particularly critical of approaches like intercultural education, arguing that race prejudice:

is not going to be appreciably weakened by preachments or by mere assaults upon the stupid misconceptions current among whites about Negroes. Such approaches and programs attack the symptoms and manifestations of race prejudice, rather than its associated factors. *Any realistic program will take into account the economic foundations of race prejudice.*²³⁹

It was this economic interpretation of racial prejudice that led economic democrats like CIO board member Willard Townsend to advocate for a political program aimed at full employment, since it would both advance the material interest of blacks and lead “to the removal of the white worker’s fear of him as an economic rival.”²⁴⁰ For Cox and others in the economic democracy vein, this focus on prejudice and belief was a dangerous political move because it fed the mysticism that beliefs were “prime movers,” which turned attention away from the intense political fight needed to improve the status of blacks, which was the only way to effectively address prejudice.²⁴¹ And indeed, Goodman did argue that one of the virtues of intercultural education as a political program was that it “supports the constructive and problem-solving rather than the

²³⁸ Cox, “An American Dilemma,” 143.

²³⁹ William O. Brown, “Race Prejudice as a Factor in the Status of the American Negro,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 8, no. 3 (1939): 358.

²⁴⁰ Townsend, “Full Employment,” 9.

²⁴¹ Cox, “An American Dilemma,” 143.

combat orientation toward society.”²⁴² This was consistent with the general approach of the racial democracy agenda, which sought inclusion in, rather than radical change to, existing societal institutions.

In addition to a focus on education, the political outlook and goals of the racial democrats led them to place a particular emphasis on the black family and culture. This concentration was driven by the belief that in addition to white prejudice, the particular shortcomings of black family and culture were central mechanisms in keeping blacks in a subordinate position. In *An American Dilemma*, Myrdal explained the connection between prejudice and culture through the theory of “the vicious circle.” Myrdal claimed a “dynamic causation,” arguing:

on the one hand, the Negroes’ plane of living is kept down by discrimination from the side of the whites while, on the other hand, the whites’ reason for discrimination is partly dependent upon the Negroes’ poverty, ignorance, superstition, slum dwellings, health deficiencies, dirty appearance, disorderly conduct, bad odor and criminality.²⁴³

According Myrdal and other racial democrats, any effective political program would address both prejudice and low standards in the black community.²⁴⁴

For the racial democrats, interventions like intercultural education could begin to attack white prejudice, but getting a handle on the problems in the black community would require a focus on the black home and broader culture. In a *JNE* article entitled

²⁴² Goodman, “The Education of Children,” 407. Goodman’s political commitment to intercultural education path appears to be fueled in part by her anti-Communism.

²⁴³ Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, 1066.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 77. See also Marion T. Wright, “Some Educational and Cultural Problems and Needs of Negro Children and Youth,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 19, no. 3 (1950): 320–21.

“The Social Psychology and Youth,” Herman G. Canady, chair of the Psychology Department at West Virginia Collegiate Institute, explained the importance of home life and culture for black youth:

from the home he learns those basic habits and attitudes that largely determine the direction of his whole social development. Here, many of his characteristics are acquired before he is 5 years old (some would say before he is two years old). By the time the culture of his family is so firmly fixed and deeply fixed in his habit patters than he never completely escapes it.²⁴⁵

This understanding was particularly important given that many in the racial democracy camp focused on the deviant nature of the black family and black culture as a partial explanation for poor position of black in the United States. Sociologist E. Franklin Frazier argued that “[f]amily disorganization probably has been the most important social problem that has retarded the development of the Negro since his emancipation,”²⁴⁶ claiming that because it “has failed in its function as a socializing agency, it has handicapped the children in their relations to the institutions in the community.”²⁴⁷ Howard Professor of Education Marion T. Wright noted that the family was an important site in the development of the “stigma of inferiority” from segregation and

²⁴⁵ Herman G. Canady, “The Social Psychology of Youth,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 17, no. 2 (1948): 121-122. See also Hartley, “Psychological Investigation.” Robert F. Kennedy would cite a nearly identical age when discussing for the need for federal funding during the debates over the ESEA. The belief in the high stakes nature of early intervention also contributed to his demands for accountability to ensure that programs were effectively achieving their goals.

²⁴⁶ E. Franklin Frazier, “Problems and Needs of Negro Children and Youth Resulting from Family Disorganization,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 19, no. 3 (1950): 269.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 276.

discrimination, as adults transmitted destructive attitudes and disorganization to their children, which ultimately “further handicapped ... personality development.”²⁴⁸

Any broad political agenda that hoped to fully integrate blacks into American society would thus have to address perceived deficiencies in the black family that harmed black children and spurred white prejudice. Racial democrats advocated for programs geared towards educating and changing black behavior.²⁴⁹ These programs were often specifically geared to lower class blacks, whose family “sub-culture” was considered particularly problematic.²⁵⁰ Indeed, several authors were careful to distinguish that many of the behavioral problems that resulted in low standards of living for blacks and stimulated white prejudice were specific to lower-class black sub-culture.²⁵¹ The class-inflected nature of these programs was sometimes quite explicit. For example, Canady’s conclusion for improving the situation of blacks ultimately suggested that “[w]hen low-status people become more like middle- and upper-class people, they can compete on

²⁴⁸ Wright, “Some Educational and Cultural Problems,” 320-21.

²⁴⁹ The types of education and programs varied widely, including: encouraging better mental and physical hygiene (Maudelle B. Bousfield, “Redirection of the Education of Negroes in Terms of Social Needs,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 5, no. 3 (1936): 412–19; Clark and Clark “Emotional Factors”; Waldo R. Banks, “Changing Attitudes Towards the Negro in the United States: The Primary Causes,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 30, no. 2 (1961): 87–93), education on the need for strong father figures given the large number of single mothers (Frazier, “Problems and Needs”; Howard Hale Long, “The Relative Learning Capacities of Negroes and Whites,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 26, no. 2 (1957): 121–34), improving parenting skills (H. M. Blalock, “Educational Achievement and Job Opportunities: A Vicious Circle,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 27, no. 4 (1958): 544–48.), raising self-esteem of young blacks (Goff, “Problems and Emotional Difficulties”); and teaching better habits regarding money management (Canady, “The Social Psychology of Youth”).

²⁵⁰ Blalock, “Educational Achievement,” 546.

²⁵¹ See Canady, “The Social Psychology of Youth”; Blalock, “Educational Achievement”; and Kenneth B. Clark, “Color, Class, Personality and Juvenile Delinquency,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 28, no. 3 (1959): 240–51.

more nearly equal terms for the good things America has to offer.”²⁵² Howard Hale Long agreed, claiming that a central uplift project for the black community was the attempt “to reduce all all striking derogatory, cultural differences from the dominant culture.”²⁵³ And since Canady contended that “a psychologically good home or a highly stimulating situation can be set up at any economic level,” this was a political program that stressed primarily attitudinal changes over structural ones.²⁵⁴

Like the call to address white prejudice through education, the tendency of the racial democracy advocates to focus on the standards and behavior of the black family or black culture was roundly criticized by those in the economic democracy camp. The most central critique from this angle was directed at the failure to examine the economic foundations of the supposed poor standards and home life of blacks. Cox summarized what many in the economic democracy camp saw as a fundamental flaw in racial ideology vision, noting, “both race prejudice and Negro standards are consistently dependent variables. They are both produced by the calculated economic interests of the Southern oligarchy. Both prejudice and the Negro’s status are dependent functions of the latter interest.”²⁵⁵ For Cox, the “deficiencies” of black life and culture and racial prejudice were not the result of a mutually reinforcing web of ‘dynamic causation, rather,

²⁵² Canady, “The Social Psychology of Youth,” 123.

²⁵³ Howard H. Long, “The Position of the Negro in the American Social Order: A Forecast,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 8, no. 3 (1939): 616. For Long, “Negro educators should emphasize as of first importance the function of the home and family life, for this one of the surest means of race culture.” The broader agenda included acknowledging that blacks had “an undue lot of the morally and mentally feeble-minded” requiring a “conscious objective to eliminate a large percentage of these by sensitizing adolescents to the danger of unintelligent mating”(Ibid).

²⁵⁴ Canady, “The Social Psychology of Youth,” 122.

²⁵⁵ Cox, “An American Dilemma,” 143.

both fundamentally the result of exploitative economic interests. Myrdal was typical of many in the racial democracy camp in his reaction to the economic democracy position, specifically criticizing scholars and activists who attempted to reduce the problem of blacks to a basic economic factor, calling this approach “unrealistic and narrow.”²⁵⁶

In addition to white prejudice and black culture, racial democrats also looked towards the underdeveloped skills of the black workforce as an explanatory factor for the social and economic position of blacks. Although prejudice may keep some employers from hiring black workers, some argued another reason for the marginal employment opportunities for blacks stemmed from fact that whites were typically better skilled. Thus, disparities in the labor market could exist through the rational action of the employer. As prominent NUL leader T. Arnold Hill argued, “Competition for jobs permits the employer to make a selection of his workers, and he will select the most efficient ones.”²⁵⁷ The problem of skill disparity between whites and blacks was seen as particularly problematic in the wake of rapid technological change. Charles Johnson, editor of the NUL’s journal *Opportunity*, stressed the importance of training for the skills required in a changing economy. He claimed, “A problem facing this race today is one of mastering the techniques imposed by technological changes. It is in this world that the Negro must live by competition with others who are geared to the tempo of the new

²⁵⁶ Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, 77.

²⁵⁷ T. Arnold Hill, “Educating and Guiding Negro Youth for Occupational Efficiency,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 4, no. 1 (1935): 25.

age.”²⁵⁸ This perspective led to a concentration on improving the skills of black employees as a means of racial advancement.

The fact that blacks generally brought fewer skills to the labor market was a key explanation offered by racial democrats for disparate outcomes. As Columbia professor Robert Smuts put it:

Those who have been actively engaged in attempting to breakdown employment discrimination in the North know that it is often harder to find a Negro who is fully qualified for a job requiring skill and training than it is to find employers who are willing to employ qualified Negroes.²⁵⁹

Indeed, many racial democrats viewed poor skills of blacks as a *greater* barrier in the work place than racial prejudice. Hill noted that there was “some evidence that indicates a preference for proficiency that *overrides* race prejudice.”²⁶⁰ Johnson asserted that “Negro youth should assure themselves of that superior competence which in many cases outweighs purely racial advantage.”²⁶¹ This belief naturally led to a focus on education as the best means of improving the skills of the black workforce. Some observed this problem was in part a result of the existing educational system, and the failure of Negro colleges and secondary schools to give sufficient emphasis and prominence to training”

²⁵⁸ Charles S. Johnson, “On the Need of Realism in Negro Education,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 5, no. 3 (1936): 377. See also Boykin, “The Vocational Education”; Neal, “Two Negro Problems”; and Charles S. Johnson, “Some Significant Social and Educational Implications of the U. S. Supreme Court’s Decision,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 23, no. 3 (1954): 364–71.

²⁵⁹ Robert W. Smuts, “The Negro Community and the Development of Negro Potential,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 26, no. 4 (1957): 458.

²⁶⁰ Hill, “Educating and Guiding,” 25, emphasis added.

²⁶¹ Johnson 1936, “On the Need of Realism,” 382, emphasis added.

in skills required for good paying jobs.²⁶² Since blacks had to live in competition whites in the labor market, and since a highly skilled and efficient worker could potentially overcome the hurdle of racial discrimination, the curricular and broader educational strategy of the racial democrats focused on improving the skills preparation of black students to enter into a labor market that increasingly demanded highly skilled workers.²⁶³

The call for concentrating on preparing black children for eventual job competition with whites fit nicely into the racial democracy framework. The major goal of racial democracy camp was incorporation into the existing institutional structure. This group was essentially comfortable with the free market economy and the inequitable distribution of goods to some extent, so long as the inequity was not the result of some arbitrary factor like race.²⁶⁴ While acknowledging that racial discrimination and segregation were problems, the focus on training highly skilled workers as a way to potentially overcome even these barriers was essentially an affirmation of the potential fairness of the market in distributing jobs and wages.

Several authors attempted to appeal to economic self-interest of whites in arguing that discrimination, segregation and providing poor education failed to take full

²⁶² Boykin, "The Vocational Education," 43.

²⁶³ See Johnson, "On the Need of Realism"; Daniel "The Responsibility of Education"; Smuts, "The Negro Community"; J. Max Bond, "Educational Programs for the Improvement of Race Relations: The Schools," *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 390–97.

²⁶⁴ Charles S. Johnson, "The Negro and the Present Crisis," *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 3 (1941): 585–95. See also Banks, "Changing Attitudes"; Beittel, "Some Effects"; Deutsch, "Equality in Life"; W. Hardin Hughes, "What About Human Equality?," *The Journal of Negro Education* 16, no. 1 (1947): 57–60; Patterson, "Colleges for Negro Youth"; Reddick, "What Should the American Negro"; Thompson, "Editorial Comment".

advantage of the potential of the black labor force, amounting to a tremendous “waste of human resources... for the nation as a whole”.²⁶⁵ This was a fundamental difference with those advocating an economic democracy approach, many of whom explicitly critiqued the exploitative nature of the market. For the economic democrats, the distribution of employment and wages were fundamentally the result of a political contestation between labor and management rather than the just reward for an individual’s marketable skills. Apart from the focus on racial prejudice, racial democrats were generally loathe place the blame for black unemployment and poor wages on the operation of the broader labor market, looking instead to strategies to increase the competitiveness of blacks as a means of uplift.

Like the economic democrats, the racial democrats argued for their political agenda as a move towards perfecting democracy. Claiming that the social sciences had shown that intellectual capabilities were normally distributed in the human population and did not correlate with race, W. Hardin Hughes argued in the *JNE* that, “Equality, not of achievement as measured materially but of opportunity, is a basic principle of democracy.”²⁶⁶ Myrdal quoted Donald Young, the future president of the American Sociological Association, to the same effect in *An American Dilemma*. Young argued, “Democracy is an empty word unless it means the free recognition of ability, native and

²⁶⁵ Johnson, “Some Significant Social,” 370. See also Bond, “Educational Programs”; and Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, 78, 672.

²⁶⁶ Hughes, “What About Human Equality?” 60.

acquired, whether it be found in rich or poor, alien or native, black man or white.”²⁶⁷

According to Myrdal, democracy in America required:

free competition, which in this sphere of social stratification represents the combination of the two basic norms: ‘equality’ and ‘liberty.’ And it is prepared to accept the outcome of competition - if it is really free - though there be some inequality. This demand is the essence of American economic and social liberalism. Behind it is the theory that lack of free competition results in social inefficiency.²⁶⁸

A foundational problem with segregation and discrimination for the racial democracy viewpoint was that it resulted in “drastic restrictions of free competition in the various spheres of life.”²⁶⁹ For the racial democrats, inequality that resulted from unfair competition was a violation of the democratic ideal.

Given this articulation of the problems facing American democracy and black Americans specifically, many in the racial democracy camp equated democracy with a capitalist economic system. In a 1941 *JNE* article, Charles Johnson proclaimed:

Political democracy has been associated with the economic system of capitalism and the repudiation of free capitalism, when it has occurred, has been accompanied by the repudiation of democracy as we know it. Our present national concern for the preservation of democracy is bound up in considerable measure with our concern for the preservation of our economic system, which is the basis of our present living standards and our hopes for the future.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁷ As quoted in Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, 672.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 674-75. Myrdal’s drastic differences with Marxism are particularly evident in this passage, where he defines “[c]lasses and class differences in America are thus in this inquiry conceived of as the result of restriction of free competition and, consequently, of the lack of full social integration”(Ibid., 673-4).

²⁷⁰ Johnson, “The Negro and the Present Crisis,” 585.

Although the virtues of capitalist economy and its essential connection to democracy were increasingly stressed as the Cold War intensified, the ideological outlines of the racial democracy position were present well before the onset of the Cold War.²⁷¹ While the economic democrats viewed the economic system as perpetuating an undemocratic concentration of wealth and power, racial democrats were most concerned with the fact that the concentration of wealth were exclusively reserved for white citizens. Whereas economic democrats called for class solidarity to press for common political interests, racial democrats like Howard Hale Long asserted, “[t]he Negro group must maintain a diversity of interests. Only sterility is likely to result from too much solidarity. Let Negroes be found in the ranks of all social and economic movements.”²⁷² Ultimately, for racial democrats, until all citizens were guaranteed equal access to the social and economic opportunities offered by the free market, the United States had failed to live up to its democratic ideals.

Educational Program of Racial Democracy

Education held a special place in the political program of racial democracy.

Racial democrats argued that black children had long suffered from inferior education.

This inequality of educational opportunity was seen as the foundation for a whole host of subsequent racially disparate outcomes. Furthermore, racial democrats were committed

²⁷¹ For example, Monroe Deutsch warned the newly minted NAACP chapter of University of California, “I am sure that you all know that wherever Communism has become master, freedom (yes, all the freedoms) have vanished.” (Deutsch, “Equality in Life,” 501). Additionally, in justifying the specific programs central to racial democracy ideology, many authors stressed that they were alternatives to Communism. Mary Goodman noted that “perhaps nothing could be more constructive in a democracy hard-pressed by communism” than a carefully tailored intercultural education program. (Goodman, “The Education of Children,” 405).

²⁷² Long, “The Position of the Negro,” 616.

to the belief that racial stereotypes and prejudice could be attacked with a proper educational program, particularly if these efforts began early. The understanding of the potential for education to broadly improve the material, political and interpersonal situation of blacks underlined the racial democracy vision of the purpose of education. This particular vision of the purpose of education in turn drove the racial democrats to advocate for a specific set of educational programs and pedagogical approaches to achieve their objectives. Ultimately this resulted in a strong commitment among racial democrats for intercultural education, adjustment education, federal support, and the use of standardized testing.

The Strength of Education

The centrality of education to the racial democracy project was driven by the belief that education was pivotal for racial incorporation. Education could be used to address the two problems that were central to the racial democracy political project: racial prejudice and discrimination, and the resulting inferior social, economic and political position this placed blacks in relation to their white counterparts. The emergence of the intercultural or interracial education movement was an attempt to attack the attitudes that the racial democrats believed supported racial discrimination. Although white attitudes were the primary target, intercultural education was also viewed as a means of addressing the low self esteem of black youths due their own exposure to these stereotypes. Through providing information that rectified negative stereotypes about blacks, those advocating for intercultural education hoped to correct and eventually

eliminate beliefs that they thought held up the regime of racial discrimination and segregation.

Addressing the beliefs of whites and attempting to build understanding across racial lines was part of a longterm educational strategy that sought racial incorporation, but the racial democrats thought that education could also help blacks more immediately. Desegregation of public schools was a major goal. George Redd, head of the Department of Education at Fisk University, argued that segregated education was particularly problematic because black schools were chronically underfunded and understaffed. This placed black students “at a disadvantage in competing with members of the white race for social and economic gains, when these are based on matching certain skills.”²⁷³ Schools were the sites where individuals learned the skills necessary to gain employment in a changing economy, and ultimately held the key to upward mobility.²⁷⁴ Racial democrats contended that the equitable provision of these skills through a desegregated and equal education would help ensure the elimination of racial disparities more broadly.

Furthermore, the improvement in status and material condition that education promised blacks could also help undermine white prejudice. As Myrdal argued, “the ordinary white man’s actual observation of average Negroes in his present inferior status make most of his beliefs natural and reasonable to him.”²⁷⁵ Racial democrats believed

²⁷³ George N. Redd, “The Educational and Cultural Level of the American Negro,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 19, no. 3 (1950): 252.

²⁷⁴ See Johnson, “On the Need of Realism,” 382; Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, 884; and Redd, “The Educational and Cultural Level,” 250.

²⁷⁵ Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, 108-9.

that the best strategy to immediately improve the status of blacks was through equalizing opportunity.²⁷⁶ In addition to bettering the economic position of blacks, racial democrats turned to education to address some of the behavioral, or ‘cultural’, differences between blacks and whites. They believed that the long history of slavery and segregation had created an uneducated population characterized by a cultural “backwardness” that posed a major barrier to social inclusion if not addressed.²⁷⁷

Given the faith that racial democrats placed in education as a means of incorporation, education would play a central role in their political agenda. Alain Locke captured this sentiment, claiming, “Education is rightly construed as providing not only the soundest guarantees and safeguards of a democratic state, but its main vehicle for the equalization of opportunity for all.”²⁷⁸

It is important to note how substantially the racial democrats goal of incorporation differed from the goal of the economic democrats. Racial democrats were fundamentally comfortable with economic inequality, as long as it was not based on some arbitrary factor like race. Inequitable distribution on the basis of what they believed to be a non-arbitrary basis, like academic merit or skill, was compatible with (in fact, actively supported by) a racial democratic framework. Equitable education in a free market

²⁷⁶ See for example George Redd; “it should be recognized that in Negro society education is one of the most reliable of factors determining social mobility upward.”(Redd, “The Educational and Cultural Level,” 250).

²⁷⁷ See Allison Davis, “The Socialization of the American Negro Child and Adolescent,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 8, no. 3 (1939): 264–74; E. Franklin Frazier, “The Present Status of the Negro Family in the United States,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 8, no. 3 (1939): 376–82; Charles S. Johnson, “The Present Status of Race Relations, with Particular Reference to the Negro,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 8, no. 3 (1939): 323–35.

²⁷⁸ Alain Locke, “Education in a Democracy,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 18, no. 4 (1949): 504. See also, Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, 882.

economy, then, promised not only the overall raising of black material conditions, but also promised that the distribution of material rewards would go to those that most deserved them. Economic democrats were committed to either the radical redistribution of wealth (regardless of “merit”) and moving away from a market economy. Consequentially, education was of much less programmatic importance in the broader political strategy of the economic democrats.

The Purpose of Education

For the racial democrats, the larger political goals coupled with faith in the myriad abilities of education to address the problems of blacks drove their particular understanding of the purpose of public education. Racial democrats coalesced around an understanding of education’s purpose that emphasized its ability to ease the fair incorporation of blacks into the broader social and economic institutions that had largely been reserved for white Americans. They developed a vision of education that focused on its ability to challenge what they saw as the fundamental flaw of American society, the arbitrary exclusion of blacks from opportunities and access on the basis of skin color. The purpose of education they articulated therefore asserted that education should challenge this exclusion by equally providing the skills necessary to succeed later in life while also attacking the racist beliefs that were foundational to the continuation of discrimination.

Significantly, this understanding drove the particular pedagogy that racial democrats advocated. In the classroom, racial democrats advocated for an educational

program that centered on interracial education to undermine prejudice, adjustment education to ensure that the students were equipped with the skills necessary to succeed in the labor market, and eventually a muscular testing requirement to ensure the equitable provision of education. Racial democrats argued that the federal government should greatly increase its involvement in the education realm, and devote ample resources to the achievement of this educational program.

Interracial Education

In 1944, the *JNE* devoted its entire annual yearbook to “Education for Racial Understanding,” an educational strategy that was gaining traction among racial liberals. Around the same time, the Bureau for Intercultural Education began to publish a series of manuals and short books that sought to guide public school teachers in best practices. Founded in 1934, the New York City based Bureau was formed to provide teachers with intercultural education resources.²⁷⁹ By the 1940s, with several nationally prominent educators on the board of directors and with a climate that was increasingly amenable to intercultural education programs, the bureau began to publish a series that focused more specifically on race. Entitled *Problems of Race and Culture in American Education*, the series reflected many of the discussions present in the *JNE* and there was substantial crossover between the two. Hortense Powdermaker and Ina Corrine Brown, both contributors to the *JNE*, wrote books for the series and the several authors that were

²⁷⁹ Shafali Lal, “1930s Multiculturalism: Rachel Davis DuBois and the Bureau for Intercultural Education,” *The Radical Teacher*, no. 69 (2004): 18–22.

active in the *JNE* served on the board or as advisors to the bureau, including William Kilpatrick, Alain Locke, Allison Davis, Theodore Brameld, and Charles Johnson.²⁸⁰

Although the moniker was different, the educational ideology behind calls for “education for racial understanding” was essentially used interchangeably with the more familiar “interracial” or “intercultural” education.²⁸¹ Central to the interracial education movement was the belief that racial tensions and prejudices stemmed primarily from fundamental misunderstandings between the races. Through particular educational programs, interracial education advocates hoped to attack the racial ignorance that they believed led to the harmful racial stereotypes that buttressed prejudice and segregation.

In his introduction to the *JNE* yearbook, Martin Jenkins, professor of education at Howard University, provided a comprehensive outline of the contours and purpose of interracial education program, and why such a program was seen as necessary.

Identifying the primary problem facing blacks as the denial of the “right to equal opportunity for participation in the economic, political and social organization” of the United States, Jenkins noted that the purpose of the yearbook was to investigate how education could bridge the divide between the ideal of equality of opportunity and the reality of widespread prejudice and segregation.²⁸² Arguing that “education, the

²⁸⁰ See William E. Vickery and Steward G. Cole, *Intercultural Education in American Schools, Proposed Objectives and Methods* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943).

²⁸¹ Although there are differences between the terms, I will use the term interracial education. Whereas intercultural education referred to education aimed at improving relationships between religious, cultural, ethnic, and racial groups, interracial education referred more specifically to education focused on improving racial understanding. Importantly, the pedagogical and ideological forces behind the both programs were essentially identical.

²⁸² Martin D. Jenkins, “Editorial Comment: Education for Racial Understanding,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 265-66.

deliberate use of words and symbols, can be effective in modifying racial attitudes,” he pushed for a program of interracial education, which he understood as, “any organized and consciously designed program which has as its primary aim the improvement (i.e. changing in a favorable direction) of attitudes concerning subordinate racial groups in our society.”²⁸³ A well designed interracial education program could be a particularly effective tool in improving racial relations, and for Jenkins, “the most desirable programs are those which have as their goal the *unqualified assimilation* of Negroes into American life.”²⁸⁴ The promise that interracial education could eventually undermine prejudice and pave the way for full racial incorporation into American life meant that it had particular appeal to racial democrats.

The concept of interracial education extended beyond the formal primary and secondary classroom. The *JNE* yearbook carried articles that examined existing programs and their potential for changing attitudes of adults, focusing especially on those in religious organizations,²⁸⁵ interracial organization,²⁸⁶ black organizations,²⁸⁷

²⁸³ Ibid., 267.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., emphasis added.

²⁸⁵ Margaret C. McCulloch, “Educational Programs for the Improvement of Race Relations: Seven Religious Agencies,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 303–15.

²⁸⁶ Rufus E. Clement, “Educational Programs for the Improvement of Race Relations: Interracial Committees,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 316–28.

²⁸⁷ Marion Thompson Wright, “Educational Programs for the Improvement of Race Relations: Negro Advancement Organizations,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 349–60.

philanthropic foundations,²⁸⁸ labor organizations,²⁸⁹ the mass media,²⁹⁰ and government agencies.²⁹¹ While it was recognized that these efforts that targeted the racial attitudes of adults were worthwhile, it was broadly understood that interracial education could be especially effective for children. As Alaine Locke noted, “It is not too utopian, however, to assume that as we correct the deficiencies of the social education aspect of formal education there will remain much less to be done (and undone) by informal adult educative efforts.”²⁹² Racial democrats understood that public primary and secondary school were critical sites if interracial education efforts were to succeed.

The *JNE* featured several articles that described the particulars of what an interracial education strategy would include. Anthropologist Hortense Powdermaker offered specific advice for how to attack race prejudice in the classroom. First and foremost in Powdermaker’s program (and central to most interracial education programs) was the “wide-spread popularization of the scientific facts of race and the anthropological concept that difference does not necessarily connote superiority.”²⁹³ The elimination of the idea of biological racial difference, particularly in terms of intelligence, was a central

²⁸⁸ Fred L. Brownlee, “Educational Programs for the Improvement of Race Relations: Philanthropic Foundations,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 329–39.

²⁸⁹ John A. Davis, “Educational Programs for the Improvement of Race Relations: Organized Labor and Industrial Organizations,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 340–48.

²⁹⁰ L. D. Reddick, “Educational Programs for the Improvement of Race Relations: Motion Pictures Radio, The Press, and Libraries,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 367–89.

²⁹¹ Alfred Edgar Smith, “Educational Programs for the Improvement of Race Relations: Government Agencies,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 361–66.

²⁹² Alaine Locke, “Whither Race Relations? A Critical Commentary,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 398.

²⁹³ Hortense Powdermaker, “The Anthropological Approach to the Problem of Modifying Race Attitudes,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 301.

part of the interracial education movement.²⁹⁴ This meant exposing students to research that demonstrated that there were no innate differences between races.

Apart from challenging the notion of inherent racial difference, interracial education advocates pushed for changes the curriculum to include discussion of the positive contributions of minorities. In his 1944 *JNE* yearbook article, Roy Wilkins noted that the majority of textbooks either completely ignored the role of minorities or actively promoted ideas of white racial superiority. Wilkins argued, “The textbook treatment of the Negro cries aloud for revision, and we will make little progress in education for racial understanding until the average boy and girl stops absorbing this poison from the first grade through high school.”²⁹⁵ For Wilkins and others, this was particularly problematic for black children, as the lack of exposure to “great men” of the ultimately meant, “they cannot function in a democracy without the self-respect which comes from a knowledge of the intrinsic worth of their own people.”²⁹⁶ The calls for changed textbooks or special attention to the contributions and achievements of

²⁹⁴ See Ina Corinne Brown, *Race Relations in a Democracy*, vol. 5, Bureau for Intercultural Education. Problems of Race and Culture in American Education (New York: Harper, 1949): 14-15.

²⁹⁵ Roy Wilkins, “Next Steps in Education for Racial Understanding,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 437. Wilkins was particularly adamant in pointing to the responsibility of inadequate education to the circumstances of blacks in the United States, arguing “In so complex a problem as the adjustment of a pigmented minority with a slave background to American life, it is, of course difficult to place a finger on the chief cause of misunderstanding and continued proscription; but certainly the ‘education’ which generations of white Americans have received on the Negroes in their schools and colleges must rank high on the list.”(Ibid., 435).

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 438. The calls for changed textbook and interracial education were amplified as psychologists increasingly focused on the damage to the black child personality associated with segregated education and racist textbooks. As interracial education advocate Regina Goff concluded after one such study, “It is apparent that the Negro child needs an enriched program of training which places more emphasis on building of attitudes toward himself, attitudes of worth of self, respect for self, and confidence.”(Goff, “Problems and Emotional Difficulties,” 158). The harm inflicted on the black personality by inequitable and segregated education would a major plank in the NAACP’s legal fight against segregation. See also Bousfield, “Redirection of the Education”; Clark and Clark, “Emotional Factors in Racial Identification”; and “Johnson, “On the Need of Realism”.

minorities were also present in the manuals produced by the Intercultural Bureau for Intercultural Education.²⁹⁷ This concern is indicative of the fact that interracial education advocates were focused on both white prejudice and the psychological damage that such prejudice posed to black students.²⁹⁸

In her manual *Probing Our Prejudice*, published the same year as her article for the *JNE* yearbook, Powdermaker offered several other activities that could be useful in exposing the problems of prejudice, including assigning students to give a variety of reports focusing on race in other countries, the historical use of prejudice against religious and racial groups, the prejudice of the Nazi regime, all with the aim of “exploding the myth of racial superiority.”²⁹⁹ Powdermaker and other interracial education advocates called for the broad incorporation of social scientific research into school curricula and attention the achievements of minorities in the hopes that this would begin to break down the misguided and irrational idea of racial superiority.³⁰⁰

In addition to the factual focus, interracial education advocates sought to tap into emotional responses of students to break down racial stereotypes. In the first manual published in the Intercultural Education Bureau’s *Problems of Race and Culture in*

²⁹⁷ See Hortense Powdermaker and Helen F Storen, *Probing Our Prejudices: A Unit for High School Students* (New York: Harper, 1944); and Vickery and Cole, *Intercultural Education in American Schools*.

²⁹⁸ For example, see Jeanne L. Noble, “Future Educational Emphasis: Psychological or Sociological,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 25, no. 4 (1956): 402–9. Noble, arguing that a “psychological emphasis would aim that education should teach that the best hope for complete integration lies in the advancement of human understanding,” advocated for an education that “seeks primarily to release the inner potentialities of the Negro.” (Ibid., 407, 409). For Noble, the material consequences like “[b]etter jobs, better homes” would proceed from the emphasis on the black inner self, and so should be secondary to an education program (Ibid., 409).

²⁹⁹ Powdermaker and Storen, *Probing Our Prejudices: A Unit for High School Students*, 68.

³⁰⁰ Powdermaker, “The Anthropological Approach”; see also Goodman, “The Education of Children”.

American Education series, William Vickery and Stewart Cole advised that “teachers should plan experiences for their pupils which will affect their emotional reactions toward those of a different race.”³⁰¹ The authors suggested a variety of techniques that might be useful in achieving the desired reactions, including hearing speakers of different races, exposing students to art and music of minority groups, and field trips to minority neighborhoods.³⁰² Such activities were premised on the hope that they would “enable youngsters of the dominant group to identify themselves more humanely with their classmates.”³⁰³ For the vast majority of interracial education advocates, this also naturally meant a commitment to racial integration in the classroom, as direct exposure to students of different races was especially powerful in helping make emotional connections across race lines. In fact, as historian Leah Gordon has noted, the rise in the focus on racial prejudice as problem correlated with the disappearance of critiques of integration from the pages of the *JNE*.³⁰⁴

Interracial educational advocates also advocated for the use of attitudinal tests to determine the existing prejudices of the students. One of the most popular of these tests, known as the Social Distance Scale, asked students to self-report their willingness to interact with members of different races and cultures in a variety of different contexts

³⁰¹ Vickery and Cole, *Intercultural Education in American Schools*, 81. Powdermaker made essentially this same point as Vickery and Cole a year later in her *JNE* yearbook piece.

³⁰² Vickery and Cole (1943); Powdermaker and Storm (1944); Wilkins (1944); Powdermaker (1944)

³⁰³ Vickery and Cole, *Intercultural Education in American Schools*, 82.

³⁰⁴ Leah N. Gordon, *From Power to Prejudice: The Rise of Racial Individualism in Midcentury America* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2015): 132-160.

including friendship, the workplace, in the neighborhood, and marriage.³⁰⁵ Powdermaker claimed that this test could be useful in forcing students to confront their own prejudices and suggested that teachers host “truth parties” in the classroom where students would tell the class their prejudices and how they thought they had acquired them.³⁰⁶ In a reflection of the ultimate aims of this kind of interracial education, Vickery and Cole argued that these attitude tests were particularly useful tools in evaluating the success of a particular interracial program. The authors suggested that the test should be administered both before and after students had been exposed to a particular interracial education program, arguing that movement towards less prejudiced responses indicated success.³⁰⁷ For the vast majority of interracial education advocates, attitudinal shifts were the end goal.

Importantly, in conjunction with factual and emotional strategies, interracial education experts were vocal about the need to make use of “American values,” especially a commitment to equality of opportunity, to stress the inconsistency between racial prejudice and the “American Creed.”³⁰⁸ Powdermaker noted “[t]he inconsistencies between the prejudiced attitudes to Negroes and our values should be made very clear.”³⁰⁹ She pushed for teachers to have students focus on the tension between the Bill of Rights,

³⁰⁵ Vickery and Cole, *Intercultural Education in American Schools*, 140. See also Powdermaker and Storen, *Probing Our Prejudices*.

³⁰⁶ Powdermaker, “The Anthropological Approach,” 67.

³⁰⁷ Vickery and Cole, *Intercultural Education in American Schools*, 139-47.

³⁰⁸ See Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*; Powdermaker, “The Anthropological Approach”; Vickery and Cole, *Intercultural Education in American Schools*.

³⁰⁹ Powdermaker, “The Anthropological Approach,” 301.

the Declaration of Independence, and the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendment and the current treatment of minorities in the US.³¹⁰ Vickery and Cole stressed the need for “a unit on the ideals of equal opportunity in education”³¹¹ with particular attention to how denial of equal opportunity “threatens American democracy by keeping part of the population ignorant, unequipped for work, and incapable of self-improvement.”³¹² In Ina Corinne Brown’s manual for the Bureau of Intercultural Education, *Race Relations in a Democracy*, Brown was careful to point out the pivotal place of education for economic, political and civic equality, arguing that “equality of educational opportunity underlies all the others.”³¹³

Consistent with the racial democracy position, the interracial education advocates were careful to suggest that value of equality of educational opportunity was important because it helped ensure that academic merit or talent rather than race would be the critical factor in social position. Vickery and Cole suggested teaching students this as early as kindergarten, noting that teachers should stress “How everybody is rewarded according to his ability, talent, and good manners - no special favors accorded to the socially elite or to any particular racial, religious, nationality, or socio-economic group.”³¹⁴ Powdermaker echoed this sentiment, praising the ability of equality of

³¹⁰ Ibid. See also Powdermaker and Storen, *Probing Our Prejudices*, 70.

³¹¹ Vickery and Cole, *Intercultural Education in American Schools*, 99.

³¹² Ibid., 103.

³¹³ Brown, *Race Relations in a Democracy*, 163.

³¹⁴ Vickery and Cole, *Intercultural Education in American Schools*, 87.

opportunity to create a society in which “[a] man could get rich through his own ability and effort and rise from the class into which he had been born.”³¹⁵

Like the broader racial democracy position, the dominant version of interracial education articulated in the 1940s was consistent with idea of social and economic inequality as long as such inequality was based on a “neutral” category like academic talent rather than an arbitrary category like race, ethnicity or nationality.

Economic Democracy and Interracial Education

The calls for interracial education programs did not exclusively come from racial democrats. Several authors in the economic democracy camp attempted to articulate a version of interracial education in the pages of the *JNE*. In his article in the 1944 yearbook, J. Max Bond, an administrator at the Tuskegee Institute, argued for the importance of education for the elimination of racial misunderstanding. However, Bond was careful to connect the existence of this racial misunderstanding to the economic forces of capitalism. He suggested that the most promising form of interracial education could be found in the educational programs of labor movement.³¹⁶ Criticizing “our highly individualized, competitive, capitalistic society,”³¹⁷ Bond asserted that the labor movement’s promotion of education “center[ed] around job and wage discriminations,

³¹⁵ Powdermaker and Storen, *Probing Our Prejudices*, 12.

³¹⁶ Bond, “Educational Programs”.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 392. In fact, Bond derisively defined this brand of ‘Americanism’ as “that paradoxical social patten which includes at the same time, the Constitution and The Bill of Rights of the disfranchisement of the Negro, economic exploitation, and the consignment of lesser peoples to a place of degradation and shame.”

housing, health, collective bargaining, and more recently against race hate” offered the best example of interracial education that would most likely lead to concrete improvement in the lives of black workers.³¹⁸ John A. Davis echoed this view in his examination of interracial education programs in organized labor which stressed “union and worker solidarity” as the most important aspect of any interracial education program.³¹⁹

Finally, Caroline Ware, a history professor and former New Dealer, offered the clearest outline of what an interracial education program that originated from a commitment to economic democracy might look like. Ware argued:

In particular, students should realize how crucially their position is bound up with general economic conditions, and should recognize a special responsibility to be informed on economic matters, and a special stake in working for measures that involve economic expansion and full employment. Moreover, since the mass labor unions offer the milieu in which the greatest amount of interracial contact and collaboration is taking place, and since Negro and white workers are building common institutions, common experiences, and a common society in meeting their common economic problems, special attention should be given to providing Negro students with an understanding of labor organization.³²⁰

In addition to the focus on educating blacks on the importance of the economic forces that were responsible for their subordinate position, Ware also pushed for a corollary program aimed at low-income whites stressing worker solidarity as well as programs

³¹⁸ Ibid., 395.

³¹⁹ Davis, “Education Programs,” 342.

³²⁰ Caroline F. Ware, “The Role of the Schools in Education for Racial Understanding,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 427.

aimed at the wealthy informing them of “the extent to which their own lives are dependent upon what happens to others.”³²¹

Crucially, for Ware, Bond, and Davis, education for racial understanding that stressed the economic foundations of racial oppression could be a useful tool in the broader political struggle. These authors were careful to point out the need for interracial education to focus on the political and economic dimensions behind race prejudice and discrimination, a tendency largely missing from racial democracy framework. This commitment reflects the difference in the broader political aims of the racial and economic democrats. For the economic democrats, who were committed to the view that prejudice and discrimination were the result of the economic forces of capitalism, it was imperative that any educational program make this link clear. Furthermore, for economic democrats the educational program was secondary to the economic programs like full employment. Economic democrats generally viewed the educational approach as insufficient in the absence of success on these broader fronts.³²²

For the racial democrats, the fundamental problem facing blacks was not the capitalist economy, but an unfair exclusion from free competition within the marketplace. Therefore, the interracial education program pursued by racial democrats stressed teaching children that there was no difference in the intellectual capability of whites and blacks. The hope was that this would lead to the conclusion of the “irrationality” of

³²¹ Ibid., 427-28.

³²² For example, Caroline Ware was careful to frame her discussion of interracial education with the caveat, “In considering the direct contributions of education to race relations, one should never lose sight of the fact that unemployment and economic frustration can tear down everything that has been built up” (Ibid., 421).

racial prejudice and its inconsistency with the American ideal of equality of opportunity. For racial democrats, education was perhaps the most central means of improving the situation of minorities, and interracial education in particular was portrayed as an essentially apolitical correcting of misinformation. Charles Johnson drove this point home in the closing article of the *JNE* yearbook on education for racial education, claiming that “the problems to be dissolved are neither ethical nor political, but sociological and psychiatric.”³²³ An educational program that broke down white prejudice ultimately held the most promise for fair incorporation of minorities into what racial democrats interpreted was an otherwise inherently fair and democratic economic order.³²⁴

Cultural Backwardness and Social Adjustment Through Education³²⁵

Although interracial education offered a solution to the racial democrats concern with the attitudinal prejudices, it did not represent the full extent of the educational program advocated by racial democrats. While the irrationality of white prejudice was a substantial barrier to be overcome, racial democrats were also deeply concerned with

³²³ Charles S. Johnson, “The Next Decade in Race Relations,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 441. Mary Ellen Goodman also praised the non-confrontational nature of interracial education (Goodman, “The Education of Children,” 44).

³²⁴ Alice O’Connor, *Poverty Knowledge: Social Science, Social Policy, and the Poor in Twentieth-Century U.S. History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002: 97.

³²⁵ Although the term “adjustment” was not widely used, it does reflect the common focus on the need to change or adjust something about black students in order to facilitate their equitable incorporation into existing social and economic structures. It also reflects the emerging field of “life adjustment education” that began to take off in the late 1940s (after the more radical social reconstructionist arguments had largely disappeared from the progressive education movement) that focused primarily on adjusting students to the world they would find upon exiting school (rather than prepare students to change the institutional structures, life adjustment sought to adjust the students to the institutional structure).

cultural and skill differences between whites and blacks that they understood as at least partially responsible for white prejudice.³²⁶ In fact, many racial democrats suggested that the cultural backwardness and poor job skills that characterized the black population were capable of keeping blacks in an inferior position *even in the absence* of racial prejudice.³²⁷ Like the problem of prejudice, racial democrats looked to the education system to address these potential problems, advancing educational programs that focused on changing the cultural practices and skill level of blacks to help them adjust to the existing institutions and societal expectations.

As the idea of biological race difference became increasingly discredited within the social sciences, inquiries turned to questions of how best to account for the drastically different position of whites and blacks in society. One of the points of entry into this question was to examine differences in familial structure and social behavior more broadly. The differences that social scientists appeared to find regarding family structure and behavior was of particular interest to the racial democrats because of the political end goal of incorporation left little room for large differences that correlated with race. Furthermore, the majority of studies examining the ‘black family’ sought to explain why

³²⁶ As Alice O’Connor has argued, much of the writing in the racial democracy camp over the problems facing blacks focused on two causes, white prejudice and black disorganization. O’Connor notes that these two explanations existed in some degree of contradiction throughout much of the 1930’s, Myrdal’s notion of the “vicious circle” and “dual causation” essentially allowed both explanations to fit comfortably alongside one another. Rather than *either* white racism or black disorganization as causes of black poverty, *both* caused poverty while also causing each other (O’Connor, *Poverty Knowledge*, 96).

³²⁷ See Johnson, “The Present Status”; and Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*.

they differed from whites, normalizing the ‘white family’ structure as ideal.³²⁸ This led many to call for the assimilation or acculturation of blacks into the supposed dominant family structures. As Charles Johnson argued, the “manifestations of cultural backwardness, though correctable, are nevertheless strong barriers against acceptability in the common American society.”³²⁹ Given the ultimate political aim of equitable incorporation into the existing society, the ‘cultural backwardness’ of blacks represented a problem that needed to be overcome.

The *JNE* reflected this concern with the behavior of the black family as early as the 1930s. E. Franklin Frazier, in a 1939 *JNE* piece entitled *The Present Status of the Negro Family in the United States*, sought to place the black family structure in historical context. Frazier outlined the particular deviations that distinguished the black family, such as “loose sexual morals,” “widespread illegitimacy,” “maternal in organization,” ultimately producing children who were illiterate, had problems with impulse control and were prone to juvenile delinquency.³³⁰ Frazier suggested that the origins of this family organization could be traced back to the forced casualness of black relationships under slavery. Frazier argued that the lack of strong family traditions coupled with the inferior social and economic position meant that most blacks never developed the family

³²⁸ Some authors (Myrdal in particular) acknowledge this and denied any connotation of superiority of one form over the other, explained the move as simply recognizing the strategic value of getting black families to mirror the dominant social structures - although the highly moralistic tones in which these authors tended to discuss the differences of black families should give one pause before accepting the claim.

³²⁹ Johnson, “The Next Decade,” 444. Johnson’s concern here reflected his class position, as he noted the particularly problematic position this posed for upper-class blacks, arguing, “no one is more intimately involved in the results than the culturally advanced Negroes who are all too readily classed with their backward brothers in the American race system”(Ibid.).

³³⁰ Frazier, “The Present Status”.

structures of whites. However, critically for Frazier, some black families, namely those that had their own land or had “assimilated the culture of whites,” had been able to develop a family structure that more closely approximated that of whites.³³¹ For Frazier:

In the competitive life of America, the success of the Negro in achieving a new and more intelligent adaptation to American civilization will depend upon his incorporation into the economic organization at large, upon his own cultural resources, and finally upon the extent to which he is able to incorporate in his own family traditions and heritage the patterns of behavior requisite for survival.³³²

With the end goal of incorporation in mind, Frazier advocated for the elimination of racial barriers to economic success and cultural adjustment of the black family.

In the same year, anthropologist Allison Davis, similarly looked to what he took to be the problematic nature of the black family.³³³ Noting the “American Negro family, as sociologists have constantly pointed out, is relatively ineffective in training the Negro person to take on the normal sexual and familial behavior of American society,” Davis argued that this had substantial negative consequences for the “social adjustment” of blacks in United States.³³⁴ Davis identified many of the same disparities between black and white families as Frazier, noting black families were more likely to “have illegitimate children,” “desert their mates,” be characterized by parental abuse, eventually producing children that easily gave into impulse, were aggressive, truant, delinquent and “retarded in school

³³¹ Ibid., 378, 380.

³³² Ibid., 382.

³³³ See Chapter three of O’Connor, *Poverty Knowledge*, for a more in-depth discussion of the differences between the academic commitments of Davis and Frazier.

³³⁴ Davis “The Socialization of the American Negro,” 264-65.

achievement.”³³⁵ Davis noted that although many might be tempted to point to a biological source for the differences between family structure, there was a clear explanation for the presence of the disparity. Davis argued that the main problem of systematic discrimination against blacks was that it confined blacks disproportionately to the lower class. Davis wrote:

the importance of the Negro-white positional system is great...It operates so as to fix upon the overwhelming majority of Negro families the social and economic traits and goals of *lower-class* people in America. When the details of this process, and its effect upon the habit structures of the Negroes subjected to it are understood, the origin of the atypical behavior of relatively large numbers of Negro as compared to white adolescents becomes clear.³³⁶

For Davis, it was not black culture that was aberrant, it was lower-class culture.

Davis, citing Frazier among others, pointed to the “major differences of behavior within the Negro group, according to economic level” as evidence of class-based nature of the deviant behaviors.³³⁷ Ultimately, the reason that black families appeared to suffer from so many maladies was due to the fact that the caste system had driven blacks “into lower economic, occupational and educational levels, and thereby fixing upon them the social and educational traits of the lower *class* in America.”³³⁸

³³⁵ Ibid., 265.

³³⁶ Ibid., 268.

³³⁷ Ibid., 267. Davis also used the difference of behavior by income level to attack the idea that the observed behavioral differences could be ascribed to racial biology.

³³⁸ Ibid., 271.

The solution, according to Davis, was to raise more black families into the middle class. Davis suggested that this would involve the gradual elimination of the racial “caste system,” but he focused more attention on the “remedial work with individuals, in which we direct them towards new class-goals and show them the techniques for reaching these goals.”³³⁹ This was an ideal arena for education, which would be tasked with making lower-class black students “understand that the social rewards of higher status are satisfying enough to justify hard work and renunciation on their part to change their behavior.”³⁴⁰ Much like Frazier, a major part of Davis’ ultimate proscription was changing the behavior of blacks to more closely mirror that of middle-class whites.

The idea that blacks should seek “assimilation” or “acculturation” into the dominant cultural patterns motivated a wide array of educational programs aimed at facilitating this transition. Some of these suggested programs focused on practical skills that were believed to be particular problem areas for blacks. Maudelle Bousfield, the first black principal of a Chicago public school, pointed to the high rates of morbidity and mortality among black, and suggested that general health and hygiene should be a central focus of education for black students. Bousfield pushed for educating on the need for proper “food, sleep, fresh air, personal hygiene; cleanliness of the home and toilets” in school, with the goal that students

³³⁹ Ibid., 274. Alice O’Connor notes that the American Council of Education commissioned a series of studies seeking to uncover the effect of racial caste on personality development in the 1930s, which ended up with similar conclusions and a similar suggestion of “rehabilitative social engineering, aimed at changing lower-class child rearing patterns” (O’Connor, *Poverty Knowledge*, 87).

³⁴⁰ Davis, “The Socialization of the American Negro,” 274.

would “carry-over from the school to the home” these desirable habits.³⁴¹

Schools could be avenue through which black families began to learn best practices that could help reduce some of the disparities between blacks and whites.

Far more common than educational programs focused on changing practical habits were suggestions for educational programs that sought to adjust the psychological outlook and ‘personality’ of black students. Many educators hoped to make black students more successful in life through developing certain ‘personality’ traits that were believed to be characteristic of successful white and middle class students, and necessary for advancing socially and economically. For T. Arnold Hill, this meant education should seek to “develop initiative, aggressiveness, confidence” in order for black students to eventually match their white counterparts in the workplace.³⁴² Bousfield stressed that if the black student was “ever to take his place as a responsible American citizen, he must learn to realize that thrift and frugality must be practiced in all things.”³⁴³

In 1944, Gunnar Myrdal, following in the footsteps of Frazier and Davis, pointed out that the “low standards of efficiency, reliability, ambition, and morals actually displayed by the average Negro” were in part due to the fact that racism

³⁴¹ Bousfield, “Redirection of the Education,” 414. For additional articles focusing on the deficient hygiene habits of black families, see Frazier, “Problems and Needs,” and Banks, “Changing Attitudes”.

³⁴² Hill, “Educating and Guiding,” 30.

³⁴³ Bousfield, “Redirection of the Education,” 415. See also Canady, “The Social Psychology of Youth”.

and segregation had prevented blacks from adopting white cultural norms.³⁴⁴ According to Myrdal, this had led blacks in the United States to develop a “distorted” culture characterized by several “forms of social pathology” and “unwholesomeness,” including unstable families, underemphasis on education, high crime rates and “personality difficulties.”³⁴⁵ Myrdal devoted an entire chapter the personality problems produced by, and characteristic of, black culture, including: a “tendency to be aggressive,”³⁴⁶ generally likely to be “more indolent, less punctual, less careful, and generally less efficient as a functioning member of society” compared to whites,³⁴⁷ overly superstitious, a “love of the gaudy, the bizarre, the ostentatious,”³⁴⁸ “sexual looseness” and “weak family bonds,”³⁴⁹ more prone to criminal activity,³⁵⁰ and generally “unfixed moral standards.”³⁵¹ Like Davis, Myrdal is careful to point out that these characteristics were largely confined to the lower class, arguing that many of the the general disparities

³⁴⁴ Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, 208. Myrdal’s work was heavily influenced by the work of Frazier, Johnson, Davis and others whose work had been prominently featured in the *JNE*, and he cites them liberally.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 928-29.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 957.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 959.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 962.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 976.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 978.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*

between whites and blacks could be traced to “the fact that the proportion of lower class Negroes is so much greater.”³⁵²

Like Davis and Frazier, Myrdal’s suggestion for dealing with the aberrant behavioral differences that caused the myriad “personality difficulties” was to change the culture. Myrdal argued, “*it is to the advantage of American Negroes as individuals and as a group to become assimilated into American culture, to acquire the traits held in esteem by the dominant white Americans.*”³⁵³ For Myrdal, education was the way in which could be accomplished. His strong advocacy of increasing the general educational level of blacks was based on his belief that “Education means an assimilation white American culture.”³⁵⁴

Ultimately, Myrdal envisioned an education system that would reduce the cultural and personality differences between whites and blacks, by helping rid blacks of cultural differences that were partially responsible for keeping blacks politically and economically subordinate. As Historian Alice O’Connor notes, this move essentially positioned “Negro” culture as a culture of poverty, only escapable through adopting white cultural norms.³⁵⁵

Myrdal’s report had a large impact in the pages of the *JNE*, receiving regular mention in a wide variety of articles long after it had been published, and

³⁵² Ibid., 979. Myrdal was careful to note that “Upper and middle class Negroes make a special effort to be law-abiding just as they try to avoid most of the typical and stereotyped patterns of behavior associated with the Negro lower classes.”

³⁵³ Ibid., 929, emphasis in original.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 879.

³⁵⁵ O’Connor, *Poverty Knowledge*, 96.

the problems of the “black personality” and cultural difference were a frequent topic of concern. The academic turn to focus on the damaged ‘black personality’ was driven by many of the same forces that encouraged a focus on white prejudice, namely the growth in funding and increased prestige of social psychological approaches in the social sciences.³⁵⁶ Several articles in the *JNE* in 1950s reflected the increasing concern with problematic “black personality” and attempted to offer specific educational solutions. Walter Daniel, a professor of education at Howard, argued that “[e]ducation should develop a personality that can cope with the problems with which it is confronted and can advance social progress.” He pushed for schools to develop “frustration-tolerance” in their black students.³⁵⁷ Daniel suggested this would encourage “the delaying gratification” and help build “restraint” and “will power” necessary for the success of black students.³⁵⁸ Although Daniel acknowledged that “frustration-tolerance” would be particularly helpful given the barriers that black students face, it also would address the problem of black “impulse control” identified by Myrdal, Frazier, and Davis.

Several authors emphasized on the importance of building the self-esteem of black students. After conducting an series of experiment in which they attempted to show a preference for white skin among black and white children,

³⁵⁶ Leah N. Gordon, “The Question of Prejudice: Social Science, Education, and the Struggle to Define ‘the Race Problem’ in Mid -Century America, 1935–1965” (Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, 2008): 278.

³⁵⁷ Daniel, “The Responsibility of Education,” 391.

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

psychologists Kenneth and Mamie Clark suggested that their results pointed to, “the need for a definite mental hygiene and educational program that would relieve children of the tremendous burden of feelings of inadequacy and inferiority which seem to become integrated into the very structure of personality as it develops.”³⁵⁹ Regina Goff, an education specialist serving the Florida State Department of Education, struck a similar chord as the Clarks, noting that the problems of black identity made it “apparent that the Negro child need an enriched program of training which places more emphasis on building of attitudes toward himself, attitudes of worth of self, respect for self, and confidence.”³⁶⁰ Professor Lawrence Nicholson of Stowe Teachers College in St. Louis, expressed a similar concern in his article outlining the Urban League’s position on the need for “adjustment of Negro youth,” and stressed the importance of an educational program centered on “ministering to the psychological needs of Negro youth for higher level of aspiration.”³⁶¹ These suggestions were all driven by the belief that the damaged “black personality” would limit the ability of black students assimilate white cultural norms that were necessary in order to achieve fair incorporation into the existing order. The common solution offered by these *JNE*

³⁵⁹ Clark & Clark, “Emotional Factors,” 350.

³⁶⁰ Goff, “Problems and Emotional Difficulties,” 158.

³⁶¹ Lawrence E. Nicholson, “The Urban League and the Vocational Guidance and Adjustment of Negro Youth,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 21, no. 4 (1952): 450, 455. Another part of the Urban League’s broader educational strategy was to build support for the incorporation of black’s into the workforce “on the basis of individual merit” (Ibid., 455).

articles was an educational intervention focused on changing lower class “black personality” and culture.

Skills Adjustment

Concern with the skill level that black workers brought to the workplace garnered the attention of racial democrats from the start of the *JNE*'s existence. The existence of a skill gap between white and black workers was particularly troubling to this group because it had the potential to relegate blacks to inferior economic positions even in the absence of discrimination on the part of the employer. Therefore, any political project that sought to eliminate racial prejudice would also need to focus on ensuring that blacks were similarly situated when competing with whites. Racial democrats turned to the education system as a means of eliminating important skill gaps between whites and blacks.

Several authors pointed to the skills differential as a particularly powerful explanation for the inferior economic and social position of blacks. Some scholars argued that the poor preparation of blacks often meant that employers and professions that were open to hiring black workers were unable to given the lack of appropriately skilled black workers.³⁶² Furthermore, as T. Arnold Hill argued, a rational employer would always select a more skilled employee over a less skilled one, which meant that even in a labor market devoid of racial discrimination, the skill differential between

³⁶² Boykin, “The Vocational Education”; Smuts, “The Negro Community”.

whites and blacks would mean widespread economic advantage for white workers.³⁶³

Some authors, like F.D. Patterson, the director of the the philanthropic Phelps-Stokes fund defined racial income disparities entirely in terms of skill differential. Patterson argued:

In 1952 Negroes earned 52 percent as much in salaries and wages as whites. Some 40 per cent of all Negro families had incomes of less than \$2,000 whereas only 16.5 per cent of whites had incomes of less than \$2,000; 10 percent of Negro families earned more than \$5,000 a year as compared to 35 percent of white families. These discrepancies in earnings reflect the fact that one-half of the Negro male population is unskilled. Only one-sixth of the white population is so classified, yet the white group represents 90 percent of the total population. It is evident, therefore, that the Negro college must continue for a long time to come to hold the door of educational opportunity open to many Negro youth.³⁶⁴

This formulation explicitly placed the responsibility racial disparity in wages and jobs squarely on the inferior skills that black workers brought to the marketplace. The solution offered by Patterson and others to these racial disparities was to look to the education system to upgrade the skills of black workers. This represents a significant difference from the economic democrats position, which pointed to the structure of the labor market, the lack of government commitment to full employment and the exploitation of labor as the key explanation for these racial disparities.

It was particularly important for racial democrats, who were committed to the idea of fair incorporation into the existing economic structure, that blacks bring the same skill level to the labor market in order to ensure fair competition between white and black

³⁶³ Hill, "Educating and Guiding." See also Johnson, "On the Need of Realism" and Daniel, "The Responsibility of Education".

³⁶⁴ Patterson, "Colleges for Negro Youth," 110.

workers. Additionally, several authors suggested that the need for a focus on enhancing the skills of black workers was reinforced by the shifting demands of a labor market in the midst of a technological transformation. Ernest Neal from the Tuskegee Institute, noted the particular importance of the changing economy for black workers. He argued “in the future Negroes cannot look for security in agriculture nor the unskilled jobs in industry. Mechanization of agriculture and industry is making cheap unskilled labor unessential in our economy. This means that the traditional function of the Negro is gradually passing out of existence; and if he is to survive, he must survive as a competitor.”³⁶⁵

Racial democrats, firmly committed to the idea of the biological similarity of different racial groups, explained the skill difference between whites and blacks in part by pointing to an inequitable education system. The racial democrats argued that equal educational opportunity was a requirement of democracy, would help with cultural assimilation of blacks, and would be an economic boon to the country. Professor of education Leander Boykin argued that “[i]nequality of educational opportunity,” was “limiting Negro youth’s choice of jobs.”³⁶⁶ For Walter Daniel, another professor of education at Howard University, the clear solution for the skill differential between whites and blacks was “[i]ncreasing educational opportunities so that they will be equally advisable to all individuals in accordance with their needs, interests and abilities.”³⁶⁷ For

³⁶⁵ Neal, “Two Negro Problems,” 219. See also Bousfield “Redirection of the Education”; Johnson, “On the Need of Realism”.

³⁶⁶ Boykin, “The Vocational Education,” 42.

³⁶⁷ Daniel, “The Responsibility of Education,” 397.

the racial democrats, the provision of equal educational opportunity was necessary to the fulfillment of the democratic ideal as it ensured economic reward and differentiation based on one's abilities rather than race.³⁶⁸

The importance of a focus on equalizing educational opportunities was magnified by the belief that not only would blacks be disadvantaged in the marketplace by a skill differential, but this lack of skill would ultimately feed into and justify white prejudice. As several scholars had noted, the lack of income for many black families, in part driven by skill differences between the races, was associated with deviant family morals and culture that was a critical part of the 'vicious circle.'³⁶⁹ Many of the authors concerned about the cultural backwardness of blacks supported skill upgrading as part of program that would eventually help blacks assimilate into more appropriate cultural norms.

Additionally, racial democrats noted that providing equitable education made economic sense, as the failure to educate capable black students and workers represented a significant waste of human resources. In *An American Dilemma*, Myrdal argued that, "if the American economy and economic policy are not going to stagnate, Negroes are going to work in new occupations within the next generation. *What is needed is an education which makes the Negro child adaptable to an movable in the American culture*

³⁶⁸ See Johnson, "The Negro and the Present Crisis" and Hughes, "What About Human Equality?" As Myrdal wrote in *An American Dilemma*, "The American nation will not have peace with its conscience until inequality is stamped out, and the principle of education is realized universally." (Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, 907).

³⁶⁹ See Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*; Davis (1939); Frazier, "The Socialization of the American Negro"; Daniel, "The Responsibility of Education,"; Nicholson, "The Urban League".

at large.”³⁷⁰ Myrdal’s argument captures the central role that education would play in addressing the skill differential between whites and blacks. The solution proposed by racial democrats to the unfair competition between whites and blacks in the labor market was to use the education system to raise the skill level of black students in order that they might compete with white students to meet the demands of the labor market. The result of putting blacks on equal footing in competition for jobs would be the fulfillment of democratic ideals, the incorporation of blacks into middle and upper class culture, and an economic windfall for the nation. Education could be used to adjust the individual to meet the demands of the existing economic and social structures.

The concern with the skill differential and the belief that equitable educational opportunity was a central to the goal of racial incorporation led racial democrats to articulate particular educational programs to address this problem. The desire to prepare black students to compete on equal footing with their white counterparts led several racial democrats to seek to tie the education system closer to the demands of the labor market. For example, Boykin called for the development of a new curriculum and argued that “[t]he new curriculum should be aimed at preparation for life. From this we must conclude that vocational education is implied.”³⁷¹ Vocational education was seen as a particularly effective way of preparing individuals to enter the labor market. Significantly, racial democrats argued that any vocational education program must take into account the particular problems that facing blacks. For Maudelle Bousfield, if “one

³⁷⁰ Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, 906, emphasis in original. See also Johnson, “Some Significant Social”.

³⁷¹ Boykin, “The Vocational Education,” 46.

of the objectives of education is to prepare for efficient service in a chosen vocation, then the education of Negroes must be directed towards vocations in which there seems to be reasonable hope of either immediate or remote employment.”³⁷²

While Bousfield stressed the importance that vocational education prepare blacks for the jobs that were actually open to them, Charles Johnson argued that schools needed to prepare students for the changing demands of the labor market given rapid technological change. Johnson argued that these technological changes meant, “On the elementary level it seems essential, along with the simple tools of learning such as are provided in the familiar three “R’s,” that rigid discipline be instilled in the skillful coordination of the mind, hand, and eye.”³⁷³ Johnson’s desire that black students learn “highly developed and undifferentiated technical aptitude,” was driven by belief that such skills would be required in the changing market place as well as his conviction that the possession of such skill by black workers would outweigh racial prejudice.³⁷⁴ Myrdal pressed for a similar approach to educating black students, arguing “He needs to be able to read, write, and reckon, and to be lifted so high above illiteracy that he actually participates in modern American society. Before all, he needs not to be specialized, but to be changeable, ‘educable.’”³⁷⁵ These authors pushed a pedagogy that was particularly responsive to the demands of the economy, focused on job preparation, and ultimately

³⁷² Bousfield, “Redirection of the Education,” 417.

³⁷³ Johnson, “On the Need of Realism,” 379.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 378.

³⁷⁵ Myrdal 1944 - 906; see also Neal (1953) on the need for schools to teach minimal tools of survival in a changing economy.

was driven by the desire to put black students in a position to compete fairly with white students in the labor market.

The goal of preparing black students for the demands of the labor market represented a stance that sought to adjust individuals to the existing economic structure. For racial democrats, this educational focus offered significant promise of individual and group uplift.³⁷⁶ This position, like those that sought to use education to adjust cultural backwardness or damaged personality, was ultimately concerned with fair incorporation of blacks into existing social and economic institutions.³⁷⁷ This was a clear point of difference with the economic democrats, who advocated for a political and educational program focused primarily on challenging these structures which they identified as inherently problematic. The adjustment education program of racial democrats were driven by the belief that skill and cultural difference was significantly responsible for the inferior position of blacks in the United States, and that any chance of incorporation for blacks would require adjustment on these fronts.

Racial Democrats and Standardized Testing

The commitment racial incorporation that led racial democrats to advocate for the educational adjustment of black students to the demands of “white cultural norms” and the labor market also led many to support standardized tests as pedagogical tool. Tests of

³⁷⁶ See Daniel, “The Responsibility of Education” and Nicholson, “The Urban League”.

³⁷⁷ The similarity of these positions is underlined by the fact that many of the authors who argued for addressing skill differential through education also argued for an educational focus on black cultural backwardness.

intelligence and achievement were embraced by racial democrats as effective means of finding racial leaders and talent, and eventually as a means of evaluating and shaping elementary and secondary pedagogy. While many progressive educators questioned the pedagogical value of the use of any sort of standardized test, racial democrats seized on racial disparities in standardized tests scores as an indication of an unfair and ineffective education system. Given the racial democratic end goal of ensuring whites and blacks were fairly able to compete for resources, the ability to reduce racial gaps in test scores became an increasingly important means of evaluating the success of educational programs for racial democrats.

Early discussions of test scores in the *JNE* often centered on the value and interpretation of IQ tests, particularly in regards to their usefulness in sorting out the most intelligent students for special educational attention. Although there was a common endorsement of the view that racial comparisons of IQ tests were problematic given that the differences were merely reflection of environmental factors or the chosen metrics of comparison, many authors argued that such tests could still be useful in guiding programmatic approaches to black education. In a 1935 editorial entitled, “Investing in Negro Brains,” the *JNE* editorial staff praised the discovery of a girl in Chicago with an IQ of 200 as evidence that high intelligence was distributed across racial categories. While this fact was to be celebrated, the editors lamented the fact that there was not a closer connection between “very superior” intelligence and positions of black

leadership.³⁷⁸ The editors of the *JNE* were concerned that the failure to identify these “very superior” intellects and train them for positions of racial leadership, called into question “whether we are making the best use of our higher educational facilities on the one hand, and whether we are retarding the progress of the race and nation on the other, by expending our energy and machinery on raw material of *only* average quality when ‘very superior’ quality is available.”³⁷⁹ The concern about wasted intelligence and incompetent black leadership drove the editors to argue, that “[t]here is no good reason why the graduating class of every high school in the country could not be canvassed this June, and the ‘very superior’ students unearthed.”³⁸⁰ Charles Thompson and the rest of the editorial staff argued that the implementation of such a national testing would allow for the discovery and targeting of community and educational resources to those students with ‘very superior’ intellects.

Daniel P. Clarke, a school psychologist for the New York State Training School for Boys, echoed this position in a 1941 *JNE* article. Clarke asserted for the need for all schools to employ psychologists and “trained psychometrists” in order to discover, through testing, superior children that required special education. Clarke argued that “Modern techniques of education, developed by psychologists, enable estimation (with

³⁷⁸ “Editorial Comment: Investing in Negro Brains,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 4, no. 2 (1935): 153–55. The editors suggested that this situation represented a serious problem for blacks, arguing, “Whatever else may be at the root of the Negro’s troubles in this country, it is fairly obvious that one of his difficulties is in the fact that he has more than his *necessary* share of mental incompetence in high places”(Ibid., 154).

³⁷⁹ Ibid., 154. The editors argued that because intelligence was roughly equally distributed across racial categories, that blacks had roughly an equal percentage of “very superior” individuals as whites - a figure he put at roughly 3% of the population. The editors calculated there were approximately 50,000-75,000 “very superior” black school children whose gift could be identified and “developed for the benefit of the race and nation” (Ibid.).

³⁸⁰ Ibid., 155.

remarkable accuracy) of the potentialities for leadership possessed by the child of seven years; we can even get a fair notion of the pre-school child's abilities and prognose his developmental limitations."³⁸¹ Like Thompson, Clarke positioned the use of testing to sort out the most intelligent children for special education as necessary for "our salvation as a race,"³⁸² noting it would be impossible to "attain racial sufficiency if we fail to exploit fully our reserves of human resources."³⁸³ For Thompson and Clarke, the tests emerging from the field of psychology had the potential to be an unbiased means of sorting out the most promising and deserving candidates for positions of black leadership. Once these tests determined which black students had "very superior" intellect, these authors suggested that they should receive substantial monetary support from the black community in their educational endeavors.³⁸⁴

While Thompson and Clarke were interested in the ability of a nationally standardized test to efficiently sort the deserving from the undeserving, others were more focused on the pedagogical potential of such tools. Kenneth B. M. Crooks, a professor of biology at Hampton University, suggested in 1939 that while standardized tests could be

³⁸¹ Daniel P. Clarke, "The Role of Psychology in Race Survival," *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 1 (1941): 51.

³⁸² Ibid. For Clarke, a trained psychologist, this belief suggested that "the school psychologist is as important to racial existence as are the school doctor and the school itself" (Ibid., 53).

³⁸³ Ibid., 52. Clarke was concerned that rather than focusing on the highly intelligent students, in most schools "the dull child seems to get getting the lion's share of attention" (Ibid.).

³⁸⁴ This line of argument was not unique to black educators. During the same era, James Bryant Conant, President of Harvard, argued that as much as 50% of college students were unqualified, and argued forcefully for the use of the SAT scores to help place "others of more talent in their place" (As quoted in Nicholas Lemann, *The Big Test: The Secret History of the American Meritocracy* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000): 43). Journalism professor Nicholas Lemann points out that Conant's main goal (and the impetus behind his support for standardized entrance exams) was his desire to replace the hereditary elite with an elite determined by academic merit (Ibid., 42-52).

useful in selecting the most fit, they also could be essential tools to “*improve our educational processes* in the grades and secondary schools.”³⁸⁵ Crooks, argued that a battery of studies had shown that certain standardized tests were valid indicators of mental achievement, and consistently revealed, “that our schools are now doing poor work in the fundamental tool subjects, reading, writing, and arithmetic.”³⁸⁶ Accepting the standardized tests as a legitimate tool of evaluation, Crooks claimed that standardized college “entrance tests will help the secondary schools by informing them how well their products have made the changes they were trying to bring about. In other words, the curricula of the schools can be guided and the success of schools and teachers can be measured.”³⁸⁷ Crooks argued that test scores could be used for evaluating the performance of educational institutions in addition to sorting individual students. For Crooks, the poor performance of black students on standardized tests suggested the need for changes to the public elementary and secondary education system.

Crooks articulated a vision of education as a process of perfecting the teaching methods and strategies to bring about desired changes in students, the success of which

³⁸⁵ Kenneth B. M. Crooks, “Is Negro Education Failing?,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 8, no. 1 (1939): 20.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 23. Crooks noted that there was wide agreement that the public schools were not doing their job when it came to black students. Crooks wrote that “[m]ost colleges for Negroes acknowledge that something is wrong with our primary and secondary schools” and there was a common understanding that the achievement of “educational objectives and ideals .. in the education of Negroes is seriously to be doubted” (*Ibid.*, 20).

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 22-23.

would be measured by standardized tests.³⁸⁸ Crooks called for a centralized educational body to agree on the common ends of education, and suggested that the rest of the educational process would “be a simple matter to develop means to these ends, and to devise tests to check the prospective pupils’ progress in these specific realities.”³⁸⁹ Instead of traditional “subjective” teacher grade evaluations of students, Crooks argued for a “battery of comprehensive, objective tests administered at definite periods by examiners, not influenced by local personalities or prejudices, the pupils and the teachers would have some definite goals at which to aim.”³⁹⁰ The tests would provide students and teachers a clear metric of success or failure, and would drive the search for the most effective way of improving student scores on these tests. The educational goal to be aimed for was rising test scores.

Although calls for widespread testing existed before the World War II, the passage of the 1940 Selective Training and Service Act and the nation’s first ever peacetime draft brought with it a massive expansion of the use of standardized tests as sorting mechanism. Although there was no educational or intelligence standard for service in 1940 when the Selective Service first began providing men for the armed forces,

³⁸⁸ This vision is essentially that expressed by the scientific efficiency progressives. Crooks’ article has a lengthy citation from Edward Thorndike, one of the founding academics that advocated for a scientific efficiency approach to education. Crooks’ faith in the ability to measure intelligence was so great, he claimed, “We ought then to be able to measure our pupils’ mindpower as accurately as engineers measure machines in terms of horsepower” (Ibid., 24).

³⁸⁹ Ibid., 22.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 21. It was clear that part of Crooks desire for implementing these tests was due to his dissatisfaction with the performance of teachers. Crooks noted teacher responsibility for poor student outcomes, claiming, “There is no doubt that teachers are doing their level best, but until teaching can be made more attractive by state or federal or philanthropic funds, there will be poor teachers for poor, low-salaried jobs, and poor pupils will result” (Ibid., 25).

technological advances in the “art of war” sparked concerns about the need for “men who had responsibly basic education and intelligence with requisite aptitude and skill.”³⁹¹ By 1941, driven by a concern that the large number of illiterate service members, the Selective Service established an educational requirement for induction. Beginning on May 15th, 1941, selectees were required to “have the capacity of reading and writing the English language as commonly prescribed for fourth grade in grammar school.”³⁹² This new standard was abandoned after a little over a year when it became clear that it was leading to large number of rejections and deferrals. More than 143,000 men were rejected on educational grounds in the first four months of new standard.³⁹³ After a few tweaks, in mid-1943 the Selective Service’s standard of “acceptability was changed by both Army and Navy from literacy to intelligence and a new testing procedure based upon intelligence.”³⁹⁴ Despite the fact that the shift to the intelligence test standard was motivated by the belief that many of the men “rejected for military service on literacy grounds had sufficient native intelligence to satisfy military needs,” rejections for failure to meet the new minimum intelligence standard actually increased.³⁹⁵ The extent

³⁹¹ Selective Service System, *Special Monograph No. 10: Special Groups*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953): 143.

³⁹² *Ibid.*, 145.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 147. This was the first time that the armed forces had used an intelligence test as a means of screening who would be accepted for service. The Army General Classification Test and its progenitors had been administered after an individual had been inducted, and was used to largely to assign recruits to particular military jobs.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 151. See also, Martin D. Jenkins et al., “The Black and White of Rejections for Military Service: A Study of Rejections of Selective Service Registrants, by Race, on Account of Educational and Mental Deficiencies” (Montgomery, Alabama: The American Teachers Association, August 1944); 4.

of the problem was captured by the dire warnings of a 1944 Selective Service Report that claimed:

Educational deficiency, or a failure to pass Army intelligence tests primarily because of educational deficiency, has deprived our armed forces of more physically fit men than have the operations of the enemy. Total American war casualties as of the last official announcement were 201,454; total rejected for failure to pass Army intelligence tests primarily because of educational deficiency who have no other disqualifying defect have been about 240,000.³⁹⁶

The rejection of hundreds of thousands of potential soldiers for failure to pass basic intelligence and aptitude tests called attention the failures of the education system, and it was clear that the level of educational deficiency exposed by the Army's testing regime posed a risk to the Nation in times of peace as well as war.³⁹⁷

While the exclusion of hundreds of thousands of men on educational grounds was troubling nationally, it was particularly problematic for blacks. Concern about the high level of educational and mental rejections led the American Teachers Association (ATA), a national professional organization of teachers of black students, to investigate the educational and racial implications of the Selective Service's educational standard for induction.³⁹⁸ The principle investigators were frequent *JNE* contributors Howard Hale

³⁹⁶ As quoted in Selective Service Monograph, *Special Monograph No. 10*, 167. This appears to be a conservative estimate, as a report by the American Teachers Association concluded that roughly 341,200 registrants had been excluded because of educational deficiency by September of 1943. (Jenkins et al., "Black and White of Rejections," 5).

³⁹⁷ Selective Service Monograph, *Special Monograph No. 10*, 166. The Report noted that "In peacetime, it (educational deficiency) prevents the effective participation of large numbers of citizens at a productive level" (Ibid.).

³⁹⁸ The mission of the ATA was "the achievement of the American goal of EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY for all children without respect to Economic Circumstance, Place of Residence, Sex, or RACE" (Jenkins et al., "The Black and White of Rejections," iv).

Long and Martin Jenkins and *JNE* editor Charles Thompson.³⁹⁹ The resulting report, “The Black and White of Rejections for Military Service: A Study of Rejections of Selective Service Registrants, by Race, on Account of Educational and Mental Deficiencies” found that educational deficiency was by far the single greatest reason for rejection of blacks for military service.⁴⁰⁰ Under the fourth grade literacy standard, the rejection rate for educational deficiency of blacks was almost eleven times that of whites.⁴⁰¹ Although the racial disparity was reduced with the implementation of the intelligence test standard, the differences remained stark with blacks having an educational deficiency rejection rate six to seven times higher than that of whites and accounting for slightly over half of all such rejections.⁴⁰²

The huge disparities in rejections provided a powerful opening for racial democrats to criticize the disparate educational system as a major problem for the nation. The ATA report found that the high and racially disparate rejection rate posed dire problems to the nation, including a smaller and less efficient “reservoir of manpower for the armed forces,” an increased draft on well-educated population groups and “an increased burden being placed on those state and communities which have provided good

³⁹⁹ The other two principal investigators were high school principal Francis Gregory, and Jane E. McCallister, a Professor of Education at Miner Teacher College. The influence of the ATA report can clearly be seen in the Selective Service Monograph on Special Groups, which cites the report extensively and relies on much of its data.

⁴⁰⁰ Jenkins et al., “The Black and White of Rejections,” 5. Under the intelligence test standard, the ATA report calculated that educational deficiency rejections accounted for 34.5% of all rejections of black selectees (almost three times as much as the second highest reason, mental disease).

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 2. In the first four months of the fourth grade literacy requirement, blacks accounted for 58% of the total rejections for educational deficiency (83,480 of the 143,493 rejected for this reason). Selective Service Monograph, *Special Monograph No. 10*, 145.

⁴⁰² Jenkins et al., “The Black and White of Rejections,” 5-7. This was a calculation based on total rejections as of September 1, 1943.

schools.”⁴⁰³ Through examining educational rejections on a state by state basis, the report provided convincing evidence that the disparate rejection rates were due to environmental and institutional factors, as the rejection rates for southern whites was higher than the rejection rate of blacks in several Northern States.⁴⁰⁴ Furthermore, the authors found a significant relationship between per capita educational expenditures and rejections for low test intelligence, with those states spending less experiencing a much higher rejection rate.⁴⁰⁵ The authors suggested that the fact that the per pupil expenditure for black students was substantially lower than the white per pupil expenditure was a major explanatory factor in the performance on intelligence tests. They ultimately

⁴⁰³ Jenkins et al., “The Black and White of Rejections,” 10. The argument that high educational deficiency rejection rates of blacks was unfair for whites was a common refrain. The Selective Service Monograph on special groups pointed out that part of the justification for racial inclusion in the draft was “that if a Negro was not selected, accepted or inducted because of his race and a white registrant had to take his place, the discrimination was in relation to both men. In such instance, the white registrant was required to serve ahead of the proper sequence for his liability” (Selective Service Monograph, *Special Monograph No. 10*, 4). This sentiment created strange-bedfellows, as civil rights groups were joined by southern segregationists in calling for greater black participation in the draft. In a 1942 Senate Hearing, Mississippi Senator Theodore Bilbo urged the Deputy Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army General J.T. McNarney to lower the educational standard, arguing “In my state, with a population of one-half Negro and one-half whites ... the system that you are using now has resulted in taking all the whites to meet the quota and leaving the great majority of Negroes at home, or they are sent back, because there is the literacy test ... That is the result of the present system, and that was the reason I was anxious that you develop the reservoir of illiterate class” (*Lowering the Draft Age to 18 Years: Hearing Before the Committee on Military Affairs, United States Senate, 77th Cong.* 31-32 (1942) (testimony of General J.T. McNarney, Deputy Chief of Staff, United States Army). The fact that progress in racial incorporation did not always proceed on noble grounds is further highlighted by the fact that several white draftees sued the federal government alleging discrimination when “[t]he disproportionately small number of Negroes appearing in the early calls issued throughout the System on requisitions from the War Department resulted in advancing white men so that they were inducted into the armed forces before their order numbers would ordinarily have been reached” (Selective Service Monograph, “Special Monograph No. 10,” 53).

⁴⁰⁴ One example highlighted in the report was the fact that educational rejection rates in Alabama for whites was nearly four times that of the rejection rate of blacks in Illinois (8.5% for whites in AL and 2.5% for blacks in IL (Jenkins et al., “The Black and White of Rejections,” 5).

⁴⁰⁵ Jenkins et al., “The Black and White of Rejections,” 32.

concluded that responsibility for the racially disparate educational deficiency rejection rates could be found “in large measure at least, in the adequacy of the schools.”⁴⁰⁶

The broad surveys of intelligence conducted by the Selective Service System gave a portrait of an educational system in disarray, and placed hard numbers on the consequences of educational failure.⁴⁰⁷ Concern about the problems in education system extended beyond the immediate wartime crisis, as studies of educational military rejections noted that “good schools do pay; and poor schools are a liability, no less in peace than in war.”⁴⁰⁸ Indeed this line of argument about the danger of poor schools was picked up by many black scholars in the *JNE*, who increasingly relied on disparities on intelligence or achievement test scores as evidence of failing schools.⁴⁰⁹ For racial democrats, who viewed equality of educational opportunity as essential for racial incorporation, the testing disparities were particularly problematic. Using the data from the ATA report, George Redd, Professor and Head of the Education Department at Fisk

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., 33. The authors also looked at school attendance and school persistence in reaching this conclusion. This Selective Service reached a very similar conclusion regarding racial disparities in rejection, arguing “[s]ubstandard schools, equally poor physical facilities, teachers with inadequate preparation and a lower per capita expenditure of school funds . . . were foremost among the factors creating this condition” (Selective Service Monograph, *Special Monograph No. 10*, 189).

⁴⁰⁷ Herbert Aptheker referred the situation as a “the dream experiment” for educational and social psychologists. (Herbert Aptheker, “Literacy, The Negro and World War II,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 15, no. 4 (1946): 595).

⁴⁰⁸ Jenkins et al., “The Black and White of Rejections,” 46. See also page 10 where the ATA investigators concluded that the most important implication of the high and disparate educational rejection rate was its long term indication of a “reduced social efficiency of large elements in the population and consequently of the Nation . . . [p]eople who are not sufficiently competent to participate in the war effort, are likewise unable to make their best contribution to a peacetime economy.”

⁴⁰⁹ See Roy K. Davenport, “Implications of Military Selection and Classification in Relation to Universal Military Training,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 15, no. 4 (1946): 585–94; Boykin, “The Vocational Education”; Redd, “The Educational and Cultural,”; Carroll L. Miller, “The Price of Educational Inequality,” ed. Eli Ginsberg and Douglas W. Bragg, *The Journal of Negro Education* 24, no. 2 (1955): 129–30.

University, argued that the educational disparities revealed by these tests were distressing because it indicated that the “Negro is placed . . . at a disadvantage in competing with members of the white race for social and economic gains, when these are based on matching certain skills.”⁴¹⁰ Increasingly, poor performance on standardized intelligence and achievement tests were used to indict the performance of schools. For racial democrats, the problematic educational system revealed by low and disparate test scores fed racial inequality and represented a national threat to manpower.

By the 1950s, several groups took concrete steps to encourage the use of standardized tests as a means of identifying potential leaders as well as guiding educational goals and evaluating schools serving black students.⁴¹¹ One such effort was the Southern Project of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS). Between 1953 and 1955, the NSSFNS, a non-profit organization with substantial financial backing from the Ford Foundation and with technical support from the College Entrance Examination Board and the Educational Testing Service, pursued a “South-wide talent search.” It sought to “uncover able, college qualified Negro high

⁴¹⁰ Redd, “The Educational and Cultural,” 252.

⁴¹¹ It was clear that the widespread use of standardized aptitude and intelligence tests in during WWII convinced many of their usefulness for peacetime education. The Report President Truman’s Commission on Higher Education provides a useful example. The Report advocated for moving beyond traditional criterion for college entrance (like a high-school diploma) and towards a reliance on “[g]eneral tests of intelligence and aptitude” that “can take adequate account of the wide disparities in high-school education even within individual States” in order to lead to a “wiser selection of students by the institutions” (The President’s Commission on Higher Education, “Higher Education for American Democracy: A Report” vol II: Equalizing and Expanding Individual Opportunity (Washington, 1947):41). For evidence of the desirability and feasibility of such a move, the Report noted that “[t]he program for accrediting the educational experience of men in the armed forces has abundantly demonstrated that objective tests of mastery of knowledge and skill are adequate measures of potential success in college” (Ibid., 42).

school seniors and help them find and reach their college objectives.”⁴¹² The Southern Project sent workers into 45 of the largest southern cities visiting a total of 78 black high schools in search of talent. After asking the principals and counsellors to identify the top 10% of students, these students were given scholastic aptitude tests to determine the likelihood of success in college.⁴¹³ In total, the Southern Project tested 3,178 high school students, of which 55% achieved the minimum score that the NSSFNS believed would indicate likelihood of college success.⁴¹⁴ Those students who met the NSSFNS’s threshold received individualized advising on the how to apply for colleges and scholarships. The Southern Project pointed to the acceptance of 523 students, and the receipt of over \$215,000 in scholarships (including almost \$48,000 from the NSSFNS itself) as evidence of the program’s success.⁴¹⁵

In addition to helping certain black students enter college, the Southern Project's “[c]ollateral objectives were to experiment with the techniques and methods of talent searching.”⁴¹⁶ The director of the Southern Project was quick to emphasize the value of the first widespread use of testing among black students as a means of talent searching. Noting that the Southern Project’s use of scholastic aptitude tests as a means of talent searching came at “a most opportune time, when discussions about similar programs on a

⁴¹² Richard Plaut, “Southern Project Report 1953-55” (New York: National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, 1956): 1.

⁴¹³ The College Entrance Examination Board provided the NSSFNS with copies of the SAT at printing cost.

⁴¹⁴ Plaut, “Southern Project Report,” 4.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 1.

national scale are under way,” the Project’s final report argued that the “methods and techniques employed in the Project, probably the only one so far of its kind, can be useful in pointing the way for a national talent searching project.”⁴¹⁷ The timing was indeed fortuitous, as approximately \$40,000,000 in new corporate and foundation scholarships became available to students seeking higher education.⁴¹⁸ In a 1957 report entitled, “Blueprint for Talent Searching, America’s Hidden Manpower,” Richard Plaut, the director of the Southern Project and the Executive Vice-Chairman of the NSSFNS, praised the talent searching function of these new scholarship funds and stressed the need for continued focus on minority students.⁴¹⁹ Arguing that “[t]rained human intelligence is our most valuable resource” and that “[w]e are failing to discover and develop this most valuable resource,” Plaut pushed for significant financial and intellectual investment in discovering talent among blacks, which he argued promised the “highest yield for potential ability” given their disparate college attendance.⁴²⁰ Plaut called for early and extensive use of intelligence and achievement testing in order to identify promising

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 1-2. The report also emphasized that it was the “first use of a scholastic aptitude test as a screening device for a large, culturally and economically deprived group”(Ibid., 2).

⁴¹⁸ Richard Plaut, “Blueprint for Talent Searching: America’s Hidden Manpower” (New York: National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, 1957): 3. Much of this new money was reserved for those who demonstrated scholastic ability, which often meant performance on some sort of standardized test. The largest scholarship organization to emerge from this time period is the National Merit Scholarships, which was founded in 1955, two years *after* the Southern Project. Like the Southern Project, the National Merit Scholarship relied primarily on standardized test scores to identify potential scholarship recipients.

⁴¹⁹ This report, like the Southern Project, was funded by the Ford Foundation’s Fund for the Advancement of Education. Kenneth Clark was also a member of the board of directors of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students.

⁴²⁰ Plaut, “Blueprint for Talent Searching,” 6.

students, who could then be targeted for special attention and scholarships.⁴²¹ In an echo of the earlier calls of Thompson and Clarke, Plaut pushed for the widespread adoption of testing as a means of efficiently sorting the manpower resources of the nation.

As the NSSFNS was extolling the virtues of testing as a means of identifying talent, other organizations sought to harness the pedagogical potential of standardized tests. Most notably, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, a philanthropic non-profit organization with a longstanding commitment to improving education and race relations, in 1955 began a five year program called the Project of the Improvement of Instruction in Secondary Schools to address what they deemed the most immediate need of black students.

Writing in the *JNE*, project director Aaron Brown noted that that justification for the assessment that this was the most pressing need was due to constant reports that black students consistently scored lower on standardized tests and were entering college unprepared.⁴²² The primary goal of the project was to “raise the level of academic achievement of students in participating secondary schools to a point more in line with

⁴²¹ Although Plaut noted that the lower scores of disadvantaged students were not particularly useful in predicting college success, he still advocated for such tests as the best means of identifying talent, arguing, “We do know that tests of verbal and quantitative aptitude and school achievement are among the best predictors of scholastic attainment in high school and college. For these reasons such tests are suggested for use in identifying talented pupils”(Ibid., 34).

⁴²² Aaron Brown, “The Phelps-Stokes Fund and Its Projects,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 25, no. 4 (1956): 456–62. The article cites an unnamed college professor who claimed “At our university a group of tests is given to the high school students and on practically any standard test 80% of the students is below the national norm” (Ibid., 456). The article also cites the NSSFNS report on their Southern Project in which 50-60% of top black students were able to achieve minimum qualifying scores (for a prognosis of college success) on aptitude tests (Ibid., 457).

national norms.”⁴²³ Evidence of success would come in the form of elimination of racial gaps in standardized test scores.⁴²⁴

The testing regime was one of the most prominent features of the Southern Project, with frequent *JNE* contributor Howard Hale Long signing on to design this aspect of the program⁴²⁵ The NSSFNS focused on southern states and sought cooperation from state superintendents of education and college presidents. Throughout its five year history, the Southern Project had a broad reach, with participation from 10,000 high school students, 500 high school teachers, 175 college and university teachers, and 50 administrators.⁴²⁶ High schools and colleges agreed to a multi-year program of intensive in-service training of teachers by college professors, with particular attention to improving instructional technique and “assisting the schools in developing sound evaluative techniques.”⁴²⁷ Participating high schools were required to administer four standardized exams each year to every entering freshman and graduating student.⁴²⁸ This evaluation requirement was accompanied with encouraging extensive use of

⁴²³ Ibid., 457.

⁴²⁴ In justifying the Project, Brown also pointed specifically to the racial gap on median achievement test scores in elementary and secondary school students. Of particular concern was the widening of the gap in the years after the fourth grade (Ibid., 456).

⁴²⁵ See Brown, “The Phelps-Stokes Fund” and Aaron Brown, *Ladders To Improvement: Report of a Project for the Improvement of Instruction in Secondary Schools* (New York, NY: The Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1960). Long died shortly after, with much of the duties being taken over by Frank A. DeCosta, the Director of Student Teaching at Morgan State College, another contributor to the *JNE*.

⁴²⁶ Brown, *Ladders to Improvement*, A-iii. This represented sixteen public high schools and sixteen private and public colleges as well as three resource universities.

⁴²⁷ Brown, “The Phelps Stokes Fund,” 459.

⁴²⁸ Brown, *Ladders to Improvement*, These four tests were portions of the Iowa Tests of Educational Development that focused on reading, social studies, natural science, and quantitative reasoning. (Ladders - Chapter III; Frank Decosta)

“objective tests” by individual teachers as a means of evaluating pupil achievement and the effectiveness of teaching method.⁴²⁹ For many teachers and students, this was their first exposure to standardized tests.⁴³⁰ In the final report on the Southern Project, director Aaron Brown pointed to “[u]tilization of sound evaluation techniques and reliable instruments” as one of the greatest accomplishments, noting that “this area has been one of the most encouraging outcomes because the growth has been both rapid and substantial.”⁴³¹

In evaluating the success of the Southern Project, the final report relied heavily on the effects of its programs on the standardized test scores of black students. The report touted significantly higher scores by graduating students in 1959 at the end of the project when compared to the scores of those that had graduated in 1956. By 1959, students who had participated in the program scored in higher in the national percentile than had students in 1956, meaning a reduction in the racial achievement gap.⁴³² Given that “constant evaluation” was seen as key to improving educational instruction and outcomes, the project widely disseminated these scores, sending each participating schools reports of the performance scores of individual students, as well as their

⁴²⁹ Frank A. DeCosta, “The Use and Results of Standardized Tests Among Pupils,” in *Ladders To Improvement: Report of a Project for the Improvement of Instruction in Secondary Schools*, ed. Aaron Brown (New York, NY: The Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1960), C-16. These included, but were not limited to; ability tests, aptitude tests, achievement tests, comprehensive tests, diagnostic tests, and intelligence tests. (A-iii)

⁴³⁰ Brown, *Ladders to Improvement*, A-32; B-6.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, A-41.

⁴³² Acosta, “The Use and Results,” C-11.

comparative ranking among all schools in the project.⁴³³ The final report used test scores to identify underperforming schools and to suggest academic areas in need of improvement.⁴³⁴

By the 1950s the appeal of standardized tests to racial democrats was well in place. Racial democrats were firmly committed to fair incorporation into existing economic and social structures, which they believed required equitable educational opportunity. The goal was that merit, rather than race should ultimately determine one's standing. The overarching concern with establishing an equitable outcomes for those of equal merit meant that standardized testing fit quite well with the broader political program of racial democrats. The "objective" metrics of comparison, like standardized intelligence or achievement tests, could help ensure that advancement in education and individual standing resulted from merit. For racial democrats, the gaping racial disparities in test scores provided clear evidence of a lack of equitable educational opportunity.⁴³⁵ The evidence of disparities contributed to calls for an "educational reconstruction" that was "based on valid evidence successfully translated into practice."⁴³⁶ Racial democrats argued that standardized tests could be used not only to determine the meritorious, but could also point the way towards better educational

⁴³³ Brown, *Ladders to Improvement*, A-iii.

⁴³⁴ Acosta, "The Use and Results," C-8.

⁴³⁵ This conclusion was reached because of an understanding that black and whites possessed more or less equal intellectual capacity. The implication was that in an ideal world, there should be no racial difference in distribution of test scores. The fact that disparity did exist therefore constituted evidence of inequitable opportunity. There were several racial conservatives who interpreted the disparities as evidence of biological inferiority.

⁴³⁶ Carter V. Good, "The Social Crisis and Reconstruction in Higher Education," *The Journal of Negro Education* 11, no. 3 (July 1942): 271.

practice. As the tests became a way to judge the worth of the individual as well as the performance of schools and teachers, Crooks vision of a system in which “entrance tests ... become tied up with the aims of education,” increasingly represented the racial democratic position.⁴³⁷ Testing in education became a means by which the goal of fair racial incorporation could be evaluated and eventually realized.

While the use of standardized tests in education was a natural fit with the racial democratic position, they were largely antithetical to the educational program of economic democrats. Economic democrats had long been critics of standardized tests as a tool, arguing that they tended to foster excessive individualism and competitiveness. Calls for talent searching and discovery of “superior intellects” indicated that a significant part of the aim of education for racial democrats involved sorting students on the basis of intellectual capacity and preparation for future leadership. As the final report on the Phelps-Stokes fund indicated, the tests were designed so that “desirably, the distribution of pupils’ achievement test scores should become more variable as pupils progress from grade to grade,” and “the function of the school is to develop individual potentialities, rather than group conformity.”⁴³⁸ The role of tests, and by extension, the role of the public school, was designed to find variation and reward the high scorers. This vision ran counter to the solidaristic approach envisioned by economic democrats, who tended to advocate for an educational program primarily focused on fostering

⁴³⁷ Crooks, “Is Negro Education Failing,” 20.

⁴³⁸ Acosta, “The Use and Results,” C-8.

cooperation and class solidarity.⁴³⁹ The extent of opposition to standardized tests among economic democrats is evident in a 1938 *JNE* article by Philadelphia AFT Vice President Mary Foley Grossman. Grossman argued forcefully against the use of standardized tests for sorting and evaluation, claiming “[t]he use of the I.Q. as an instrument of pressuring children into groups with limited and undesirable curricula is an abuse of their democratic privileges,” and noting that such tests tended to dangerously restrict the curriculum, which “suits the purpose of industry to mold belt-line minds in belt-line bodies.”⁴⁴⁰ The introduction of standardized tests was largely incompatible with the broader educational aims of Mary Foley Grossman and other economic democrats.

Conclusion

The fundamental cleavage between economic democrats and racial democrats was over the whether improving the situation of blacks in the United States also required substantial changes to the economic landscape. The differences on this central issue drove the development of educational perspectives and programs that were substantially different between the two groups. Economic democrats viewed racial subordination in the United States as fundamentally resulting from exploitative economic arrangements.

⁴³⁹ Davis, “Educational Programs”; Davis, “The Socialist’s Way”; Charles H. Wesley, “Education for Citizenship in a Democracy,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 1 (January 1941): 68–78; D. A. Wilkerson, “The Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 7, no. 1 (January 1938): 104–8; Doxey A. Wilkerson, “Russia’s Proposed New World Order of Socialism,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 3 (July 1941): 387–419.

⁴⁴⁰ Grossman, “The Education of Children,” 450–451. Grossman was concerned that the “reduction of academic content in the curricula” and “the increased emphasis on vocational training . . . are all pieces of one pattern - ‘Strip public education to the 3 R’s’” (Ibid., 451). Ultimately, Grossman argued that this would threaten worker solidarity by making it less likely that poorly educated workers would join unions or express opinions contrary to employers.

This group viewed the primary task of education as educating students about these problematic social arrangements and providing tools and strategies, such as worker organization, to address these problems. Importantly, because they viewed the problems facing blacks in the United States as fundamentally economic in nature, the economic democrats placed significantly less faith in the ability of education to address the poor condition of black citizens. Instead, far more emphasis was placed on the importance of economic policies such as full employment, redistributive foundation, unionization, and democracy in the workplace as the primary means through which the problems facing black citizens. Given the much more limited faith in power of education, unsurprisingly, the educational programs of the economic democrats were not nearly as substantial as that of the racial democrats. However, the differences in the educational approaches of the two groups are clear from the strident critiques economic democrats like Oliver Cox levied at the educational politics and ideology of racial democrats.

The ultimate political goal of the racial democrats was fair incorporation into existing social and economic structures, and they viewed the education system as a particularly effective way of achieving this goal. Significantly, racial democrats did not identify economic exploitation or the significant inequalities as the most problematic aspect of the existing economy in the United States. Instead, the racial democrats pointed to the fact that racial categories meant that opportunities for success in the existing economic landscape were distributed unfairly. It was this perspective that caused them to view education as a particularly potent vehicle to effectively ensure that opportunities

were based on merit, rather than racial categories. This perspective also suggested a host of educational best practices, including interracial education to combat psychological prejudice, skills education to help black students effectively compete against white students in the labor market, and racial comparison of standardized test results to evaluate whether true equality of opportunity existed.

Fundamentally, the racial democratic perspective was not critical of significant economic inequality, rather it was critical of economic inequality that was ineffectively distributed. This was quite close to the ideological perspective of the social efficiency progressives, and not surprisingly, the educational proposals of the two groups have substantial overlap. Similarly, the critique of the economic order that served as the foundation for the economic democrats placed them in ideological alignment with the social reconstructionist wing of the progressive education movement. Although the educational program of economic democrats was not nearly as extensive as that of the social reconstructionists, both groups advocated for a pedagogy that focused on broad social problems as well as providing students tools to help address these problems.

The economic democracy perspective was in many ways the dominant (but not exclusive) perspective in the pages of the *JNE* throughout the 1930s and into the early 1940s. By the mid-1940s, this had begun to change, as the racial democracy framework came to increasingly monopolize the discussion of black politics and education. Chapter 4 turns to examination of the political developments that drastically limited the ability of the economic democrats and social reconstructionists to advocate for a politics and

educational perspective that centered on a critique of the existing economic order. As these voices were marginalized throughout the 1940s and 1950s, the ideas and policies of the racial democrats and social efficiency progressives increasingly dominated the educational landscape.

Chapter Four

Communism, Courts, and Context: Political Developments in the 1940s and 1950s and the Death of the Educational Left

Scholars seeking to understand political developments in the second half of the twentieth century have often overlooked the significance of the 1940s and 1950s. Occasionally referred to as an “Age of Consensus,” the time period between the end of World War II and the 1960s has been described as affluent, homogenous, bland, and conformist. However, as historian Thomas Sugrue has noted, a more apt description of this time period is one of intense conflict between groups with very different political visions. The common interpretation of these years as an “Age of Consensus” flows from the fact that one side - a resurgent business community that joined with anti-communist liberals from both political parties - was the overwhelming victor in the conflict between visions. The lopsided victory of one coalition over the other masks the fierce battles of the time period, which Sugrue ultimately describes as “an era of brutality, of attempts to silence dissent.”⁴⁴¹

The silencing of dissent in during the 1940s and 1950s had significant effects on the ideas and coalitions during this time period, particularly on the left. The changing international and domestic political context of this era greatly weakened the ability of individuals on the left to effectively advance policies and arguments that were openly critical of existing economic arrangements and made organizing coalitions around such an agenda nearly impossible. Thus, the 1940s-1950s represent not only a time period of

⁴⁴¹ Thomas J. Sugrue, “Reassessing the History of Postwar America,” *Prospects* 20 (October 1995): 505.

fierce contestation but also one of limitation of alternatives. While scholars such as Daniel T. Rodgers and Daniel Stedman Jones have pointed to the 1970s as a critical moment for the emergence of a neoliberalism that would come to dominate the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, the story is incomplete without understanding the ideological contraction of the left that occurred in years following World War II.⁴⁴² The 1940s and 1950s did much to set the ideological stage for the later neoliberal turn in American politics, as a resurgent form of business friendly liberalism moved to curtail challenges from the left, destroying coalitions and individuals on the way.

Critically, this curtailment of the left had important consequences for education. As the American left was hobbled by a changing international context, a resurgent business community, shifting court doctrines, and outright repression - the postwar environment greatly advantaged educational coalitions and ideas that could accommodate the changing political landscape. This political context greatly advantaged racial democrats and scientific efficiency progressives, who were able to articulate a policy agenda for education that was largely divorced from radical critiques of American political and economic structures. In the 1940s and 1950s, the dominant education coalition on the left switched from those that pursued fundamental social transformation to those that pushed for incorporation into existing structures as the primary goal of education. This chapter takes aim at outlining the political context and developments of

⁴⁴² Daniel Stedman Jones, *Masters of the Universe: Hayek, Friedman, and the Birth of Neoliberal Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012); Daniel T. Rodgers, *Age of Fracture* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Belknap Press, 2012).

the 1940s and 1950s that greatly limited the left, and the consequences of this change for the ideological visions and coalitions of education.

The Changing International Context

One of the most significant developments ultimately shaping the ideological and coalitional landscape was the rapidly shifting international context of the 1940s and 1950s.

Events including the rise of Nazism, the entrance of the United States into World War II, and the onset of the Cold War provided a peculiar mix of opportunity and peril for the individuals and policies of the American left. The exigencies of the international situation during this era open up avenues for effective pressure on certain fronts, such as the attainment of civil rights, even as it all but shut the door on radical economic critiques. Ultimately, international events greatly privileged a programmatic approach from the left centered on making existing institutional arrangements more fair, rather than wholesale transformation of the economic order.

International Relations before World War II

The dramatic break with the ideological tenor of the 1930s and early 1940s highlights the developments of the immediate postwar decades. During this earlier time period, the ideological center of gravity for left politics was organized around critiques of the exploitative nature of the American economic order. Among black political circles, a

group of young black intellectuals including Ralph Bunche, Abram Harris, Richard Wright, and E. Franklin Frazier advocated for a reorientation of black political activity along class lines and away from the racist thinking of the NAACP and NUL. Conferences like the Second Amenia conference in 1933 and the 1935 “The Position of the Negro in Our National Economic Crisis” conference at Howard University that led to the formation of the National Negro Congress (NNC), sought to give organizational strength to a political program focused on uniting black and white laborers in the hopes of taking on the economic exploitation that flowed from the capitalist economic order. Indeed, in the late 1930s, the NNC had broad appeal and was frequently at the center of debates and black political activism.⁴⁴³ The American Student Union and the League of American Writers were also formed in 1935, and had members from a similarly broad mix of leftist perspectives, including a substantial communists contingent.⁴⁴⁴ These organizations and others formed a broad coalition of Popular Front organizations that rallied around shared goals of economic justice, unionization and class solidarity, anti-racism, and anti-fascism.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴³ Jonathan Scott Holloway, *Confronting the Veil: Abram Harris Jr., E. Franklin Frazier, and Ralph Bunche, 1919-1941*, 1st New Edition (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Doug Rossinow, *Visions of Progress: The Left-Liberal Tradition in America* (Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009): 153-157; Eben Miller, *Born along the Color Line: The 1933 Amenia Conference and the Rise of a National Civil Rights Movement*, (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁴⁴⁴ Michael Kazin, *American Dreamers: How the Left Changed a Nation* (New York: Vintage, 2012): 172-174.

⁴⁴⁵ Robbie Lieberman and Clarence Lang, “Introduction,” in *Anticommunism and the African American Freedom Movement: “Another Side of the Story,”* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 5. See also Rossinow, *Visions of Progress*, 143-44, 166 and Kazin, *American Dreamers*, 170.

One of the first international events that began to expose cracks in the left was the 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact that established an official policy of nonaggression between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. This agreement was a sharp change from the previous communist stance of open hostility and active resistance of fascism. The pact put the Communist Party USA (CPUSA) in the position of shifting stances from one of cooperation with a broad coalition, including the Roosevelt administration, in resisting the spread of fascism to advocating for isolation almost overnight. Doxey Wilkerson, a member of the Communist Party and a frequent contributor to *The Journal of Negro Education (JNE)*, was emblematic of this switch. In a 1941 article, Wilkerson urged against involvement in a conflict of “rival imperialisms” and argued that “the government of this newer America has placed our nation ‘beside’ Britain, again to prosecute an imperialist war under the guise of a great ‘moral’ crusade.”⁴⁴⁶

This new position was roundly criticized by many within the Popular Front. This resulted in substantial fracturing among organizations and individuals of the left. Ralph Bunche, who had tolerated the significant involvement of communists in the National Negro Congress, was particularly critical. In a 1940 *JNE* article, Bunche criticized the new position of the communists as “sophistry of the cheapest variety,” noting that the Party had urged support of the fight against fascism in Spain less than a year prior, “but then came the Communist shift from the Popular Front line, the Soviet-Nazi pact, and

⁴⁴⁶ Doxey A. Wilkerson, “Russia’s Proposed New World Order of Socialism,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 3 (1941): 396-397.

now Russia and the Communists are on the other side.”⁴⁴⁷ Bunche suggested that this rapid switch was a clear indication of the CPUSA’s true commitments, arguing “the Negro interest for the Communists is tied to uncertain and constantly shifting foreign policy of the Soviet Union.”⁴⁴⁸ This moment was also pivotal for labor leader and president of the NNC A. Phillip Randolph, who halted his pragmatic cooperation with the Communist Party after the 1939 Pact. In fact, both Bunche and Randolph ceased their relationship with the NNC in 1940 after it followed the communist line and switched from strong support of Roosevelt and antifascism to a noninterventionist.⁴⁴⁹ This complete break with CPUSA was significant given that the Communist Party had been the been one of the earliest organizations to support racial equality and one of its most dedicated proponents.⁴⁵⁰

The Soviet-Nazi Pact was not the only international event that had contributed to the fracturing of the left in the late 1930s. Other prominent intellectuals on the left became increasingly critical of the Soviet Union in the wake of the Great Purge, a widespread program of political repression and elimination of political opposition from 1936 through 1938. Despite earlier work that had largely lauded the Soviet Union, leftist scholars including *Social Frontier* contributors George Counts, John Dewey, William H.

⁴⁴⁷ Ralph J. Bunche, “The Role of the University in the Political Orientation of Negro Youth,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 9, no. 4 (1940): 577.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁹ Eric Arnesen, “No ‘Graver Danger’: Black Anticommunism, the Communist Party, and the Race Question,” *Labor* 3, no. 4 (December 21, 2006): 13–52.

⁴⁵⁰ Manning Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction and Beyond in Black America, 1945-2006*, 3rd edition (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007): 19-20; Kazin, *American Dreamers*, 192; Rossinow, *Visions of Progress*, 153.

Kilpatrick and Sidney Hooks became openly critical of the Soviet Union after the purges. Indeed, Dewey and Hook formed the Committee for Cultural Freedom in 1939, which committed itself to fighting the “totalitarianism” of Soviet Russia in addition to that of Germany and Italy.⁴⁵¹ After hearing about the Soviet-Nazi pact, George Counts, whose relationship with the CPUSA had already soured due to the purges, joined an anti-communist faction of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). With the support of Dewey, Counts was elected president of the AFT in 1939, and steadily limited the influence of communists within the union, including Doxey Wilkerson and Mary Grossman.⁴⁵² The AFT was not alone in seeking to counteract the influence of communists in the wake of the 1939 pact. A number of liberal groups and other unions passed so called “Communazi” resolutions aimed at excluding supporters of “totalitarianism,” either from the right or the left, from membership.⁴⁵³ The fact that communists were the dominant organized group in the Popular Front meant that this backlash left it weakened, and several groups, including the American Student Union and

⁴⁵¹ Counts and Kilpatrick also signed on the Committee’s manifesto, as did Abram Harris and Norman Thomas among others. Foundational to the Committee was the denouncement of the actions of the Soviet Union. In fact, it appears to have been formed in part as an alternative organization, the Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, led by Franz Boas, Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace and Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, that had been critical only of Germany and Italy. “New Group Fights Any Freedom Curb: 96 Scholars and Artists Led by John Dewey Revolt Against Failure to Denounce Reds,” *The New York Times*, May 15, 1939; Les K. Adler and Thomas G. Paterson, “Red Fascism: The Merger of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia in the American Image of Totalitarianism, 1930’s-1950’s,” *The American Historical Review* 75, no. 4 (1970): 1048; Gary L. Anderson and Kathryn G. Herr, *Encyclopedia of Activism and Social Justice* (SAGE Publications, 2007), 399–400.

⁴⁵² In fact, after his election, Counts and the AFT executive council pressed for the revocation of the charters of certain local organization because they were dominated by communists, including the New York branch and Philadelphia local, which was headed by Mary Grossman. Both these locals had their charters revoked in 1941. Clarence Taylor, *Reds at the Blackboard: Communism, Civil Rights, and the New York City Teachers Union* (Columbia University Press, 2013), 61-74; Andrew Hartman, *Education and the Cold War: The Battle for the American School* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 37-40.

⁴⁵³ Kazin, *American Dreamers*, 174.

League of American Writers, disbanded in the early 1940s.⁴⁵⁴ The renunciation of communism and the effort to sever communists from participation in the Popular Front in the late 1930s represented a significant fracturing of the left, and it was largely precipitated by international events.

The CPUSA was forced to change its position once again after Germany invaded Soviet territory in June of 1941. The party abandoned its isolationist stance and pushed for engagement in the conflict. In a 1942 article appearing in the *JNE* just months after he had strenuously objected to joining what he called an imperialist war, Doxey Wilkerson urged full cooperation in the war effort, citing the necessity to “crush the fascist aggressors with their state-sponsored ideologies of race hate and persecution.”⁴⁵⁵ For many, the whiplash engendered by this second about-face on the issue of international politics further called into question the priorities of the CPUSA. Beyond issues of consistency, the fact that party members called for the subordination of protests, or in some cases “no-strike pledges,” in order to prevent obstructing the war effort led many to conclude that the communists ultimately were loyal only to Moscow. Like the Party’s earlier switch, the interventionist stance led to significant loss of membership,

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid.; Rossinow, *Visions of Progress*, 144.

⁴⁵⁵ Doxey A. Wilkerson, “The Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes: The Negro and the Battle of Production,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 11, no. 2 (1942): 230.

including some prominent members such as Richard Wright and his wife, who objected to the Party's new pro-War advocacy.⁴⁵⁶

Despite the further loss of members, the communists' re-embrace of the Roosevelt administration's foreign policy did moderate the most vigorous efforts at policing the left, particularly after the United States officially joined the War in late 1941. The fact that Soviet Russia and the United States were now allies in the fight against the Axis powers lessened the pressure to purge communists from organizations on the left, and reopened a space for Popular Front activity. Robert Korstadt and Nelson Lichtenstein have shown how the entrance of the United States in WWII created the space for the communists and their allies in the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) to make substantial gains in unionization and labor power in unlikely places, with particularly strong gains for black workers.⁴⁵⁷ Michael Kazin captures the the unique potential, and temporality, of this opening, noting, "as long as the war continued, a communist could be both a sinner patriot and a follower of Stalin, without tripping over the contradiction."⁴⁵⁸

United States' Entrance into World War II

Individuals and groups looking to press a progressive agenda, particularly those concerned with improving the condition of black citizens, viewed the movement of the

⁴⁵⁶ Significantly, despite the fact that Wright renounced his membership in the Party, he continued to maintain that on the economic front he still agreed with the communist position ideologically. Richard Wright in *The God That Failed*, Reprint Edition 1984 (Salem, New Hampshire: AYER Company, 1984), 148; Arnesen, "No 'Graver Danger'"; Clarence Lang, "Freedom Train Derailed: Journalism, Anticommunism, an Marxism in 1950s Detroit," in *Anticommunism and the African American Freedom Movement: "Another Side of the Story,"* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 166.

⁴⁵⁷ Robert Korstad and Nelson Lichtenstein, "Opportunities Found and Lost: Labor, Radicals, and the Early Civil Rights Movement," *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 3 (1988): 786–811.

⁴⁵⁸ Kazin, *American Dreamers*, 176.

United States away from its isolationist stance during 1941 with cautious optimism. As historian Guion Johnson noted in her 1941 article for the *JNE*, “the ultimate gains from war have in the long run usually outweighed the initial losses” for racial minorities throughout American history.⁴⁵⁹ Johnson argued that wars had historically meant “a relaxation in the ordinary controls ... and the minority may actually achieve a few long-time goals,” as international crisis facilitated “rapid shifts in ideologies.”⁴⁶⁰ More specifically to the situation in 1941, Johnson noted that the United States’s engagement in WWII had the potential to be an economic boon for black workers as the productive demands of war would greatly increase the need for workers.⁴⁶¹

Beyond the economic advances promised by increased government expenditure in the war industries, the particular nature of the WWII conflict provided particularly powerful openings for advancing black political demands. As the United States entered WWII in the aftermath of the attack on Pearl Harbor in December of 1941, black intellectuals and political organizations increasingly pointed out the hypocrisy of the United States fighting for democratic ideals abroad while supporting the continued subjugation of black citizens. In a 1942 commencement address, Charles Thompson, the editor of the *JNE*, drove this point home, noting that the “paradoxical situation of out country at home to save the world for democracy, denying a substantial part of its

⁴⁵⁹ Guion Griffis Johnson, “The Impact of War Upon the Negro,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 3 (1941): 596.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 596, 610-611.

population at home a full share of democracy for which it was fighting abroad.”⁴⁶² Lewis K. McMillan, professor of history at Wilberforce University, accused the United States of “shedding ‘crocodile tears’ for the oppressed people of the earth” given the treatment of blacks domestically.⁴⁶³ The fact that the United States frequently framed engagement in the war as protecting and advancing the cause of democracy provided a particularly powerful ideological weapon for those critical of its domestic treatment of black citizens.

The specific racial ideology of the enemy provided an additional opening to those pushing for racial reforms in the United States. The Nazi use of *Herrenvolk* ideology, which translated as master folk or race, underlined the racial hygiene and eugenic policies of the Nazis including restrictive marriage and sexual relations policies, compulsory sterilization of non-Aryans, and ultimately mass murder of Jews and other groups considered inferior. *Herrenvolk* ideology also provided the justification excluding non-Aryans from the full benefits of citizenship. This proved an uncomfortable fact in the United States given the early connection between the American eugenics movement and Nazi Germany and the existence of similarly racially restrictive laws in the Jim Crow

⁴⁶² Chas. H. Thompson, “The Basis of Negro Morale in World War II,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 11, no. 4 (1942): 454.

⁴⁶³ Lewis K. McMillan, “Light Which Two World Wars Throw Upon the Plight of the American Negro,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 3 (1943): 437; see also Ralph J. Bunche, “The Negro in the Political Life of the United States,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 3 (1941): 567–84; Edwin R. Embree, “The Status of Minorities as a Test of Democracy,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 3 (1941): 453–58; Margaret C. McCulloch, “What Should the American Negro Reasonably Expect as the Outcome of a Real Peace?,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 3 (1943): 557–67; Martin D. Jenkins, “Editorial Comment: Education for Racial Understanding,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 265–69; Roy Wilkins, “Next Steps in Education for Racial Understanding,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 432–40.

south.⁴⁶⁴ Pointing out similarities between Nazi and American racial ideology, philanthropist Anson Phelps Stokes argued, “we all condemn the *Herrenvolk* idea as both unscientific and unChristian, but in the final analysis the ‘white supremacy’ doctrine held by large groups of people in the South, and some in the North, is closely akin to it in theory.”⁴⁶⁵ Martin Jenkins, a professor of education at Howard University, claimed that “the present war, based as it is in part at least, on differing racial ideologies, has made *race* a paramount issue throughout the world.”⁴⁶⁶ This fact meant the the war provided an opportunity to attack “white supremacy” on the home front, as Stokes argued:

the war, by raising the *Herrenvolk* issue in the case of Germany, has driven home to us in the United States that we are subject to attack on the grounds of inconsistency and insincerity if we... make any requirements for voting or office-holding that do not treat white men and colored men exactly on the same objective basis.⁴⁶⁷

As in the case of arguments pointing out the hypocrisy of fighting for democracy abroad while denying it citizens domestically, the embrace of racial supremacy by the Nazis provided an opening to attack racial supremacy ideology and practice in the United States.

⁴⁶⁴ In fact, there is some evidence that the Nazi lawmakers may have drawn directly from Jim Crow statutes when constructing the racial laws of the Third Reich. Bill Ezzell, “Laws of Racial Identification and Racial Purity in Nazi Germany and the United States: Did Jim Crow Write the Laws That Spawned the Holocaust,” *Southern University Law Review* 30 (2002-2003): 1-13; Stefan Kuhl, *The Nazi Connection: Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2002): 36; Rossinow, *Visions of Progress*, 168.

⁴⁶⁵ Anson Phelps Stokes, “American Race Relations in War Time,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 14, no. 4 (1945): 537.

⁴⁶⁶ Jenkins, “Education for Racial Understanding,” 265.

⁴⁶⁷ Stokes, “American Race Relations,” 538. See also Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003): 27-29.

The charges of hypocrisy and inconsistency on the issue of race carried particular significance given the broad geographical scope of World War II. The United States was allied with many nations that were not predominantly white. Several articles pointed out that the racial practices of the the Untied States were a substantial weakness in the War effort, particularly in the Asian and African theaters. Charles Thompson claimed:

the maintenance of our traditional pattern of race relations in the prosecution of this war is giving aid and comfort the enemy by furnishing them with evidence to convince the darker people of Asia that America cannot be trusted when she says that she is fighting to preserve democracy.⁴⁶⁸

Similarly, Martin Jenkins pointed out that American “treatment of its darker racial groups is a source of embarrassment to the nation,” and that the “counter-propaganda of the Axis nations has not failed to make good use of this weak position of our country to the detriment of our total war effort.”⁴⁶⁹ The racial practices of the United States also strained relations with allied nations with large or predominantly non-white populations.⁴⁷⁰ The hypocrisies represented more than a moral failing on the domestic front, they had the potential to damage the efforts of the United States internationally.

The attention progressives brought to the subject of inconsistency and hypocrisy was more than a simple venting of spleen. Intellectuals recognized the unique

⁴⁶⁸ Thompson, “The Basis of Negro Morale,” 459; see also Walter G. Daniel and Marion T. Wright, “The Role of Educational Agencies in Maintaining Morale Among Negroes,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 3 (Summer 1943): 490–501; Mary Law Chaffee, “William E. B. Dubois’ Concept of the Racial Problem in the United States: The Early Negro Educational Movement,” *The Journal of Negro History* 41, no. 3 (July 1956): 241–58.

⁴⁶⁹ Jenkins, “Education for Racial Understanding,” 266. See also Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line*, 36–41.

⁴⁷⁰ Gilberto Freyre, “Brazil and the International Crisis,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 3 (1941): 510–14; Charles S. Johnson, “The Negro and the Present Crisis,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 3 (1941): 594.

opportunity that these contradictions provided to extract political concessions. As Charles Johnson, the editor of the National Urban League's journal *Opportunity*, noted in a 1941 article about the international political context, "the temper of the times has made possible formal reassertions of the full citizenship rights of the Negro minority."⁴⁷¹ A variety of black political organizations such as the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and other black labor organizations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, and the National Negro Congress, took advantage of the particular openings provided by the international context. These groups successfully secured long held policy goals in early 1940s, including a nondiscriminatory clause in the Selective Service Act, greater opportunities for advancement of black military officers, greater representation in skilled trades and trade unions.⁴⁷² Perhaps the most significant achievement was the creation of the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) in 1941. The threat of massive protest action spearheaded by A. Phillip Randolph's Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters led to the creation of the FEPC via executive order, the first executive order directly concerning African Americans since the Emancipation Proclamation.⁴⁷³ In securing these victories, black political organizations pursued a strategy of "forcing from reluctant majority extensions of social, economic, and political gains during wartime, when bargaining power is highest,"

⁴⁷¹ Johnson, "The Negro and the Present Crisis," 594.

⁴⁷² Thomas N. Roberts, "The Negro in Government War Agencies," *The Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 3 (1943): 367–75; Roscoe E. Lewis, "The Role of Pressure Groups in Maintaining Morale Among Negroes," *The Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 3 (1943): 464–73; McCulloch, "What Should the American Negro Reasonably Expect." 563.

⁴⁷³ Anthony S. Chen, *The Fifth Freedom: Jobs, Politics, and Civil Rights in the United States, 1941-1972*, 1st Edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009):33-38; Lewis 1943, 468.

ensuring that “full capital is made of defections in the American way of life.”⁴⁷⁴ The international context proved effective helping to advance the domestic agenda of these groups, as they pushed for a “Double Victory” at home and abroad. The success of this strategy led Anson Stokes to remark, “the progress of the Negro in the United States during the war years has been of epoch-making significance.”⁴⁷⁵

Postwar International Context and Civil Rights

The Second World War provided particular openings for advancing priorities of the left and had temporarily papered over the divisions in the left that had begun to show between 1939 and 1941. When the war ended in 1945, the international scene was quickly reconfigured and dramatically changed the prospects of the American left. The rising conflict with the Soviet Union allowed black political organizations to continue to make arguments emphasizing that improving the treatment of racial minorities and increasing the protection of civil rights made strategic sense in a globalized conflict involving millions of non-white individuals. These arguments were particularly effective and did lead to meaningful progress on this front. Progress was coupled with a significant limiting of the scope of issues that the left was able to effectively press during this time period. Advancements in civil rights occurred simultaneously with the widespread purging of the left from left-leaning organizations as the Popular Front collapsed. Individuals on the left were suppressed of by various levels of government,

⁴⁷⁴ Lewis, “The Role of Pressure Groups,” 473.

⁴⁷⁵ Stokes, “American Race Relations,” 540.

leading to the abandonment of anti-imperialism and economic transformation as central tenets of a left politics.

As the United States entered into a new struggle for the hearts and minds of countries that were predominantly not white, the treatment of the non-white citizens within the United States became particularly important to the nation's international agenda. This new reality was quickly grasped by Secretary of State Dean Acheson, who in a 1946 letter to the FEPC, wrote:

the existence of discrimination against minority groups in this country has an adverse effect upon our relations with other countries. We are reminded over and over by some foreign newspapers and spokesmen, that our treatment of various minorities leaves much to be desired... We will have better international relations when these reasons for suspicion and resentment have been removed.⁴⁷⁶

This international reality was part of the impetus for President Truman's decision to establish the President's Committee on Civil Rights (PCCR) in 1946 to investigate the status of civil rights. The PCCR's 1947 report, *To Secure These Rights: The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights*, pointed repeatedly to the international rationale for taking action to improve the protection of civil rights for racial minorities. The PCCR argued that "our civil rights record has growing international implications," and noted that "throughout the Pacific, Latin America, Africa, the Near, Middle, and Far East, the treatment which our Negroes receive is taken as a reflection of our attitudes toward all dark-skinned peoples."⁴⁷⁷ Beyond the desire to portray a good portrait to the international

⁴⁷⁶ As quoted in, "To Secure These Rights: The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights." (New York: The President's Committee on Civil Rights, 1947), 146.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., 133, 147.

community, the fact that Soviet Union was publicly committed to racial equality and frequently publicized the United States's domestic racial trouble provided another important international incentive for action to protect minority rights. The PCCR argued that "[t]hose with competing philosophies have stressed -- and are shamelessly distorting -- our shortcomings" in civil rights, and had "tried to create hostility toward us among specific nations, races, and religious groups" and "tried to prove our democracy an empty fraud, and our nation a consistent oppressor of underprivileged people."⁴⁷⁸ The PCCR report noted that this strategy had succeeded in some circumstances, and suggested acting on protecting civil rights in order to deprive the Soviet Union of this weapon.

This opening for advancing civil rights protections was quickly seized by many on the left who adapted the arguments they had made during World War II to reflect the new international situation. Black political organizations and political leaders were quick to adapt claims that domestic racism and racial inequality undermined American moral authority and international interests. The NAACP began connecting the fight against communism with the fight against racial subordination almost immediately, with prominent members including Roy Wilkins making this case in *Crisis*.⁴⁷⁹ In 1947, the NAACP took the dramatic step of submitting a petition to the recently created United Nations Commission on Human Rights asking for redress for violation of human rights by the United States government. The petition, entitled *An Appeal to the World: A Statement on the Denial of Human Rights to Minorities in the Case of Citizens of Negro*

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., 147.

⁴⁷⁹ Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, N.J.; Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2011), 29.

Descent in the United States of America and an Appeal to the United Nations for Redress, was submitted to the U.N. by W.E.B. Du Bois, who also authored the petition's introduction.⁴⁸⁰ In the petition, Du Bois outlined the instances of violations of human rights and the basic tenets of democracy faced by blacks in the U.S. Du Bois continuously pointed to the economic foundation of racial subordination and accused the United States federal government of "continuously cast[ing] its influence with imperial aggression," arguing that "[i]t has become through private investment part of the imperialistic bloc which is controlling the colonies of the world."⁴⁸¹ Du Bois continued his radical critique, noting "It is not Russia that threatens United States so much as Mississippi; not Stalin and Molotov but Bilbo and Rankin."⁴⁸²

The petition was particularly embarrassing to the United States, and Eleanor Roosevelt in particular, who served as both a delegate to the United Nations and as a board member of the NAACP. Roosevelt and the rest of the United States delegation refused to bring up the petition; however, the Soviet Union gladly proposed that the charges be investigated. Despite the Truman administration's refusal to address the petition, it enjoyed significant domestic support as Du Bois had secured the endorsement of a number of professional organizations and religious groups in addition to leftist

⁴⁸⁰ The petition was largely Du Bois's idea. Du Bois had been inspired by a similar, although much less in depth, submission the year before by the NNC, a petition which had been essentially ignored. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 43-44.

⁴⁸¹ "An Appeal to the World: A Statement on the Denial of Human Rights to Minorities in the Case of Citizens of Negro Descent in the United States of America and an Appeal to the United Nations for Redress." (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, January 1, 1947), 11.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*, 12.

support.⁴⁸³ Despite international support and domestic support within the U.S., the U.N. general assembly ultimately rejected the proposal to investigate, and no further action was taken on the petition.⁴⁸⁴ The submission of *An Appeal to the World* was the zenith of the NAACP's radicalism on the international stage, and the last time the organization was formally anti-imperialist.

The NAACP and mainstream black political leaders adapted Du Bois's radical argument to reflect a closer alignment with the formal international interests of the United States as the contours of the Cold War changed. The transition of China to communism in 1949 and the subsequent Korean War shifted the focus of the Cold War to Asia in the early 1950s. In a 1951 *JNE* article sociologist St. Clair Drake noted that in Asia, the "Communist movement attempts to define the situation as one in which 'white imperialist powers' are decimating 'oppressed Colored peoples.'"⁴⁸⁵ St. Clair Drake argued that the communists pursued a strategy of "publicizing its own repudiation of racism and all theories of biological determinism," while it simultaneously "exposes, attacks, and ridicules any evidences of racism among the 'free nations.'"⁴⁸⁶ Several articles in the *JNE* exposed the effectiveness of this strategy, pointing out that the treatment of racial minorities was one of the most encountered questions by Americans traveling abroad,

⁴⁸³ Gerald Horne, *Black and Red: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Afro-American Response to the Cold War, 1944-1963* (SUNY Press, 1986), 76.

⁴⁸⁴ Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 44-45.

⁴⁸⁵ St. Clair Drake, "The International Implications of Race and Race Relations," *The Journal of Negro Education* 20, no. 3 (1951), 263-264

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 264.

even in allied countries.⁴⁸⁷ Psychologist Howard Hale Long argued that the treatment of blacks meant that the “USSR has several advantages over the West in its approach to the Asians,” most notably the fact that “she had decisively abolished race prejudice and ostensibly at least accepted the Asians on equality.”⁴⁸⁸ While both St. Clair Drake and Long maintained that the claims emanating from the Soviet Union were sensationalized and overstated, they did both suggest that the United States should combat this international problem through expanding civil rights protections for minorities domestically. Recent court decisions and the newfound willingness of federal Justice Department officials to point to international relations in civil rights cases led both of these authors to point to the federal judiciary and the civil rights strategy of the NAACP as potentially holding the most promise for advancing black interests.⁴⁸⁹

Organization around the opening provided by the international context proved effective in advancing some long-held goals of black political organizations. In 1948, President Truman began to press for the protection of civil rights for racial minorities. In a special message to Congress, Truman advocated for legislative action to strengthen civil rights protections in order to “strengthen our democracy and improve the welfare of our people.” Arguing that all deserved “equal protection under the law,” Truman asked

⁴⁸⁷ Frank M. Snowden, “The Italian Press Views America’s Attitude Toward Civil Rights and the Negro,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 21, no. 1 (1952), 20–26; Walter Crosby Eells, “The Higher Education of Negroes in the United States,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 24, no. 4 (1955), 426–34; Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 30–43.

⁴⁸⁸ Howard Hale Long, “Cultural and Racial Tension,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 21, no. 1 (1952), 14. Long pointed out that it was not only the domestic treatment of blacks that was harming the United States’s international interests, but the fact that the United States continued in many cases to treat non-white allies as inferior created the impression that Soviet propaganda was true.

⁴⁸⁹ St. Clair Drake, “The International Implications of Race”; Long, “Cultural and Racial Tension,” 1952.

Congress to send him legislation that included a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice, federal protection against lynching, protection of the right to vote, and prohibition of discrimination in employment and transportation. Truman was clearly motivated substantially by the international context, and ended his Congressional appeal by noting, “If we wish to inspire the peoples of the world whose freedom is in jeopardy, if we wish to restore hope to those who have already lost their civil liberties, if we wish to fulfill the promise that is ours, we must correct the remaining imperfections in our practice of democracy.”⁴⁹⁰ Congress largely ignored his message, but Truman did take action to achieve some of the recommendations of the President’s Committee On Civil Rights. On July 26th, 1948, President Truman issued Executive Orders 9980 and 9981, which ordered the desegregation of the federal workforce and the armed services.⁴⁹¹ Truman’s actions were just one example of how international context provided substantial impetus for action on civil rights domestically.⁴⁹² Indeed, scholars like Mary Dudziak

⁴⁹⁰ President Truman also acknowledged the report of the President’s Committee on Civil Rights in justifying his proposed new legislative protections. Harry S. Truman, “Special Message to the Congress on Civil Rights,” February 2, 1948, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=13006&st=&st1=>

⁴⁹¹ Harry S. Truman, “Executive Order 9980 - Regulations Governing Fair Employment Practices Within the Federal Establishment” (Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, July 26, 1948), <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=78208>; Harry S. Truman, “Executive Order 9981 - Establishing the President’s Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services” (Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, July 26, 1948), <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=60737>.

⁴⁹² Truman’s motivation were not solely internationally driven. Indeed the close nature of the 1948 election made courting the black vote an important part of Truman’s electoral strategy. (Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion*, 23).

and Gerald Horne have argued that progress in desegregation throughout the late 1940s and 1950s was to a substantial degree a Cold War imperative.⁴⁹³

Although the nascent Cold War provided opportunities to press for certain policy goals of the left, most notably in the protection of civil rights, it quickly proved to be a substantially limiting force for the left more broadly. The election of 1948 was a critical moment in curbing the influence of the left, particularly in black politics. Henry Wallace, the former Vice President and Secretary of Commerce who Truman had fired largely over strong disagreement in the direction of foreign policy regarding the Soviet Union, mounted a challenge to Truman from the left, running as the Progressive Party's candidate. Wallace's platform warned that the "American way of life is in danger," and that "the root cause of the crisis is Big Business control of our economy and government."⁴⁹⁴ The platform coupled domestic policies of "full equality for the Negro people" and strong anti-discrimination legislation, a publicly planned economy and public ownership of critical industries and housing, a strengthening of labor unions, a guaranteed living wage, full employment with an international agenda committed to disarmament and peaceful relations with the Soviet Union.⁴⁹⁵ Wallace and the Progressive Party had the potential to broadly appeal to black voters, indeed, a 1947 poll

⁴⁹³ Mary L. Dudziak, "Desegregation as a Cold War Imperative," *Stanford Law Review* 41, no. 1 (1988): 61–120; Gerald Horne, "Race from Power: U.S. Foreign Policy and the General Crisis of White Supremacy," in *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1988*, ed. Brenda Gayle Plummer, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 54-55.

⁴⁹⁴ The Associated Press, "Text of the Platform as Approved for Adoption Today by the Progressive Party," *The New York Times*, July 25, 1948.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

of the NAACP national office found that roughly 70 percent of NAACP staffers intended to support Wallace over Truman in the 1948 election.⁴⁹⁶

The NAACP and Post-War International Relations

The support of Wallace vexed Walter White, then President of the NAACP. White, who was of the opinion that the most effective means of advocating for the organization was through lobbying those in the inner circle of power, was concerned with maintaining his relationship and access within the Truman administration.⁴⁹⁷ White had long been suspicious of, and in some instances outright hostile towards, the left, and was a staunch supporter of Truman in the 1948 election. White used the platform of NAACP president to actively campaign both for Truman and against Wallace across the nation, and he also warned prominent Wallace supporters in the NAACP, including Du Bois, against advocating for Wallace.⁴⁹⁸

The 1948 campaign proved to be a moment where important divisions crystallized. Through strong support of President Truman and the Democratic Party, Walter White tied the NAACP tightly to anti-communism, abandoned earlier anti-imperial foreign policy advocacy, and began severing ties with the black left. Truman ultimately garnered two thirds of the black vote, which in the close election provided him

⁴⁹⁶ Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion*, 21. Du Bois and Robeson were also Wallace supporters.

⁴⁹⁷ Kenneth R. Janken, "From Colonial Liberation to Cold War Liberalism: Walter White, the NAACP, and Foreign Affairs, 1941–1955," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21, no. 6 (November 1, 1998), 1075.

⁴⁹⁸ Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion*, 21-23. White's active support of Truman was not the only the time he ignored the desires of his members. Janken notes that throughout the 1930s and 1940s White pushed the NAACP to privilege the pursuit of anti-lynching legislation despite clear mandates from several annual meetings that advocated putting an emphasis on labor organizing and direct action. Janken, "From Colonial Liberation," 1076.

his margin of victory in several states.⁴⁹⁹ The effect of the election on black politics was significant. Truman's campaign was premised on both modest racial reforms and a staunch anti-communism internationally and domestically. Both during the campaign and after Truman's victory, White moved the NAACP decisively to the right in order to maintain its relationship with the Truman administration. One of the costs of maintaining this access was the repudiation of the organization's earlier anti-imperial stance embodied in the *An Appeal to the World* petition. Despite the denouncement of the "imperial aggression" of the United States throughout the world in the 1947 petition, by 1948 White had led the NAACP to an open embrace of the United States's efforts to halt the spread of global communism.⁵⁰⁰

The extent to which the NAACP had moved on the issue of foreign policy was evident in 1951 in the organization's response to a petition submitted to the United Nations by the Civil Rights Congress (CRC). The CRC, founded in 1946 as a merger of the NNC and two other Popular Front groups, submitted a petition to the UN General Assembly accusing the United States of the newly defined international crime of genocide. The petition, entitled *We Charge Genocide: The Historic Petition to the United Nations for Relief from a Crime of the United States Government Against the Negro People*, claimed that "the oppressed Negro citizens of the United States ... suffer from genocide as the result of the consistent, conscious, unified policies of every branch

⁴⁹⁹ Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion*, 23.

⁵⁰⁰ W.E.B. Du Bois. "An Appeal to the World: A Statement on the Denial of Human Rights to Minorities in the Case of Citizens of Negro Descent in the United States of America and an Appeal to the United Nations for Redress." (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, January 1, 1947), 11; Janken, "From Colonial Liberation," 1086-87.

of government.”⁵⁰¹ The petition argued that the experience of blacks in the United States was at its heart tied to the structure of economic relations in the nation. Claiming that “the object of this genocide ... is the perpetuation of economic and political power by the few through the destruction of political protest by the many,” the petition concluded that “the foundation of the genocide of which we complain is economic.”⁵⁰² The petition also asserted that the foreign policy of the United States was motivated by the same economic forces, stating “[j]ellied gasoline in Korea and the lyncher’s faggot at home are connected ... The tie binding both is economic profit and political control.”⁵⁰³ The incendiary charges were roundly condemned by United States government officials, who quickly mobilized prominent black leaders to denounce the petition.

The State Department reached out to Walter White and asked him to publicly repudiate the petition. Although the criticisms of the United States were more extreme than in *An Appeal to the World*, and the criticism of capitalism much more explicit in the CRC’s petition, the two petitions had much in common. Much of the data and specific events that the CRC petition had used in *We Charge Genocide* had been taken directly from *An Appeal to the World*. This proved to be an uncomfortable reality when Walter White attempted to initially discredit the CRC’s petition through challenging the facts it presented, a position he backed off of only after Roy Wilkins pointed out that “many of the citations in that book are from the records and other publications of the NAACP.

⁵⁰¹ William L. Patterson, *We Charge Genocide: The Crime of Government Against the Negro People* (New York: International Publishers, 1951), xi.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, 5, 23.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, 7.

How can we ‘blast’ a book that uses our records as source material?”⁵⁰⁴ White ultimately instead released a statement at the behest of the State Department charging that the petition failed to take into account the “phenomenal gains” in civil rights and reducing bigotry that characterized the United States in the most recent decade and accused the CRC of using black “grievances as a pawn in the world struggle for political domination.”⁵⁰⁵

White recognized the value of his statement to the State Department, given that the “experience and prestige” of the NAACP meant that his statement regarding the treatment of blacks in the United States would be “accepted as truth by the non-communist people of the world.”⁵⁰⁶ White followed his official statement with a column for the *Saturday Literary Review* entitled “Time for a Progress Report,” in which he pointed to fifteen specific areas that constituted a “solid body of achievement” in bettering the lives of racial minorities throughout the 1940s.⁵⁰⁷

White was not alone in denouncing the CRC petition, as the federal government had moved to incorporate several black leaders into its international relations apparatus. Indeed, the incorporation of some of these individuals may have contributed to their

⁵⁰⁴ “Memorandum to Mr. White from Mr. Wilkins,” November 21, 1951, Group II, Series A, General Office File, United Nations, Papers of the NAACP, Part 14: Race Relations in the International Arena, 1940-1955, <http://congressional.proquest.com/histvault?q=001439-016-0001>.

⁵⁰⁵ “Statement by Walter White Made Upon Request of the U.S. State Department,” Group II, Series A, General Office File, United Nations, Papers of the NAACP, Part 14: Race Relations in the International Arena, 1940-1955, accessed March 25, 2016, <http://congressional.proquest.com/histvault?q=001439-016-0001>.

⁵⁰⁶ “Memorandum from Mr. White to Mr. Wilkins,” November 23, 1951, Group II, Series A, General Office File, United Nations, Papers of the NAACP, Part 14: Race Relations in the International Arena, 1940-1955, <http://congressional.proquest.com/histvault?q=001439-016-0001>.

⁵⁰⁷ Walter White, “Time for a Progress Report,” *The Saturday Review*, September 22, 1951, 41.

shifting positions on foreign policy, or at least modified their willingness to be as openly critical. This appears to be particularly true for Ralph Bunche, whose strident critiques of the foreign policy of the United States and the NAACP subsided significantly around the same time he was hired by the Office of Strategic Services.⁵⁰⁸

The increasingly prominent roles occupied by black individuals such as Edith Sampson as an alternate delegate to the U.N. assembly, Ralph Bunche as an analyst and U.N. diplomat, and Edward Dudley as the ambassador to Liberia, as well as the more temporary advisory roles given to Charles Johnson and R.P Weaver, provided the United States government with high-profile surrogates to combat criticisms of its racial record.⁵⁰⁹ The State Department reached out to Bunche, as well as Phelps-Stokes Fund director Channing Tobias, to help push back against the charges in the petition.⁵¹⁰ Edith Sampson was asked to tour Scandinavian countries to limit any damage from the petition, during which she echoed White's rosy portrayal of the state of race relations in the United States. Sampson claimed that concerns about Jim Crow were overblown, that blacks did not face any barriers to voting, and that the black people she knew drove Cadillacs and lived in \$100,000 houses.⁵¹¹ The well-organized effort to combat the claims of the CRC petition, many of which were substantially similar to those the NAACP had made just a few years

⁵⁰⁸ Kirby, "Ralph J. Bunche," 135, 141; Holloway "Ralph Bunche," 128, 133.

⁵⁰⁹ St. Clair Drake, "The International Implications of Race," 261; White, "Time for a Progress Report."

⁵¹⁰ The State department also reached out to Professor Rayford Logan who was representing the NAACP at the Paris UN session, but Logan refused to denounce the petition (Janke, "From Colonial Liberation," 1087).

⁵¹¹ Carol Anderson, "Bleached Souls and Red Negroes: The NAACP and Black Communists in the Early Cold War, 1948-1952," in *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1988*, ed. Brenda Gayle Plummer, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 103-104.

earlier, indicates the extent to which the NAACP and other prominent black intellectuals had shifted their views to align with Cold War anti-communism in international affairs.

The embrace of the anti-communism and an interventionist foreign policy by the NAACP was accompanied by a silencing of those voices of dissent within the organization. Perhaps the most notable instance of this silencing was W.E.B. Du Bois's unceremonious dismissal from the organization in 1948. Du Bois vehemently disagreed with the increasingly close relationship between the NAACP and the Truman administration, and the muting of criticism of Truman's interventionism that this relationship required. This disagreement over the NAACP's position on foreign policy appears to have been decisive in his expulsion from the organization in 1948.⁵¹² The NAACP became increasingly openly critical of other prominent black leftists, including Paul Robeson and William Patterson, the president of the CRC. Du Bois, Robeson, and Patterson had all been critical of the NAACP's embrace of Truman in the 1948 election, and all three were signatories to the *We Charge Genocide* petition.⁵¹³

Despite disagreements, there was some attempt by Patterson to cooperate on common political goals with the NAACP. Patterson had reached out to White in 1949 in an attempt to work together on the UN petition, but White refused and criticized the communist nature of the CRC.⁵¹⁴ The open refusal to associate with blacks on the left was part of a broader effort to separate the NAACP from the Popular Front. At the

⁵¹² Janken, "From Colonial Liberation," 1083.

⁵¹³ Ibid., 1086; *We Charge Genocide*.

⁵¹⁴ Gilbert Jonas, *Freedom's Sword: The NAACP and the Struggle Against Racism in America, 1909-1969* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 144; Anderson 2003, 93.

annual meeting of the NAACP in 1950, members passed a resolution authorizing the national organization to take “necessary steps to eradicate Communist infiltration,” including suspension or expulsion of any local branch that came under communist influence.⁵¹⁵ This official stance formalized what had been an unofficial policy since 1946 organized by Walter White, Roy Wilkins, Thurgood Marshall and others to combat the influence of communists within the organization.⁵¹⁶

The distancing of the NAACP and others from those on the left made them particularly vulnerable to the repressive action increasingly employed by the United States government. Paul Robeson had his passport revoked due to his criticism of the United States’s foreign policy abroad.⁵¹⁷ After submitting the *We Charge Genocide* petition, Patterson was charged with contempt of Congress and had his passport confiscated.⁵¹⁸ In 1951, the 82-year-old Du Bois was charged with being “an agent of foreign principle” for his foreign policy positions and work with the Peace Information Center. Although all charges were eventually dismissed, Manning Marable notes that the NAACP was particularly “conspicuous in its cowardice” in its refusal to offer any legal or public support of the former prominent member.⁵¹⁹ Despite the dismissal of all charges,

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., 148.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid., 145. In addition to aligning ideologically with the leaders of the NAACP, the strident anti-Communism of the organization’s leaders was likely given a boost by Arthur Schlesinger’s public accusation that the Communist Party was “sinking its tentacles” into the NAACP. Rossinow, *Visions of Progress*, 214.

⁵¹⁷ Arthur Redding, *Turncoats, Traitors, and Fellow Travelers: Culture and Politics of the Early Cold War* (University Press of Mississippi, 2012), 65.

⁵¹⁸ Anderson, “Bleached Souls and Red Negroes,” 103-106.

⁵¹⁹ Marable, *Race, Reform, Rebellion*, 27.

the indictment did accomplish some of the objectives of the Truman administration, as thousands of libraries removed copies of Du Bois's work and he was increasingly marginalized from organizations that wished to maintain mainstream appeal. Others on the left were not so lucky, and many faced massive material consequences when they were convicted of subversive activities because of their foreign policy views.⁵²⁰

Although it is certainly true that the NAACP was in part a victim of Cold War anti-communist hysteria, the more conservative politics of those at the top of the organization meant that this hysteria also served as a useful tool to shape the politics of the organization towards the more conservative politics of those at the top.⁵²¹

By severing ties with the left, the NAACP and other mainstream organizations eliminated those members who had been most committed to economic justice through structural transformation. Indeed, this position had become increasingly untenable in organizations strongly committed to anti-communism, as any criticism of the economic organization of the US economy immediately cast suspicion on the loyalty of those making the argument. The strident anti-communism of the United States led to the downfall of the inclusion of strong economic and social equality guarantees as part of the U.N. Charter on Human Rights, largely over concern from the United States that they were a Soviet trojan horse. The NAACP and other mainstream black political organizations that prioritized combating Jim Crow largely abandoned these economic

⁵²⁰ Ibid., 26-28. See also Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line*, 67.

⁵²¹ Lang, "Freedom Train Derailed," 164. By the mid-1950s, several top NAACP officials, including Thurgood Marshall, had become informants to the FBI. Jonas, *Freedom's Sword*, 149.

commitments in an attempt to maintain legitimacy.⁵²² By 1948, it was clear that the brief opening provided by World War II to be both a communist and a patriot had closed. The ouster of Du Bois, the purging of communists from the organization, the abandonment of anti-imperialism and strong demands for economic justice was the price the NAACP willingly paid for the promised support of modest civil rights advancements from Cold War liberals.

As black political organizations were increasingly channeled into a civil rights framework, commitments to organizing a coalition of interracial working-class people in order to facilitate broad economic structural transformation to achieve economic justice receded into the background. The new imperative of the international context substantially benefitted those individuals and organizations who had long been skeptical of the wisdom of closely associating black political demands with the left. Arguments calling for fair racial incorporation into the existing institutional order were better able to accommodate the changing international context, as their highest priorities could be achieved within the existing institutional and economic landscape. Those pushing for economic reorganization were marginalized, as calls for significant changes to the economic system were increasingly deemed un-American.

The Domestic Constraints of the Second Red Scare

Just as the shifting international context shaped the strategic decisions of organizations and individuals on the left, the brutally repressive domestic suppression of

⁵²² Anderson, "Bleached Souls and Red Negroes," 107.

the left facilitated by this shifting context had extensive repercussions for postwar politics. As the influence of the rehabilitated business community and Congressional conservatives waxed in the postwar era, anti-communism served as a particularly effective tool in attacking political opponents on the left. Stoked by a political coalition that found communist witch hunts politically useful, political organizations were increasingly pressured to prove their patriotism through severing all association with anyone deemed too far Left or face Congressional investigation. During the era of the Second Red Scare, unions and other organizations on the political left paid the price demanded of them in order to maintain access to mainstream political discourse/ politicians, and purged hundreds of thousands of individuals from membership rolls. Beyond weakening and destroying organizations, the attack on the left during the Second Red Scare had dramatic consequences for the individuals, who experienced immense pressure to renounce old positions, abandon social networks and friendships, or else suffer marginalization, substantial fines, or jail time. The anti-communism that shaped much of the domestic politics in the Post-War era proved devastating for the organizations, individuals, and ideas of the left.

The Rise of Anti-Communism

Nine days after he outlined the new interventionist foreign policy approach of the Truman Doctrine, President Truman indicated that the conflict with communism would have a domestic component. On March 21st, 1947, the President signed Executive Order 9835 requiring a loyalty investigation of every individual entering the employment of any

department or agency of the executive branch. The order also authorized the investigation of any current employee and set up a Loyalty Review Board with the power to fire anyone deemed not loyal. The order outlined disqualifying offenses for which employees could be fired, including “membership in, affiliation with or sympathetic association with” any organization “designated by the Attorney General as totalitarian, fascist, communist, or subversive.”⁵²³ Although the executive order technically applied to individuals across the political spectrum, the primary concern was with those on the left.

The testimony of FBI director J. Edward Hoover before the the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) on March 26th, 1947 underlined the fact that the primary targets would be those on the political left. Hoover’s testimony focused almost exclusively on domestic communism as one of the most serious threats facing the nation, warning the committee that “[l]iterally hundreds of groups and organizations have either been infiltrated or organized primarily to accomplish the purposes of promoting the interests of the Soviet Union.”⁵²⁴ The FBI director proposed a number of tests that would indicate the subversiveness of an organization, including whether an organization criticized American and British foreign policy, whether an organization was endorsed by a communist-controlled labor union, and whether an organization denounced “monopoly-

⁵²³ Harry S. Truman, “Executive Order 9835 - Prescribing Procedures for the Administration of an Employees Loyalty Program in the Executive Branch of the Government” (Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, March 21, 1947), <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=75524>.

⁵²⁴ *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States: Hearings Before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives*, 80th Cong. 41 (1947) (testimony of J. Edgar Hoover, Director Federal Bureau of Investigations).

capitalism.”⁵²⁵ Hoover identified the school system, labor unions, radio, and the motion pictures industry as areas of special concern, where communists had already made progress towards infiltration. The director also clarified unequivocally that communists did not have a right to Government employment.⁵²⁶

The focus on communist infiltration drew particular interest from Congressional conservatives. Republicans gained control of both the House and Senate after a dominant performance in the 1946 elections, and quickly exercised the investigative powers gained through control of Congressional committees.⁵²⁷ Congressman Richard Nixon (R-CA) was present at the HUAC hearing, and expressed particular concern about communist infiltration and reiterated the pressing need “to expose them, to drive them out of labor unions, out of other institutions.”⁵²⁸ During Hoover’s testimony, Republican Congressman Karl Mundt of South Dakota, who would become one of Senator Joseph McCarthy’s (R-WI) staunchest allies, argued that it was “liberal and progressive” forces that had the responsibility to be the most vigilant and outspoken, noting that “it is necessary for them to take vigorous and active steps to expose and defeat the activities of communists, and not simply to damn communism with faint praise, as some have done in the past.”⁵²⁹ Hoover’s description of domestic communists as a “fifth column”⁵³⁰

⁵²⁵ Ibid., 42.

⁵²⁶ Ibid., 43.

⁵²⁷ Risa Lauren Goluboff, ““Let Economic Equality Take Care of Itself”: The NAACP, Labor Litigation, and the Making of Civil Rights in the 1940s,” *UCLA Law Review* 52 (2005): 1461.

⁵²⁸ *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities: Hearings*, 47.

⁵²⁹ Ibid., 44-45.

⁵³⁰ Ibid., 43.

committed to “the destruction of free enterprise” provided a powerful line for conservatives against those that failed to condemn the party and sympathizers in the most strident terms.⁵³¹ The committee, and its focus on the threat of domestic subversion, would become well known to the public by the end of 1947 as it launched an investigation of communist infiltration in the movie industry.⁵³²

A broad range of conservative groups, including the American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the Chamber of Commerce found red-baiting to be a powerful means of silencing critics and advancing their own political agendas.⁵³³ Calling into question an individual’s loyalty became a particularly potent political weapon, especially as criteria that could lead to termination of employment and the number of groups considered subversive expanded in 1951 and 1953.⁵³⁴ The loyalty investigations soon spread to the state level, and by the early 1950s over thirty states had their own policies that called for loss of employment for membership in subversive organizations, over twenty required public servants to sign loyalty oaths, and thirteen had created their own version of HUAC.⁵³⁵ As

⁵³¹ Ibid., 35.

⁵³² Wendy Wall, “Anti-Communism in the 1950s | The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History,” August 15, 2012, <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/fifties/essays/anti-communism-1950s>.

⁵³³ Wendy L. Wall, *Inventing the “American Way”: The Politics of Consensus from the New Deal to the Civil Rights Movement*, (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Landon R. Y. Storrs, *The Second Red Scare and the Unmaking of the New Deal Left* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012); Stuart J. Foster, *Red Alert!: Educators Confront the Red Scare in American Public Schools, 1947-1954* (New York: Peter Lang International Academic Publishers, 2000); Hartman, *Education and the Cold War*; Korstad and Lichtenstein, “Opportunities Found and Lost,” 800.

⁵³⁴ Wall, “Anti-Communism in the 1950s.”

⁵³⁵ Storrs, *The Second Red Scare*, 288; Ellen Schrecker, *The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: St. Martin’s Press, 1994), 71.

the hysteria increased, accusations of disloyalty became a devastatingly effective means of combating individuals, ideas, or policies that might be considered remotely critical of capitalism or American foreign policy.

The Political and Policy Effects of the Second Red Scare

In her account of the loyalty investigations, historian Landon Storrs demonstrates the considerable consequences for civil servants targeted for investigation. To be accused of subversive activity often meant one was subjected to years of repeated loyalty investigations, imposing a staggering economic and psychological price on the accused. Storrs shows how the prevalence of loyalty investigations and their cynical use by conservatives and business interests, forced prominent left-leaning civil servants to distance themselves from strong critiques of economic inequality and capitalism or face unemployment. These loyalty investigations had a significant impact on the direction of post-War social policy, as important individuals were forced to abandon left policies. Policies such as national health insurance, anti-militarism, strong consumer protections, a comprehensive social welfare system, public control of power, and public housing were marginalized as these individuals moved towards more the political center and business friendly positions in an attempt to shore up their anti-subversive credentials.⁵³⁶ The effects of loyalty investigations in non-government organizations mirrored the effects of loyalty investigations in the civil service, as friendships, networks and coalitions frayed and disappeared under the immense pressure. The loyalty investigations, and their

⁵³⁶ Storrs, *The Second Red Scare*, 205-258.

remarkably effective use by opponents of New Deal-style social and economic programs, contributed significantly to the defeat of more democratic policy alternatives and helped forge a Post-War consensus that was substantially more conservative.⁵³⁷

The attempt to roll back the social policies of the New Deal, and to prevent passage of similar legislation, motivated a campaign by corporate leaders and pro-business groups to attempt “to shape a national consensus that was conducive to unfettered corporate expansion and economic growth.”⁵³⁸ Historian Wendy Wall’s work follows the invention of the phrase “The American Way,” and the associated politics that came to be a particularly powerful force in the 1940s and 1950s. This ideology frowned on labor militancy and class conflict as un-American, idolized individual liberty and tolerance, and positioned high productivity and mass consumption as central to the preservation of democracy and the economy.⁵³⁹ Importantly, while this emerging ideology was in part an attempt to head off New Deal type social welfare programs, the high value it placed on tolerance and consensus did provide an opening for minority groups to seek incorporation into existing structures. In fact, as Wall notes, by the 1950s race and “intergroup relations [had] become a good ‘cause’ for conservatives to be liberal about. It [was] not basically threatening to their own economic agenda.”⁵⁴⁰ However, the opening provided was limited, as this ideology could easily be appropriated for purposes

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

⁵³⁸ Wendy Wall, *Inventing the “American Way,”* 190-191.

⁵³⁹ Ibid., 9, 192.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid., 283.

like legal and political equality of black individual, while forcefully shutting the door on other claims - most importantly, demands for economic equality or economic transformation.⁵⁴¹

The Second Red Scare facilitated the rise of this new pro-growth and pro-business political coalition. The loyalty investigations of prominent left-leaning policymakers in the federal civil service pushed individuals to abandon previous advocacy of expansive government in economic planning and redistribution. Under the threat of loyalty investigation, important individuals like Leon Keyserling, the head of the Council of Economic Advisors (CEA) under President Truman, began to advocate for focusing on growth and increasing production rather than redistribution in the early 1950s. This new “guns and butter” strategy positioned economic growth, in large part through increased military spending to combat communism, rather than redistribution of wealth as the top economic priority of Cold War liberals. As Keyserling and his wife were investigated, he adopted increasingly pro-business rhetoric and policy proposals, at least in part to fend off charges that he was insufficiently loyal.⁵⁴² The Keyerselings were certainly not the only individuals that felt this pressure. Historian Landon Storrs has argued that the Right frequently used accusation of disloyalty to “block policy initiatives that impinged on business prerogatives at home and abroad.”⁵⁴³

⁵⁴¹ Ibid., 235, 279-285.

⁵⁴² Storrs, *The Second Red Scare*, 164-172.

⁵⁴³ Ibid., 206.

The Left and Political Suppression

As J. Edgar Hoover and Richard Nixon's public comments on communist influence and infiltration on unions foreshadowed, the Second Red Scare had particularly powerful effects on the membership and programmatic agenda of Unions in the post-War era.⁵⁴⁴ The passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 significantly undermined the power of the labor movement in the United States. The legislation contained several provisions that made it much more difficult for labor unions to maintain and expand membership. The limitation on the right to strike, limitations on the use of the boycott, and a provision allowing states to ban "closed shops" all substantially weakened the political position of labor in the Post-War era.⁵⁴⁵ Passed as the anti-communist hysteria was reaching a fever pitch the legislation contained a provision, Section 9(h), that required all trade union officials to sign affidavits proclaiming that they were neither members nor supporters of the Communist Party.⁵⁴⁶ The industrial unions of the CIO were by far the largest organizations that had continued to maintain the rough outlines of Popular Front-style cooperation with communists. The passage of the Taft-Hartley Act and the reemergence of HUAC the same year made this cooperation increasingly untenable. In 1948, the President of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (UE) was arrested after he refused to cooperate with HUAC in an investigation of another Popular Front

⁵⁴⁴ *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities: Hearings*, 40, 47.

⁵⁴⁵ Marie Gottschalk, *The Shadow Welfare State: Labor, Business, and the Politics of Health Care in the United States* (Ithaca, N.Y: ILR Press, 2000), 43-44.

⁵⁴⁶ Nelson Lichtenstein, "Taft-Hartley: A Slave-Labor Law," *Catholic University Law Review* 47 (1997-1998), 788.

organization. The UE, and ten other union affiliates of the CIO representing roughly one million members were expelled from the CIO between 1949 and 1950 over their refusal to sign the anti-communist affidavits required by the Taft-Hartley Act.⁵⁴⁷ The Resolution on Expulsion of the UE stated emphatically “[t]here is no place in the CIO for any organization whose leaders ... would betray the American workers into totalitarian bondage.”⁵⁴⁸

This massive purging of left-oriented unions and members had serious consequences for the political agenda of the labor movement. The active removal and exclusion of communists and other leftists from the labor movement limited the connection unions had to other core leftist-movement of the Post-World War II years. The CIO members that were also members of the Communist Party were often the most committed and effective organizers when it came to combating racial prejudice and racial exclusion. The elimination of communists and other leftists from the mainstream labor movement resulted in a substantial decline in the priority that the AFL-CIO put on fighting racial segregation.⁵⁴⁹ The retreat on race issues was just one example of the programmatic consequences of severing ties with the left. As labor historian Nelson Lichtenstein has noted, prior to their exclusion, communist union members had often provided the “organic leadership” for many left-oriented movements the era, including

⁵⁴⁷ Rossinow, *Visions of Progress*, 197-198; Marable, *Race, Reform, Rebellion*, 18.

⁵⁴⁸ Report to the 11th Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations by the Committee on Resolution, “Resolution on Expulsion of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America and Withdrawal of Certificate of Affiliation,” in Schrecker, *The Age of McCarthyism*, 197.

⁵⁴⁹ Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion*, 19-28.

opposition to Cold War, defense of civil liberties, and early feminism.⁵⁵⁰ The mass removal of the communist members or sympathizers from the political mainstream significantly limited the influence and connection the labor movement would have in the dominant left politics that would emerge in the coming decades.⁵⁵¹ Additionally, the Second Red Scare and the broad purges foreclosed the possibility of a clear independence from the Democratic Party and ultimately served to bind the leadership of the labor movement tightly to the Democratic Party leadership.⁵⁵²

Beyond restricting the broad political vision and connection with other left movements, the elimination of the radical left from the labor movement and the increasingly defensive posture forced by unfriendly legislation and resurgent business influence led to consequential changes in the political demands of unions. The passage of the Taft-Hartley Act forced labor leaders to shift focus from advocating for universal government social welfare programs to a stance that prioritized collective bargaining. This was largely a reaction to an unfavorable political climate in which union leaders made the strategic decision to prioritize the maintenance of member loyalty and the protection of existing unions over active expansion and organization of new members. Political Scientist Marie Gottschalk argues that the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act and the political context of the postwar era created an alliance of labor and employers around job-based health and pension benefits that limited labor's active advocacy for universal

⁵⁵⁰ Lichtenstein, "Taft-Hartley," 782.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵⁵² Rossinow, *Visions of Progress*, 144.

benefit programs.⁵⁵³ The purging of the left flank of the labor movement was important to this reprioritization, as this was precisely the part of the labor movement that was most likely to organize around broad social issues like universal social welfare programs.⁵⁵⁴ Ultimately, the fracturing of Popular Front-style cooperation between labor unions and the radical left forced by a changing political context resulted in a labor movement with a narrowed focus on collective bargaining, fewer connections with the other left movements, and a close embrace of the Democratic Party. In a sharp reversal of the trends of the previous decades, the percent of the workforce belonging to union began its lengthy decline in 1953.⁵⁵⁵

The broad targeting of organizations based on political association had devastating, and in some cases, fatal consequences for many organizations on the left that were unwilling or unable to effectively distance themselves from past or present association with now questionable political views. Groups such as the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which had been formed by civil rights activists unhappy with the unwillingness of the ACLU to defend accused communists, and the National Lawyers Guild who actively opposed anti-communist repression, were actively targeted and marginalized for combating McCarthyism.⁵⁵⁶ By the late 1950s, a number of groups

⁵⁵³ Gottschalk, *The Shadow Welfare State*, 42-44; See also William Forbath, "Civil Rights and Economic Citizenship: Notes on the Past and Future of the Civil Rights and Labor Movements," *University of Pennsylvania Journal of Business Law* 2, no. 4 (July 1, 2000): 707-708.

⁵⁵⁴ Korstad & Lichtenstein, "Opportunities Found and Lost," 792-800; Lieberman & Lang. "Anti-Communism and the African American Freedom Movement," 8.

⁵⁵⁵ Sugrue, "Reassessing the History of Postwar America," 497.

⁵⁵⁶ The National Lawyers Guild lost roughly for-fifths of its members after HUAC issued a report calling it "The Legal Bulwark of the Communist Party," and the Eisenhower administrations' unsuccessful attempt to list it as a subversive organization. Schrecker, *The Age of McCarthyism*, 90-91.

advocating for interracial working-class organization and anti-imperialism, including the American Labor Party, the Council on African Affairs, the National Negro Labor Council, and the Civil Rights Congress, had disbanded due in large part due to suppression by the federal government. In addition to infiltration, surveillance, and harassment, many left-leaning groups (including all those listed above) were added to the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations by 1953. The act of adding an organization to this list was essentially a death blow, as individuals seeking employment with the federal government were required to sign a statement certifying that they had no past or present connection with any of the listed organizations.⁵⁵⁷

The disappearance of these organizations represented a substantial loss to the ideas and coalitions of the left. Without the intellectual and financial resources, organizing around the political agenda like that advocated by the Popular Front became infinitely more difficult. Furthermore, as historian Ellen Schrecker has argued,

McCarthyism's main impact may well have been in what did not happen rather than in what did—the social reforms that were never adopted, the diplomatic initiatives that were not pursued, the workers who were not organized into unions, the books that were not written, and the movies that were not filmed.⁵⁵⁸

There is no way to account for the personal relationships, political allegiances, and new organizations and coalitions that might have emerged in the absence of the widespread

⁵⁵⁷ Robbie Lieberman and Clarence Lang, "Introduction," in *Anticommunism and the African American Freedom Movement: "Another Side of the Story,"* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 9; Lang, "Freedom Train Derailed," 172. See also: See http://www.foia.cia.gov/sites/default/files/document_conversions/89801/DOC_0001468263.pdf. The pressures leading to the destruction and disbandment of these groups after World War II was similar to those that had forced similar disbandments of left groups in the early 1940s, such as the National Negro Congress, the American Student Union, and the League of American Writers. Kazin, *American Dreamers*.

⁵⁵⁸ Schrecker, *The Age of McCarthyism*, 92-93.

suppression of the political left. The repression of the left had an impact not only in the coalitions and policies that disappeared from the political arena, but also in the absence of organizational capacity to resist and push back against an increasingly conservative national political agenda.

As the responses of the CIO and the NAACP indicate, government officials were far from the only actors responsible for repression of the political left during the Second Red Scare. Many groups that had tolerated or welcomed the participation of Communist Party members in the early 1940s began targeting and purging these individuals by the end of the decade. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) ousted communists and sympathizers and actively supported federal suppression efforts.⁵⁵⁹ The American Bar Association (ABA) passed resolutions against permitting communists from practicing law and actively cooperated with federal officials to investigate members and begin disbarment proceedings against those deemed subversive. In some cases, simply representing individuals in anti-communist proceedings was enough to subject lawyers to a barrage of negative consequences, including loss of income, clients and potential disbarment.⁵⁶⁰

As employers increasingly adopted the same tactics as organizations like the ABA and ACLU, communists and fellow travelers faced widespread firing and diminished economic prospects across the labor market. The film and entertainment industry had been the subject of high profile loyalty and subversive investigation by HUAC, and

⁵⁵⁹ Jonas, *Freedom's Sword*, 147.

⁵⁶⁰ Schrecker, *The Age of McCarthyism*, 85-86.

workers throughout the industry faced a career-ending blacklist, in some cases simply for supporting procedural rights for accused subversives. Professional organizations like the Screen Actors Guild, headed by Ronald Reagan, actively participated in the purging of communists and required members to sign loyalty oaths.⁵⁶¹ U.S. Steel, General Electric, and a number of other employers publicly announced that any employee that exercised their Fifth Amendment Right against self-incrimination while under investigation would be dismissed.⁵⁶² The anti-communist fervor spread to academia as left-wing professors found their employment on increasingly unstable ground. When Congressional investigators turned their attention to communism in Higher Education in 1953, the Association of American Universities, whose members consisted of the presidents of thirty-seven of the country's most prominent universities, released a statement warning professors that "invocation of the Fifth Amendment places upon a professor a heavy burden of proof of his fitness to hold a teaching position and lays upon his university an obligation to reexamine his qualifications for membership in its society."⁵⁶³ Charles Johnson, now the President of Fisk University and a still frequent *JNE* contributor, dismissed two faculty members for taking the Fifth Amendment when called before HUAC, despite widespread support for the two professors on campus.⁵⁶⁴ The American Association of University Professors (AAUP) the main organization committed to

⁵⁶¹ Ibid., 90.

⁵⁶² Ibid., 77-83.

⁵⁶³ As quoted in Ellen Schrecker, *The Lost Soul of Higher Education: Corporatization, the Assault on Academic Freedom, and the End of the American University* (The New Press, 2010), 51-52.

⁵⁶⁴ Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion*, 27-28.

defending academic freedom in higher education, largely stayed on the sidelines during the height of the Second Red Scare and did nothing to combat the academic firings that cost hundreds of professors their livelihoods.⁵⁶⁵

The changing domestic political context of the decade and half after World War II dramatically circumscribed the terrain on which the left could operate in the United States. Cold War liberals, like President Truman, questioned the loyalty of those on the left, especially when they expressed opposition to his foreign policy. The loyalty investigation machinery built by President Truman provided a convenient tool for renascent business groups and conservative politicians committed to rolling back many of the New Deal programs and to prevent the passage of similar generous social welfare programs, as they cast individuals on the political left as a threat to national security, particularly if they were critical of the economic system. Groups and individuals on the left were affected, as many scrambled to reverse previous political positions, abandon long standing relationships, and move decidedly towards the political center in a time where being too far to the left carried the possibility of ending one's career. Although this shifting Post-War domestic political context was devastating for those on the left that centered their politics on a critique of economic inequality and exploitation under the existing economic system, it was substantially more friendly to a politics that could articulate grievances in a manner that did not implicate capitalism. This provided a decisive advantage to those on the left that were primarily concerned with fair incorporation of racial minorities into the existing system.

⁵⁶⁵ Schrecker, *The Age of McCarthyism*, 90.

The Changing Court Doctrines

At the moment that the Cold War context was rapidly shrinking the political space for left political organizations and individuals, changing federal court doctrines in the 1950s provided an advantage to those groups and individuals advancing a political agenda that centered on fair incorporation and equal opportunity. While throughout the 1930s and early 1940s the Supreme Court had appeared open to a conception of civil rights that provided strong protection for the rights of workers and labor, by the late 1940s this moment had largely passed. Shifting court doctrines had important consequences for the types of legal arguments advanced by groups seeking redress - particularly for those targeting Jim Crow. By the early 1950s, as the Cold War context made cases emphasizing the rights of black laborers unappealing, the NAACP shifted its focus to attacking the non-economic consequences of Jim Crow segregation. The increasing openness of the Supreme Court to ruling segregation violated the 14 Fourteenth Amendment reinforced for many the wisdom of pursuing a political and legal agenda centered on demonstrating the negative psychological effects of segregation and discrimination. Although this approach proved quite successful in eliminating formal barriers to black participation in existing institutions, it was particularly ill equipped to address the deteriorating economic situation facing black Americans.

Labor and the Federal Courts

The passage of the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) in 1935 is viewed by some scholars as perhaps the most radical piece of legislation of the twentieth century.⁵⁶⁶ Passed amidst turmoil of the Great Depression and after a massive wave of strikes, and the rise of the CIO, the NLRA formalized a number of workers rights. The NLRA included sections clarifying the right of workers to organize, the right of workers to choose their own representatives, promotion of collective bargaining between employees and employers. The Act also created the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to oversee labor organization and prevent unfair labor practices. Senator Robert Wagner (D - NY), the author of the NLRA, argued that the legislation was necessary to promote industrial democracy, a democratic workplace in which employees had meaningful participation in the deciding the conditions under which they worked. Wagner asserted that NLRA was essential legislation, as “democracy cannot work unless it is honored in the factory as well as the polling booth; men cannot be truly free in body and in spirit unless their freedom extends into the places where they earn their daily bread.”⁵⁶⁷ This articulation of democracy is squarely in line with the economic democracy ideology. The NLRA’s promotion of industrial democracy, strong unions, and redistribution of power from corporate leaders to workers had potentially radical implications.⁵⁶⁸ However, the

⁵⁶⁶ Howard Kimeldorf and Judith Stepan-Norris, “Historical Studies of Labor Movements in the United States,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 18 (1992): 498.

⁵⁶⁷ *Proposed Amendments to the National Labor Relations Act: Hearings Before the Committee on Labor, House of Representatives, 76th Cong., 277* (1948) (statement of Hon. Robert F. Wagner, A United States Senator from the State of New York).

⁵⁶⁸ Karl E. Klare, “Judicial Deradicalization of the Wagner Act and the Origins of Modern Legal Consciousness, 1937-1941,” *Minnesota Law Review* 65 (1978 1977): 284-285. Klare notes that it easily could be read as overtly anti-capitalist.

extent of the NLRA's radicalism would be worked out in federal courts in the late 1930s and 1940s, a process which ultimately resulted in curtailing the revolutionary potential of NLRA.

The passage of the NLRA provoked an immediate and sustained effort by Republicans and business leaders to undermine the Act's provisions. Unhappy with the twin threat of loss of managerial prerogative and growing labor militarism, the business community attempted to undermine the NLRA through refusing to follow the newly established rules and devoting resources to illegal antiunion campaigns.⁵⁶⁹ The intransigence from the business community ultimately resulted in the federal court system having a decisive role in determining the boundaries of legitimate labor activity.

Some initial Supreme Court decisions gave the labor movement hope that the Court would take an expansive interpretation of protections the NLRA granted to workers. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, the Court handed down several decisions favorable to labor, including the protection of the right of unionists to speak in public, protection for union advertisements, and protection of the right of unions to picket.⁵⁷⁰ The Supreme Court also protected the NLRB's independence, insulating its proceedings from judicial interference and stalling tactics from employers. These early decisions significantly undermined what had been some of the most common and effective means

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid., 285-289. Klare notes that illegal tactics included company unionism, espionage, surveillance, lockouts, as well as violence and terrorism.

⁵⁷⁰ James Gray Pope, "Labor and the Constitution: From Abolition to Deindustrialization.," *Texas Law Review* 65, no. 6 (May 1987): 1090.

of employer attacks on unions.⁵⁷¹ However, these early victories were interspersed among other Court decisions that narrowed the rights of unions and workers, including decisions that allowed employers to hire permanent replacement workers, outlawed sit-down strikes, and required employees suing for wrongful termination to mitigate damages while waiting for a ruling. By the 1940s, the Court was increasingly handing down decisions that “progressively chipped away at labor’s rights under the Wagner Act.”⁵⁷²

This trend accelerated after the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, and in the 1950s, the Supreme Court substantially weakened the protest rights of labor. As the Supreme Court limited, or failed to protect, the most effective union protest tactics, the labor movement was put squarely on the defensive.⁵⁷³ After reaching 35% of the workforce in 1953, union membership began a long and steady nationwide decline.⁵⁷⁴ As organizing new workplaces and members became more difficult, the labor movement’s activity and political agenda narrowed significantly. The Supreme Court’s decisions discouraged unions from challenging economic exploitation and social injustice broadly, and instead “encouraged responsible unions to accept the social order as a given and to seek to defend and better the lot of their members only within its ground rules.”⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷¹ Klare, “Judicial Deradicalization,” 318.

⁵⁷² Kimmeldorf and Stepan-Norris, “Historical Studies of Labor Movements,” 500. See also Klare, “Judicial Deradicalization,” 319.

⁵⁷³ Pope, “Labor and the Constitution,” 1071-1072, 1078-1082.

⁵⁷⁴ Sugrue, “Reassessing the History of Postwar America,” 497; Pope, “Labor and the Constitution,” 1072.

⁵⁷⁵ Klare, “Judicial Deradicalization,” 321.

Shifting Court doctrine, much like the purging of labor's left flank, channeled union activity towards bargaining over the wages and conditions of existing members rather than expanding membership and broad challenges to existing economic structures.⁵⁷⁶

The decisions of the Supreme Court had a hand in foreclosing the radical potential of the NLRA. During the 1940s and 1950s, the possibility of an expansive interpretation of the NLRA and the rights of workers dimmed, as the Court ultimately “embraced those aims most consistent with the assumptions of liberal capitalism and foreclosed those potential paths of development most threatening to the established order.”⁵⁷⁷ The Supreme Court's labor decisions shifted the NLRA's focus away from redistribution, equal power, and industrial democracy, centering the NLRA instead on the goals of industrial peace, collective bargaining as a means of heading off labor militarism, and a much more limited redistribution of power in the workplace.⁵⁷⁸ As the Court narrowed the protections of the NLRA and limited the boundaries of legitimate labor activity, it shifted power in industrial relations back towards the employer, decisively undermining the industrial democratic potential (and intent) of the NLRA.

The NAACP Legal Strategy at the Supreme Court

Much like the labor rights cases, Supreme Court decisions in the 1940s and 1950s helped shift the political center of gravity for groups seeking legal redress for issues relating to civil rights and racial inequality. This time period was one in which the legal

⁵⁷⁶ Pope, “Labor and the Constitution,” 1072; Klare, “Judicial Deradicalization,” 320; and Gottschalk, *The Shadow Welfare State*, 42-44.

⁵⁷⁷ Klare, “Judicial Deradicalization,” 292.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 292-293; See also Pope, “Labor and the Constitution,” 1072.

understanding of civil rights was in flux. Despite contestation and debate in the early 1940s, a variety of factors, including the Supreme Court's less sympathetic stance towards labor rights, federal institutions more open to combating racial discrimination, the class commitments of the NAACP, and the rising Second Red Scare all contributed to an eventual postwar settlement on a conception of civil rights centered on seeking redress from the Fourteenth Amendment Equal Protection Clause for the intangible and psychological harms imposed on black Americans by Jim Crow. This settlement, most famously evident in the 1954 *Brown v Board* decision, greatly strengthened the political hand of racial democrats who pressed for equal opportunity for success in the existing institutional landscape.

As Risa Goluboff has shown, this outcome was certainly not inevitable.

Throughout the early 1940s, the Civil Rights Section (CRS) of the Justice Department pursued a number of cases that focused first and foremost on the material consequences of exploitation and discrimination for black laborers. In fact, "the attempts of black workers to build on the labor and economic rights of the New Deal represented *the most politically promising* civil rights issues of the 1940s."⁵⁷⁹ The CRS successfully pursued a number of cases on behalf of black workers, particularly agricultural workers in the southern sharecropping economy, on the grounds that the certain work arrangements had violated their Thirteenth Amendment right against involuntary servitude and peonage. Pursuing relief for the economic claims of black workers allowed the CRS to navigate the

⁵⁷⁹ Risa L. Goluboff, *The Lost Promise of Civil Rights*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2007): 9, emphasis added.

thorny racial politics of the Democratic Party, since these cases were palatable to Democratic administrations because they did not directly challenge segregation.⁵⁸⁰ Furthermore, as Goluboff has argued, relief for the economic consequences of racial discrimination was actually the highest order grievance for most blacks fighting against racial discrimination.⁵⁸¹ The legal resource and precedents offered by these labor cases suggested a particularly auspicious avenue for pursuing a conception of civil rights that included labor freedom and economic rights in addition to racial equality.⁵⁸²

For a brief moment during World War II, the NAACP experimented with a legal strategy that privileged the economic concerns of black workers, most notably in a number of cases seeking salary equalization for black teachers teaching in segregated schools.⁵⁸³ These cases did not attack the segregated nature of workplaces, but rather sought to improve the material conditions of black workers within segregated workplaces. However, the NAACP had never viewed the work-related problems as constituting the primary harm of Jim Crow. The leaders of the organization had always been much more willing to frame the problem of Jim Crow as one in which whites singled out blacks for discriminatory treatment in access to government, hotels, restaurants, theaters, and other social and cultural institutions because this was how *they*

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., 111-140.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid., 85, 105-107.

⁵⁸² Ibid., 172, 206.

⁵⁸³ Goluboff, ““Let Economic Equality Take Care of Itself””, 1431.

were most affected in their personal lives.⁵⁸⁴ The view emanating from the elites at the helm of the NAACP was a class-inflected one, as most blacks tended to express more concern about - and were more affected by - the material consequences of Jim Crow.⁵⁸⁵ This core commitment by the leaders of the NAACP, coupled with a postwar international and domestic context that was less friendly to both the labor related cases and the individuals advocating for a focus on the economic consequences of Jim Crow, meant that the NAACP was quick to drop its brief flirtation with a labor-centric notion of civil rights in the 1940s.⁵⁸⁶ By 1950, the organization had firmly committed to the goal of overturning *Plessy v. Ferguson* and eliminating segregation as its top priority - regardless of the consequences for black workers in segregated workplaces.

Significantly, the NAACP's decision to focus on attacking segregation on Fourteenth Amendment grounds was in part due to federal courts increasing receptivity to these arguments. In a 1939 article discussing recent Court cases regarding segregation in education including the 1938 *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* decision which effectively desegregated the University of Missouri Law School, professor of sociology Henry McGuinn noted that, "an indirect effect on the Court's decision was to strengthen the determination of the N.A.A.C.P. to fight segregated educational opportunities."⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸⁴ Ralph J. Bunche, "A Critical Analysis of the Tactics and Programs of Minority Groups," *The Journal of Negro Education* 4, no. 3 (1935): 316; Goluboff, *The Lost Promise of Civil Rights*, 176, 180.

⁵⁸⁵ Goluboff, *The Lost Promise of Civil Rights*, 85, 105-107.

⁵⁸⁶ Goluboff, *The Lost Promise of Civil Rights*, 219. In fact, pursuing cases that focused on improving the economic conditions of black workers within segregated workplaces became impossible once the organization prioritized eliminating segregation.

⁵⁸⁷ Henry J. McGuinn, "Equal Protection of the Law and Fair Trials in Maryland," *The Journal of Negro History* 24, no. 2 (April 1939): 158.

McGuinn argued that the Court's increasing openness to Fourteenth Amendment arguments against segregation "constitutes another reason why those who oppose the inequality and inferiority which Jim Crow schools impose upon Negroes should rally to oppose the spread of separate schools into the North and to wipe them out elsewhere."⁵⁸⁸ The strategy used in the Gaines case challenging segregation in higher education on Fourteenth Amendment grounds spurred a number of similar challenges in other states.

The increasing success of this legal argument reinforced the belief among many civil rights activists that the Fourteenth Amendment equal protection argument was the best means of challenging racial subordination. In a 1947 *JNE* article, George Johnson, the dean of Howard University's Law School, and law student Jane Lewis argued that the Supreme Court had never decisively settled the question of whether segregation of public education institutions was constitutional under the Fourteenth Amendment. Stating, "in the opinion of the writers of this article, the United States Supreme Court has never squarely held that a state 'separate school' law per se discharges a state's obligation under the Fourteenth Amendment," the authors urged continued pursuit of this line of argument and expressed hope that several cases then working their way through the courts might find segregation unconstitutional on Fourteenth Amendment grounds.⁵⁸⁹ In a 1951 *JNE* editorial, Charles Thompson, taking stock of mounting court victories, pointed out that the successful "cases adjudicated thus far have been based upon the 'equal protection

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid., 158-159.

⁵⁸⁹ George M. Johnson and Jane Marshall Lucas, "The Present Legal Status of the Negro Separate School," *The Journal of Negro Education* 16, no. 3 (Summer 1947): 280.

clause' of the Fourteenth Amendment."⁵⁹⁰ Thompson argued the result of NAACP's legal strategy had meant that "the Court has whittled down *Plessy v. Ferguson*," and he urged civil rights organizations to continue to "take full advantage of this opportunity."⁵⁹¹ The growing willingness of the courts to accept these arguments had a feedback effect on the NAACP and others seeking to combat racial subordination. These groups increasingly rallied behind challenging segregation on Fourteenth Amendment grounds and moved away from labor related cases that had relied primarily on the Thirteenth Amendment.

The class-inflected nature of the NAACP legal strategy was increasingly apparent in the cases and the arguments made by NAACP lawyers. The economic position of individuals influenced the very cases that the NAACP chose to pursue, as the decisions of the organization and the lawyers themselves were constrained by the need to appeal to the wealthy and middle class blacks and liberal whites that funded their efforts. As NAACP Legal Defense Fund lawyer Leroy Clark noted:

[t]here are two 'clients' the civil rights lawyer must satisfy: (1) the immediate litigants (usually black), and (2) those liberals (usually white) who make financial contributions. An apt criticism of the traditional civil rights lawyer is that too often the litigation undertaken was modulated by that which was 'salable' to the paying clientele who, in the radical view, had interests threatened by true social change. Attorneys may not make conscious decisions to refuse specific litigation because it is too "controversial" and hard to translate to the public, but no organization

⁵⁹⁰ Chas. H. Thompson, "Editorial Comment: How Imminent Is the Outlawing of Segregation," *The Journal of Negro Education* 20, no. 4 (Autumn 1951): 495.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 498.

dependent on a large number of contributors can ignore the fact that the “appeal” of the program affects fund-raising.⁵⁹²

The fact that the organization was run by black elites, and depended on middle-class and wealthy individuals for funding meant that many of the cases pursued by the NAACP were at “the confluence of the personal, professional, class, and racial interests” of well-off blacks.⁵⁹³ Cases focusing on graduate and professional education, transportation, voting, and the ability to purchase houses were particularly important to black elites.⁵⁹⁴ By the late 1940s, the NAACP and its lawyers in the Legal Defense Fund lined up squarely behind a legal strategy committed to the fair incorporation of blacks into the existing institutional landscape and class structure.

The NAACP’s campaign against racially restrictive housing covenants is an excellent example of the class-inflected nature of the organization’s legal strategy. Many cities throughout the United States allowed for racially restrictive housing covenants, which were private agreements between white property owners not to sell or lease their property to racial minorities. Ending the practice of these racially restrictive covenants was one of the top priorities of the NAACP legal team in the 1940s, in no small part because it was a practice that was particularly insulting to black elites who had the desire

⁵⁹² Leroy D. Clark, “The Lawyer in the Civil Rights Movement-Catalytic Agent or Counter-Revolutionary?,” *Kansas Law Review* 19 (1970): 469. See also Derrick A. Bell, “Serving Two Masters: Integration Ideals and Client Interests in School Desegregation Litigation,” *The Yale Law Journal* 85, no. 4 (1976): 470–516; Bunche, “A Critical Analysis.”

⁵⁹³ Preston H. Smith, *Racial Democracy and the Black Metropolis: Housing Policy in Postwar Chicago* (Minneapolis: University Of Minnesota Press, 2012): 191.

⁵⁹⁴ Ernest E. Neal, “Two Negro Problems Instead of One: A Challenge to Negro Colleges,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 21, no. 2 (1952): 161–66; see also Goluboff, *The Lost Promise of Civil Rights*, 198, 237.

and resources to move out of racially segregated ghettos. Thurgood Marshall headed the team of the NAACP lawyers that successfully challenged the state enforcement of racial covenants in the 1948 case *Shelley v. Kraemer*. Marshall and the NAACP had relied heavily on the research of prominent black social scientists, most notably that of future Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Robert Weaver, sociologists Charles Johnson and E. Franklin Frazier, and psychologist Herman Long. Relying on the work of these social scientists in their petition to the Supreme Court, the NAACP lawyers argued that the segregation of blacks into certain neighborhoods resulted in high-level crime, juvenile delinquency, dependency, psychological and personality damage, mental disorders, and social pathology among black individuals and families.⁵⁹⁵ Furthermore, these social scientists argued that the damages to black individuals and poor conditions of the neighborhoods and housing to which blacks were relegated ultimately supported the racial prejudice of whites.⁵⁹⁶

As political scientist Preston Smith has shown, the NAACP's victory in the courts was followed immediately by attempts of black elites to manage the transition of blacks into new neighborhoods through occupancy standards. These new occupancy standards, supported by the American Council of Race Relations and Robert Weaver, were race-neutral rules and regulations attached to property that limited the ways in which the property could be used, and were designed to limit the integration of nicer neighborhoods

⁵⁹⁵ Brief for the United States as Amicus Curiae, *Shelley v. Kraemer*, 334 U.S. 1, (1948): 61-70. The lawyers appear to accept that these were accurate descriptors of black families and individuals in racially segregated communities.

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 67. See also Smith, *Racial Democracy and the Black Metropolis*, 191-206.

to those that had the economic resources and behavioral habits of the existing neighbors. The turn to occupancy standards was an attempt by black elites to ensure that only the right class of blacks were allowed into certain neighborhoods, and were an attempt to find a market-friendly tool to eliminate racial segregation in the housing market while maintaining the stark class segregation of neighborhoods. There was certainly criticism of the NAACP from blacks who realized that the attack on racially restrictive covenants would mostly benefit the wealthy. The turn to occupancy standards after the victory in the Court was roundly criticized as an attempt to restrict access to housing for poor blacks.⁵⁹⁷ Ultimately, the NAACP's legal strategy and victory in the *Kraemer* case disproportionately reflected the class interests of wealthy and middle class blacks.

The 1948 *Shelley v. Kraemer* case also marked the first time that the federal government intervened as an outside party on behalf of the civil rights groups seeking redress for Fourteenth Amendment violation due to racial discrimination.⁵⁹⁸ The increasing willingness of the federal government to intercede on behalf of racial minorities before the Court was in no small part due to negative consequences that continued racial discrimination had on the image of the United States abroad. The amicus brief filed by the Office of the Solicitor General argued that government enforcement of racially restrictive covenants was a “source of serious embarrassment to agencies of the Federal Government,” and hindered “the conduct of foreign affairs.”⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁷ Smith, *Racial Democracy and the Black Metropolis*, 202, 211.

⁵⁹⁸ Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 91.

⁵⁹⁹ Brief for the United States as Amicus Curiae, *Shelley v. Kraemer*, 4-5.

The brief included a statement from the Secretary of State warning that instances of racial discrimination were widely publicized internationally, and cautioning that “we find it next to impossible to formulate a satisfactory answer to our critics in other countries” and that “the existence of discrimination against minority groups in the United States is a handicap in our relations with other countries.”⁶⁰⁰ As previously discussed, the international context provided an opening for the pursuit of a civil rights agenda that privileged incorporation of racial minorities into the existing institutional landscape. By the late 1940s, advocates for racial democracy had found powerful institutional support in the NAACP, the Federal Government, and the Supreme Court.

Brown v. Board

Perhaps the most important indication of this new settlement in the legal arena was the Supreme Court’s 1954 *Brown v. Board* decision. Education provided the NAACP a particularly opportune area to pursue its top priority of overturning the *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) precedent. In 1952, Thurgood Marshall outlined the plan of attack at a conference at Howard University hosted by Charles Thompson, editor of the *JNE*. At the conference, which took place as *Brown v. Board* was working its way through the courts, Marshall made clear that the main thrust of the NAACP’s argument would rely on an emerging social science literature that focused on the immaterial consequences of segregation in primary and secondary schools. Instead of focusing on tangible differences between black and white schools, such as physical facilities, number of

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.

teachers, or amount of funding, the NAACP's legal strategy would focus on the evidence that segregation caused "insecurity, self-hate" and "adverse effect[s] on personality development" in black students.⁶⁰¹ As historian Leah Gordon has shown, the postwar era was a particularly opportune time for this change in legal strategy. Generous federal and foundation funding for studies examining the psychological effects of prejudice and segregation had facilitated a decisive shift in the ideological tenor of the social sciences, and led to a proliferation of studies that identified prejudice and attitudes, rather than labor exploitation and class struggle, as the source of racial oppression.⁶⁰² It was these studies that would form the heart of the NAACP's argument in *Brown v. Board*.

The focus on the psychological harm of segregation was distinct from the strategy that the NAACP had pursued in previous cases involving higher education and professional schools. The NAACP had experienced some success in cases pursuing integration in institutions of higher education through arguing that the separate opportunities provided to white and black students were unequal, most notably in the *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950) and *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents* (1950) cases. However, as Marshall pointed out at the conference, it would be much more difficult to win on this argument in primary and secondary education cases, as many states had made an effort (often in response to, or in an attempt to head off, adverse court decisions) to

⁶⁰¹ Thurgood Marshall, "An Evaluation of Recent Efforts to Achieve Racial Integration in Education Through Resort to the Courts," *The Journal of Negro Education* 21, no. 3 (1952): 322.

⁶⁰² Leah N. Gordon, *From Power to Prejudice: The Rise of Racial Individualism in Midcentury America* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2015).

equalize the tangible aspects of black and white schools.⁶⁰³ This fact made the turn to the immaterial psychological harm that was the focus of many social scientists particularly attractive to the NAACP lawyers, as it provided them a new avenue of arguing that separate schools did not (and in fact, could not) provide equal educational opportunities.

The turn to a focus on the psychological effects of segregation was evident in the oral arguments and briefs submitted by the NAACP in the *Brown* case. The NAACP lawyers submitted an extensive appendix with their briefs, entitled “The Effects of Segregation and the Consequences of Desegregation: A Social Science Statement.” This statement, which was represented as “a consensus of social scientists” and a “summary of the best available scientific evidence relative to the effects of racial segregation” was drafted and signed by a number of prominent social scientists, including psychologists Kenneth and Mamie Clark, anthropologist Allison Davis, and sociologist Ira Reid.⁶⁰⁴ The statement emphasized that segregation had the potential to “damage the personality of all children”⁶⁰⁵ which could lead to myriad negative consequences including “anti-social and delinquent behavior,” a “defeatist attitude,”⁶⁰⁶ and “feelings of inferiority and and doubts about personal worth.”⁶⁰⁷ The focus on the immaterial and psychological harm of

⁶⁰³ Marshall, “An Evaluation of Recent Efforts,” 321-322.

⁶⁰⁴ Appendix to Appellant’s Brief, “The Effects of Segregation and the Consequences of Desegregation: A Social Science Statement,” *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 U.S. 483, (1954): Statement of Council. The statement also cited a number of other prominent social scientists, including Gunnar Myrdal, and E. Franklin Frazier.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 8. The statement noted that in a recent questionnaire, the view that racial segregation damaged the segregated population was supported by roughly 90% of social scientists that had responded. (10)

segregation featured heavily in Marshall's oral arguments before the Supreme Court as well. Marshall's argument before the justices relied heavily on the claim that segregation in education damaged the personality of children, and thus denied them equal status in schooling. Marshall stated that “Negro children have road blocks put up in their mind as a result of this segregation” and this “stamps [them] with a badge of inferiority.”⁶⁰⁸

Marshall also drew the justices attention to the testimony of Kenneth Clark, who had examined Leah Carter and found evidence of psychological injury, and warned of the potential for permanent injury to the mind if students were forced to stay in segregated schools.⁶⁰⁹

The argument that segregation caused psychological damage to students was persuasive, and was cited by the justices in their unanimous decision overturning the separate but equal doctrine. Much as Marshall had predicted at the 1952 Howard University conference outlining the NAACP's legal strategy, the justices emphasized that efforts to equalize black and white schools “with respect to buildings, curricula, qualifications and salaries of teachers, and other ‘tangible’ factors,” meant their decision could not be based “on merely a comparison of these tangible factors.”⁶¹⁰ Instead, the

⁶⁰⁸ Gerhard Casper and Philip B. Kurland, eds., “Opening Argument of Thurgood Marshall, Esq., on Behalf of the Appellants,” in *Landmark Briefs and Arguments of the Supreme Court of the United States: Constitutional Law: Brown v. Board of Education*, vol. 49 (Arlington, VA: University Publications of America, Incorporated, 1975): 310.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid. Marshall’s co-council Robert Carter, sounded similar themes, arguing that segregation slowed the “emotional and mental development” of children and that the “emotional impacts of segregation...does impair the ability to learn.” (Gerhard Casper and Philip B. Kurland, eds., “Opening Argument of Robert L. Carter, Esq., on Behalf of the Appellants,” in *Landmark Briefs and Arguments of the Supreme Court of the United States: Constitutional Law: Brown v. Board of Education*, vol. 49 (Arlington, VA: University Publications of America, Incorporated, 1975): 284-85).

⁶¹⁰ *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954): 492, Justia Law, accessed March 21, 2016, <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/347/483/case.html>.

decision focused on the immaterial harm of segregation on children, arguing, “[t]o separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority . . . that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely to ever be undone.”⁶¹¹ In justifying their decision, the Justices cited Kenneth Clark, E. Franklin Frazier, and Gunnar Myrdal among others, arguing that new evidence emanating from social scientists had decisively shown that segregation caused psychological damage to children; “Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern authority.”⁶¹²

The *Brown* decision represented the victory of the NAACP legal vision that focused on the non-material consequences of segregation. The decision also marked doctrinal shift in the courts that established that government-backed segregation was unconstitutional, even in absence of material inequality.⁶¹³ Law professor Lani Guinier has noted that through the *Brown* decision the Supreme Court converted the problems facing blacks “into a problem of individual psychological dysfunction” and as merely “an aberration in individuals who disregard relevant information, rely on stereotypes and act thoughtlessly.”⁶¹⁴ This left little room for legal recourse for the widespread material

⁶¹¹ Ibid., 494.

⁶¹² Ibid.

⁶¹³ Goluboff, *The Lost Promise of Civil Rights*, 240.

⁶¹⁴ Lani Guinier, “From Racial Liberalism to Racial Literacy: *Brown v. Board of Education* and the Interest-Divergence Dilemma,” *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 1 (2004): 116.

consequences that Jim Crow had imposed on blacks. This was a significant change from earlier conceptions of civil rights that focused on economic and labor rights.

The *Brown* decision galvanized support behind the continued push for a civil rights platform centered on overcoming the specific harms identified by the Court in its decision, the psychological injury imposed by segregation. In a 1955 *JNE* article, Thurgood Marshall and Robert Carter, two of the NAACP lawyers who had argued the *Brown* case before the Supreme Court, urged for the continuation of their program, arguing, “it is important the strongest pressures against the continuation of segregation, North or South, be continually and constantly manifested... as much as anything else, this is the key to the elimination of discrimination in the United States.”⁶¹⁵ The *Brown* decision, and the many court victories before it, refocused the political agendas of a number of groups and individuals combating racial subordination. The National Council of Negro Women, a council comprised of over two dozen groups founded by New Dealer and Works Progress Administration administrator Mary McLeod Bethune, announced their new focus, saying “[f]ollowing the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, the Board of Directors of the National Council of Negro Women decided that the program emphasis for the organization should embrace a program to further the implementation of the decision.”⁶¹⁶ The decision to shift focus was quickly followed by an invitation to

⁶¹⁵ Robert L. Carter and Thurgood Marshall, “The Meaning and Significance of the Supreme Court Decree,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 24, no. 3 (1955): 404.

⁶¹⁶ Lorraine A. Williams, “The Interracial Conference of the National Council of Negro Women,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 26, no. 2 (1957): 204.

Kenneth Clark to give the keynote speech at a national conference and the decision to found a new Interracial Conference to promote interracial understanding.⁶¹⁷

The Court victories of the NAACP lawyers received extensive and overwhelmingly positive coverage in the *JNE* in the late 1940s and 1950. The articles appearing in the *JNE* increasingly embraced the racial democracy framework and the identification of psychological harm as the paramount harm of racial segregation. This development is particularly significant given the fierce debates between the racial and economic democrats in the 1930s and early 1940s. Indeed, many in the economic democracy camp had made the point that attacking prejudice or segregation without also attacking the exploitative economic system - which they viewed as the source of prejudice - amounted to attacking the symptoms while leaving the cause intact. By the mid-1950s this argument essentially disappeared from the pages of the *JNE*, as the Court decision in *Brown* (and others) reaffirmed the pursuit of desegregation and anti-prejudice as the paramount goal of black politics. The political agenda shifted accordingly, as programs focused on interracial contact and education to combat prejudice and discrimination and improve race relations began to dominate the political landscape.

The post-*Brown* legal consensus that enshrined psychological damage as the primary consequence of segregation left little room for legal recourse for the material consequences - including poor pay, lack of jobs, and lack of job stability - that were often at the forefront of black complaints about the harms of Jim Crow.⁶¹⁸ The consolidation of

⁶¹⁷ Ibid.

⁶¹⁸ Goluboff, *The Lost Promise of Civil Rights*, 244.

this legal and political consensus came at a particularly perilous economic time for black workers. The 1930s and early 1940s had been a time of significant improvement in the economic situation of black workers. There was a four-fold increase in the number of blacks employed by the federal government between 1933 and 1946, and black union membership exploded from 150,000 in 1935 to 1.25 million by the end of World War II.⁶¹⁹ Although their situation remained decidedly worse than their white counterparts, black workers continued to make economic gains and considerably reduced the black-white income gap in the immediate post-War years.⁶²⁰

By the early 1950s, the economic prospects of black workers (and many white workers as well) changed considerably. The fatal blow to the industrial democratic potential of the NLRA dealt by the federal courts and Taft-Hartley legislation greatly weakened the position of workers and the labor movement, leaving them unable to effectively combat the destabilization of millions of jobs as companies turned to automation and moved jobs to open shop states. As the labor movement was forced into an increasingly defensive position in response to Court decisions and hostile legislation, the percentage of the workforce that belonged to unions began to decline by 1953.⁶²¹ At roughly the same time, the economic fortunes for black workers began to shift, and the gap between the wages of black workers and white workers actually increased from 1952

⁶¹⁹ Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion*, 13-14.

⁶²⁰ *Ibid.*, 51-52.

⁶²¹ Sugrue, "Reassessing the History of Postwar America," 497.

through the end of the decade.⁶²² Indeed, although the late 1940s and the 1950s are often regarded as a time of prosperity and affluence, this characterization misses the uneven distribution of the economic gain. By the end of 1950s, over 22% of the population, and 55% of the black population, was living in poverty.⁶²³ As the courts facilitated the disappearance of previous commitments to job guarantees, redistribution of power in the workplace, and strong economic rights from the political and legal landscape, these commitments were replaced by the pursuit of a legal and policy agenda centered on attacking discrimination and prejudice. This new agenda offered considerably fewer avenues for effective redress of immense economic problems facing black workers.

The Suppression of Individuals and Ideas of the Educational Left

The brutal domestic repression of the left was perhaps the most significant factor in limiting the potential for an alternative vision of education. As individuals on the left who had promoted a vision of education grounded in a critique of unfair economic arrangement were increasingly targeted by Congressional investigations and organizations from across the political spectrum in the 1940s, the space for this alternative vision collapsed. The recovering economy and the strained relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union before, during, and immediately after World War II provided a favorable political environment for opponents to undermine the influence of the left through challenging their loyalty. This was by far the most effective

⁶²² Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion*, 51-52.

⁶²³ Sugrue, "Reassessing the History of Postwar America," 497.

way that social reconstructionism was attacked, and the severe and ever-present suggestion of political subversion faced by the most prominent members of the movement were critical to the movement's eventual demise. Conservative organizations like the NAM, the American Legion and the Daughters of the American Revolution accused individuals like John Dewey, Harold Rugg, William Kilpatrick and George Counts of holding subversive political ideas. These accusations frequently caught the attention of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the House Committee on Un-American Activities, (HUAC), and official loyalty investigations were opened on several of the most important social reconstructionists. The open ended investigations represented a serious threat to the careers and influence of these individuals, and were a particularly useful method for undermining the broader movement. A focus on a few of the most prominent social reconstructionists subjected to these tactics illuminates the devastating destructiveness of questioning the loyalty of political opponents in the era of the Second Red Scare.

Red Baiting the Educational Left: John Dewey

John Dewey, the most prominent of the social reconstructionists, was an inviting target. The FBI had a file on Dewey that dated back to 1930, apparently prompted by Dewey's association with the People's Lobby, a watchdog organization that advocated good government and public disclosure. Despite turning up nothing in their initial search, the FBI kept Dewey's file on hand, and reopened a much more serious investigation in 1943. This time, the investigation was prompted by the FBI office in

New York, who noted his membership in twenty-one potentially subversive organizations. The aim of the investigation was to conclude whether Dewey should be officially classified as a “sympathizer,” under the Custodial Detention Index, a program used to identify potential subversive that might need to be incarcerated in case of war. Dewey was cleared once again; however, his file remained open and was moved to the “Subversive Control” section of the FBI.⁶²⁴

Although never officially charged, Dewey was frequently the subject of attacks by conservative groups. Allen Zoll, perhaps the most infamous of the education red baiters and the founder of the National Council for American Education (NCAE), whose sole purpose was to root out progressive ideas and educators from the public school system, took aim at Dewey directly in the late 1940s in one of his more popular pamphlets entitled “Progressive Education Increases Delinquency.” Noting that, “the purpose of education as conceived by John Dewey, George Counts, and their like,” amounted to little more than a denial of “the necessity of every factor necessary for our survival as a free people” had “robbed growing youth of the ability to think independently,” and “blights...the moral standards by which alone a people may maintain a secure, free, coherent society.”⁶²⁵ Dewey was also specifically targeted by the American Legion, which published “Your Child is Their Target” in the *American Legion Magazine* which accused Dewey and other progressive educators (the article also mentions George

⁶²⁴ Murray R. Nelson and H. Wells Singleton, “Government Surveillance of Three Progressive Educators” (American Educational Research Association, Toronto, Ontario, March 1978), 9, <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED156560.pdf>.

⁶²⁵ As cited Foster, *Red Alert!*, 64.

Counts, William Kilpatrick, and Harold Rugg) as a group of “pinkos, commies, collectivists, and Marxists” that controlled public schools in the hopes of converting children into Communists.⁶²⁶ Even Dewey’s death did not slow the criticisms or the investigations.⁶²⁷ In 1957, five years after Dewey’s death, J. Edgar Hoover, the director of the FBI, requested, “Let me have a summary on John Dewey, the educator who furthered the idea of progressive education.”⁶²⁸

Red Baiting the Educational Left: Harold Rugg

The investigations and accusations of subversive sympathies made Dewey more cautious in his writing and activities,⁶²⁹ however, the effects of these investigations on Dewey paled in comparison to some of his colleagues. The consequences of red baiting attacks on Harold Rugg are much more apparent. As educational historian Stephen Foster has noted, “[v]irtually every organization associated with the red scare participated in reflexive assaults on textbooks.”⁶³⁰ Rugg’s social studies textbook series was subject to particularly heated criticism, with business groups playing a particularly influential role in movement to ban Rugg’s textbooks. Perhaps no group was as influential in

⁶²⁶ Ibid., 76-77.

⁶²⁷ Dewey died at age 92 on June 1, 1952, the same month of the publication of “Your Child is Their Target.”

⁶²⁸ Nelson & Singleton, “Government Surveillance,” 10.

⁶²⁹ For example, see Fred Zimring, Barrows Dunham, and John Dewey, “Notes and Documents: Cold War Compromises: Albert Barnes, John Dewey, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 108, no. 1 (1984): 87–100.

⁶³⁰ Foster, *Red Alert!*, 92.

targeting Rugg's work as the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM). In 1941 the NAM commissioned Ralph Robey to prepare a comprehensive list of textbooks with extracted quotations in an attempt to "[d]etermine the attitude or point of view presented by the respective authors with respect to the private enterprise system or the traditional governmental system of the United States."⁶³¹ The report evaluated several of Rugg's textbook, and included excerpts that focused on Russia, unemployment, increasing inequality, and economic planning.⁶³² Although the report remained officially neutral, the quotations were chosen in such a way to give the impression that Rugg's textbook were well outside the mainstream, and hostile to free enterprise. The reaction to report was swift, with immediate calls for the banning of all of Rugg's textbooks.⁶³³ Other business groups soon piled on, with the publisher of *Forbes Magazine* stating he would personally "insist that this anti-American educator's text books be cast out," and the American Association of Advertisers joining the effort by asking all of its local affiliates to pressure school boards to no longer buy Rugg's textbooks.⁶³⁴

The accusations of subversiveness had an immediate and drastic effect on the use of Rugg's textbook in public schools across the country. The state of Georgia suspended

⁶³¹ Ralph West Robey, *Abstracts of Social Science Textbooks* (New York: National Association of Manufacturers, 1941), Introductory Letter to Walter B. Weisenburger, Executive Vice-President of NAM), December 31st, 1940.

⁶³² Ibid. 420-430

⁶³³ For example, see "An Exhibit," *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, March 25, 1941, sec. Editorial Page, 12.

⁶³⁴ As cited in Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *An Elusive Science: The Troubling History of Education Research*, (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2002):127. The involvement of the of the American Association of Advertisers appears to have been prompted by their dissatisfaction of a section of Rugg's textbook that noted that expenditure on advertising tended to mean higher prices for the consumer.

all the use of all of Rugg's textbooks in 1940 after a police officer affiliated with the Governor's home defense corps claimed he had found "communistic doctrines" in Rugg's books.⁶³⁵ In a remarkable case in the central Pennsylvania town of Sunbury, all of Rugg's textbooks mysteriously disappeared from the junior high school after the School Board refused demands from the local chapter of the American Legion that they be removed. The books were the only items missing from an apparent break-in over the Christmas break. The case went unsolved, perhaps because the police chief called to investigate the case was also the commander of the local council of the American Legion.⁶³⁶ In a 1941 editorial, *The Milwaukee Sentinel* approvingly quoted the Robey report and called for a ban, and provided a clear articulation of the reasoning behind much of the attempts to ban of Rugg's textbook. After noting that "public school children are being 'softened' towards Soviet Russia by radical teachers and textbooks," the editorial issued a condemnation of the teaching of any sort of social vision that challenged the status quo, stating "[o]nly one doctrine should be taught APPROVINGLY in our schools--that is, AMERICANISM. All other systems but constitutional, free democracy should be condemned unsparingly."⁶³⁷

⁶³⁵ "Intellectual 'Hot Potato' Stirs Row," *The Miami Daily News*, September 19, 1940. In the charged atmosphere, even coming to Rugg's defense represented a danger, as a Professor at Georgia Tech found out when an angry crowd erupted into calls for the faculty member to be "thrown out" before a meeting of the Georgia State Board of Education. See "Georgia School Board Meeting Has 'Red Row': Author of Textbook Accused of Having Communistic Leanings," *The Florence Times*, September 18, 1940.

⁶³⁶ The United Press, "Books Criticized By Legionnaires Reported Stolen: Prof. Rugg's History Texts Missing at Sunbury," *The Pittsburg Press*, January 2, 1941.

⁶³⁷ The Milwaukee Sentinel, "An Exhibit," 12.

Activity on the local level soon eventually culminated in attention from HUAC, which held hearings in 1948 to consider a recommendation to officially ban all textbooks written by Rugg and two other progressive educators.⁶³⁸ Although the committee declined to ban Rugg's books, the accusation of subversiveness was enough to effectively eliminate the textbook from public schools. Over the course of the attacks on the textbook's content, circulation of Rugg's textbook declined from 289,000 in 1938, to 21,000 in 1944, to essentially zero by the 1950s. After Rugg's publisher discontinued production his social studies series under pressure from outside groups, many schools replaced it with series by Paul Hanna. Hanna had self-consciously crafted his series to avoid serious engagement with the social and political issues of the day, and actively attempted to limit the control that social studies teachers had over the parameters of the curricula. The result was a dispassionate series that proved uncontroversial and popular with schools throughout the 1940s and 1950s. The decline of Rugg's textbook, and the style of those that replaced it, was another damaging blow to the reputation and influence of the social reconstructionists.⁶³⁹

The attack on his textbook was just one of the was one avenues used to undermine Rugg and his educational positions in this era. Rugg was also investigated as a potential subversive individual by the FBI. Rugg's FBI file did not begin until 1942, and was apparently created in reaction to the accusations of conservative groups that his textbooks

⁶³⁸ Foster, *Red Alert!*, 91. In an telling example of how little it took to cause suspicion, the primary objection to one of the social studies textbooks being consider by the Committee was the fact that it carried a picture of Joseph Stalin.

⁶³⁹ Lagemann, *An Elusive Science*, 127-129.

contained material designed to indoctrinate students with subversive beliefs. Tellingly, most of the material in the initial file was reprints of articles by conservative critics, including articles from the NAM and the a business executive associated with the American Legion. No action was taken, but the Bureau retained a file on Rugg. Another investigation was started in 1951 in reaction to visit by Rugg to Ohio State University at the invitation of graduate students in the Education school. The invitation triggered an immediate outcry from community groups, and opposition from the board of trustees, the American Legion, and the Governor of Ohio.⁶⁴⁰ Although Rugg did give a speech at the University, the backlash caught the attention of the state level Ohio Un-American Activities Committee and the FBI, which began investigating Rugg under a Security Matter - C (Communist) classification.⁶⁴¹ The 1951 investigation again found little basis for these attacks and there was apparently no mention or objection to the contents of his 1951 speech at Ohio State University; however the file was filled with attacks on Rugg's writings from the 1930s and 1940s.⁶⁴² These were largely local editorials and pamphlets from conservative groups, including some from the DAR and the American Legion. The 1951 event began a period of sporadic investigation into Rugg's subversiveness that would last until his death in 1960.⁶⁴³ Of particular concern to the FBI during this period

⁶⁴⁰ Alan F. Schoedel, "OSU Speaker Controversy Still Hot Issue After 5 Months," *Toldeo Blade*, December 9, 1951.

⁶⁴¹ Nelson & Singleton, "Government Surveillance," 14.

⁶⁴² A good demonstration of just how little it took to be subject to charges of subversiveness is the fact that one of the charges that apparently justified Rugg's investigation is the fact that he had once written "our land is not an opportunity for all." *Ibid.*, 15.

⁶⁴³ *Ibid.*, 14-17.

was his vocal criticism of loyalty investigation in education, and his defense of fired teachers, a practice that Rugg had engaged in since his affiliation with *The Social Frontier*.⁶⁴⁴ Despite never having been officially charged, and frequently being found harmless by several investigations, Rugg faced was deemed a potential risk and faced continuous investigation by the FBI for nearly twenty years.

Red Baiting the Educational Left: Mary Foley Grossman

The investigations proved particularly devastating for personal and professional careers of many of the educators that had been strong advocates for a pedagogy centered in investigating the inequalities of the existing social and economic landscape. In the late 1930s Mary Foley Grossman, the Philadelphia teacher and union leader, had been a respected voice in the education and labor community. Grossman had testified before Congress in 1937 as an educational expert, urging Congress to increase federal aid to public education.⁶⁴⁵ In 1938, as president of nearly 4,000 organized teachers in Pennsylvania, she led the successful effort to affiliate with the AFT, giving the AFT its first presence in the state.⁶⁴⁶ Grossman was a prominent voice warning against the dangers of reducing academic curriculum to “the 3 R’s,” encouraging greater education

⁶⁴⁴ See Harold Rugg, “This Has Happened Before,” *Frontiers of Democracy* 7, no. 58 (January 15, 1941): 105–8.

⁶⁴⁵ *Federal Aid to the States for the Support of Public Schools: Hearings Before the Committee on Education, House of Representatives, 75th Cong. 295-297 (1937)* (statement of Mrs. Mary Foley Grossman, Representing the American Federation of Teachers).

⁶⁴⁶ “Teacher’s Union Holds Convention,” *Reading Eagle*, December 27, 1938; “Charter Presented to Teachers’ Unit,” *Reading Eagle*, December 28, 1938.

for workers so they could articulate against employers, and a strong proponent of teachers unions and greater federal aid to public education.⁶⁴⁷

By 1939 Grossman had already drawn the attention of HUAC, due to both her membership in the American League for Peace and Democracy and for her outspoken opposition to attempts to weaken or overturn the Wagner Act.⁶⁴⁸ Grossman's influence was greatly limited by 1941 in the wake of accusations from Counts' "right wing" coalition (see below) that she held subversive political beliefs resulted in her being pushed out of her leadership position in the national AFT and the revocation of the charter of her local union. Although these accusations did not immediately threaten her teaching job, when HUAC turned attention to subversive influences in public education, Grossman was eventually suspended from her teaching position and interrogated by the committee. In her 1954 testimony, the accusations that Counts' coalition had used in the 1940 AFT campaign, as well as the suspension of the Philadelphia local's charter were central to the committee's case against Grossman. Grossman invoked her Fifth Amendment right against self incrimination as the committee asked her whether she had ever been a communist or hosted communist meetings in her home, and questioned her

⁶⁴⁷ Grossman, "Redefining the Relationship," 450-453.

⁶⁴⁸ *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in U.S. Volume 10: Hearings Before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 76th Cong. 6278 (1939)* (testimony of Harry Freeman Ward); *Goodwin B. Watson, William E. Dodd, Jr., and Robert Mors Lovett: Hearings Before the Special Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, 78th Cong. 204, 220 (1943)*(Exhibit No. 3, Exhibits 14-18); *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States: Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 78 Cong. 400, 651-653 (1944)* (Exhibit No. 15, Exhibits No. 1).

about the political loyalties of her fellow union members.⁶⁴⁹ The accusations and investigation of Grossman effectively destroyed any influence that she may have had over education policy. The elimination of Grossman's voice from the national scene meant the loss of a prominent voice advocating for a pedagogy devoted to tackling social injustice.

Red Baiting the Educational Left: Doxey Wilkerson

Doxey Wilkerson, a fellow AFT leader ousted in the 1940 elections, suffered a similar fate as Mary Foley Grossman. Like Grossman, Wilkerson had been a prominent national voice on education. After gaining his masters degree from the University of Kansas, Wilkerson began his career as a professor of education at Virginia State University, moving to Howard University in 1935. As his prominence grew with his frequent contributions to the *JNE* throughout the 1930s, in 1937, President Franklin's newly appointed Advisory Committee on Education reached out to Wilkerson and hired him as a researcher. Between 1937 and 1939, the Committee commissioned Wilkerson for several studies outlining information on federal aid to vocational education, the role of federal, state, and local governments in education, and the particular educational challenges of black students. In 1939, the Advisory Committee combined Wilkerson's reports into one volume, *Special Problems of Negro Education*, and printed and distributed copies through the Government Printing Office.⁶⁵⁰ As a result of his work,

⁶⁴⁹ *Communist Activities in Philadelphia*, 3994-3997. Incidentally, the house where Mary Foley Grossman was accused of hosting Communist meetings, 2302 Delancey Street, is roughly two blocks from the author's residence.

⁶⁵⁰ Doxey A. Wilkerson, *Special Problems of Negro Education* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. print off., 1939).

Wilkerson was asked to serve on the National Advisory Committee of the Works Progress Administration education program, and was eventually hired as an educational specialist for the Office of Price Administration (OPA) in 1942 and 1943.

Wilkerson's national profile as an educational expert was also boosted by his service as a vice president for international affairs of the AFT from 1937-1940, and as a representative of the American Teacher's Association, a black teachers association with over 4,000 members.⁶⁵¹ By the late 1930s and early 1940s, Wilkerson was one of the most prominent national black educational figures. Wilkerson publicly advocated for a greater federal role in primary and secondary education, encouraged teachers to expose students to the social injustices of the existing economy, and was firmly committed to the principles of economic democracy.

Wilkerson's actions and writings quickly drew the attention of the FBI, conservative Congressmen, and liberals uncomfortable with his more radical stances. In the late 1930s, as he made multiple appearances as an expert witness on education before the Senate Committee on Labor and Education, Wilkerson's name appeared in a HUAC investigation of "Un-American Propaganda Activities" because of his connection with the

⁶⁵¹ *Subversive Influence in the Educational Process: Hearings Before the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, 83rd Cong. 637-643 (1953) (testimony of Doxey A. Wilkerson).*

International Labor Defense, a suspected communist front group.⁶⁵² Wilkerson was ousted from his position at the AFT along with Mary Foley Grossman, by George Counts' right wing coalition. Following the very public ouster 1940 of Wilkerson and Grossman from AFT after George Counts' right wing coalition questioned the loyalties of Wilkerson and his fellow national officers (see below), the FBI opened an investigation into Wilkerson. By 1942, the Bureau had concluded that Wilkerson was a communist and issued a report recommending that he no longer be employed by the Federal Government despite the fact that at the time there was no official prohibition on communists serving as federal employees. Although Wilkerson was not immediately terminated, he ultimately resigned his position a year after the FBI report, at which point he publicly announced his membership in the Communist Party.⁶⁵³

Despite no longer being employed by the federal government, Wilkerson continued to draw the attention of Congressional investigations. Wilkerson's name showed up frequently in Congressional reports of suspected subversive organizations, including the American League for Peace and Democracy, the Washington Committee for

⁶⁵² *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States: Hearings Before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 76th Cong. 5981- 6001 (1939)* (testimony of Benjamin Gitlow, former Executive Secretary, Communist Party of the United States); *Federal Aid to the States for the Support of Public Schools: Hearings Before the Committee on Education, House of Representatives, 75th Cong. 297-305 (1937)* (statement of D.A. Wilkerson, Representing the American Federation of Teachers); *American Youth Act: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, United States Senate, 75th Cong, 65-67 (1938)* (statement of Professor D.A. Wilkerson, Representing the American Teachers' Association and the American Federation of Teachers); *Federal Aid to Education Act of 1939: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, United States Senate, 76th Cong. 204-209 (1939)* (statement of Doxey A. Wilkerson, National Coordinating Committee for Equitable Distribution of Federal Aid to Education).

⁶⁵³ *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States: Hearings Before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 80th Cong. 41 (1947)* (testimony of J. Edgar Hoover, Director Federal Bureau of Investigations).

Democratic Action, and the Council on African Affairs.⁶⁵⁴ Importantly, after Wilkerson announced that he was a communist, his case became a rallying cry for those looking to rid the federal government of communists. In his 1947 testimony before HUAC, J. Edgar Hoover mentioned Doxey Wilkerson's case, and the failure of the OPA to terminate his employment despite an FBI report warning of his communist affiliation, as a cautionary tale.⁶⁵⁵ Hoover's testimony resonated with Senator Joseph McCarthy, who began using Wilkerson's case as an example throughout the country of the important work done by the FBI and HUAC.⁶⁵⁶

After 1943, any past association with Wilkerson had the potential to call an individual's political loyalty into question. In his 1950 Senate confirmation hearings to the Third Circuit Court of Appeals, Judge William Henry Hastie was questioned about the years in which he and Wilkerson were both on the faculty of Howard University and were both members of the National Negro Congress.⁶⁵⁷ After President Eisenhower nominated former Howard faculty member George Johnson to be a member of the Commission on Civil Rights, Johnson faced similar questions in his Senate confirmation hearing about

⁶⁵⁴ *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States: Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives*, 78th Cong. (1944) 671, 772-774, 839, 1676, 1695, 1697, 1700, 1713.

⁶⁵⁵ *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities: Hearings*, 41.

⁶⁵⁶ *Communist Infiltration Among Army Civilian Workers: Hearings Before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations, United States Senate*, 83rd Cong. 23-40 (1953) (testimony of Doxey Wilkerson).

⁶⁵⁷ *Confirmation of the Nomination of Honorable William Henry Hastie of the Virgin Islands to be Judge of the United States Court of Appeals of the Third Circuit: Hearings Before the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate*, 81st Cong. 192-204 (1950) (statement of Honorable William Henry Hastie).

how well he knew, and how close he worked with, Doxey Wilkerson.⁶⁵⁸ Upon being nominated to be a federal circuit court judge in 1962, Thurgood Marshall was questioned over whether he knew or had a relationship with Wilkerson, and if there was any connection between Wilkerson and the NAACP. Despite the fact that Marshall testified that he did not know Wilkerson, the first fifty-four pages of the HUAC file on Wilkerson were read into the records of the Confirmation Hearing.⁶⁵⁹ Wilkerson also came up when President Johnson's requested an FBI background check on Abe Fortas for his potential appointment to the Supreme Court in 1964. Fortas' file includes the fact that both Fortas and Wilkerson were members of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action in the early 1940s, and cautioned that Fortas may have once attended a meeting led by Wilkerson.⁶⁶⁰

In March of 1953, Wilkerson was subpoenaed to appear before a Senate committee investigating subversive influence in the educational process. Wilkerson invoked his Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination as he was asked about his involvement with the Communist Party during his time working for the OPA and WPA and as a faculty member at Howard University.⁶⁶¹ However, before invoking his Fifth Amendment privilege, Wilkerson delivered a statement to Senator McCarthy outlining

⁶⁵⁸ *Nomination of George M. Johnson, of California, to be a Member of the Commission on Civil Rights: Hearing Held Before Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, 86th Cong. 15-17 (1959)* (testimony of George M. Johnson).

⁶⁵⁹ *Nomination of Thurgood Marshall: Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, 87th Cong. 124-163 (1962)* (statement of Thurgood Marshall, Nominee to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Second Circuit).

⁶⁶⁰ *Abe Fortas, Special Inquiry, 11/9/1964* in "Abe Fortas Part 02 of 03," FBI Records: The Vault, accessed February 28, 2016, <https://vault.fbi.gov/abe-fortas/Abe%20Fortas%20Part%2002%20of%2003>.

⁶⁶¹ *Subversive Influence in the Educational Process, 637-643.*

his educational approach and excoriating the committee and its investigation for the damaging effect it had on education in the country. The remarkable statement, worth quoting at length, began:

I want to make it clear at the outset that I have nothing but contempt for the efforts of this subcommittee to subvert academic freedom in the schools and colleges of our country. I will not cooperate with this subcommittee's aim to reduce the people of our Nation to the intellectual status of robots whose ideas on social and political questions are dictated by certain congressional committees. My whole career as a student and teacher has been one of trying to understand and interpret the history, problems, and development of our society; and I have ever been ready to proclaim what my studies revealed. This I will continue to do. For more than 2 decades I have encouraged thousands of young people in my classes to dig in deeply, to seek answers the basic questions of our time, and follow with courage the convictions they reach. This, likewise, I will continue to do.⁶⁶²

After reaffirming his commitment to a pedagogy centered on investigation of social problems,

Wilkerson asked a number of rhetorical questions to highlight what he viewed as the political motivations of the committee. Wilkerson suggested that the subpoena was motivated by his opposition to “the drive to war and fascism which this subcommittee seeks to abet,” his history of “investigating and exposing the abominable school conditions to which Negro children are subjected in much of the country,” his public advocacy for “the Socialist reorganization of our society.”⁶⁶³ Finally, Wilkerson hinted that the motivation for his appearance was due to fact that “this subcommittee believes that, by running me through its inquisitorial mill, it will thereby help intimidate other

⁶⁶² Ibid., 638.

⁶⁶³ Ibid.

Negro leaders, other educators, other students into silence.”⁶⁶⁴ Despite the fact that the committee learned little from Wilkerson’s March testimony, he was called before a different Senate subcommittee investigating communist infiltration of Army civilian workers six months later, where he again invoked his Fifth Amendment rights.⁶⁶⁵

Wilkerson eventually renounced his membership in the Communist Party in 1957, and was hired as a professor of education at Bishop College, a black college in Marshall, Texas. After a few quiet years at Bishop, Wilkerson participated in student-led protests and demonstrations against segregation in Marshall in 1960. Before long, Wilkerson’s identity and past association were reported by the press and widely publicized by those critical of the demonstrations. Facing intense pressure from the press and donors, the college president requested that Wilkerson resign, and when Wilkerson refused, he was fired. Much like his earlier activities, the events at Marshall were recorded and publicized by a Congressional subcommittee investigating subversive individuals.⁶⁶⁶ Over a period of twenty years, Wilkerson’s political beliefs had cost him his semi-regular column in the *JNE*, his leadership position in the AFT, and his ability to work as a public employee. Additionally, Wilkerson became a threat to the personal and professional lives of friends, allies, and organizations that he had interacted with. Wilkerson’s former prominence and influence, along with his educational ideas, had been effectively eliminated from the nation’s educational scene.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁵ *Communist Infiltration Among Army Civilian Workers*, 23-40.

⁶⁶⁶ *Nomination of Thurgood Marshall*, 127-163.

Red Baiting the Educational Left: George S. Counts

Perhaps the clearest indication of the devastating effect that the changed political context had on the prospects for a vision of education grounded in a critique of unfair economic and social arrangements can be seen in changing views of George Counts. Counts faced questions over his loyalty almost immediately in the wake of the first publication of *The Social Frontier*. The journal dedicated an entire issue to the covering the attacks on Counts and other educators from noted newspaper magnate and red baiter William Hearst.⁶⁶⁷ The apparent initial popularity of the social reconstructionist movement prompted heated attacks on Counts. For example, a call by National Education Association (NEA) for higher taxation on the wealthy and the proclamation emanating from the 1934 National Convention of School Superintendents that, “educational workers of America must band themselves together now in a powerful union to create tens of thousands of citizens groups to study critical economic and social problems,” prompted prominent anti-New Deal educator William Wirt to charge Counts with attempting to create an “ultra-radical sentiment among our people, which will force the country over the precipice and into the abyss of Communism.”⁶⁶⁸ Counts was also subject to continuous attacks from the conservative groups that seemingly specialized in

⁶⁶⁷ See Volume 1, Number of *The Social Frontier* from February 1935 for full issue dedicated to attacks on social reconstructionists, particularly from the political right.

⁶⁶⁸ Everett Holles, “Wirt’s Warning,” *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, January 16, 1935.

this form of character assassination, the American Legion, the NCAE, the DAR and the American Council of Churches.⁶⁶⁹

As these accusations put Counts on the defensive, they also drew the attention of the FBI and HUAC. The FBI opened its investigation into Counts in 1942, largely due to his affiliation with various suspected front organizations.⁶⁷⁰ Although the initial investigation found that Counts expressed “pro-Russian sympathy,” it concluded that he was likely not a communist.⁶⁷¹ Counts continued to face accusations despite his increasingly vocal opposition to the Soviet Russia and vigorous efforts to eliminate communist influence from several organizations he was involved with by 1940. Much like Ralph Bunche (and others), the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact appears to have greatly upset Counts, and drove him to reconsider his previously sympathetic view of Soviet Russia. By 1939, Counts had publicly denounced Stalin and soon turned his attention towards driving communists out of Popular Front organizations. Perhaps most significantly, he led a coalition in 1940 to challenge the leadership of the national American Federation of Teachers (AFT), which he charged with being too close to the Communist Party.

The leadership Counts sought to oust included Doxy Wilkerson, a professor of education at Howard University, and Mary Foley Grossman, a middle-school teacher and

⁶⁶⁹ For example, see “Anti-Red Speaker Hit as Pro-Red,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 13, 1952.

⁶⁷⁰ In an illustration of how wide this label was, the list of suspected front groups that led to Counts being targeted included the American Civil Liberties Union, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, and tellingly, the People’s Committee Against Hearst. Nelson & Singleton, “Government Surveillance,” 18-22.

⁶⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 18.

union leader from Philadelphia. Both Grossman's and Wilkerson's view of the purpose of education was in line with the social reconstructionist ideals of what Counts had advocated in the early 1930s. Both had outlined their views in the *JNE*, where Wilkerson also had a recurring column.⁶⁷² Although Wilkerson's and Grossman's educational philosophy was closely aligned with Counts', after 1939, Counts was no longer willing to collaborate with individuals he considered too close to the Communist Party. He led a coalition seeking to oust Wilkerson and Grossman, arguing that keeping the existing leadership in charge would do irreparable harm to the AFT. Counts and his allies, successfully defeated the existing leadership in the 1940 A.F.T. election and Counts took over as President of the organization in 1941.⁶⁷³

One year after the election, Counts and the other newly elected officers moved to revoke the charters of three of the largest and most active local unions on the grounds that they were dominated by communists. Counts and the new executive council publicly introduced the charges against locals 5 and 537 of New York City (one represented elementary and secondary teachers, the other represented college teachers) as well as local 192 of Philadelphia in a lengthy and detailed document entitled *The Executive Council's Proposal to Save the AFT*. Evidence against these locals included the fact that

⁶⁷² See Mary Foley Grossman, "Redefining the Relationship of the Federal Government to the Education of Racial and Other Minority Groups," *The Journal of Negro Education* 7, no. 3 (1938): 450–53; D. A. Wilkerson, "The Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes," *The Journal of Negro Education* 7, no. 1 (1938): 104–8; D. A. Wilkerson, "The Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes: A Measure of the Economic Value of Vocational Education," *The Journal of Negro Education* 8, no. 1 (1939): 118–20.

⁶⁷³ *Federal Aid for Education: Hearings Before the Committee on Education and Labor, United States Senate*, 79th Cong. 782–784 (1945)(statement of Selma M. Borchart,, Vice President, American Federation of Teachers).

the union publication had been insufficiently critical of the “Stalin-Hitler pact”, and had reported on the activities of pro-communist organizations such as the National Negro Congress and the American League for Peace and Democracy. Mary Foley Grossman, who was the president of the Philadelphia local, was one of the few individuals named in the report. She was singled out for particularly harsh treatment in the document because of her continued opposition to the newly elected national officers.⁶⁷⁴ This would prove quite damaging for Grossman when she was called before HUAC in the 1950s. The successful effort to revoke the charters of these locals, which by Counts’ own admission were some of the most active, is a clear indication that by the early 1940s the changing international context was already creating damaging fissures among left oriented educators.⁶⁷⁵

In 1944 Counts led a similar effort to rid the American Labor Party (ALP), an organization he had founded a decade earlier, of communist influence. In 1944, Counts, who was then chairman of the ALP and its roughly 400,000 voters, was challenged by Sidney Hillman, the president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Counts ran a campaign in which he accused Hillman making common cause with communists. During the campaign, he warned that if he lost, he and his supporters would “not remain in the

⁶⁷⁴ *Subversive Influence in the Educational Process: Hearings Before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate*, 82nd Cong. 305-322 (1952) (Exhibit No. 18, The Executive Council’s Proposal to Save the AFT).

⁶⁷⁵ *Investigation of Communist Activities in Philadelphia Area-Part 4: Hearing Before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives*, 83rd Cong. 3994-3997 (1954) (testimony of Mary Foley Grossman).

party and serve as a front for Communists.”⁶⁷⁶ After Hillman’s coalition won an overwhelming victory, Counts and his allies left the party he had founded, and vowed to form a splinter group without communists, and declared the “death of the A.L.P.”⁶⁷⁷ Counts’ efforts and public accusations would provide significant fodder for red-baiting Congressmen in the near future.

For Counts, active participation in anti-communist efforts was not enough to clear his name from suspicion of being a subversive person. Counts continued to be a person of interest to Congressional committees investigating the influence of subversive individuals in public employment and private organization. Counts’ name appeared in a number of reports throughout the 1940s because of his past association with now suspect organizations including the National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners, the Union for Democratic Action, the National Committee for Student Congress Against War, the American Student Union, and the Consumers Union.⁶⁷⁸ Counts’ name and his book *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* were repeatedly invoked in Congressional testimony by conservatives as a means of combatting federal funding for public education and of smearing political opponents. For example, opponents of the Public School Assistance Act of 1949 pointed to the subversive nature of *Dare the Schools build a New*

⁶⁷⁶ “Rightists Bolt N.Y. Labor Party, Charge Browder Now Has Control of A.L.P.,” *Chicago Tribune*, March 30, 1944. See also, “Hillman Elected Party Chairman,” *The Milwaukee Journal*, April 9, 1944.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁸ *Special Report on Subversive Activities Aimed at Destroying our Representative Form of Government, Report No. 2277, House of Representatives, 77th Cong. 1-22 (1942); Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States: Hearings Before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 78th Cong. 3179 (1943) (Exhibit 8-A); Campaign Expenditures. Part 3: Union for Democratic Action; James Loeb, Jr., Executive Secretary, Witness: Hearings before the Committee to Investigate Campaign Expenditures, House of Representatives, 78th Cong. 148-164 (1944) (testimony of James Loeb, Jr., Executive Secretary, Union for Democratic Action).*

Social Order? and Counts' advocacy for greater federal funding of education as a means of attacking the increased federal funding and involvement in public elementary and secondary schools.⁶⁷⁹

The situation for Counts became more serious in 1951 when a former European communist claimed Counts was a hidden "member at large" of the Communist Party.⁶⁸⁰ Another investigation was launched as a result of this information, it again failed to conclude that Counts' was a communist. However, this most recent accusation appeared to put Count on the radar of the HUAC. Although the Committee apparently found no new evidence, it still issued 19 citations against Counts for communist leanings in early 1952.⁶⁸¹ Given that Counts was not employed in the Federal government, these citations would not lead to his loss of employment, but it represented a serious threat to his reputation, and potentially to any individual or organizations with which he interacted.

Counts took the latest charges quite seriously as evidenced by his drastic response to the actions of the HUAC. Shortly after the citations were issued, Counts gave speeches in March of 1952 at two universities in Pennsylvania where he renounced communism and, more significantly, much of his social reconstructionist positions. Both

⁶⁷⁹ *Public School Assistance Act of 1949: Hearings Before a Special Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives*, 81st Cong. 575 (1949) (testimony of Amos A. Fries, Major General, United States Army, Retired, Vice President and Director of the Friends of the Public Schools of America, and Editor of the Bulletin, Friends of the Public Schools). See also pg. 834 (testimony of Rosa M. Farber), and pg. 894 (Address by Aaron M. Sargent, Counsel for Committee, Sons of the American Revolution).

⁶⁸⁰ As quoted in Nelson & Singleton, "Government Surveillance,"; 20. Importantly, Storrs notes that the informants used by the FBI and HUAC at this time were notoriously unreliable, a fact of which both these organizations were well aware.

⁶⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 20.

speeches were apparently devoted to criticisms of the Soviet Union and communism,⁶⁸² indicated by the title of his second speech, “The Soviet System of Thought Control.”⁶⁸³ In a moment that offered a stark contrast to his earlier writing, Counts excoriated the Soviets for encouraging their populace to pursue the “the vision of an ideal society some place just around corner.”⁶⁸⁴ Counts also used the speeches to outline a new social vision. He claimed that America’s best course was to seek, “military strength first of all.”⁶⁸⁵ The role for teachers was quite limited, but he did urge educators to teach students about Russia in order to bolster their self-defense against the dangerous Soviet ideology. If there was any doubt that Counts still subscribed to his earlier writings, he eliminated it in the question and answer section of one of his Pennsylvania speeches. Asked specifically about his position outlined in *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order* that teachers ought to lead the nation towards a collectivist social transformation, Counts replied, “I once believed that, but I don’t anymore.”⁶⁸⁶

Counts’ recantation did little to satiate his critics, who still frequently protested his speeches and questioned his political loyalties. Counts continued to move farther away from his previous positions, eventually claiming in 1954 that “a Communist has no

⁶⁸² See “Accused Educator Blasts Reds, Refutes Charges,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 14, 1952; see also *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, “Anti-Red Speaker Hit as Pro-Red.”

⁶⁸³ “Squabble over Accused Red’s Appearance Grows Hot,” *The Pittsburg Press*, March 13, 1952.

⁶⁸⁴ As quoted in, Guy Wright, “Once Pro-Russian but Not Now, Speaker at Pitt and Tech Claims,” *The Pittsburg Press*, March 14, 1952.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid.

right to teach in the schools of a free society.”⁶⁸⁷ Although this movement away from social reconstructionism did not quiet his critics, it did strain the relationships he had with former progressive educators. Harold Rugg and Counts’ had an apparent falling out over Counts’ subdued reaction to the dismissal on loyalty grounds of twenty-one teachers from Brooklyn College. According to his widow, Rugg resented Counts for fanning the flames of red-baiting, and their relationship never fully recovered.⁶⁸⁸

This type of damage to personal relationships was a common occurrence during this era, as investigations of individuals resulted in the broader destruction of networks and coalitions on the left.⁶⁸⁹ Beyond the hundreds of teachers that lost their positions due to political their political beliefs, the suffocating atmosphere of the Second Red Scare greatly limited what could taught in the classroom. Subjects that were central aspects of a left vision of education such as trade unionism and capitalism became essentially off limits.⁶⁹⁰ The active suppression of the individuals and ideas of the political left dramatically shifted the center of gravity in terms of national educational vision.

Conclusion

Perhaps the height of the repression of economic democracy and social reconstructionist visions of education, a HUAC investigation into subversive activity in

⁶⁸⁷ As quoted in “Claim Reds Make Poor Instructors,” *The Schenectady Gazette*, June 2, 1954. See also Jerry Cahill, “No Room for Commie Teacher, Says Educator,” *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, November 6, 1954. Counts joined his fellow contributor to *The Social Frontier* Sidney Hook in taking the position that communists should not be allowed to be employed as teachers.

⁶⁸⁸ Nelson & Singleton, “Government Surveillance,” 19.

⁶⁸⁹ Storrs, *The Second Red Scare*, 181.

⁶⁹⁰ Holloway, “Ralph Bunche,” 132.

education, coincided with the Supreme Court's momentous decision in the *Brown* case. These developments resulted in a political environment that proved to be particularly amenable to the educational vision and particular pedagogical approaches advocated by racial democrats and social efficiency progressives. As the Red Scare eliminated the influence of economic democrats and social reconstructionists and the Courts demonstrated increasing responsiveness to arguments relying on the non-material inequities of segregation, the stage was set for the consolidation of a liberal incorporationist educational vision centered on providing equal opportunity for success within the existing economic system. The growth of educational movements advocating for intercultural education, life adjustment education, and greater use of testing in the 1950s was clear indication that mainstream education ideas had shifted firmly away from the vision of the economic democrats and social reconstructionists.

The *Brown* decision gave substantial support to an intercultural education movement that framed racial subordination as primarily a problem psychology and attitudes. As detailed in Chapter 3, the basis for the intercultural education movement was the belief that racial tensions and prejudice stemmed primarily from fundamental misunderstandings between, and misconceptions about, different races, in part due to the lack of direct interaction of individuals of differing races. These prejudices resulted in the lack of equal opportunities for success for individuals of different races. Advocates of intercultural education had long pushed for integration and greater interaction between students of a different races as a means of combatting racial prejudice, along with a

curricular emphasis on the fundamental similarities of different races, particularly in terms of intellectual ability.⁶⁹¹ The arguments of the NAACP, and much of the basis for the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown*, were fundamentally similar to those of intercultural education advocates, relying heavily on the idea that segregation caused feelings of inferiority in black students and contributed to the prejudice of white children. Both the intercultural education movement, and the *Brown* decision downplayed the idea of an economic dimension to racial prejudice or subordination, instead framing the issue as primarily a non-material, attitudinal one.⁶⁹² The ultimate goal was to break down racial misunderstandings to encourage racial harmony, and to ensure that opportunity was not distributed on the basis of an arbitrary category like race, but instead tied closer to a meaningful category such as intellectual merit.

The destruction of the personal lives and coalitions on the left also had an effect on education policy. As it became increasingly difficult to openly advocate for a vision of education centered on challenging exploitative economic arrangements and the social injustice, a vision of education centered on fairly and effectively adjusting individuals to succeed in the existing institutional landscape. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, racial democrats and scientific efficiency progressives had long advocated for a form of adjustment education for students that emphasized improving the skills, culture and

⁶⁹¹ Hortense Powdermaker and Helen F. Storen, *Probing Our Prejudices: A Unit for High School Students, Problems of Race and Culture in American Education*, 2 (New York: Harper, 1944).

⁶⁹² See Jeanne L. Noble, "Future Educational Emphasis: Psychological or Sociological," *The Journal of Negro Education* 25, no. 4 (1956): 402–9; Eugene L. Hartley, "Psychological Investigations and the Modification of Racial Attitudes," *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 287–94; Layle Lane, "Report of the Committee on Cultural Minorities of the American Federation of Teachers," *The Journal of Negro Education* 14, no. 1 (1945): 109–12; "Second National Conference on Intergroup Relations," *The Journal of Negro Education* 18, no. 2 (1949): 186–91.

behaviors that students brought to the labor market. Racial democrats argued that adjustment education would prepare black students to compete on equal footing with their white counterparts, ultimately leading to a economic distribution based on merit rather than race. Similarly, adjustment education offered hope to the poor as well, as it could provided the skills needed to earn a living in a changing labor market.

Importantly, this educational vision garnered the support of many conservatives who saw the benefit of having the education system carry the burden of workforce training.⁶⁹³

With their voices marginalized, educators on the left were unable to effectively combat a vision of education that sought to adjust the student to existing structures, rather than challenge them.

Finally, the changing political context of the 1940s and 1950s proved to be a boon for advocates of standardized testing in education. The use of intelligence and aptitude tests by the military during World War II convince many of their potential usefulness for the education system.⁶⁹⁴ Scientific efficiency progressives had long pushed for the use of intelligence testing, achievement tests, and student tracking as the best means of developing teaching methods and of aiding in assigning students to jobs that were most appropriate for their skill set. This was essentially identical to the position of racial democrats, who were proponents of testing as a means of identifying future race leaders and of identifying effective (and ineffective) educational methods and teaching. In the

⁶⁹³ United States. Office of Education. Division of Secondary Education, "Life Adjustment Education for Every Youth" (Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, 1948).

⁶⁹⁴ United States. President's Commission on Higher Education, "Higher Education for Democracy: A Report" (Washington: U.S. Govt. Print Off., 1947): 41-42.

aftermath of the *Brown* decision ending segregation in public education, racial democrats were increasingly committed to testing as comparing the educational opportunities between black and white students through comparing scores on achievement tests.⁶⁹⁵ The use of standardized testing in education had been vigorously opposed by many on the educational left, who believed that these tests promoted excessive individualism, competitiveness, a narrowing of the curriculum and routinization that were antithetical to their educational vision.⁶⁹⁶ As the changing political context weakened the strength of these critiques, and the ability of individuals to make them, testing advocates faced less opposition.

The consequences of the changing political context of the 1940s and 1950s for educational ideology were profound. Shifting Supreme Court doctrines, the rising Second Red Scare, and the increasingly hostile international engagements with the Soviet Union all drastically reduced the political space for a vision of education that was critical of the existing economic landscape. As developments in the 1940s and 1950s marginalized those promoting economic democracy and social reconstruction, the educational vision of racial democrats and scientific efficiency progressive increasingly began to define the purpose and methods of education. This new order was committed to

⁶⁹⁵ Daniel P. Clarke, "The Role of Psychology in Race Survival," *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 1 (1941): 51–53; Daniel C. Thompson, "Evaluation as a Factor in Planning Programs for the Culturally-Disadvantaged," *The Journal of Negro Education* 33, no. 3 (1964): 333–40. Somewhat ironically, the *Brown* decision also increased support for the use of standardized tests in evaluating teachers in the south, as southern educational officials turned to tests like the National Teacher's Examination as a race-neutral way of firing thousands of black teachers as schools consolidated in the wake of the Court rulings. Scott Baker, "Testing Equality: The National Teacher Examination and the NAACP's Legal Campaign to Equalize Teachers' Salaries in the South, 1936-63," *History of Education Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (1995): 49–64.

⁶⁹⁶ Grossman, "Redefining the Relationship," 450-453.

ensuring equality of educational opportunity as a means of ensuring fair and effective incorporation into the existing market economy. As education was increasingly positioned as social policy that could effectively combat racism, racial inequality, poverty and effectively prepare individuals for the demands of the workforce, it became increasingly attractive to policymakers looking for a means of addressing these social ills. The stage was set for the consolidation of the liberal incorporationist educational order.

Chapter Five

The Victory of Liberal Incorporationism: The Great Society and the Origin of Punitive Education Policies

By the 1960s, the changing political context of the 1940s and 1950s helped cement a liberal incorporationist understanding of the purpose of education firmly in the minds of the education community. The contestation and changes in the dominant understandings of the purpose of education were mirrored by a number of similar developments in other policy areas, most notably broad economic and unemployment policy. Significantly, by the mid-1940s, policymakers within the Democratic Party began to abandon the New Deal commitment to full employment, economic redistribution through progressive taxation, and public job guarantees.

The timing of the ideological victory by the liberal incorporationists would prove auspicious as these policymakers increasingly looked for new policy avenues to address the problems of unemployment, poverty, and racial inequality that could fit with a new preference for economic stimulation through tax cuts. The liberal incorporationist understanding positioned education policy as an effective means of addressing all three of these pressing social issues without committing the Democratic Party to the massive federal expenditures of a New Deal-type policy agenda. As the Democratic Party turned its attention to education policy, it relied heavily on the liberal incorporationist ideology and methods in crafting the programmatic structure of the nascent federal education state.

This chapter traces how the ideological developments and the dominant position of a liberal incorporationist understanding of education were institutionalized into the federal education state by Democrats in the 1960s. The chapter begins with a brief overview of current scholarship on the development of federal education policy. It then analyzes the demise of the commitment to full employment and public jobs within the Democratic Party, and the rise of commercial Keynesian and human capital approaches to economic growth within the Democratic Party. The chapter next outlines the ideological understanding of poverty that provided the basis for the War on Poverty and positioned education as a particularly effective policy area to address both poverty and racial inequality. The liberal incorporationist understanding of the purpose of education was able to easily accommodate itself to new ideological explanations of social problems - such as human capital theory and culture of poverty theory - in large part because these new theories also refocused attention and explanations of economic status on the individual rather than the broader economic forces or labor market structures.

With the passage of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), these ideological perspectives helped institutionalize the liberal incorporationist order in federal education policy. As a result, the ideological foundation and programmatic structure of the federal education state that emerged with the passage of the ESEA was one that incorporated an understanding of public education's purpose as correcting individual deficiencies in order to improve economic outcomes and reduce racial disparities. This understanding resulted in the early adoption of punitive policies in

federal education policy with immediate substantial consequences for black educational workers, and continues to provide the basis for much of the punitive policies of the modern education state.

Current Interpretations

Much of the recent literature on the elementary and secondary public education system attempts to grapple with the apparent shift towards education focused on using standardized test scores as an evaluative tool with which to hold schools, teachers, and students accountable, increasingly through punitive means. Reforms to the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) in the 1980s expanded its reach to all children in Title I schools, not just the disadvantaged. Reforms of the 1990s and early 2000s brought new regulations that required states to drastically increase compliance and sanction activities if they wished to continue receiving federal aid. The most recent reauthorization of the ESEA, the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act, requires that every state come up with its own system of standards and system of measuring achievement of these standards. As a means of holding schools accountable, the law requires that schools that fail to meet benchmarks of achievement be subject to punitive sanctions. A bipartisan coalition of federal policymakers has increasingly turned towards punitive measures, ranging from forced firing of staff to reconstitution as privately run charter schools, to hold schools accountable for their perceived performance failures.

Several researchers have commented on the inequitable distribution of negative effects of such practices such as a narrowed curriculum, harsh academic and behavioral

punishment for students, increased segregation, and the limited focus on the test scores of a small population of “borderline” students.⁶⁹⁷ Others have praised the punitive accountability approach, claiming it is the best approach for ensuring excellence and equality in a troubled public schooling sector.⁶⁹⁸ While disagreement exists on the appropriateness of a turn towards sanctions, there appears to be little disagreement that this represents a significant departure from past practices. The current understanding of the rise of punitive accountability education policies asserts an origin in the 1980s. Several scholars have pointed to the ESEA as the pinnacle of the Great Society’s attempt to attack inequality and poverty, with initial success rolled back by conservative mobilization around the school choice and standards movement, and a renewed focus on

⁶⁹⁷ See Enora R. Brown, “The Quiet Disaster of No Child Left Behind,” in *Schooling and the Politics of Disaster*, ed. Kenneth J. Saltman (New York, NY: Routledge, 2007), 123–40; Jonathan Kozol, *The Shame of the Nation: The Restoration of Apartheid Schooling in America*, Reprint edition (New York: Broadway Books, 2006); Mary Lee Smith et al., *Political Spectacle and the Fate of American Schools*, 1st edition (New York: Routledge, 2003).

⁶⁹⁸ For a good account of the scholars and political coalition in favor of punitive accountability policies in education see Patrick McGuinn, “The Federal Role in Educational Equity: The Two Narrative School Reform and the Debate over Accountability,” in *Education, Justice, and Democracy*, ed. Danielle Allen and Rob Reich (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 221–42.

‘excellence’ rather than ‘equity’ in education.⁶⁹⁹ Although identifying powerful truths about the current trends in education policy, much of this literature fails to account for the extent to which the current regime of punitive sanctions is consistent with the vision of many liberal supporters of the original ESEA. Situating the ESEA in broader debates about unemployment and poverty clarifies that as liberals achieved a victory in institutionalizing a federal role in education, they did so on largely on liberal incorporationist ideological terms.

The ideological commitments that the coalition of liberals relied on to justify the expansion of federal authority in the realm of education ultimately contributed to a deeply problematic interpretation of the purpose and problems of public education. The ESEA institutionalized a federal role in education and laid the foundation for the rise of punitive policies and the obsession with test scores and achievement gaps by positioning education as poverty and unemployment policy. Despite the long-standing educational findings of limited ability of schools or teachers to affect test scores, and a surge in recent

⁶⁹⁹ See Michael W. Apple, *Educating the “Right” Way: Markets, Standards, God, and Inequality*, 2nd edition (New York: Routledge, 2006); Elizabeth H. Debray, *Politics, Ideology & Education: Federal Policy During the Clinton and Bush Administrations* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006); Michael Fabricant and Michelle Fine, *Charter Schools and the Corporate Makeover of Public Education: What’s at Stake?* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2012); Jeffrey Henig, “Education Policy from 1980 to the Present: The Politics of Privatization,” in *Conservatism in American Political Development*, ed. Brian J. Glenn and Steven Michael Teles (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 291–323; Paul Manna, *School’s In: Federalism and the National Education Agenda* (Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press, 2006); Patrick McGuinn, “Education Policy from the Great Society to 1980: The Expansion and Institutionalization of the Federal Role in Schools,” in *Conservatism in American Political Development*, ed. Brian J. Glenn and Steven Michael Teles (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 188–219; Patrick McGuinn, *No Child Left Behind and the Transformation of Federal Education Policy, 1965-2005* (Lawrence, Kan: University Press of Kansas, 2006); Jesse H. Rhodes, *An Education in Politics: The Origins and Evolution of No Child Left Behind* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2012); Kenneth J. Saltman, “The Rise of Venture Philanthropy and the Ongoing Neoliberal Assault on Public Education: The Eli and Edith Broad Foundation,” in *The Assault on Public Education: Confronting the Politics of Corporate School Reform*, ed. William H. Watkins (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 2004), 55–78; and Kenneth J. Saltman, *The Failure of Corporate School Reform* (Boulder, CO: Routledge, 2012).

scholarship that has questioned the connection between education and pay and employment, this dynamic continues to dominate federal education policy.⁷⁰⁰

The origins of these current trends trace back to the educational politics and policies of the 1960s. Although liberal incorporationists succeeded in institutionalizing a federal role in elementary and secondary education policy during the Great Society, they did so on terms that quickly led to punitive policies of sanctions and test-based accountability. By the 1960s, Democrats had adopted a more limited economic philosophy that precluded direct government programs aimed at job creation or income supplements. This shift reinterpreted the problems of unemployment and poverty as of individual deficiencies rather than of broader problems with the market economy. With this development, education became the main policy by which Great Society liberals would try to attack unemployment and poverty. The entrance of the federal government into the elementary and secondary education policy realm was premised on this shift in the economic policies of liberals.

The particular economic turn that justified federal investment in education was crucial in shaping the policies that emerged. The emphasis on reporting and evaluation and the concern about holding schools accountable for results was driven by the belief that equitable distribution of education and achievement would go a substantial way towards eliminating unemployment and poverty. The federal education state was

⁷⁰⁰ For some of the most striking critiques of the relationship between education, skills, and employment, see Gordon Lafer, *The Job Training Charade* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2004) and Edward N. Wolff, *Does Education Really Help?: Skill, Work, and Inequality* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

engineered on a fundamentally liberal incorporationist foundation that assumed education could solve the problem of poverty and unemployment through increasing the achievement scores of individuals and closing the achievement gap between targeted populations. Federal investment in education was coupled with an emphasis on reporting and evaluation and the concern about holding schools accountable for results.

The Problem of Unemployment: From Full Employment to ESEA

The year 1965 saw not only the passage of the (ESEA) but also the implementation of the first tax cuts as a form of Keynesian economic management policy. Although the significance of the connection between these two policies may not be immediately apparent, a brief account of the changing federal employment policy illuminates the importance of the connection. The implementation of the 1965 tax cut represented the consolidation of a form of commercial Keynesianism that cast unemployment as a problem primarily of individual deficiencies in skills and education. The victory of this brand of Keynesianism had important consequences not only for employment policy, but helps explain the newfound interest at the federal level in a sweeping education bill. An account of the rise of commercial Keynesianism and the interpretation of unemployment that accompanied it is crucial in understanding the federal turn toward education, the populations targeted, the types of programs pursued, and the results expected from the ESEA.

The staggering events of the Great Depression opened the door to a reconsideration of the strict balanced budget approach to economic management that

presidents of both political parties had largely pursued. The closing of nearly 40% of the nation's banks as well as the unemployment of one out of every four workers ushered in a fevered period of legislative activity, including the expansion of social insurance with the Social Security Act and a host of programs aimed at the problem of unemployment.⁷⁰¹ However, this increased activity did not initially represent a commitment by President Franklin Roosevelt to use government spending as a means of economic recovery. Rather, he remained committed to a balanced budget and viewed the increased expenditures as temporarily necessary to ease the worst effects of the Depression for the unemployed and vulnerable.⁷⁰² However the return of economic recession at the end of 1937 ultimately convinced Roosevelt to pursue spending as a tool of stabilization. The 1938 announcement of a plan to expand expenditures by \$7 billion represented a decisive step towards the use of fiscal policy as a means of economic recovery.⁷⁰³

The turn toward this type of economic management found an intellectual basis in John Maynard Keynes's 1936 book, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*. Keynes provided guidelines for how aggressive fiscal policy could help prevent economic recessions that radically differed from the conventional belief that general

⁷⁰¹ These programs included the Public Works Administration, the Federal Emergency Relief Act, the Farm Security Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Civil Works Administration, the Works Progress Administration, and the National Youth Administration.

⁷⁰² Gary Mucciaroni, *The Political Failure of Employment Policy, 1945-1982* (Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990): 21. Mucciaroni notes that in the early part of his second term, with decreasing unemployment rates President Roosevelt immediately took steps aimed at balancing the budget. See also, Robert M. Collins, *The Business Response to Keynes, 1929-1964* (New York: Columbia Univ Press, 1981): 5.

⁷⁰³ Mucciaroni, *The Political Failure*, 22.

wage reduction was the best means of combatting economic depressions.⁷⁰⁴ Within Keynes's broad commitment to the maintenance of a market economy, his theory "offered policy formulations which differed significantly in their ideological, political, and economic potentials."⁷⁰⁵ These varied policy recommendations, ranging from the maintenance of low interest rates through central control to the more progressive option of active use of government spending to augment private investment, meant that the Keynesian label was potentially attractive to a broad swath of the ideological spectrum.

The Keynesian policies initially pursued by the federal government in the wake of the recession of 1937 and 1938 stemmed from a progressive brand of Keynesianism know as "secular stagnation." According to the stagnationists, the slowing of population growth and technological innovation coupled with the end of territorial expansion meant that the United States had reached a stage of economic maturity in which stagnation was a natural condition of a capitalist economy. The appropriate response to this fundamental disability of the market economy was continued government investment to regenerate growth.⁷⁰⁶ On the policy side this meant large programs of social spending and public works funded by highly redistributive taxation that would decrease unemployment and inject money into the economy when required.⁷⁰⁷ This was the course advocated by the

⁷⁰⁴ Collins, *The Business Response*, 6-7.

⁷⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁷⁰⁶ Mucciaroni, *The Political Failure*, 22-26.

⁷⁰⁷ Margaret Weir, *Politics and Jobs: The Boundaries of Employment Policy in the United States* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1992): 40-41. Robert Collins notes Alvin Hansen and other stagnationists appeared to envision a "state dedicated to continuously high spending for education, social welfare, public works, regional development, public health, and urban renewal."(Collins, *The Business Response*, 97).

leading stagnationist, Harvard economist Alvin Hansen, one of many stagnationists who served in an advisory capacity to the Roosevelt administration in the 1940s.⁷⁰⁸ Hansen was an advisor on the National Resources Planning Board, a site of institutional strength for the stagnationists, and helped craft the administration's 1944 endorsement of an economic bill of rights, including the right to work.⁷⁰⁹ The introduction of the Full Employment Bill of 1945 by liberal Senator James Murray (D-MT) was the high point of stagnationist influence over economic and employment policy.

The Full Employment Bill of 1945 was based on the assumption that private business would be unable to fulfill the required investment to stimulate full employment, thus necessitating federal expenditure to bridge the gap. The bill sought to create a permanent role for the federal government in regulating the economy, committing the government to expenditures necessary to secure the right to work for all Americans seeking employment. Importantly, the bill was based on the belief that unemployment largely represented a fundamental weakness in the market economy rather than in unemployed individuals. The attempt to build powerful planning agencies capable of injecting large sums into the economy was seen as the most appropriate means of ensuring that these individuals were not unfairly unemployed by forces beyond their control.

⁷⁰⁸ Weir notes that by 1940, many of Hansen's students served in important positions in the executive branch, a result of the active recruitment by those in the administration that favored increased spending as well as the specifically orientation towards policy by Hansen and his students (Weir, *Politics and Jobs*, 41).

⁷⁰⁹ Mucciaroni, *The Political Failure*, 23.

Despite passing by an overwhelming margin in the Senate, the Full Employment Bill of 1945 was ultimately defeated in Congress by a coalition of business groups, southern Democrats, and Republicans. Margaret Weir notes that the southern politicians were afraid that the Full Employment Bill would mean an increase in federal oversight over local farm labor and wage rates and ultimately threaten the racial caste system that depended on the economic subordination of black Americans. The one-party nature of southern politics meant southern Congressmen occupied disproportionately powerful positions, particularly within the powerful committees of each chamber.

Congressman Carter Manasco (D-AL), the chair of the House Expenditures Committee that handled the Full Employment Bill in the House of Representatives, was pivotal in the bill's defeat.⁷¹⁰ Additionally, after passage in the Senate, various business groups led by the Chamber of Commerce mobilized opposition to the bill by charging it as a form of socialism that threatened free enterprise and "the American way of life."⁷¹¹ Business opposition was also grounded in a broader strategy to curb organized labor's political power.⁷¹² This opposition resulted in the abandonment of the Senate bill, and the passage of the alternative Employment Act of 1946. Written by conservative Mississippi Democrat Will Whittington, the new act abandoned the idea of employment as a government guaranteed right as well as a centralized planning agency committed to federal spending a means of achieving full employment. In place of the national planning

⁷¹⁰ Weir, *Politics and Jobs*, 48-49.

⁷¹¹ Mucciaroni, *The Political Failure*, 24. See also Weir, 49

⁷¹² Weir, *Politics and Jobs*, 50.

agency the bill established the Council of Economic Advisors (CEA), which would prove to be an important avenue for the advancement of a more conservative, business-friendly version of Keynesianism in the executive branch. Criticized by Alvin Hansen as little more than “window dressing,” the 1946 Employment Act was endorsed by the Chamber of Commerce and passed by an overwhelming margin in the House and was unanimously approved in the Senate.⁷¹³

The defeat of the Full Employment Bill marked a turning point in the battle over employment policy and over the direction of which style of Keynesian economic management policies would be pursued. Robert Collins argues that facing the broad acceptance and influence of Keynesianism among economists in wake of World War II provision of “striking evidence of the effectiveness of government expenditure on a huge scale,” many in the business community sought to work within the new consensus to promote more business-friendly Keynesian policies.⁷¹⁴ The defeat of the Full Employment Bill marked a fortuitous moment for this move, as a rising number of economists began to question the tenets of secular stagnationists in the wake of strong demand for goods and labor in the postwar years.

Abandoning its previous attachment to a strictly balanced budget approach, the business community coalesced around a particular version of Keynesianism that offered a strikingly different interpretation of unemployment and policy prescriptions than the secular stagnationists. Rejecting the view that unemployment represented a fundamental

⁷¹³ Collins, *The Business Response*, 108.

⁷¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

weakness of the market economy, the advocates of commercial Keynesianism instead argued that, “the demand for labor periodically fluctuates, being sometimes excessive and inflationary and at other times deficient.”⁷¹⁵ Explaining changes in economic growth and joblessness as the result of economic fluctuations, commercial Keynesians argued that the fiscal role of government should be limited to temporarily moderating these business fluctuations. Commercial Keynesians advocated tax cuts and automatic stabilizers rather than direct spending as the policy mechanisms of choice for dealing with these economic fluctuations. Although nominally committed to pursuing high levels of employment, this goal competed with concerns about inflation and the desire to restrain the growth of the federal budget.⁷¹⁶

With the abandonment of the notion of the market economy as fundamentally flawed, many Keynesians turned towards explanations for unemployment that focused on the individual. Although normal business fluctuations would lead to some unemployment, it would not affect all workers equally. Commercial Keynesians argued that those affected would largely be the most marginal workers, those with little skill or ability to adapt to the changing demands of the labor market, a view largely borrowed from the increasingly popular human capital theory. Human capital theory, which posits that resources such as education, specific skills or personality traits possessed by the individual determine the worth of labor that an individual brings to the marketplace,

⁷¹⁵ Mucciaroni, *The Political Failure*, 26.

⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.* Robert Collins, Guy Mucciaroni, and Margaret Weir all point the importance of the the Committee for Economic Development in crafting the central tenets of commercial Keynesianism and creating support for this economic vision within the larger business community.

quickly gained acceptance across the political spectrum as an explanation for why individuals were poor or jobless.⁷¹⁷ Human capital theory offered an interpretation of wage earning not as the result of work performed, or as the result of political struggle between labor and management, or of structural conditions imposed by the broader economic system, but rather as a result of the yield on investment in an individual's human capital.⁷¹⁸ As economist Gary Becker argued, "because observed earnings are gross of the return on human capital, some persons earn more than others simply because they invest more of themselves."⁷¹⁹

As human capital theory gained credibility with policymakers, the solution to unemployment and poverty was increasingly phrased in how best to increase the human capital of certain individuals rather than the direct provision of jobs or income supplements.⁷²⁰ The growing critiques of the stagnationists and the rehabilitated image of business in the postwar years provided an opening for the emergence of a version of

⁷¹⁷ Although the theory of human capital had been around for centuries, political scientist Jennifer Breen notes that it was not understood as resources within the individual worker until the late 1930s, and this view did not gain widespread political popularity until the 1960s. And while human capital theory quickly gained broad popularity, the majority of scholars responsible for crafting and popularizing the theory were conservative academics. Scholars like Theodore Schultz, Jacob Mincer, Gary Becker, and Milton Friedman were early advocates and were either part of or closely aligned with the conservative "Chicago" school of economics (Jennifer Stepp Breen, "Capitalizing Labor: What Work Is Worth and Why, from the New Deal to the New Economy" (Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, 2011), <http://search.proquest.com/docview/888151857/abstract/E3F9793C82654833PQ/1>).

⁷¹⁸ Ibid., 92.

⁷¹⁹ Gary S Becker, *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research : Distributed by Columbia University Press, 1964): 152.

⁷²⁰ As Gary Mucciaroni notes, by the early 1960s human capital theory had so permeated the policymaking circles in Washington that most policymakers "knew" that giving the poor the basic education and skills necessary to be competitive in the labor market would end the problem of poverty (Mucciaroni, *The Political Failure*, 58).

Keynesianism that envisioned a drastically limited role for federal government that was much more appealing to the business community.

The victory of the commercial Keynesian viewpoint was evident by 1964 in both President Lyndon B. Johnson's State of the Union Address announcing the War on Poverty as well as his Economic Report to Congress, which was delivered along with the annual report of the CEA. Arguing that, "a lack of jobs and money is not the cause of poverty, but the symptom,"⁷²¹ Johnson noted that "far too long, our economy has labored under the handicap of a Federal income tax rates born of war and inflation,"⁷²² and identified the "release of \$11 billion of tax reduction into the private spending stream to create new jobs," as the most immediate solution to the problem of unemployment.⁷²³ The CEA praised the Johnson tax bill in its annual report to Congress, echoing the call for "a large reduction in corporate taxes, a cutback of risk-inhibiting top bracket individual tax rates, and a further broadening of the investment credit" as these would "insure the increase in demand necessary to provide markets for our growing productive potential" and "encourage investment."⁷²⁴ But the CEA report, in a move that would be repeated by

⁷²¹ Lyndon B. Johnson, "Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union" (Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, January 8, 1964), <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=26787>.

⁷²² *Economic Report of the President* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, January 1964).

⁷²³ Johnson, "Annual Message." Often overlooked in this address is the fact that President Johnson's advocacy of tax cut takes up nearly half of the speech identified as the launch of the War on Poverty. President Kennedy, with the backing of the CEA and business community, had proposed tax cuts as the solution to the economic downturn of 1962, but Congressional concern about the effect of tax cuts on the budget deficit stymied passage until President Johnson proposed a similar tax cut with smaller budgetary requests (Weir, *Politics and Jobs*, 59-60).

⁷²⁴ *Economic Report of the President*, 104.

President Johnson and other Great Society liberals, coupled the emphasis on tax cuts with policies aimed at easing what it knew would be the increased job insecurity for millions of Americans by advocating increased focus on vocational education and unemployment insurance. The report also stated: “In our concern with the problems of today’s unemployed, it should not be forgotten that a strengthened system of basic education will be the best guarantee against significant problems of displacement and dislocation in tomorrow’s full-employment economy.”⁷²⁵ These policies were based on the assumption that jobs were available for all who were qualified, turning the focus squarely on the deficiencies of the individual.

The adoption of the commercial Keynesian management policy and the broad acceptance of human capital theory brought education into the spotlight as a crucial piece of the policy solution to the problem of unemployment. This shift was evident in 1963 hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower, which heard seven days of testimony relating on the importance of education as an important part of the Manpower needs of the nation. Francis Keppel, the Commissioner of Education, described unemployment as in part a problem of “the fit between the educational arrangements in the United States and the nature of the labor market ... the gears are not joining successfully.”⁷²⁶ He argued that, “Manpower development is education.

⁷²⁵ Ibid., 111.

⁷²⁶ *Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Eighty-Eighth Congress, First Session, Relating to the Training and Utilization of the Manpower Resources of the Nation* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1963): 1871 (Statement of Francis Keppel, U.S. Commissioner of Education).

Education is manpower development ... the only way we can develop our manpower resources fully and effectively is to develop our whole educational system.”⁷²⁷ This sentiment was echoed repeatedly throughout the days of testimony, perhaps most forcefully by Dr. Grant Venn, a representative from the American Council on Education. Claiming that an individual’s “job is more than ever a function of his education,” Dr. Venn argued for a renewed focus on the relationship between the labor market and education since “without a job a man is lost and without educational preparation few jobs are available.”⁷²⁸ This testimony helped shape the 1963 Manpower Development and Training Act, which was premised on the belief “that an individual is unemployed because he lacks a marketable skill.”⁷²⁹

In 1964 attention shifted more directly to education and the appropriate role for the federal government. President Johnson pledged to “put education at the head of our work agenda,” and soon followed through by submitting the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) to Congress in 1965.⁷³⁰ In his statement accompanying the bill, Johnson stated;

The purpose of this legislation is to meet a national problem. This national problem is reflected in draft rejection rates because of basic educational deficiencies. It is evidenced by the employment and

⁷²⁷ Ibid., 1865.

⁷²⁸ Ibid., 1938.

⁷²⁹ Ibid., 1968.

⁷³⁰ Lyndon B. Johnson, “Presidential Policy Paper No. 1: Education” (Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, November 1, 1964), <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=26703>.

manpower retraining problems aggravated by the fact that there are over 8 million adults who have completed less than 5 years of school. It is seen in the 20-percent unemployment rate of our 18- to 24-year-olds ... The solution to these problems lies in the ability of our local elementary and secondary school systems to provide full opportunity for a high quality program of instruction in the basic educational skills because of the strong correlation between educational underachievement and poverty.⁷³¹

President Johnson's reasoning reflected that of the CEA, which had argued that, "the chief reason for low rates of pay is low productivity, which in turn can reflect lack of education or training, physical and mental disability, or poor motivation."⁷³² The CEA had also suggested a renewed focus on primary and secondary education by noting, "if children of poor families can be given skills and motivation, they will not become poor adults."⁷³³ The increased federal interest in education by Great Society liberals was driven by the reinterpretation of unemployment and underemployment as a problem of individual deficiencies in human capital rather than as an indication of a fundamental weakness of the market economy.

Understanding that the interest in federal investment in education was premised on a more limited vision of federal regulation of the economy is critical for comprehending why federal education policies took the form they did. In fact, it is much less likely that the federal government would have been able to establish any authority in this realm had the stagnationist version of Keynesianism been guiding public policy. As

⁷³¹ Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, "Report on Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965" (Washington, D.C.: United States Senate, April 6, 1965): 4.

⁷³² *Economic Report of the President*, 66.

⁷³³ *Ibid.*, 75.

Harvey Kantor and Robert Lowe have noted, during the New Deal “education typically was not a conscious tool of federal policy and was of secondary importance compared to other federal measures to revive the economy and alleviate immediate economic sufferings,” and those educational measures that were present were geared toward directly providing work for the unemployed, such as school construction.⁷³⁴ By the time that Johnson proposed the ESEA, the economic shift repositioned education as an alternative to the more direct government intervention pursued during the New Deal Era. Although there was still a significant contingent of executive branch employees calling for public job creation as the solution to unemployment, particularly within the Department of Labor, the turn by Kennedy and Johnson towards tax cuts and human capital investment through education signified that the vision of the commercial Keynesians were the guiding doctrine of Great Society.⁷³⁵

Education and the War on Poverty

As the Kennedy administration began to solidify a commercial Keynesian economic policy, it also turned its focus to poverty, an issue that was receiving increasing attention in the popular press. In part driven by a concern about having a policy program for those that would not benefit directly from the proposed tax cuts, President Kennedy

⁷³⁴ Harvey Kantor and Robert Lowe, “Class, Race, and the Emergence of Federal Education Policy: From the New Deal to the Great Society,” *Educational Researcher* 24, no. 3 (1995): 4-5.

⁷³⁵ See Michael B. Katz, *The Undeserving Poor: America’s Enduring Confrontation with Poverty: Fully Updated and Revised*, 2 edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); see also Weir, *Politics and Jobs* and Muciarroni, *The Political Failure*.

asked Walter Heller, the chairman of the CEA, to investigate what could be done about the problem of poverty.⁷³⁶ The programmatic approach that would develop was dominated by cultural understandings of poverty, which reinforced the notion from human capital theory that the proper focus of policy attention was addressing deficiencies within the individual. Much like the unemployment policy emerging from the era, the War on Poverty placed a renewed focus on education as essential to solving the problem of poverty.

Although the federal government had not focused on the issue of poverty prior to President Kennedy's directive to Walter Heller, it did have an institutional source that provided an intellectual understanding of poverty, as well as strategies to address it. In 1961, Attorney General Robert Kennedy announced the formation of the President's Commission on Juvenile Delinquency (PCJD). Created by executive order, this cabinet-level body was composed of the secretaries of the Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare departments, and chaired by the Attorney General. Charged with investigating and tackling the then salient problem of juvenile delinquency, the PCJD reached out to academics early on for guidance on what kind of programs might best address the issue. Chicago sociologist Lloyd Ohlin was a major influence on the committee's interpretation

⁷³⁶ Weir, *Politics and Jobs*, 68; Muciarroni, *The Political Failure*, 53.

of juvenile delinquency and the programs it proposed, signing on as the committee's chief research consultant and personally advising the Attorney General.⁷³⁷

Ohlin and fellow sociologist Richard Cloward had argued in their book, *Delinquency and Opportunity*, that delinquency was primarily the result of a deviant subculture that arose among the lower class frustrated over their inability to realize their aspiration because of blocked opportunities.⁷³⁸ This "opportunity theory" was fundamentally a cultural explanation of delinquency, and the notion of differential access to opportunity gained widespread traction as the explanation for delinquent behavior by the early 1960s.⁷³⁹

Cloward and Ohlin's book did not offer specific policy suggestions, however the clear implication was that expansion of opportunities for would "close the gap between aspiration and achievement," and thus attack the aberrant culture at its source.⁷⁴⁰ The authors did suggest that the local community would be the most effective level at which to address the differential opportunity structures. Cloward and Ohlin also singled out access to education as an important source of, and solution to, the origins of delinquent cultures. According to Cloward and Ohlin, the lower-classes placed a lesser value on education because they had fewer educational opportunities than their better off peers.⁷⁴¹

⁷³⁷ See Edward R. Schmitt, *President of the Other America: Robert Kennedy and the Politics of Poverty* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010): 69-72; Alice O'Connor, *Poverty Knowledge: Social Science, Social Policy, and the Poor in Twentieth-Century U.S. History*, Reprint edition (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002): 128.

⁷³⁸ Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, *Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960).

⁷³⁹ O'Connor, *Poverty Knowledge*, 128.

⁷⁴⁰ Katz, *The Undeserving Poor*, 121.

⁷⁴¹ Cloward and Ohlin, *Delinquency and Opportunity*, 103.

This fact was damaging, as “the lower-class boy who fails to secure an education is likely to discover that he has little chance of improving his circumstances,” at which point “discontent may be generated, leading in turn to aberrant behavior.”⁷⁴² The clear implication was that a concerted focus on increasing the educational opportunities of the lower-class could attack the problem of deviant subcultures at the source. The close association of Ohlin with the PCJD, the limited scholarly literature, and the active movement of members of the PCJD into other executive departments resulted in the ‘opportunity theory,’ and the important position it ascribed to education, guiding the policy approach of the broader War on Poverty.⁷⁴³

Despite the fact that Cloward and Ohlin claimed their theory applied to the society within which individuals existed, it meshed well with other culture of poverty explanations which tended to take the focus off of the broader economic structures and concentrate the focus on the individual. Culture of poverty theories claimed deviant cultures among some groups had resulted in warped values and family structures leading to widespread poverty and other social problems within these groups. Children raised in these deviant households were mostly doomed to perpetuate the failings of the culture, resulting in the passage of poverty from one generation to the next. The 1965 report by Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel Patrick Moynihan entitled, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*, best exemplifies the modified version of the culture of poverty

⁷⁴² Ibid., 98.

⁷⁴³ Community action programs of the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act were modeled programs that the PCJD had developed to address delinquency. See Katz, *The Undeserving Poor* and Weir, *Politics and Jobs* for accounts of the importance of the PCJD and ‘opportunity theory’ to the policies of the War on Poverty.

theory that ultimately held sway with policymakers. Moynihan argued that the source of poverty among blacks was a vicious cycle in which “[l]ow education levels in turn produce low income levels, which deprive children of many opportunities, and so the cycle repeats itself.”⁷⁴⁴ Like most other culture of poverty theorists, Moynihan argued that addressing poverty meant breaking this cycle, and argued that the lack of education was a critical component of the cycle.

This understanding of the relationship between education and the economic success of the individual is completely consistent with that of human capital theory, which was frequently formulated as “the belief that a good education would lead to individual financial success, higher personal status, and the benefits of a flourishing economy.”⁷⁴⁵ With human capital theory and the culture of poverty theory both pushing similar interpretations of poverty, policymakers increasingly turned towards “youth, who human capital theorists argued were in the best position to reap the rewards of greater investment in themselves ...in the hopes that doing so would break the ‘cycle of poverty.’”⁷⁴⁶ President Johnson clearly drew on this understanding of education in justifying the need for a federal role in education targeted at the disadvantaged. His message accompanying the delivery of the ESEA to Congress indicated, “with education, instead of being condemned to poverty and idleness, young Americans can learn the skills

⁷⁴⁴ Daniel P. Moynihan, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Policy Planning and Research, United States Department of Labor, 1965).

⁷⁴⁵ Larry Cuban, *The Blackboard and the Bottom Line: Why Schools Can't Be Businesses* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2005): 10.

⁷⁴⁶ Breen, “Capitalizing Labor,” 107.

to find a job and provide for a family.”⁷⁴⁷ Johnson also mentioned the “cost in other terms” of failing to invest in education, noting “we spend \$1,800 a year to keep a delinquent youth in a detention home - \$2,500 for a family on relief - \$3,500 a year for a criminal in a State prison.”⁷⁴⁸ Senator Robert Kennedy agreed on the need for an early educational focus in breaking the cycle of poverty, noting, “by the time you start to focus the attention on them at the age of 12, they are already lost to society.”⁷⁴⁹

The CEA enthusiastically supported education as a poverty program, in part because it was a substantially cheaper approach that was compatible with its primary policy proposal of tax cuts,⁷⁵⁰ but it also fit well with its broader political goals. In a particularly revealing statement of the degree to which education had come to replace more direct programs aimed at the poor, the 1964 CEA report asserted that “tax reduction is the first requisite in 1964 of a concerted attack on poverty,” and praised the focus on education as an attack on the root cause of poverty:

Conquest of poverty is well within our power. About \$11 billion a year would bring poor families up to the \$3,000 income level we have taken to be the minimum for a decent life. The majority of the Nation could simply tax themselves enough to provide the necessary income supplements to their less fortunate citizens. The burden ... would certainly not be intolerable. But this ‘solution’ would leave untouched most of the

⁷⁴⁷ Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, “Report on Elementary and Secondary Education,” 3.

⁷⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

⁷⁴⁹ *Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Eighty-Ninth Congress, First Session, on S. 370, a Bill to Strengthen and Improve Educational Quality and Educational Opportunities in the Nation's Elementary and Secondary Schools* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1965): 901 (Testimony of Francis Keppel, Commissioner of Education).

⁷⁵⁰ Muciarroni, *The Political Failure*, 55.

roots of poverty. Americans want to *earn* the American standard of living by their own efforts and contributions ... We can surely afford greater generosity in relief of distress. But the major thrust of our campaign must be against causes rather than symptoms.⁷⁵¹

The use of the cultural understanding of poverty served as powerful weapon for the CEA. This understanding positioned the individual as the proper policy focus, and further allowed the CEA to claim that policies of direct redistribution and job creation advocated by the Labor Department would not only degrade recipient, but would likely only perpetuate the poverty problem. In its place, the CEA advocated attacking the “roots” of the problem through educational investment aimed at breaking the intergenerational cycle poverty.

The theoretical understanding of poverty that drove the programmatic approach of the War on Poverty echoed the ideological understanding of unemployment as a problem of individual failing put forth by the commercial Keynesians. Furthermore, like the unemployment dilemma, Great Society liberals looked toward education as the best curative policy measure. Even as these understandings diverted attention from more redistributionary policies, they did create a powerful argument for a federal presence in public elementary and secondary education policy. The successful passage of ESEA after years of failed attempts to pass general aid legislation represented a significant achievement for the Johnson administration. Although liberals had succeeded in their long-sought goal of institutionalizing a federal role in education, the shift in economic

⁷⁵¹ *Economic Report of the President*, 77-78.

policy that paved the way for their success would significantly shape the policies that would emerge.

Early Federal Policy Development: The Origins of Punitive Accountability Policies

The consensus that education was the most effective means of addressing the issue of unemployment and poverty created a powerful coalition in Congress to push for compensatory education. In an important shift, rather than the general aid bills that had been proposed and defeated since the late 1800s, this bill would focus on the disadvantaged. This focus was driven by the understanding that emerged from the unemployment and poverty debates. In his 1964 Economic Report to Congress, President Johnson outlined education as his first priority in the War on Poverty. Arguing that education was key to earning power through the acquisition of marketable skills, he implored Congress to “upgrade the education of the children of the poor, so that they need not follow their parents in poverty.”⁷⁵² This view was echoed in the Department of Labor after the 1963 Manpower hearings, as assistant Labor Secretary Stanley Ruttenberg noted:

It became increasingly evident that it was not the skilled workers, the family men with long-time work experience, who were left behind ... it was already evident that we were working with the wrong woodpile ... It was the disadvantaged who filled the ranks of the unemployed -- those who were discriminated against or were never equipped in the first place to function successfully in the free labor market. The problem was the bottom of the labor barrel, not the top.⁷⁵³

⁷⁵² Ibid., 15-16.

⁷⁵³ As quoted in Mucciaroni, *The Political Failure*, 60.

The interpretation of poverty and unemployment as largely attributable to individual deficiencies in skill or culture drove the compensatory approach of ESEA, in which funds were targeted towards the disadvantaged poor.

The centerpiece of the compensatory strategy was Title I, which accounted for between 75 to 85 percent of total ESEA funding.⁷⁵⁴ Title I was a categorical grant that provided schools funding based on the concentration of low-income families, defined as families earning less than \$2,000 annually. This design ensured that although Title I funds would be targeted towards the poor, funding would also be widely distributed with over 94 percent of school districts ultimately receiving Title I money.⁷⁵⁵ The formula grant enabled substantial discretion for local educational agencies to pursue a variety of approaches aimed at increasing the educational opportunity of the disadvantaged. The school, with the help of federal funding, would help ensure that no individual was arbitrarily relegated to economic squalor due to discrimination, cultural deprivation or technological displacement.

In addition to inspiring hope, the understanding of education as the central mechanism for overcoming poverty and unemployment also drove many Great Society liberals to criticize schools and teachers as responsible for these problems in the first place, and demand accountability for any federal funds distributed by the ESEA. No member of Congress represented this tendency more than New York Senator Robert

⁷⁵⁴ Wayne J. Urban and Jennings L. Wagoner Jr, *American Education: A History*, 4 edition (New York, NY: Routledge, 2008): 373.

⁷⁵⁵ McGuinn, *No Child Left Behind*, 31.

Kennedy. Reflecting the concerns of many of his constituents, particularly his minority constituents,⁷⁵⁶ Senator Kennedy repeatedly expressed his belief that the schools and teachers themselves bore a substantial portion of the blame for the state of education for the poor.⁷⁵⁷ In questioning Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel, Senator Kennedy charged, “would you agree ... that from your experience of studying the school systems around the United States, that the school system itself has created an educationally deprived system?”⁷⁵⁸ After Commissioner Keppel agreed, Kennedy questioned the wisdom of giving these schools more money, saying, “if you are placing or putting money into a school system which itself creates this problem or helps to create it ... are we not just in fact wasting the money of the Federal Government and of the taxpayer?”⁷⁵⁹ Kennedy was concerned not that education could not help the disadvantaged, but that absent a mechanism of accountability schools would continue to contribute to the

⁷⁵⁶ For example, see Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc., *Youth in the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and a Blueprint for Change* (New York: Orans Press, Inc., 1964).

⁷⁵⁷ Indeed, Kennedy argued that, “If you are going to judge [the school system] on whether the children are keeping up with their reading, reading ability, whether they are dropouts, whether they are involved in juvenile delinquency, all of these matters in these various communities at the present time, including my own city of New York, you would have to say that the school system is flunking” (*Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Eighty-Ninth Congress, First Session, on S. 370, a Bill to Strengthen and Improve Educational Quality and Educational Opportunities in the Nation’s Elementary and Secondary Schools* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1965): 2729-30).

⁷⁵⁸ *Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Eighty-Ninth Congress, First Session, on S. 370, a Bill to Strengthen and Improve Educational Quality and Educational Opportunities in the Nation’s Elementary and Secondary Schools* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1965): 511 (Testimony of Francis Keppel, Commissioner of Education).

⁷⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

“economic educational deprivation of the child,” a concern shared by Commissioner Keppel.⁷⁶⁰

Senator Kennedy argued that funds distributed by Title I of ESEA should be accompanied by “some standardized test that could be given in these areas where the money has been invested to determine whether, in fact, the child is making the kind of progress that we hope.”⁷⁶¹ Kennedy had made clear to Commission Keppel and Wilbur Cohen, the Assistant Secretary of Department of Health, Education and Welfare (DHEW), that his support for ESEA was dependent upon modifications to the bill that “hold educators responsive to their constituencies and to make educational achievement the touchstone of success in judging ESEA.”⁷⁶² Telling Keppel, “Look, I want to change this bill because it doesn’t have any way of measuring those damned educators like you, Frank,” Kennedy’s refusal to support the legislation absent an evaluation amendment came close to derailing the legislation.⁷⁶³

Keppel agreed with Kennedy on the need for some sort of evaluation provision. He helped draft an amendment that required any local educational authority wishing to

⁷⁶⁰ Ibid., 511. Later on in the hearings, noting poor reading ability test scores, dropout numbers, and juvenile delinquency Kennedy argued that, “the school system must have something to do with it, and if the program they have had in effect over the period of the last decade has produced such poor results and *destroyed the lives of these children, then I think that whoever is responsible for that should be held responsible*” (Ibid., 3086, emphasis added).

⁷⁶¹ Ibid., 512. See also pages 1298, 2663, 2727, 2875, and 3085.

⁷⁶² Samuel Halperin, “ESEA: Five Years Later” (*Congressional Record*, U.S., Congress, House September 9, 1970).

⁷⁶³ Hugh Davis Graham, *The Uncertain Triumph: Federal Education Policy in the Kennedy and Johnson Years* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984): 78-79. See also, Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin, *Evaluation and Reform: The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, Title I*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballanger, 1974): 3.

receive federal grant to prove, “[t]hat effective procedures, including provision for appropriate objective measurements of educational achievement, will be adopted for evaluating at least annually the effectiveness of the programs in meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children,” as well as make these results public.⁷⁶⁴ Realizing that this type of evaluation provision would likely provoke strong backlash from conservatives and professional education organizations such as the American Federation of Teachers, Commissioner Keppel asked Samuel Halperin, the Director of the Office of Legislation of the United States Office of Education (USOE), to quietly insert the new provision into the bill. According to Halperin, he did this by giving the new evaluation provision to Representative John Brademas while not divulging what it was and therefore allowing him believe that it did not substantively change the bill and therefore did not require a House debate or vote. The tactic worked, and the evaluation requirement attracted no attention and received no substantive debate.⁷⁶⁵

In the Senate hearing, Senator Kennedy made sure to emphasize to Commissioner Keppel that he expected the USOE to follow through on holding schools accountable.⁷⁶⁶ The commissioner assured Kennedy that the evaluation amendment, and the requirement

⁷⁶⁴ Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, “Report on Elementary and Secondary Education,” 40. See also, Samuel Halperin, “ESEA Ten Years Later,” *Educational Researcher* 4, no. 8 (1975): 8, and McLaughlin, *Evaluation and Reform*.

⁷⁶⁵ McLaughlin, *Evaluation and Reform*, 23. Although there was little debate about the evaluation provisions at the time of passage, it did provoke backlash after passage from some groups.

⁷⁶⁶ *Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Eighty-Ninth Congress, First Session, on S. 370, a Bill to Strengthen and Improve Educational Quality and Educational Opportunities in the Nation's Elementary and Secondary Schools* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1965): 511 (Testimony of Francis Keppel, Commissioner of Education).

that the results be shared and disseminated, would mean that “we can really depend on the competitive instinct, the competition of American school systems,” to assure accountability for raising educational achievement. If this did not work, Keppel argued, “I think we have some instruments here frankly to needle a lot of the schools.”⁷⁶⁷ Secretary Anthony Celebrezze of the DHEW told Kennedy that local educational agencies would have to submit plans that complied with the evaluation provisions, “or they get no funds.”⁷⁶⁸

Although Kennedy was primarily responsible for the inclusion of the evaluation provision and the raised achievement test score standard of success in the ESEA, his view was shared by several of his fellow liberal Senators and several important members of the executive branch who would be responsible for implementing the bill. Senator Wayne Morse (D-OR), the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Education, repeatedly endorsed of Kennedy’s line of questioning.⁷⁶⁹ Both Secretary Celebrezze and his assistant Wilbur Cohen supported the strong evaluation requirements, as did Celebrezze’s replacement, John Gardner. Secretary Gardner also created the position of assistant secretary of program evaluation filled by William Gorham, who became a powerful advocate for evaluation based on achievement scores within the DHEW.⁷⁷⁰ There was also pressure from groups outside of government who were critical of the schools and teachers, most

⁷⁶⁷ Ibid., 901.

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid., 515.

⁷⁶⁹ See, Ibid., 528.

⁷⁷⁰ McLaughlin, *Evaluation and Reform*, 5-6.

notably prominent African American social psychologist Kenneth Clark. Clark argued that any reform needed to address the fact that the low expectation of schools and teachers for “culturally deprived” students contributed to their poor performance.⁷⁷¹

These voices represented a powerful coalition of liberal voices that were confident that schools could help address the problem of joblessness and poverty, but only if schools were held accountable for the achievement scores of their students. The result of the active maneuvering of this likeminded group was evaluation and reporting requirements that were unprecedented for a piece of social legislation.

Without the secretive strategy of adding evaluation requirements, it is unlikely that the ESEA would have included such a provision. Professional education groups were broadly against evaluations of the type mentioned in the Kennedy amendment. Organizations such as the National Education Association argued that such requirements would undermine the professionalism of teachers by reducing teacher autonomy, lead to destructive comparisons among teachers, schools, and school districts, and narrow the

⁷⁷¹ See Kenneth Bancroft Clark, *Dark Ghetto; Dilemmas of Social Power* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965). See also David K. Cohen and Susan L. Moffitt, *The Ordeal of Equality: Did Federal Regulation Fix the Schools?* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2009): 71; and Harvey Kantor, “Education, Social Reform, and the State: ESEA and Federal Education Policy in the 1960s,” *American Journal of Education* 100, no. 1 (November 1991): 66. For another example of a voice outside of government that agreed with Kennedy’s analysis, see the testimony of Lindley J. Stiles, Dean of the University of Wisconsin’s School of Education before the Senate Subcommittee on Education (*Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Eighty-Ninth Congress, First Session, on S. 370, a Bill to Strengthen and Improve Educational Quality and Educational Opportunities in the Nation’s Elementary and Secondary Schools* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1965): 3076-3091 (Statement of Lindley J. Stiles, Dean, School of Education, University of Wisconsin)). In his statement, the Dean Stiles presciently called for a “program of evaluation ... designed to measure the increments of educational gain achieved by individual pupils, school systems, and States that have support under Title I,” and argued “Federal assistance without educational accountability ... is sheer educational and fiscal irresponsibility”(Ibid., 3090-91).

focus of education to only tested subjects.⁷⁷² These concerns meant that “educators were in almost complete agreement that standardized tests were insensitive and inappropriate measures of the effectiveness of a Title I program.”⁷⁷³ Republicans, some southern Democrats, and religious organizations were also suspicious of the type of evaluation proposed by Kennedy, as the use of such standardized measures could eventually lead to national standards and curriculums, ultimately threatening local autonomy.⁷⁷⁴ Furthermore, the educational research community was largely in agreement that changes in education strategies had little affect on academic achievement, prompting some members of the American Educational Research Association to ask that the association officially go on record as opposed to the Kennedy evaluation requirement of Title I at their 1966 annual meeting.⁷⁷⁵ Had the amendment received open debate when it was included in the ESEA, it is probable that these groups would have prevented its inclusion in the final bill.

⁷⁷² See National Education Association, “National Education Assessment: Pro and Con” (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1966). As McLaughlin points out, the type of damaging comparison between teachers, schools, districts and states feared by teachers appeared to be exactly what Commissioner Keppel had in mind when praising the stimulation of “competitive instinct” that would be encouraged by the evaluation and public distribution requirements of the Kennedy Amendments (McLaughlin, *Evaluation and Reform*, 9).

⁷⁷³ McLaughlin, *Evaluation and Reform*, 10. See also Schmitt, *President of the Other America*, 117.

⁷⁷⁴ See *Hearings Before the General Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, Eighty-Ninth Congress, First Session, on H.R. 2361 and H.R. 2362. Bills to Strengthen and Improve Educational Quality and Educational Opportunities in the Nation's Elementary and Secondary Schools* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1965): 825 (Statement of Msgr. Frederick G. Hochwalt, Director, Department of Education, National Catholic Welfare Conference).

⁷⁷⁵ McLaughlin, *Evaluation and Reform*, 10, 38. See also, Cohen and Moffitt, *The Ordeal of Equality*, 69; and Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Education for Children of the Poor: A Study of the Origins and Implementation of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1978).

After passage, mandated evaluations of the ESEA and compensatory education began to shift the focus of the legislation towards the goal of increasing achievement scores of disadvantaged students on standardized tests. The 1966 Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey (EEOS), popularly known as the Coleman Report after its lead author, cast doubt on whether compensatory funding could raise the achievement of poor and minority students. Commissioned as part of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the EEOS reported “it appears that differences between schools account for only a small fraction of the differences in pupil achievement.”⁷⁷⁶ The conclusion that inequalities in school resources, variations in curriculums, and teacher experience had little effect on student achievement scores measured by standardized tests sent shockwaves through the educational community. The report’s finding that 80 percent of variation in student achievement occurred within schools rather than between them appeared to directly rebut the intellectual foundation of compensatory funding: the belief that greater funding would result in greater achievement.⁷⁷⁷ The negative findings of the Coleman Report were soon confirmed by a study conducted by E.J. Mosbaek of the General Electric Company, commissioned by the DHEW. Known as the G.E. Tempo report, it was authorized by the Kennedy Amendments, and drew its data from the of achievement test evaluations

⁷⁷⁶ James S. Coleman et al., *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966): 22.

⁷⁷⁷ Coleman later noted that he thought that the use of achievement test scores could be a useful means of evaluating programs targeted towards disadvantaged children, but that the current system schools was unlikely to succeed in this since “the school is trapped by its own organizational weight.” He suggested that private contractors could be compensated and incentivized through their ability to raise the test scores of poor children. (*Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Ninety-First Congress, First Session on S. 2218 To Amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and Related Acts, and for Other Purposes* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1969): 1255 (Excerpt from American School Board Journal)).

mandated by the same amendments.⁷⁷⁸ The G.E. Tempo report looked at the effect on standardized test scores of Title I funds on five school districts, finding that scores increased in one district, remained the same in three districts, and decreased in the final district despite the increased funding.⁷⁷⁹ The high profile reports shocked Congressional liberals, and quickly put them on the defensive.

These findings should not have been surprising given that such negative and null findings had long been the norm in education research. However, the liberal incorporationist faith that education was the key to solving important social problems and the belief that greater funding was central to raising educational achievement meant that much of this earlier evidence was ignored. Congressional Democrats and others interpreted this new evidence of the failure of compensatory education programs to raise achievement as an indication of failing institutions, rather than the result of a flawed educational (and broader social welfare) strategy. The negative reports that followed the passage of ESEA therefore had the effect of enshrining the raising of standardized test scores and the closing of achievement gaps as the primary purpose of the ESEA, and the standard by which it would be judged.

This development was not a forgone conclusion, as Title I had never specified that improvement on standardized tests of achievement was the legislation's objective. Indeed, this topic had been intentionally avoided because of the likely backlash such an

⁷⁷⁸ Cohen and Moffitt, *The Ordeal of Equality*, 252 n13.

⁷⁷⁹ E.J. Mosbaek et al., *Analysis of Compensatory Education in Five School Districts* (Washington, D.C.: TEMPO, 1969): 2-3.

objective would have provoked. Furthermore, as Milbrey McLaughlin notes, there were many other metrics by which Title I could have been judged. Researchers easily “could have looked at the efficiency of the delivery of Title I services, or examined the effects of Title I on the redistribution of educational services between socioeconomic groups,” and in fact, “such study designs [were] more typical of evaluations conducted in other areas of DHEW.”⁷⁸⁰ Congressional liberals did not raise any of these issues. Instead, they largely adopted the view that improvement in achievement test scores and the narrowing achievement gap should be the standard of success for Title I.

As several reports focused on the limited effect of compensatory education on achievement scores, others focused on where the ESEA funds were actually being spent. A particularly influential report sponsored by the NAACP’s Legal Defense and Education Fund and the Washington Research Project, questioned whether Title I funds were being used for their intended purposes. The 1969 report, entitled *Title I of ESEA: Is It Helping Poor Children?*, argued that although “the central purpose of Title I is to raise academic achievement ... Title I in some school systems is not being used at all, or only in a limited way, for academic programs for the special educational needs of children from poor and minority communities.”⁷⁸¹ The report noted several instances in which Title I funds were being used for programs that had existed before ESEA, not targeted specifically at the

⁷⁸⁰ McLaughlin, *Evaluation and Reform*, 36. For example, at the time health programs were largely assessed on terms of distribution and delivery rather than impact (Ibid., 46 n.28).

⁷⁸¹ Ruby Martin and Phyllis McClure, “Is It Helping Poor Children? Title I of ESEA.” (Washington, D.C.: Washington Research Project of the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy and the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, 1969): 29.

disadvantaged, or diverted into programs that were not specifically education related. Claiming that many states were treating Title I funds as if it were general aid rather than compensatory, the authors urged Congress, the Department of Justice and the USOE to crack down on schools systems that had misused funds. Their suggestions included the “immediate action” of demanding “restitution of misused funds” against local education authorities not in compliance, a Congressional oversight hearing, additional staff members within the USOE devoted to enforcing that States and local authorities were in compliance as well as additional audits and evaluation of Title I programs.⁷⁸² The report positively cited the recent action taken by the USOE against the state of Mississippi. In response to several complaints, the USOE conducted a review in the summer of 1969 of the State’s administration of Title I funds and found that it had violated several federal policies. Then Commissioner of Education James Allen ordered that no Title I projects be approved in Mississippi for 1970 until remedial action had been taken, and froze Title I expenditures for several broad areas such as construction, supplies and equipment, and custodial services.⁷⁸³ The report endorsed a more muscular federal enforcement of ESEA provisions, and sanctions for those who violated them, as the best means of “fulfilling a long-needed promise to our Nation’s poor children.”⁷⁸⁴

The reports finding limited effects on achievement of compensatory funding and misspent funds resulted in quick Congressional action. Through the 1969 amendments to

⁷⁸² Ibid., iii-iv.

⁷⁸³ Ibid., 54.

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid., 58.

the ESEA, Congress increased the focus on standardized tests and sought to strengthen and encourage the USOE to sanction states and localities that did not comply with Title I provisions. Despite testimony by academics and policy specialists expressing concern over the extent to which the ESEA had come to be judged by standardized tests,⁷⁸⁵ Congress passed amendments that provided funding for states and the USOE to help localities develop and implement these tests,⁷⁸⁶ required local educational agencies to set objectives and report annually on their progress,⁷⁸⁷ and extended the “objective measurement of education achievement” requirements to sections of the bill targeting handicapped children⁷⁸⁸ and districts receiving additional funds for the having the highest concentration of disadvantaged students.⁷⁸⁹ By 1974, Congress moved decisively to orient the ESEA around improving academic performance, requiring DHEW to “develop and publish standards for evaluation of program effectiveness,” including “goals and

⁷⁸⁵ For example, in a letter to Senator Claiborne Pell (D-RI), Walter McCann of the Center for Law and Education and David Cohen of the Center for Education Policy Research, expressed concern that the “[e]xisting legislation calls for some evaluation, but it too narrowly conceived,” and called for the evaluation metrics outside of the “objective measures of educational achievement,” that had become the standard. *Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Ninety-First Congress, First Session on S. 2218 To Amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and Related Acts, and for Other Purposes* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1969): 1250-51.

⁷⁸⁶ Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, “Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1969, Report of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, on H.R. 514, To Extend Programs of Assistance for Elementary and Secondary Education, and for Other Purposes” (Washington, D.C.: United States Senate, January 21, 1970): 8-9.

⁷⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁷⁸⁸ House Committee on Education and Labor, “Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1969, Conference Report to Accompany H.R. 514” (Washington, D.C.: House of Representatives, March 24, 1970).
88.

⁷⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 65.

specific objectives in qualitative and quantitative terms,” and required annual reports on the “effectiveness” of compensatory programs.⁷⁹⁰

Along with increasing the focus on objective educational achievement measures originally desired by Senator Kennedy, the 1969 amendments also encouraged more aggressive oversight, including sanctions on noncompliant states, by the USOE. Citing the NAACP Legal Defense Education Fund Report, the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare expressed its “deep concern about the necessity for stronger enforcement of Title I requirements by both Federal and State agencies in monitoring the legitimate and effective use of Title I funds by local educational agencies.”⁷⁹¹ Praising the action the USOE had taken in the case of Mississippi, the committee pushed for “vigorous action” and increased prioritization and staff devoted to compliance, and a greater focus on auditing and state program reviews within the USOE.⁷⁹² The USOE appeared to get the message from Congress when the next year the Commissioner of Education sent out letters to states indicating violations from the previous three years, and expected to request a total repayment as high as \$30 million from the nearly thirty states that were not in compliance.⁷⁹³ By 1977, the total amount of repayment of Title I funds sought by the

⁷⁹⁰ Halperin, “ESEA Ten Years Later,” 8.

⁷⁹¹ Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, “Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1969,” 9.

⁷⁹² *Ibid.*, 10. See also, Cohen and Moffitt, *The Ordeal of Equality*, 60-61.

⁷⁹³ Phi Delta Kappan, “USOE Orders States to Repay Title I Funds Improperly Spent,” *Phi Delta Kappan* 53 (November 1971): 199.

USOE had reached \$240 million.⁷⁹⁴ Although much of the compliance action had been geared towards misspent funds, the 1974 ESEA extension required that the USOE report on plans for “implementing corrective action” for those programs that had not met their specific qualitative or quantitative effectiveness objectives.⁷⁹⁵ As Samuel Halperin, the former Director of the Office of Legislation of the USOE who helped slip the Kennedy Amendments into the original ESEA, pointed out, this clearly oriented the federal education state around “ensur[ing] that public funds result in gains in learning, particularly in reading and mathematics.”⁷⁹⁶

The quick alignment of the ESEA around the goal of increasing achievement as measured in part by standardized test scores, and the emerging strategy of sanctions as a means of insuring progress towards this goal, was the result of understanding education as an unemployment and poverty program. The reason that Senator Kennedy, Commissioner Keppel and others liberals supported the extensive evaluation requirements and the standardized test score standard was due to a belief that education could eliminate these problems if educational opportunity was equalized. Moreover, as this belief triggered widespread liberal support for investment in education, it also triggered suspicions of the role the existing educational structures had played in

⁷⁹⁴ National Institute of Education (U.S.), *Administration of Compensatory Education* (Washington: National Institute of Education, U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1977).

⁷⁹⁵ Halperin, “ESEA Ten Years Later,” 8.

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid.

perpetuating disadvantage and demands for accountability. As Senator Kennedy noted in the Senate ESEA hearings:

Most of us, 95 percent of us, are doing well, but there are 5, 8, or 10 percent of our young people who, through no fault of their own, are never going to be able to live decent lives... I just do not believe that we can meet our responsibilities here as Members of Congress or others, or as American citizens, and let that kind of situation exist. I think it is the fault of the school system that has been permitted to exist as long as it has.⁷⁹⁷

The disappointing results of the initial reports on the effectiveness of ESEA programs at raising the test scores of low-income children did not result in a questioning of the appropriateness of test scores as measure of success or a reexamination of the ability of compensatory education to raise achievement scores. Instead, the early results strengthened the use of achievement scores as a yardstick, increased evaluation of ESEA programs, and the led to increased enforcement of stricter sanctions on states who failed to deliver.

Liberal Incorporationism and Displacement

The institutionalization of the liberal incorporationist vision of education that stressed the ability of education to solve social problems such as unemployment, poverty and racial inequality in lieu of broader political economic change set education policy in the United States on a punitive path. Importantly, the victory of this educational ideology also had considerable, and often overlooked, consequences for the material circumstances

⁷⁹⁷ *Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Eighty-Ninth Congress, First Session, on S. 370, a Bill to Strengthen and Improve Educational Quality and Educational Opportunities in the Nation's Elementary and Secondary Schools* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1965):3014 (Testimony of Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, First Vice President, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.).

of black educators employed in southern states. The passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the ESEA in 1965 greatly increased the pace of desegregation in southern schools. As southern states began to transition away from a dual school system, thousands of schools throughout the south were shuttered as students and staff of previously segregated schools were consolidated under one roof.

The desegregation and consolidation of public schools had dramatic consequences for black public school teachers and principals. Recalcitrant southern school districts used the massive reorganization that consolidation required as an opportunity to intimidate, demote, and eliminate thousands of black public school employees. This phenomena, commonly known as “displacement,” involved numerous tactics and became widespread as the federal government increased efforts to hold states accountable for failing to desegregate. As a researcher for the Race Relations Information Center (RRIC), a non-profit organization funded by the Ford Foundation, noted, “[t]he irony of displacement is that it has followed compliance with federal laws designed to end discrimination ... [i]n state after state, black educators’ positions, pay and prestige have diminished with each newly desegregated school.”⁷⁹⁸ Significantly, mainstream black political organizations such as the NAACP were caught flat-footed and failed to respond until several years into the process. These groups had largely ignored warnings from a economic democrats such as Oliver Cox and Bayard Rustin about the likelihood of, and need to combat, black teacher displacement, in part because they saw it as a distraction

⁷⁹⁸ Robert W. Hooker, “Displacement of Black Teachers in the Eleven Southern States.” (Nashville, Tennessee: Race Relations Information Center, December 1970): 3.

and potential problem for their primary goal of ending segregation in public schooling. Although these groups certainly did not support the displacement of black teachers, their response to the displacement crisis reveals both the political commitments and ideological blindspots of the liberal incorporationists when it came the material conditions of black workers.

The Methods of Displacement

Early displacement efforts centered on weakening teacher tenure protections, firing teachers who challenged segregation, and implementing discriminatory teacher examinations. Within eighteen months of the 1954 *Brown* decision, seven southern states made efforts to change tenure laws to make it easier to fire public school teachers. North Carolina took the strongest step and terminated all teacher contracts, and required that all future contracts be limited to one-year terms.⁷⁹⁹ The roll-back of tenure protection was coupled with efforts to eliminate black teachers who supported desegregation efforts. In 1955, the Georgia Board of Education adopted a resolution that permanently revoked the teaching license of any individual who supported desegregation or held membership in any “subversive group,” such as the NAACP, that advocated for desegregation. Fears over whether the resolution would withstand judicial scrutiny led to its replacement with a loyalty oath that required teachers to “support, uphold, and defend” the state

⁷⁹⁹ Michael Fultz, “The Displacement of Black Educators Post-Brown: An Overview and Analysis,” *History of Education Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (March 1, 2004): 19. Fultz notes that many southern and border states did not have any tenure protection laws. The most common arrangement was the “continuing contract,” where teacher contracts would be renewed at the end of the academic year unless notified otherwise. Importantly, the “continuing contract” placed teachers in particularly precarious position, as no reason was required for termination of the contract.

constitution, a constitution that required segregation.⁸⁰⁰ This loyalty oath requirement became common practice in many southern and border states.

The *Brown* decision also intensified a trend in southern states of relying on the National Teacher Examination (NTE) as a means of controlling teacher pay, certification, and retention. Developed in the late 1930s by Ben Wood of the Educational Testing Service, the NTE was a standardized test for public school teachers designed to provide school superintendents “objective measures” to help eliminate ineffective teachers and establish a “meritocracy in teaching.”⁸⁰¹ The dramatic teacher shortages during World War II meant that there was limited demand for a test that would reduce the number of certified teachers with one prominent exception, southern and border states. As the NAACP legal campaign demanding equal salaries for black teachers was increasingly successful in federal courts in the late 1930s and early 1940s, southern political and educational leaders looked for new means of holding down pay for black teachers. The legal victories of the NAACP created an opening for Wood to pitch the NTE to a new market, and he embarked on a tour of several southern states to advocate for use of the NTE. Wood suggested that the NTE could be used to constrain the effects of the equal pay movement by providing school districts with a tool to base salary on test scores rather than experience. When pressed on the likely racial breakdown of test scores, Wood

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid., 16-17.

⁸⁰¹ Scott Baker, “Testing Equality: The National Teacher Examination and the NAACP’s Legal Campaign to Equalize Teachers’ Salaries in the South, 1936-63,” *History of Education Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (1995): 53. Importantly, Ben Wood was a student of prominent educational psychologist Edward Thorndike.

assured southern school leaders that in all previous administrations of the test, the average scores for black teachers significantly lower than those of whites.⁸⁰²

Several southern school districts adopted the NTE as a means of maintaining disparities in teacher pay in the 1940s. The courts consistently allowed this new way of determining salary, in large part by accepting the argument that the NTE was an objective means of determining merit.⁸⁰³ The popularity of the NTE grew exponentially after the *Brown* decision, with use of the test growing by 65 percent between 1955 and 1956. By 1960, the NTE had been adopted by every large southern city, and by five state education departments in southern and border states. The test was used both to maintain salary disparity and increasingly to fire and demote black teachers in newly desegregated school systems.⁸⁰⁴ The effectiveness of these strategies of displacing black teachers is reflected in the fact that by the 1963-4 school year, Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina still had entirely segregated teaching staffs, despite the fact that every state except Mississippi had begun the process of desegregating school children.⁸⁰⁵

The Federal Role in Displacement

Passage of the ESEA provided the federal government a powerful new tool in its efforts to enforce desegregation of students and teaching staffs. Ironically, the new tools

⁸⁰² Ibid., 55.

⁸⁰³ Ibid., 58.

⁸⁰⁴ Ibid., 64.

⁸⁰⁵ Fultz, "The Displacement of Black Educators," 20.

provided by the ESEA and the 1964 Civil Rights Act - both traditionally thought of liberal triumphs- ultimately helped facilitate teacher displacement, particularly in the southern states. Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibited discrimination in programs that received federal financial assistance and authorized the termination of funds to any recipient of federal funds that violated this law. During Congressional debate, Title VI receive little debate and virtually no public attention, in large part because it was expected to have minimal effect. This was particularly true for the issue of desegregation, where the average school district received only \$4,000 in federal funding, an amount that could be absorbed relatively easily by school districts.⁸⁰⁶ The passage of the ESEA, and \$1 billion in new federal funding for public education substantially altered the status quo and gave the federal government significant financial leverage over recalcitrant school districts. Commissioner Keppel recognized this new possibility, noting in a memo to Secretary Celebrezze that the ESEA, “makes possible a new approach in handling civil rights problems in education,” where “Title VI can become less a negative threat and more of a condition necessary to progress in the future.”⁸⁰⁷

By the mid-1960s, the problem of black teacher displacement in the south became increasingly clear. In a July 2, 1965 speech before the NEA convention in New York City, President Johnson noted that “you and I are both concerned about the problem of

⁸⁰⁶ Gary Orfield, *The Reconstruction of Southern Education: The Schools and the 1964 Civil Rights Act* (New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1969): 36-40.

⁸⁰⁷ As quoted in Orfield, *The Reconstruction of Southern Education*, 94. See also, Jeffrey, *Education for Children of the Poor*, 107-111.

dismissal of Negro teachers as we move forward ... with the desegregation of the schools of America.” He told the crowd that he had instructed Commissioner Keppel “to pay very special attention, in reviewing the desegregation plans, to guard against any pattern of teacher dismissal based on race or national origin.” However, Johnson acknowledged that there was likely to be continued displacement, and noted that he had ordered federal officials to provide funds under the Manpower Development and Training Act for retraining displaced teachers for new employment.⁸⁰⁸

After Johnson’s speech, the NEA, with funding from federal government followed up with an investigation into the problem of teacher displacement in the south. The result was the 1965 *Report of Task Force Survey of Teacher Displacement in Seventeen States*, which highlighted the importance of the issue of displacement. Based on hundreds of interviews with teachers and administrators during the first few weeks of the 1965 school year, the report found increased displacement activity in the wake of desegregation. The report described renewed efforts to limit teacher tenure, firing for any involvement in civil rights activity, revocation of teacher licenses for black teachers at segregated schools closed,⁸⁰⁹ increased use of teacher quality measures as means of displacement,⁸¹⁰ and widespread loss of status and pay for black teachers in the states examined.⁸¹¹ For those

⁸⁰⁸ Lydon B. Johnson, “Remarks in New York City Before the Convention of the National Education Association,” *Public Papers of the President of the United States*. July 2nd, 1965.

⁸⁰⁹ National Education Association of the United States and National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities, *Report of Task Force Survey of Teacher Displacement in Seventeen States, December 1965* (Washington, 1966): 18.

⁸¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁸¹¹ *Ibid.*, 27-30.

black teachers who kept their jobs, the report noted that “the threat of job loss is so great in many places that fear permeates the teaching force,” and this fear was used “to intimidate Negro teachers and to inhibit their personal and professional activities.”⁸¹² This overwhelming fear made it difficult for the NEA to gather information on the full extent of displacement, as teachers refused to speak to investigators both because many hoped to be hired at some point in the future and over fear of further blacklisting in their communities.⁸¹³ Despite the fact that the NEA acknowledged that they could only capture a small fraction of the extent of displacement, the report found 668 cases in of displacement in 1965 alone.⁸¹⁴

Following the report and the interest of President Johnson, Commissioner Keppel did in fact change policy in the Office of Education to include race-based teacher firing as a violation of federal desegregation guidelines, punishable by loss of ESEA funds.⁸¹⁵ However, the efforts to increase enforcement of desegregation in southern and border states resulted in new strategies of resistance that affected black teachers particularly harshly. As these states began the process of integrating teaching staffs, black teachers faced widespread displacement, including firing through non-renewal of contract, transfer, and widespread demotion. In many instances, the most experienced teachers were targeted first, as their higher salaries made them targets for dismissal or

⁸¹² Ibid., 40.

⁸¹³ Ibid., 25.

⁸¹⁴ Ibid., 42.

⁸¹⁵ Orfield, *The Reconstruction of Southern Education*, 107.

demotion.⁸¹⁶ Many districts reassigned black teachers to subject areas for which they were uncertified, and then subsequently dismissed them for “incompetence” or “lack of preparation in assigned field.”⁸¹⁷ Districts also began to drastically limit the number of new black teachers hired, and the percentage of black teachers in employed public schools decreased throughout the south.⁸¹⁸

The NTE played an increasingly important role in teacher displacement as schools were consolidated. Reports by the NEA and RRIC found that the NTE was used to as a discriminatory screen in determining who received teaching certification, as well as a means to dismiss, demote, and reduce the pay of black public school employees across the south.⁸¹⁹ The popularity of the NTE soared in the mid-1960s as Texas, South Carolina, and North Carolina made it statewide requirement for all teachers. The racially motivated aspect of this turn towards teacher testing was clear. An administrator in the Georgia State Department of Education justified this new focus on teacher quality and the dismissal of large number of black educators, arguing, “We were lax about the quality of black teachers before desegregation ... Now we are paying the price and having to clean

⁸¹⁶ Boyd Bosma, *Planning for and Implementing Effective School Desegregation: The Role of Teacher Associations* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, National Institute of Education, 1980): 6. In fact, Bosma, notes that in some states black teachers had higher average salaries because of greater experience and qualification than their white counterparts. This meant that “consolidations and closings of former black schools offered unique opportunities to dismiss the higher paid black teachers as white administrators sought to economize and to appease their white constituents”(Ibid., 6).

⁸¹⁷ Report of NEA Task Force III, “School Desegregation: Louisiana and Mississippi.” (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, November 12, 1970): 20-21. See also, Hooker, “Displacement of Black Teachers,” 6.

⁸¹⁸ Hooker, “Displacement of Black Teachers,” 6-7.

⁸¹⁹ See Report of NEA Task Force III, “School Desegregation”; Hooker, “Displacement of Black Teachers.”

house, which is why more blacks have been fired in the last 12 months.”⁸²⁰ In some cases, black educators were fired for failing to meet minimum NTE test scores, minimums that were set *after* they had taken the exams.⁸²¹ White teachers did not face the same scrutiny and school districts in Louisiana and Florida abandoned the NTE when too many whites scored poorly on the test.⁸²²

Ironically, the massive influx of federal funds for compensatory education provided southern school districts with a particularly effective means of displacing black teachers. A 1970 NEA report on school desegregation found that “Title I offers a unique opportunity for districts to get teachers off the regular payroll and back into the system under a federal subsidy and without normal continuing employment rights.”⁸²³ Several states shifted black teachers to newly created Title I teaching positions, technically “lateral transfers” that were widely understood to be less prestigious, and more precarious, positions.⁸²⁴ A 1970 RRIC report found examples in Tennessee where black teachers were demoted from classroom teaching positions and placed in Title I positions. In Arkansas, the report found evidence that school districts only assigned black teachers to Title I positions. Importantly, these Title I positions did not come with the limited protections and job security afforded to non-Title I teachers.

⁸²⁰ As quoted in Hooker, “Displacement of Black Teachers,” 14.

⁸²¹ Report of NEA Task Force III, “School Desegregation,” 37.

⁸²² Hooker, “Displacement of Black Teachers,” 13; Report of NEA Task Force III, “School Desegregation,” 8.

⁸²³ Report of NEA Task Force III, “School Desegregation,” 37.

⁸²⁴ Hooker, “Displacement of Black Teachers,” 35.

The broad shifting of black teachers into Title I positions was particularly problematic in the context of increased enforcement efforts of desegregation plans by the Office of Education. School systems began to reclassify general teaching positions under new federally supported categories as a means of dismissing black teachers in large numbers. After shifting black educators to these newly categorized positions, school districts that faced termination of ESEA funds for failing to comply with desegregation guidelines simply fired black teachers in the positions supported by these funds, and blamed the federal government.⁸²⁵ Reports from the NEA and RRIC found that this strategy was a widespread and particularly effective tool of mass displacement.⁸²⁶

Limitations of the Great Society's Hidden Labor Policy

The black educational displacement of the 1960s and 1970s, and the fact that it was in part facilitated by federal sanctioning efforts associated with the ESEA, complicates scholarly accounts that portray public-sector expansion Great Society era as boon for black employment. Most notably, Michael B. Katz, Mark J. Stern, and Jamie J. Fader have argued that the large increase in public expenditure in the 1960s and early 1970s resulted in the creation of a substantial number of public-sector jobs, which were disproportionately filled by black Americans. In fact, these authors argue that government

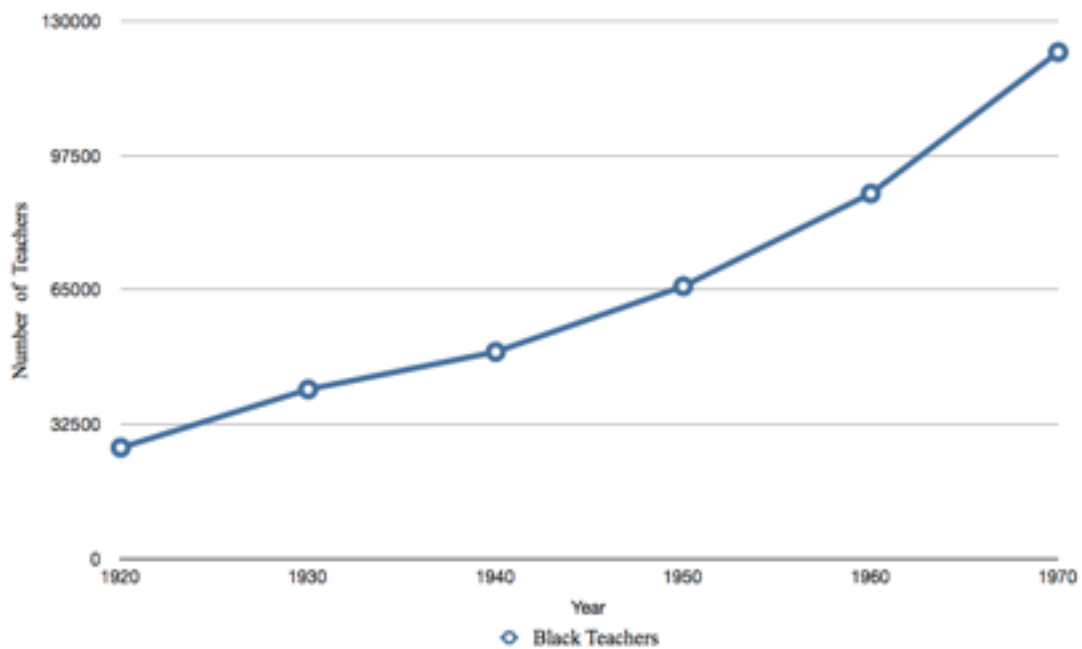
⁸²⁵ James E. Haney, "The Effects of the Brown Decision on Black Educators," *The Journal of Negro Education* 47, no. 1 (1978): 93.

⁸²⁶ See Report of NEA Task Force III, "School Desegregation" and Hooker, "Displacement of Black Teachers."

expenditures that resulted in the reduction of racial inequality through public employment represented the “hidden labor market policy” of the Great Society and War on Poverty.⁸²⁷

The massive displacement of black teachers and principals in southern schools suggests that this was not true across public-service sectors, particularly when considered regionally. Analysis of census data on teacher employment from the eleven former confederate states demonstrates the limits public education expansion for black employment during the Great Society. Although as Graph 1 demonstrates, it true that

Graph 1: Number of Black Teachers in Southern States



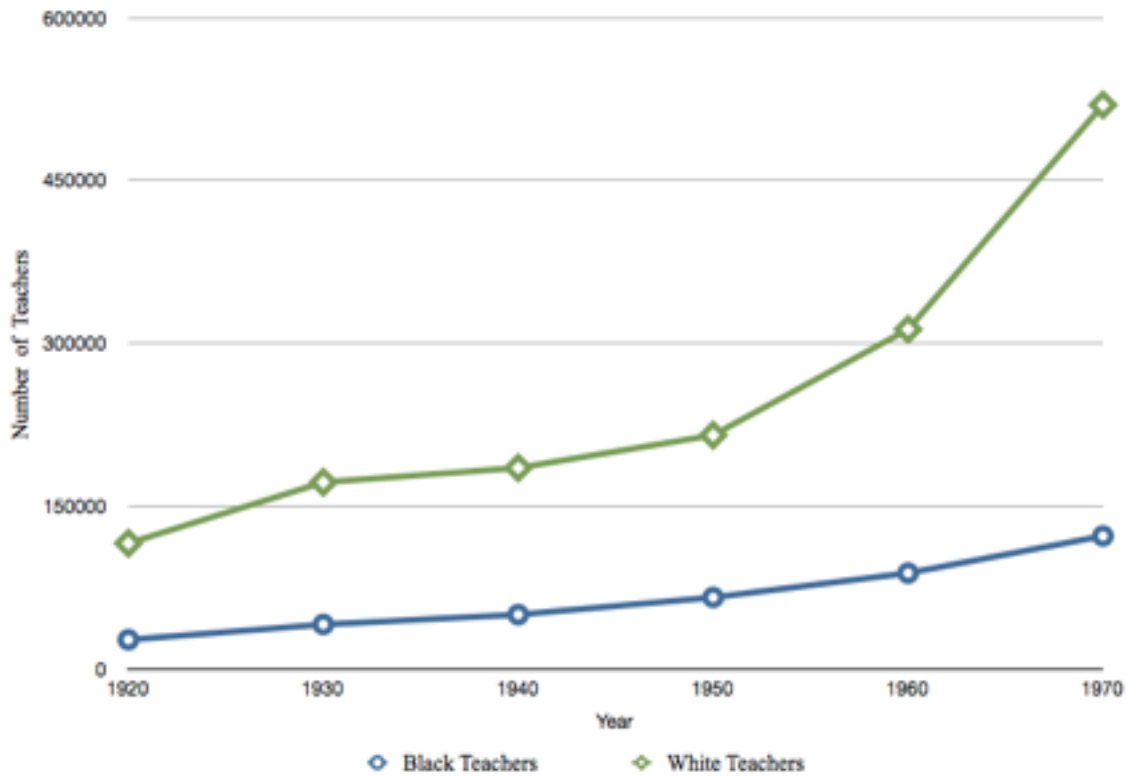
Data compiled by author from census information (see footnote 830).

⁸²⁷ Michael B. Katz, Mark J. Stern, and Jamie J. Fader, “The New African American Inequality,” *The Journal of American History* 92, no. 1 (2005): 87-88.

employment of black teachers steadily increased from 1920 through 1970 in these states, when black teacher employment numbers are put in context with white teacher employment, a different picture emerges.

Graph 2 indicates that although the 1950s and 1960s was an era of massive growth in the education sector, the vast majority of these jobs in the south went to white teachers. In the decade between 1960 and 1970 alone, there were approximately 361,000 new jobs created, 85% of which went to white teachers.⁸²⁸ Critically, this represents a significant shift from earlier years, where blacks had been expanding their foothold in the

Graph 2: Number of Teachers by Race in Southern States

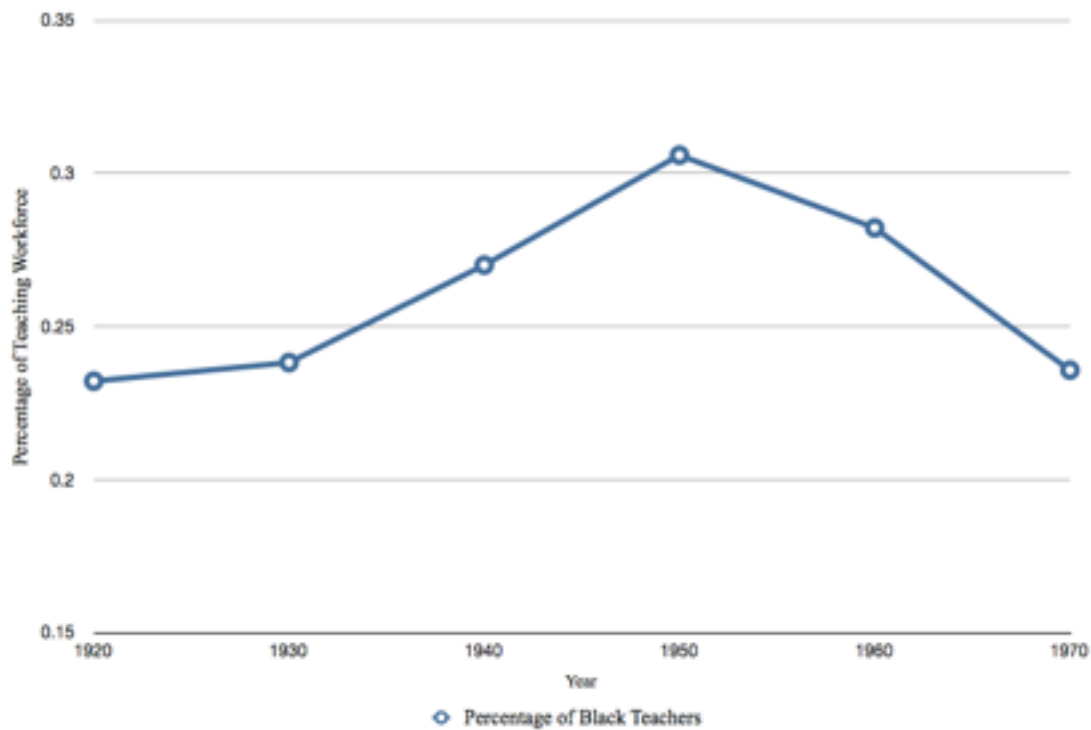


Data compiled by author from census information (see footnote 830).

⁸²⁸ For comparison, this is roughly half the percentage of the decade between 1940 and 1950, when 35% of new jobs went to black teachers.

public education sector. Indeed, between 1920 and 1950, blacks had gained a disproportionate number of new education jobs, and had grown to over 30% of the total teaching workforce. As Graph 3 indicates, by 1970, this number had shrunk back to 23%. The trends in educational employment in the former confederacy provide evidence of the devastating effects of displacement in the educational workforce.

Graph 3. Percent of Black Teachers of Total Teacher Workforce



Data compiled by author from census information (see footnote 830).

Despite large increases to the overall teaching force, the raw number of black teachers actually decreased in Alabama and South Carolina between 1970 and 1975, and the ratio of black to white teachers continued to decline in Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi,

North Carolina, and Virginia.⁸²⁹ The increasing marginalization of blacks in the educational sector hit black women particularly hard, as the job of public school teacher was one of the few professional occupations open to black women. Indeed, public school teachers represented a substantial majority of black women in professional and semi-professional positions in many of these states throughout the time period examined. This suggests that this time period that Katz, Stern, and Fader point to as a significant advancement of black public employment actually represented a reversal of fortune for black employees in the public education sector in the south. This reversal occurred despite, and in part, ironically, because of a massive increase in federal education funding and the sanctions that came with it.⁸³⁰

The limited data available provides a glimpse of the staggering consequences of these efforts for black educators. Using data from the HEW's Office of Civil Rights, the NEA's Samuel Ethridge estimated that by the 1970-1971 school year, 31,584 black

⁸²⁹ Samuel Ethridge, "Impact of the 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education Decision on Black Educators," *The Negro Educational Review* 30, no. 4 (1979): 230. It is important to again note that this is not a full reflection of the extent of displacement. Not only do these numbers not capture demotion and salary reductions, but they also only reflect displacement in the southern states. Ethridge noted the most flagrant perpetrators of displacement were the schools systems of Boston and New York City, numbers that are not fully reflected in the statistics above. (224)

⁸³⁰ Graphs based on author calculations from *Fourteenth Census of the U.S., 1920, Vol. 4, Occupations* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1923), Table 1; *Fifteenth Census of the U.S., 1930, Population Vol. 4, Occupations by State* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943); Table 11; *Sixteenth Census of the U.S., 1940, Population, Vol. 3 The Labor Force* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943), Table 13 in Parts 2 - 5; *Report of the Seventeenth Decennial Census of the United States, Census Population: 1950, Volume II, Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1952): Table 77 in Parts 2-50; *The Eighteenth Decennial Census of the United States, Census of Population: 1960, Volume I, Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1963), Table 122 in Parts 2-52; *1970 Census of Population, Volume I, Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973), Table 171 in Parts 2-52.

teaching positions had been lost since the Brown decision.⁸³¹ Ethridge estimated that for the 1970-1971 school year alone, this level of displacement represented a loss of over \$240 million in salary to black educators. The ongoing nature problem was made clear when Etheridge calculated that the number of displaced black teachers had increased to 39,386 by the 1972-1973 school year.⁸³²

The displacement numbers were not only high for black teachers. Black principals suffered as well. Ethridge reported that 2,235 black principals had been displaced by 1972.⁸³³ The extent of this displacement is captured by another 1972 report that found that in the thirteen southern and border states, 90% of black high school principals had lost their jobs, and the percentage was even higher for elementary principals.⁸³⁴ In his RRIC report, Robert Hooker noted that between 1967 and 1970, the number of black principals decreased from 620 to less than 170 in North Carolina, from 250 to less than 50 in Alabama, and that Mississippi lost more than 250 black principals.⁸³⁵

⁸³¹ Ethridge, "Impact of the 1954 Brown," 223. The vast majority of these positions would have been lost as desegregation enforcement activity increased. Ethridge reached this displacement number by calculating the number of black teaching positions that would have been available had the schools remained segregated.

⁸³² Ibid., 224. Ethridge notes that during the two years, black student enrollment compared in the seventeen southern states increased by two percent compared to whites, while the ratio of black to white teachers decreased by two percent.

⁸³³ Ibid.

⁸³⁴ Linda C. Tillman, "(Un)Intended Consequences? The Impact of the Brown v. Board of Education Decision on the Employment Status of Black Educators," *Education and Urban Society* 36, no. 3 (May 1, 2004): 293.

⁸³⁵ Hooker, "Displacement of Black Teachers," 4.

Like earlier reports, these numbers are likely gross underestimates of the true extent of displacement. The numbers represent only job losses, ignoring the thousands of teachers and principals who faced demotions and salary reductions. Furthermore, the effects of displacement extended beyond monetary consequences, as thousands of black educators lost homes, and were forced to leave friends, family members, and communities in search of employment in different school districts.⁸³⁶

Ideological Blindspots

The widespread displacement of black teachers in the south highlights the consequences of the victory of a liberal incorporationist vision of education that was largely divorced from the political economic concerns of black workers. This vision privileged the incorporation of blacks into existing social and economic structures and the elimination of racial disparity through equality of educational opportunity. In the 1950s and 1960s, this ideology situated the pursuit of desegregation in public school as a top-order grievance, and relegated other concerns, like the material consequences to black teachers, to the back burner. Indeed, black political intellectuals committed to economic democracy had long warned of the danger of pursuing a politics that focused so prominently on desegregation. Oliver Cox argued the right of black teachers to earn a living deserved as high a priority as desegregation, noting “[t]he right to employment in tax-supported institutions of learning is equally as important as the right to a non-discriminatory form of education.”⁸³⁷ Many were aware that desegregation might harm

⁸³⁶ Bosma, *Planning for and Implementing*, 6.

⁸³⁷ Oliver C. Cox, “Vested Interests Involved in the Integration of Schools for Negroes,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 20, no. 1 (1951): 113.

black teachers, as Herman Long warned presciently, “The great advance in school desegregation under the impetus of Federal sanctions may well result in what we feared when desegregation began; namely, the use of the Negro teacher as a pawn, as the dispensable element with which gains in desegregation can be bought.”⁸³⁸

The strong chorus of racial democrats, who argued both that displacement was unlikely to happen and that if it did, it was a price that black teachers should be willing to pay, drowned out the voices warning of the dangers of displacement. Charles Johnson, the president of Fisk University, proclaimed, “[i]t does not appear that there will be any serious displacement of Negro teachers,”⁸³⁹ a sentiment echoed by the NAACP’s Roy Wilkins, who argued “[t]here is little logical prospect that Negro teachers will lose their employment.”⁸⁴⁰ Others positioned the job losses as necessary sacrifices. Education professor Willard Gandy argued that black teachers should accept their new unemployment because “[t]hey are Negroes first, and teachers second.”⁸⁴¹ Oliver Cox noted that the argument urging blacks to accept job losses was common. Cox pointed to a particularly stark example of this tendency in the editorial page of a black newspaper, which had remarked, “Is it too great a sacrifice to pay for integration and a beginning toward real democratic living? We cannot have our cake and eat it too.”⁸⁴²

⁸³⁸ Herman Long, “Second National NEA - PR&R Conference on Civil and Human Rights in Education” (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, May 1965), 13.

⁸³⁹ Charles S. Johnson, “Some Significant Social and Educational Implications of the U. S. Supreme Court’s Decision,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 23, no. 3 (1954): 367.

⁸⁴⁰ Roy Wilkins, “The Role of the NAACP,” *Social Problems* 2, no. 4 (April 1955): 201.

⁸⁴¹ Willard E. Gandy, “Implications of Integration for the Southern Teacher,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 31, no. 2 (1962): 193.

⁸⁴² As cited in Oliver C. Cox, “Negro Teachers: Martyrs to Integration?,” *The Nation*, April 25, 1953: 347.

Ultimately, the views of the NAACP, Charles Johnson, and Roy Wilkins, and other liberal incorporationists, which focused on eliminating racial disparity through equality of educational opportunity, drove public policy. The main policy program of this coalition focused on desegregation of public schools and increased funding to ensure equality of educational opportunity to raise the marketable skills of the disadvantaged as *the* most effective way of raising individuals out of poverty and reducing racial disparity. Importantly, as the case of teacher displacement demonstrates, this political program had significant ideological blindspots. Although the rate of displacement began to decline from after 1972 and 1973, the process had already exacted staggering material costs from black educators in the south. One of the unintended consequences of pursuing a narrow educational program focused on increasing educational skills and desegregation of the student body was the loss of thousands of black jobs in the public education sector.

Conclusion

The shift in the economic policy agenda of the Democratic Party coupled with the dominance of the liberal incorporationist understanding of education economic that paved the way for enactment of the first major federal involvement in public elementary and secondary education policy also set the federal education state down a path of punitive policies aimed at increasing standardized test scores. The design of the ESEA reflected the commercial Keynesian interpretation of the problem of poverty and joblessness, which meshed well with the prominent academic diagnoses of these problems as

fundamentally the result of individual failings of culture or human capital. The liberal incorporationist understandings of the purpose and possibilities of education that dominated the educational landscape helped position education policy as the ideal policy realm to attack these problems. Furthermore, the liberal incorporationist understanding of education was fundamentally compatible with the political commitments of human capital and culture of poverty theories, and offered policymakers a way of attempting to address unemployment, poverty, and racial inequality without pursuing interventionist and redistributive economic policies.

The resulting federal education program aimed at the disadvantaged was a way to implement a poverty and unemployment program without tackling these issues more directly, and more expensively, through direct job creation or redistribution. As the faith in the education solution provided tremendous political capital in getting an education bill through Congress, it also led policymakers to demand an unprecedented level of evaluation and insist that standardized achievement scores be the metric by which teachers, schools, and educational programs ultimately be judged. Failing to raise scores became grounds for punitive sanctions, as schools and teachers became the front line of the nation's unemployment and poverty program. Furthermore, as education was positioned as a potential panacea, the interests teachers and the public schools were increasingly pitted against the students, parents, and communities they served. Attacks on teacher tenure and demands for greater accountability destabilized the teaching profession in the name of providing better educational outcomes. The widespread

displacement of black teachers in the south in the wake of desegregation and consolidation was an early indication of the ideological commitments and political blindspots of the new educational order.

Most current accounts of punitive accountability policies suggest that they emerged largely in response to the excesses and failed promises of the federal education state and the Great Society more broadly. Present explanations describe the 1965 ESEA as the high point of the Great Society attack on poverty and inequality that was later reined in by conservatives committed to an agenda of expanded use of standardized tests, school choice, and a renewed focus on excellence over equity.⁸⁴³ This narrative overlooks the extent to which accountability, evaluation and sanctions were first supported and institutionalized in the ESEA by liberal lawmakers. Placing the passage of the 1965 ESEA within the larger debates about unemployment and poverty, and the long ideological history of national debates about the purpose of education, clarifies that as liberals successfully institutionalized a federal role in public education, they also institutionalized a liberal incorporationist educational vision that quickly led to increasingly punitive policies.

The dominance of the liberal incorporationist ideology in education has led to a fixation on the best way to hold schools, teachers and students accountable for standardized test scores and achievement gaps. This orientation show little sign of changing despite extensive evidence of the inability of schools or teachers to change test

⁸⁴³ See Apple, *Educating the Right Way*; Debray, *Politics, Ideology, & Education*; Fabricant and Fine, *Charter Schools*; Henig, "Education Policy from 1980"; Manna, *School's In*; McGuinn, *No Child Left Behind*; Rhodes, *An Education in Politics*; and Saltman, *The Failure of Corporate School Reform*.

scores, and recent research that has called into question the assumed connection between education, wages and employment.⁸⁴⁴ As long as federal education policy is premised on the understanding of education as a poverty and employment program, the immense expectations and responsibility placed on the primary and secondary public education system of the United States will continue to push federal policy in a punitive direction. Chapter six briefly covers developments in federal education policy from the 1970s to the present, demonstrating the continued influence of liberal incorporationist ideology, and the pernicious effects for students, teachers, and communities.

⁸⁴⁴ See Jeffrey, *Education for Children of the Poor*; Lafer, *The Job Training Charade*; McLaughlin, *Evaluation and Reform*; Wolff, *Does Education Really Help?*

Chapter Six

Conclusion: Liberal Incorporationism and the Modern Punitive Education State

[E]ducation is no longer just a pathway to opportunity and success, it's a prerequisite for success.

[D]espite resources that are unmatched anywhere in the world, we've let our grades slip, our schools crumble, our teacher quality fall short, and other nations outpace us...year after year, a stubborn gap persists between how well white students are doing compared to their African American and Latino classmates. The relative decline of American education is untenable for our economy, it's unsustainable for our democracy, it's unacceptable for our children, and we can't afford to let it continue...It is time to expect more from our students. It's time to start rewarding good teachers, stop making excuses for bad ones. It's time to demand results from government at every level. It's time to prepare every child, everywhere in America, to outcompete any worker, anywhere in the world.

-Barack Obama, March 10, 2009.⁸⁴⁵

The quote from President Obama that opens this chapter indicates the current consensus on the state of public primary and secondary education. According to this consensus, public schools are facing a crisis of poor achievement, low standards, and bad teachers. These problems of the public education system are pointed to as the root cause of poor economic outcomes for individuals in a changing labor market and as the foundation of racial inequality. The educational vision President Obama's articulated in the above quote - one that positioned the primary function of education as equitably providing individuals with skills needed to compete in global marketplace - is a

⁸⁴⁵ Barack Obama: "Remarks to the United States Hispanic Chamber of Commerce", March 10, 2009. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=85836>. Significantly, in this speech President Obama outlined a very early version of what would become his Race to the Top Initiative.

thoroughly liberal incorporationist one. This liberal incorporationist understanding of education, while justifying greater federal investment in the education system, has also led to increasingly punitive policies targeted at students, teachers, and public schools.

A full comprehension of the modern educational landscape requires an understanding of the foundations of the liberal incorporationist order. Recent federal reform efforts such as No Child Left Behind (NCLB), Race to the Top (RTT), and the Every Child Succeeds Act (ESSA) rely on an ideological understanding of education's purpose that emerged from fierce debates of the 1930s through 1950s, and rely on policy mechanisms fundamentally similar to those first established by the ESEA in 1965. This concluding chapter traces the continuity of recent punitive reform effort with the ideological and institutional order established in the 1960s. Although the liberal incorporationist order remains the dominant driver of federal education policy and discourse, the increasingly devastating consequences of recent educational reforms for teachers, students, and communities has engendered a growing resistance to this educational order.

Origins of the Liberal Incorporationist Order

The dominance of liberal incorporationist ideology at the time of constructing the federal education state can be traced to the settlement of fierce ideological battles in the decades preceding the passage of the ESEA. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, the progressive education movement was riven by a debate over whether schools and

teachers should lead the efforts to fundamentally change an unfair social and economic order, or whether the education system should attempt to fit students into the existing social order. As the social efficiency progressive vision proved better able to accommodate the changing political context of the 1940s, its vision of the purpose of education came to dominate the progressive education reform landscape. This vision articulated an incorporationist function for education and promoted a particular set of policies, including extensive use of testing, educational tracking, and routinization of teaching methods.⁸⁴⁶

A similar divide characterized black political organizations and thought throughout the same era, as one coalition argued that advancing the concerns of black Americans required fundamental changes to the economic order, and another argued that justice could be achieved through fair racial incorporation into the existing economic and social structures. The educational vision of the racial democrats was much more amenable to the international and domestic developments of the 1940s and 1950s. The Cold War, shifting Supreme Court doctrines, and brutal political repression of the economic democrats during the Second Red Scare all helped position the racial democratic vision as the most influential articulation of black political interests by the 1960s. Much like the social efficiency progressive vision, the racial democratic educational vision was centered primarily on the incorporation of students into the existing economic and social order, with the central difference that racial democrats

⁸⁴⁶ Table 1 in the Appendix provides an overview of the educational and political programs and perspectives of the ideologies just mentioned.

demanded that this incorporation not be unfairly structured on the basis of race. The ideological concerns of the racial democrats also drove their preferred educational policies, including equal educational opportunities for black and white students, intercultural education to combat racial prejudice and strong accountability policies to ensure equal opportunity across racial lines.

The two perspectives that proved best suited for the changing political context had substantial ideological commonalities. Both the racial democrats and the social efficiency progressives viewed the function of schools as preparing students for successful integration into the labor market. The two ideological perspectives placed great faith in the ability of efficient and fair educational organization to significantly improve human welfare and social goods. Both also warned of the long term consequences and significant human suffering that could result from a poorly organized educational system. These commonalities in broader education vision meant that there was also significant overlap in the programmatic approach of the two groups. Both supported the implementation of standardized testing, curriculum more tied to the skills demanded by the labor market, and increased accountability for schools and teachers.

At first blush, the commonalities between the social efficiency progressives and racial democrats are quite surprising. One of the core beliefs of the social efficiency progressives was in the heritability of intelligence and fundamentally different levels of intelligence between racial categories. This vision justified very different educational experiences and opportunities for white and black students in the social efficiency vision,

which sought to align educational opportunities on the basis of intelligence. However, the Nazi embrace of the idea of genetic racial superiority and eugenics led many progressives in the U.S to turn away from theories of genetic racial difference. Many in the educational arena continued to point to the value of the intelligence testing as an educational tool, but after WWII, few continued to claim that there were racial differences in intelligence levels.

Importantly, racial democrats had few qualms with the differentiation sought by social efficiency progressives, as long as the differentiation was not based on race. Many racial democrats openly embraced differentiation on the basis of factors such as intelligence or merit as both wise and, more importantly, fair. By the end of WWII, the broader acceptance of the fundamental similarity of the distribution of intelligence levels between blacks and whites meant that the differentiation of educational opportunities on the basis of intelligence or merit did not necessarily imply the creation of racial disparity. Both the racial democrats and the social efficiency progressives embraced the usefulness of markers such as merit, talent, and intelligence in distributing opportunity and power. Shorn of racial overtones, psychologist Henry Goddard's ideal of "Aristocracy *in* Democracy" is fundamentally similar to Phelps-Stokes fund director F.D. Patterson's call to transform college admissions to ensure that "[t]he aristocracy of such institutions must be an aristocracy ... of talent."⁸⁴⁷ As these two perspectives increasingly dominated the

⁸⁴⁷ Henry Herbert Goddard, *Human Efficiency and Levels of Intelligence*, Fifth Printing (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1922); 99. See also F. D. Patterson, "Colleges for Negro Youth and the Future," *The Journal of Negro Education* 27, no. 2 (1958): 114.

educational landscape, both positioned merit, talent, and intelligence as legitimate means of differentiation in the education system, and in social destiny more broadly.

Perhaps most significantly, neither of these groups pressed for substantial changes to the existing economic order. Whereas the transformation of the fundamentally unfair and undemocratic economic order was central to vision of economic democrats and social reconstructionists, the social efficiency progressives and racial democrats sought relatively minor adjustments. The social efficiency progressives wanted schools to prepare students for success in the existing institutional landscape. Racial democrats also wanted schools to prepare students for success within the existing social order, but wanted to make sure that this preparation was the same across racial lines. The compatibility of both positions with the capitalist organization of the economy proved greatly advantageous as the radicalism of the New Deal years gave way to the more conservative Post-WWII era.

The changing political context of the 1940s and 1950s also led the Democratic Party to look to different economic management techniques than the ones relied on by the New Deal coalition. By the mid-1940s, the consensus within the Democratic coalition around high levels of taxation, centralized economic planning, and extensive public job creation had begun to crack. Policymakers within the party increasingly turned to commercial Keynesian approaches to dealing with economic issues, such as tax cuts to stimulate growth and job training to help workers adjust to labor market demands. The turn to commercial Keynesian approaches shifted the focus of policymakers from broader

structural forces to the individual. Persistent economic problems such as poverty and unemployment were increasingly explained by pointing to deficiencies within individuals that prevented their success in the existing labor market. The turn to the individualized explanation for economic inequality and disparities also positioned education as a particularly effective and relatively inexpensive means of addressing these concerns. By the 1960s, as the Democratic Party turned away from the most expansive and redistributive policies of the New Deal, it increasingly positioned education as a means of addressing myriad social problems such as poverty, unemployment, and racial disparity.

Greater investment in education, particularly on the terms advocated by social efficiency progressives and racial democrats, was also increasingly attractive to the business community.

A 1966 report by the Chamber of Commerce entitled “The Disadvantaged Poor: Education and Employment,” reflected this new consensus and declared the importance of education for the efficient incorporation of poor and minority students into the nation’s economy. The report stated that “[e]ducation is necessary to prepare the minority poor to take advantage of the opportunities a fair and efficient free economy presents.”⁸⁴⁸

Adopting the language of racial democrats, the report stated that “systemic exclusion of any ethnic group from full participation is not only morally and politically wrong, but

⁸⁴⁸ The Task Force on Economic Growth and Opportunity, “The Disadvantaged Poor: Education and Employment” (Washington, D.C.: Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1966): 26.

economically wasteful as well.”⁸⁴⁹ The report contained several policy proposals as well, including greater federal investment in education, more vocational education opportunities, and an extensive use of testing both to measure the effectiveness of schools and to match students to future vocations.⁸⁵⁰ The report argued that society, and the business community in particular, would see broad benefits from greater investment in, and appropriate reforms to, the education system.⁸⁵¹

By the end of the 1960s, a powerful coalition backed the liberal incorporationist education order. Faith in the ability of education to meaningfully address the persistent issue of poverty, unemployment and racial disparity had united a coalition of policymakers to pass the first major federal intervention in primary and secondary education policy. The programmatic approach chosen by federal policymakers was *liberal* in its attempt to ensure that all students, regardless of race or economic status, were given equal opportunity to reach their potential. The approach was also explicitly *incorporationist* in that justification for targeting aid to poor students was done in the attempt to give all students an equal chance for success within the existing economic

⁸⁴⁹ Ibid., 12. The adoption of this language may be due in part to the fact that Kenneth B. Clark served on the Chamber’s task force that produced the report.

⁸⁵⁰ Ibid., 50-61. In calling for greater testing, the report noted that “American education has been subject to few tests of its efficiency. . . .there is little information to measure the quality of the public school ‘output’ - the student.” The report advocated for the development of “tests that measure a graduate’s employability,” and “pupil preparedness for entry into employment”(Ibid., 60-61).

⁸⁵¹ It is useful to note the compatibility of the liberal incorporationist educational vision and the conservative economic theory of human capital. The conservative embrace of human capital theory increasingly put racial democrats and conservative economics on the same side, with both positioning racial discrimination as an irrational, economically wasteful, and ultimately harmful for business. Human capital theory also fundamentally agreed with the position that the role of education was to prepare individuals for future success in the labor market, a position that was central to both social efficiency progressives and racial democrats.

order. Within the Democratic Party, positioning education as one of the most effective solutions to poverty, unemployment, and racial disparities largely replaced more directly economically redistributive policies - such as public job guarantees and a progressive taxation system.

These ideological commitments were reflected in the design of the educational policies of the ESEA. The vast majority of ESEA funds were distributed through Title I, which targeted aid on the basis of the number of low-income students each district served. The design of the program ensured that although nearly every district in the country would see some federal money, those districts serving the poorest populations would receive the greatest amount of funding. Given the close association between race and income, this also meant a sizable portion of federal dollars went to schools serving minority students. By providing a more equitable base of funding, policymakers hoped to provide more educational resources that would place poor children - and black students - on equitable footing with their wealthy peers when they graduated high school. This faith in the ability of education to address the causes of poverty, racial disparity and unemployment also meant that policymakers included means of holding schools accountable in the ESEA. The ESEA included language that encouraged the evaluation of program effectiveness through changes in standardized test scores and authorized the withholding of funds from states and districts that failed to use funds appropriately. The decision to structure the ESEA in this way was driven by particular ideological beliefs about the relationship between education policy and broader social and economic

problems. The liberal incorporationist educational ideology positioned education as a particularly effective social policy arena for addressing problems within the existing economic order.

Developments within the Liberal Incorporationist Order: 1965-2000

The substantial federal investment in education premised on the faith that education could solve problems such as racial disparity, poverty, and unemployment spurred the development of increasingly punitive reforms as education failed to solve these problems. The persistent racial disparities in the education and society more broadly were frequently blamed on failures of the education system and prompted calls for greater accountability. These calls often took the form of demands for more objective evaluation of school performance, such as through standardized tests, and reforms aimed at eliminating racial disparities on these measures. In his 1967 testimony before the Commission on Tests, Kenneth Clark, the prominent psychologist reiterated his continued disappointment with the public education system accountability, arguing:

If I were doing any studies now ... concerned with getting the American people to understand the enormity of the injustice inherent in differential educational quality of our biracial school systems, I would search for the most rigorous, objective, standardized test that was relevant to the question of educational achievement, and I would administer it to all of the children in public schools. [Then] I would present ... the stark differential results and say to the American people: 'This is what you are doing by way of damming up human potential and human resources ... You can either continue this and know ... that you are spawning hundreds of thousands of human casualties, or you can make the necessary changes in the educational system to narrow this gap, and hopefully obviate it.'⁸⁵²

⁸⁵² As quoted in Winton H. Manning, "The Measurement of Intellectual Capacity and Performance," *The Journal of Negro Education* 37, no. 3 (Summer 1968): 261.

Clark's argument positioned standardized tests as the most accurate indicator of both educational success and racial injustice in the public education system. Racial achievement gaps in standardized tests, and the belief that continues to motivate calls for education reform to this day

Clark's call for increased testing and measurement of educational effectiveness was echoed by Democrats at the federal level who were anxious for evidence that increased federal expenditure was improving educational outcomes. Democrats had argued that the ESEA would help improve the quality of education for low-income students, ultimately helping to address problems of persistent poverty. After several reports in the late 1960s found that increased federal spending had resulted in few positive gains on test scores, Congressional Democrats began to demand more accountability for the federal funds. John F. Jennings, a long-time Democratic staffer on the House Subcommittee on Education, has stated that by the 1970s, "success came to be measured by achievement. Democrats who in 1964-65 had looked to Title I as a poverty program had to try to find achievement data with which to defend it. We were forced into wanting data."⁸⁵³ Throughout the 1970s, federal Democrats supported a number of amendments to the ESEA that increased the state reporting requirements and sanctioning power of federal education officials. These changes were made in an attempt to ensure that federal money was being well spent on measures that would improve outcomes, which were increasingly measured through standardized test scores.

⁸⁵³ As quoted in David K. Cohen and Susan L. Moffitt, *The Ordeal of Equality: Did Federal Regulation Fix the Schools?* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2009): 73.

Although some Republicans had supported the ESEA, many in the party remained opposed to the idea of a federal role in education policy throughout the 1970s and the early 1980s. Reflecting this position, President Reagan attempted to abolish the recently created Department of Education multiple times early in his first term. President Reagan's opposition to federal involvement in education early in his term represented a potential challenge to the development of a punitive federal education state. However, the President and the broader Republican Party dramatically shifted course with the publication in 1983 of *A Nation At Risk*.⁸⁵⁴ This federal report made national headlines by suggesting that the poor state of education in the United States represented a serious economic and national security risk in an increasingly globalized world. This report mobilized the educational, civil rights, and business communities to press for more federal funding and guidance in education and eliminated much of the opposition to a federal role in education from elites within the Republican Party.

Republican politicians increasingly adopted liberal incorporationist language when talking about the purpose of education, particularly in its relationship to the labor market. Republicans began to push for education reform as a means of ensuring students were gaining the skills demanded by a globalized marketplace. Shortly after the publication of *A Nation at Risk*, President Reagan reiterated its warning of a dangerously ineffective public education system, noting that “[b]etween 1963 and 1980, Scholastic

⁸⁵⁴ See Elizabeth H. Debray, *Politics, Ideology, & Education: Federal Policy During the Clinton and Bush Administrations* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006); Diane Ravitch, *Reign of Error: The Hoax of the Privatization Movement and the Danger to America's Public Schools* (New York: Knopf, 2013); Michael Fabricant and Michelle Fine, *Charter Schools and the Corporate Makeover of Public Education: What's at Stake?* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2012).

Aptitude Test scores were in a virtually unbroken decline. Too many of our States demanded too little of their students, imposing lax graduation requirements. And compared to students in other industrialized nations, many of ours performed badly.”⁸⁵⁵ Reagan called on states to hold schools accountable, and urged states to partner with businesses to pursue needed reform. Spurred by *A Nation at Risk* and the appeals of the Reagan administration, states across the country raised education standards. In addition to updating teacher quality standards, states took steps to increase requirements for grade promotion, high schools graduation, and college entrance and exit.⁸⁵⁶ The new embrace of the federal role by the Republican Party also opened new avenues for the Party to craft conservative educational appeals - such as vouchers - to unlikely constituents, particularly racial minorities and the poor.

With its growing embrace of a federal role in education, the Republican Party began to make inroads with voters concerned about education by the late 1980s and early 1990s. The Democratic Party recognized the need to adjust their stance as Republican efforts gained traction with voters, including racial minorities and urban families, constituencies that had traditionally voted for the Democratic Party. By the 1990s, Democrats at the national level were increasingly willing to adopt the Republican Party tactic of publicly criticizing failing public schools, and began to call for greater accountability and higher

⁸⁵⁵ Ronald Reagan: "Remarks at a White House Ceremony Marking the Beginning of the National Partnerships in Education Program ," October 13, 1983. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=40626>.

⁸⁵⁶ Ronald Reagan: "Remarks to the National Governors' Association-Department of Education Conference in Columbia, Missouri ," March 26, 1987. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=34025>.

standards. Passed under a Democratic Congress and President, the 1994 Improving America's Schools Act (IASA), a reauthorization of the ESEA, called for state to implement more stringent accountability measures to improve student outcomes and provided funding for charter schools. As a means of stimulating competition and innovation in the public education sector, funding for charter schools was increased in 1998 with the passage of the Charter School Expansion Act. The IASA and the Charter School Expansion Act passed with substantial support from both parties.

By the end of the 1990s, both political parties agreed that the public education system was failing. Importantly, this bipartisan convergence in rhetoric and policy was firmly within the liberal incorporationist order, and the criticism stemmed from a fundamentally liberal incorporationist understanding of the purpose of education. Both parties argued that public schools were failing to provide equitable opportunities to minority students and were failing to provide individuals with the skills needed to succeed in an increasingly globalized economy. Both parties pointed to racial test score gaps and international test comparisons to justify policies aimed at holding schools and teachers accountable for educational outcomes. By the end of the 1990s, the bipartisan consensus that schools had failed in their central function of the equitable provision of skills needed for success in the labor market began to justify an increasingly punitive array of educational policies.

Current Educational Landscape: 2000-Today

The consequences of the origins of and developments in the federal education policy victories can be seen in the modern education policy landscape and the rhetoric surrounding the education system. The No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act passed under President George W. Bush, and the Race to the Top Initiative (RTT) and Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) under President Obama have solidified the liberal incorporationist ideology that has driven federal education policy since the passage of the ESEA. These post-2000 federal education policies have made the receipt of federal funds contingent on the implementation of statewide standards, frequent student evaluation, and harsh turnaround methods for schools failing to meet standards. The NCLB Act, RTT, and ESSA have all positioned standardized achievement tests scores as the method of choice for evaluating the success of students, teachers, and schools. A brief examination of the structure and policies of recent reform efforts reveals the ideological continuity of recent reforms with the liberal incorporationist vision that provided the foundation for the 1965 ESEA.

NCLB, ESSA, and RTT

Passed with widespread bipartisan support in 2001 as a reauthorization of the ESEA, the NCLB Act represented a dramatic expansion of federal influence in education policy. The act required states to develop subject area standards to determine what students should learn throughout their elementary and secondary school years, with the goal that every student would reach a minimum level of proficiency as determined by these new standards. In order to hold schools accountable, the new law also required that

states test every student in grades three through eight, and once more in high school to ensure that every student reached the standards set by the state. The law also required that schools keep track of the scores of “sub-group” populations, most notably racial minorities, in order to insure the elimination of test score achievement gaps. Critically, the new federal law required states to intervene in schools who's students failed to meet proficiency standards (determined by standardized test scores) and implement “turnaround” strategies. These turnaround strategies included many punitive measures, including forcing schools to pay for private tutors for students out of already strained budgets, mass firing of teachers, or closing the school completely. The ultimate goal that the NCLB set for states was that 100% of students would be meet proficiency levels by 2014.

Although the NCLB Act faced widespread criticism, the measure that replaced it - the 2015 ESSA - maintains much of the NCLB Act’s programmatic structure and clearly shares the same ideological understanding of the purpose of education and the perceived shortcomings of public schools. Like the NCLB, the ESSA requires states to test all children in grades three through eight and once in high school and continues the practice of requiring separate sub-group testing records. Unlike the NCLB, the ESSA allows states to determine their own accountability goals (doing away with the 100% proficiency goal). However, it does require that states submit their accountability plans to the Department of Education for approval and also requires that test scores be given greater weight than more subjective measures. Finally, the ESSA retains punitive turnaround

requirements for schools failing to meet the standards set by the state. The law requires that states implement turnaround strategies for any schools with a graduation rate lower than 67%, with persistent disparities in subgroup test scores, or at the bottom 5% of state assessment scores. The states have more leeway in determining which strategy to pursue, however, many of the strategies recommended by the ESSA are similar those of the NCLB and are quite punitive, including mass firings, conversion to charter school, and state takeover.⁸⁵⁷

Although the RTT Initiative differs from NCLB and ESSA in structure and origin, there are many similarities in the policies and overall vision of reform it promotes. At the request of the Obama administration, the 2009 American Recovery and Reinvestment Act set aside \$4.35 billion for the creation of the RTT fund. The Obama administration committed to use these funds to motivate states to create “the conditions for education innovation and reform...including making substantial gains in student achievement, closing achievement gaps, improving high school graduation rates, and ensuring student preparation for success in college and careers.”⁸⁵⁸ The RTT funds were distributed through a total of three rounds of grants, with states submitting applications for funding.⁸⁵⁹ Grant winners were determined on basis of a points system, with states

⁸⁵⁷ Gregory Korte, “The Every Student Succeeds Act vs. No Child Left Behind: What’s Changed?,” *USA Today*, December 11, 2015, <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2015/12/10/every-student-succeeds-act-vs-no-child-left-behind-whats-changed/77088780/>; Daarel Burnette II, “States, Districts to Call Shots on Turnarounds Under ESSA,” *Education Week*, January 5, 2016, <http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2016/01/06/states-districts-to-call-shots-on-turnarounds.html>.

⁸⁵⁸ U.S. Department of Education, “Race to the Top Executive Summary,” November 2009: 2.

⁸⁵⁹ Since the ARRA funds were exhausted in the first two rounds of grants, the Obama administration requested and received additional funding from Congress for a third round of grants.

getting points for adopting rigorous standards, eliminating barriers to the expansion of charter schools, implementing extensive new teacher evaluation plans, and turnaround plans for the poor performing schools, promotion and emphasis on STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math) education, and expanding the use of data systems. Facing dire financial straits in the wake of the 2008 recession, many states enthusiastically passed reforms in an attempt to be competitive for RTT funds. In the three rounds of RTT grants funding, forty-five states and the District of Columbia submitted applications, and eighteen states and the District of Columbia eventually received funding. Ultimately, RTT proved to be a dramatically effective means of inducing states to enact substantial changes in education policy, regardless of whether these states ultimately received RTT funds.⁸⁶⁰

These latest federal efforts reflect the liberal incorporationist faith and understanding of the purpose of education. Expansive and punitive reforms are pursued based on the belief that public schools are failing children and are the root cause of a number of social ills such as unemployment and racial disparities. These federal policies are responsible for the development of a number of policy reforms at the local level with particularly pernicious consequences for teachers, students, and communities.

Teacher Evaluation

The reliance on standardized test scores as a metric of evaluation has opened up new lines of attacks on public school teachers. Nearly a century after John Franklin

⁸⁶⁰ William G. Howell, “Results of President Obama’s Race to the Top: Win or Lose, States Enacted Education Reforms,” *Education Next*, Fall 2015, <http://educationnext.org/results-president-obama-race-to-the-top-reform/>.

Bobbitt praised the the usefulness of standards and frequent testing in the identification of good and bad teachers (and suggested tying teacher pay, promotion, and retention to the test scores of their pupils), policymakers have again turned to tying teacher evaluation to student test scores. A coalition of large-city school superintendents, including Michelle Rhee in Washington D.C. and Joel Klein in New York City, and national non-profit organizations, such as the Gates Foundation, argued that persistent low student test scores were a reflection of poor teaching. Arguing that teachers needed to be held accountable and could no longer be allowed to rely on the poverty of students as an excuse for poor performance, this coalition pressed for greater teacher evaluation on the basis of standardized test scores and greater administrative freedom to fire teachers whose students scored poorly.⁸⁶¹ This demand for greater administrative authority to fire teachers with low performance scores is often framed as a necessary reform to ensure quality education in schools serving high numbers of poor and racial minority students.⁸⁶² The Obama administration was responsive to these arguments and made the receipt of Race to the Top funds and NCLB waivers contingent upon the implementation of teacher evaluation systems that included evaluation on the basis of improvement in student

⁸⁶¹ Valerie Strauss, "Everything You Need to Know about Common Core — Ravitch," *Washington Post*, January 18, 2014, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/answer-sheet/wp/2014/01/18/everything-you-need-to-know-about-common-core-ravitch/>; see also, *Bloomberg Businessweek*, "Bill Gates' Latest Mission: Fixing America's Schools," Msnbc.com, July 17, 2010, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/38282806/ns/business-us_business/t/bill-gates-latest-mission-fixing-americas-schools/.

⁸⁶² *Bloomberg Businessweek*, "Bill Gates' Latest Mission"; San Diego Union-Tribune, "The Reformer," *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, March 24, 2013, <http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/news/2013/mar/24/tp-the-reformer/>; also http://www.nj.com/njvoices/index.ssf/2010/12/ask_michelle_rhee_there_is_no.html; *New Jersey Star-Ledger*, "Michelle Rhee: 'I Don't Think There Is a Need for Tenure,'" NJ.com, December 19, 2010, http://www.nj.com/njvoices/index.ssf/2010/12/ask_michelle_rhee_there_is_no.html.

standardized test scores.⁸⁶³ This organized support has led to the rapid expansion of this type of teacher evaluation, with the number of states requiring student standardized test scores be a part of teacher evaluation growing from fifteen in 2009, to forty-three in 2015.⁸⁶⁴

Educational Tracking

Although educational tracking of the type envisioned by the social efficiency progressives, where students would be grouped by ability and placed in entirely separate educational tracks aimed at preparing them for their future professions, is not a major aspect of the educational landscape today, the elementary and secondary schools *do* still use forms of tracking.⁸⁶⁵ The placing of students in different classes on the basis of ability or prior performance continues to be a widespread practice. At the elementary

⁸⁶³ Alyson Klein, “Will Teacher Evaluations Through Test Scores Outlast Obama?,” *Education Week - Politics K-12*, November 4, 2015, http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/campaign-k-12/2015/11/will_teacher_evaluations_thru.html?cmp=SOC-SHR-FB.

⁸⁶⁴ Not only has the number of states employing student achievement test scores in teacher evaluation increased, but their weight of importance in teacher evaluation has increased as well. The number of states where these test scores are the biggest factor in teacher evaluation increased from 4 in 2009 to 17 by 2015, and the number of states including student test scores in teacher tenure decisions went from 0 in 2009, to 23 just six years later (Kathryn M. Doherty and Sandi Jacobs, “State of States 2015: Evaluating Teaching, Leading and Learning” (Washington, D.C.: National Council on Teacher Quality, November 2015), <http://www.nctq.org/dmsView/StateofStates2015>). However, there is evidence of a recent pushback at the state level to this approach, as both Hawaii and Oklahoma passed legislation dropping the use of student growth on standardized tests for teacher evaluations in May of 2016. (See Max Dible, “Standardized Testing to No Longer Require Teacher Assessment,” *Hawaii Tribune-Herald*, May 19, 2016, <http://hawaiitribune-herald.com/news/local-news/standardized-testing-no-longer-require-teacher-assessment>; and “Lawmakers Pass Teacher Evaluation Changes,” *Bartlesville Examiner Enterprise*, May 12, 2016, <http://examiner-enterprise.com/news/local-news/lawmakers-pass-teacher-evaluation-changes>).

⁸⁶⁵ The more extreme version of tracking, where the entire educational program of students differed on the basis of intelligence test scores or perceptions of ability was a widely popular in the mid-twentieth century, when a majority of high schools used some form of this tracking. (Maureen T. Hallinan, “The Detracking Movement: Why Children Are Still Grouped by Ability,” *Education Next* 4, no. 4 (Fall 2004), <http://educationnext.org/the-detracking-movement/>.) This form of wholesale college and vocational tracking died out in the 1970s. (Tom Loveless, “The Resurgence of Ability Grouping and Persistence of Tracking,” *The Brookings Institution*, March 18, 2013, <http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports/2013/03/18-tracking-ability-grouping-loveless>).

level, although students of differing ability are housed in the same classroom, they are frequently grouped with children of similar ability (known as ability grouping) with each group receiving instruction on the basis of the group's perceived ability. Tracking today is predominantly used in high school and is determined on a subject by subject basis, with students assigned to different classrooms based on past performance.⁸⁶⁶ Although getting a firm grasp of the extent of tracking in schools is difficult given the lack of longitudinal national survey data, recent comprehensive surveys of teachers indicates that between 70-90% of elementary classrooms use ability grouping, and 65-85% of high school students experience tracked classrooms.⁸⁶⁷

Education Research

Recent federal reforms have also ushered in a decisive shift in the definition of educational research and what types of research schools and educators are allowed to rely on in guiding pedagogy. NCLB included provisions that made receipt of federal funds for turnaround schools contingent on schools and districts using these funds to develop educational programs based on the best available evidence of effectiveness, or “scientifically based research.” Much like the social efficiency progressives’ importation

⁸⁶⁶ The growth in AP (Advanced Placement) classes is indicative of the continued influence of tracking in high school. In many subjects, there are three groupings (basic, regular, and advanced) for core subjects, such as Math and English. The three group division is the same recommendation that many of the social efficiency progressives made in the 1920s and 1930s.

⁸⁶⁷ See Vivian Yee, “Grouping Students by Ability Regains Favor With Educators,” *The New York Times*, June 9, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/10/education/grouping-students-by-ability-regains-favor-with-educators.html>; Marc Tucker, “Student Tracking vs. Academic Pathways: Different...or the Same?,” *Education Week - Top Performers*, accessed March 27, 2016, http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/top_performers/2015/10/tracking_vs_pathways_differedor_the_same.html?cmp=SOC-SHR-FB; Jay Mathews, “My Bluebird Group Is Back despite Scholarly Qualms,” *Washington Post*, March 17, 2013, https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/class-struggle/post/ability-grouping-is-back-despite-scholarly-qualms/2013/03/17/5dc15a1c-8df8-11e2-9f54-f3fdd70acad2_blog.html; Loveless, “The Resurgence of Ability,” 2013; Hallinan, “The Detracking Movement.”

of the scientific methods of industrial organization to the schools, the term and definition of “scientifically based research” originates in the medical field and is seen as a way of rationalizing and improving a disorganized education system. The importance of this requirement is reflected by the fact that the term “scientifically based research” appears over 100 times in the NCLB Act.⁸⁶⁸ The act also outlined what constituted “scientifically based research,” ultimately settling on an extremely narrow definition that limits research to “testing hypotheses and using experimental and quasi-experimental designs only, and preferring random assignment.”⁸⁶⁹ This narrow definition of what counts as research is particularly consequential as it provides support for educational research that frames success in education through testing whether educational methods have effects that can be detected through easily quantifiable and replicable observations. Standardized tests scores provide ideal observations, and the desire for the “certainty” of scientifically based research reinforces the proliferation of testing in education. Furthermore, as education professor Suzanne Wright has pointed out, the definition adopted by the NCLB inevitably “leads one to the conclusion that forms of research that do not conform to SBR [scientifically based research] are invalid.”⁸⁷⁰ The 2015 ESSA similarly emphasizes the value of scientifically based research and continues to point to experimental studies as the

⁸⁶⁸ Much like the social efficiency progressives’ importation of the scientific methods of industrial organization to the schools, the term and definition of “scientifically based research” originates in the medical field and is seen as a way of rationalizing and improving a disorganized education system.

⁸⁶⁹ Margaret Eisenhart and Lisa Towne, “Contestation and Change in National Policy on ‘Scientifically Based’ Education Research,” *Educational Researcher* 32, no. 7 (October 2003): 34.

⁸⁷⁰ Suzanne Franco, “Time to Reconsider the Scientifically Based Research Requirement,” *Nonpartisan Education Review*, 2007, <http://nonpartisaneducation.org/Review/Essays/v3n6.htm>.

gold standard in education research.⁸⁷¹ Defining the boundaries of education research in terms that support limited conceptions of educational success reinforces the liberal incorporationist order by delegitimizing research that might challenge its ideological foundations and preventing schools from implementing an alternative policy approach.

Common Core

Aspects of social efficiency ideology are also present in the justifications used for the recent push to implement the so-called “Common Core State Standards” nationwide. The original standards were first developed in 2009, with considerable support from the testing industry, which dominated the working groups that wrote the standards, and the Gates Foundation, which poured roughly \$230 million into efforts to get states to adopt the standards.⁸⁷² The Obama administration also got on board, requiring states competing for the \$4 billion in Race to the Top funds to adopt rigorous “standards that build toward college and career readiness,” and that were “supported by evidence.”⁸⁷³ The Common Core website describes the standards as “[r]esearch and evidenced based,” “[a]ligned

⁸⁷¹ Sarah D. Sparks, “What Role Will Research Play in ESSA?,” *Education Week*, December 4, 2015, http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/inside-school-research/2015/12/essa_waves_at_tiered_evidence.html?cmp=SOC-SHR-FB.

⁸⁷² Lyndsey Layton, “How Bill Gates Pulled Off the Swift Common Core Revolution,” *Washington Post*, June 7, 2014, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/special/national/gates-foundation/>; see also Strauss, “Everything You Need to Know.” The original working groups that constructed the basic skeleton of the standards consisted of twenty-four individuals, of which, none identified as practicing teachers. This initial round was dominated by individuals with connections to the testing industry, as was the second round of 101 individuals who fleshed out the standards, of which only five were current classroom teachers (Diane Ravitch, “Who Wrote the Common Core Standards? Here Is a List,” Diane Ravitch’s Blog, April 23, 2014, <https://dianeravitch.net/2014/04/23/who-wrote-the-common-core-standards-here-is-a-list/>; Mercedes Schneider, “Those 24 Common Core 2009 Work Group Members,” deutsch29 - Mercedes Schneider’ EduBlog, March 31, 2015, <https://deutsch29.wordpress.com/2014/04/23/those-24-common-core-2009-work-group-members/>).

⁸⁷³ U.S. Department of Education, “Race to the Top Executive Summary,” November 2009; 8. The application process for Race to the Top funds is expensive and complex, and The Gates Foundation has provided several states with financial and logistical help in putting together their applications, most of which have included the adoption of the Common Core Standards. (Layton, “How Bill Gates Pulled Off.”)

with college and career expectations,” and designed to prepare all students for “success in college, career, and life in our global economy and society.”⁸⁷⁴ The website notes that the standards would impact teachers by providing them “with consistent goals and benchmarks to ensure students are progressing on a path towards success in college, career, and life.”⁸⁷⁵ Remarkably, by 2011, 45 states and the District of Columbia had adopted the Common Core State Standards.

The development and implementation of these standards followed a top-down approach with little initial input from the public or teachers. These new “evidenced-based” standards, the evaluation of teachers on basis of student test scores aligned with these standards, and the design of standards that reflect the needs of the labor market or “global economy,” clearly echo the scientific management techniques of the social efficiency progressives. The Common Core standards movement also employs racial democracy ideology, as advocates have framed it as a way to ensure racial equity.⁸⁷⁶ Reform advocates like Bill Gates have argued that ensuring that all schools were holding students to the same high standards, and punishing those schools and teachers that failed to improve student scores, would not only improve education - but would help combat poverty and racial disparity. As Gates remarked in a speech before the National Urban League, “let’s end the myth that we have to solve poverty before we improve education. I

⁸⁷⁴ “Read the Standards | Common Core State Standards Initiative,” Common Core State Standards Initiative, 2016, <http://www.corestandards.org/read-the-standards/>.

⁸⁷⁵ “Frequently Asked Questions | Common Core State Standards Initiative,” Common Core State Standards Initiative, 2016, <http://www.corestandards.org/about-the-standards/frequently-asked-questions/>.

⁸⁷⁶ Strauss, “Everything You Need to Know.”

say it's more the other way around: Improving education is the best way to solve poverty.”⁸⁷⁷

School Choice and School Closings

Recent federal education policy efforts have been at the forefront of the twin developments of rapid expansion of charter schools and closing of traditional public schools. The NCLB specially named transfer to charter school as one of the school-choice options that must be given to children in low-performing schools. The promotion of charter schools as a turnaround strategy continued under RTT, which made elimination of state barriers to charter school expansion a significant factor in determining which states won grants.⁸⁷⁸ Since the start of RTT, fifteen states have lifted caps on charter school growth and one state enacted its first charter law. The rapid growth of charter schools shows little sign of slowing down. In September of 2015, the U.S. Department of Education announced that it would give \$157 million to expand charter schools nationally, and the passage of the ESSA in December of 2015 channeled even more federal funds to charter expansion.⁸⁷⁹

⁸⁷⁷Russell Contreras, “Bill Gates: Poverty Not Excuse for No Education,” *MPR News*, July 28, 2011, <http://www.mprnews.org/story/2011/07/28/bill-gates-poverty-race>.

⁸⁷⁸ Secretary of Education Arne Duncan warned, “States that do not have public charter laws or put artificial caps on the growth of charter schools will jeopardize their applications under the Race to the Top Fund.” (“States Open to Charters Start Fast in ‘Race to the Top,’” U.S. Department of Education, June 8, 2009, <http://www2.ed.gov/news/pressreleases/2009/06/06082009a.html>.)

⁸⁷⁹ Lyndsey Layton, “Charter Love: Feds Give \$157 Million to Expand Charter Schools,” *Washington Post*, September 28, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/education/charter-love-feds-give-157-million-to-expand-charter-schools/2015/09/28/006ad118-6613-11e5-8325-a42b5a459b1e_story.html; Carol Hornsby Haynes, “Follow the Money: Race to the Top and ESSA,” *Education News*, January 11, 2016, <http://www.educationviews.org/follow-money-race-top-essa/>.

As charter schools expand, the requirements that states intervene in poor performing schools has pushed a number of states and local school districts to pursue a strategy of mass school closure. Spurred by these federal requirements, cities such as Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Columbus have aggressively closed low-performing schools as a central aspect of their reform agendas. The closure of traditional public schools often goes hand-in-hand with the expansion of charter schools. In a recent twelve city study, the Pew Charitable Trust found that more than 40% of closed school buildings were ultimately reopened as charter schools.⁸⁸⁰ The shift towards charters is also evident in enrollment numbers. In Chicago, between 2005 and 2013 enrollment in traditional public schools fell by 14% while charter school enrollment grew by 219% over the same period.⁸⁸¹

The move towards widespread school closure and rapid expansion of charter schools is particularly problematic given growing evidence of the pernicious effects of these reform strategies. Studies have consistently shown that expansion of charter schools comes with a significant risk of increasing segregation by race, ethnicity, and income. The expansion of charter schools is also associated with increased segregation for special education and language minority students.⁸⁸² The reform strategy of school closure and charter expansion has also been tied to diminished teacher effectiveness and

⁸⁸⁰ Emily Dowdall and Susan Warner, “Shuttered Public Schools: The Struggle to Bring Old Buildings to New Life” (The Pew Charitable Trust, February 11, 2013), http://www.pewtrusts.org/~media/assets/2013/02/11/philadelphia_school_closings_report.pdf?la=en.

⁸⁸¹ Journey for Justice Alliance, “Death By a Thousand Cuts: Racism, School Closures, and Public School Sabotage” (Journey for Justice Alliance, May 2014): 3.

⁸⁸² Iris C. Rotberg, “Charter Schools and the Risk of Increased Segregation,” *Phi Delta Kappan* 95, no. 5 (February 1, 2014): 26–31.

working conditions, increased student conflict, and a weakening of community connection to local schools.⁸⁸³ Additionally, the expansion of charter schools has provided the opportunity for the private sector to reap massive profits even as hundreds of traditional schools are closed down in part due to lack of funds.⁸⁸⁴ Finally, there is little evidence that charters schools offer better student outcomes, even on the standardized testing metrics preferred by reform advocates.⁸⁸⁵

Beyond school closings and charter expansion, mounting evidence suggests that the broader federal reform agenda has had similarly negative consequences for schools across the country. In addition to the consequences mentioned above, researchers have found that these reforms have narrowed the curriculum,⁸⁸⁶ increased the practice of expelling poor performing students to boost test score averages,⁸⁸⁷ caused teachers to

⁸⁸³ Journey for Justice Alliance, “Death By a Thousand Cuts.”

⁸⁸⁴ Kristin Rawls, “Who Is Profiting From Charters? The Big Bucks Behind Charter School Secrecy, Financial Scandal and Corruption,” *AlterNet*, January 21, 2015, <http://www.alternet.org/election-2014/who-profiting-charters-big-bucks-behind-charter-school-secrecy-financial-scandal-and>.

⁸⁸⁵ Rotberg, “Charter Schools,” 26-31.

⁸⁸⁶ David Berliner, “Rational Responses to High Stakes Testing: the case of Curriculum Narrowing and the Harm that Follows,” *Cambridge Journal of Education* 41, no. 3 (October 2011): 287-302; Margaret S. Crocco, “The Narrowing of Curriculum and Pedagogy in the Age of Accountability Urban Educators Speak Out,” *Urban Education* 42, no. 6 (November 2007): 512-535; Audrey L. Amrein and David C. Berliner, “An Analysis of Some Unintended and Negative Consequences of High-Stakes Testing,” report from Education Policy Studies Laboratory, (Tempe: Arizona State University, 2002); George Madaus and Michael Russell, “Paradoxes of High-Stakes Testing,” *The Journal of Education* 190, no. 1/2 (2010/2011): 21-30; Smith, Mary Lee et al., *Political Spectacle and the Fate of American Schools* (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004); Linda Darling-Hammond, “Race, Inequality and Educational Accountability: The Irony of ‘No Child Left Behind,’” *Race Ethnicity and Education* 10, no. 3 (September 2007): 245-260.

⁸⁸⁷ Julian Vasquez Helig and Linda Darling-Hammond, “Accountability Texas-Style: The Progress and Learning of Urban Minority Students in a High-Stakes Testing Context,” *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 30, no. 2 (June 2008): 75-110; Amrein and Berliner, “An Analysis of Unintended and Negative Consequences,” 2002; Jennifer Booher-Jennings, “Below the bubble: “Educational triage” and the Texas Accountability System,” *American Educational Research Journal* 42, no. 2 (June 2005): 231-268.

focus on small set of students most likely to raise test scores,⁸⁸⁸ increased dropout rates,⁸⁸⁹ decreased teacher satisfaction and increased teacher turnover.⁸⁹⁰ Unsurprisingly, these negative consequences are felt disproportionately by poor, minority, and urban communities.⁸⁹¹

Despite growing evidence of the negative consequences, the bipartisan punitive education reform agenda has proceeded full speed ahead at the federal level. The continued popularity of these reforms among federal policymakers can be explained by dominance of the liberal incorporationist ideology. Both parties continue to articulate an educational vision that couples calls for equal educational opportunity regardless of racial identity with an understanding that central purpose of education is providing individuals with the skills needed to successfully compete in the existing labor market. Republicans and Democrats continue to agree that primary and secondary education is key to solving

⁸⁸⁸ Booher-Jennings, "Below the bubble," 2005; Linda M. McNeil, *Contradictions of School Reform: Educational Costs of Standardized Teaching*, (New York: Routledge, 2000); George F. Madaus et al., "The Influence of Testing on Teaching Math and Science in Grades 4-12, report from Center for the Study of Testing, Evaluation, and Educational Policy (Chestnut Hill, MA: Boston College, 1992); Amrein and Berliner, "An Analysis of Unintended and Negative Consequences," 2002.

⁸⁸⁹ Gary Orfield and Johanna Wald, "Testing, Testing," *The Nation* 270, no. 22 (June 5, 2000): 38-40; Linda M. McNeil, "Faking Equity: High-Stakes Testing and the Education of Latino Youth," *Leaving Children Behind: How "Texas-style" Accountability Fails Latino Youth*, ed. Angela Valenzuela (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005) 57-112; Madaus and Russell, "Paradoxes of High-Stakes Testing," 2010/2011; Helig and Darling-Hammond, "Accountability Texas-Style," 2008; Darling-Hammond, "Race, Inequality and Educational Accountability," 2007; Smith et al., *Political Spectacle*, 2004.

⁸⁹⁰ William A. Mehrens, "Consequences of Assessment: What is the Evidence?" *Education Policy Analysis Archives* 6, no. 13 (July 1998): 1-30; Kennon M. Sheldon and Bruce J. Biddle, "Standards, Accountability, and School Reform: Perils and Pitfalls," *Teachers College Record* 100, no. 1 (1998): 164-180; Dana Goldstein, *The Teacher Wars: A History of America's Most Embattled Profession* (New York: Doubleday, 2014); Crocco, "The Narrowing of Curriculum and Pedagogy," 2007; Gerson, "The Neoliberal Agenda," 2012.

⁸⁹¹ Wayne Au, *Unequal By Design: High-Stakes Testing and the Standardization of Inequality*, (New York: Routledge, 2009); Kenneth J. Saltman, *Capitalizing on Disaster: Taking and Breaking Public Schools* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2007); Darling-Hammond, "Race, Inequality and Educational Accountability," 2007; Smith et al., *Political Spectacle*, 2004; McNeil, *Contradictions of School Reform*, 2005.

the persistent problems of poverty, unemployment, and racial disparity. This faith in education justifies the increasingly punitive reforms targeted at the public schools when these problems persist. The expansion of high-stakes testing, destabilization of the teaching force, and increasing privatization and charterization of public schools represent the latest destructive extension of the institutional and ideological commitments of the liberal incorporationist order in education. The federal government continues to rely on the essentially same institutional mechanism to induce change as it has since the 1960s, the threat of withholding compensatory funds from states failing to demonstrate objective gains in student achievement. The common ideological foundations explain why so many of the reforms of the current era look similar - in some cases nearly identical - to those proposed over 50 years ago. The continued support of this reform agenda despite mounting evidence of negative consequences for vulnerable populations demonstrates the thoroughly entrenched nature of the liberal incorporationist order.

Moving Forward

Despite the dominance of the liberal incorporationist educational vision and the punitive reform effort it justifies, there is growing evidence of increasingly organized efforts to push back against the punitive education policies that have flourished under this hegemonic educational ideology. Although the ideas of the social reconstructionists and economic democrats were marginalized by the 1960s, the vision put forth by these coalitions never completely disappeared from the national discussion. Coalitions pushing against the liberal incorporationist education order and the punitive policies it has

supported have increasingly mobilized these ideas in the past decade. The most prominent organized opposition to the bipartisan liberal incorporationist order has come from a number of progressive teacher's unions situated in large cities that have borne the brunt of the negative consequences of punitive educational reforms. Frustrated with the traditional approach of supporting the Democratic Party as the "lesser of two evils" only to see enthusiastic Democratic support for punitive reforms, progressive groups such as the Caucus of Rank and File Educators (CORE) in Chicago, the Progressive Educators for Action Caucus (PEAC) in Los Angeles, and Educators for a Democratic Union (EDU) in San Francisco, have successfully pushed their unions toward a more combative approach to the liberal incorporationist order.⁸⁹²

Karen Lewis, the president of the Chicago teacher's union (CTU) since 2010, is perhaps the most visible national leader of teacher led efforts to combat the bipartisan punitive reform consensus. In her 2010 election acceptance speech, Lewis announced, "Today marks the beginning of the end of scapegoating educators for all the social ills that our children, families and schools struggle against every day."⁸⁹³ Lewis outlined an

⁸⁹² See: Ron Whitemore, "Social Justice Slate Sweeps to Victory in the Chicago Teachers Union," *The Philadelphia Public School Notebook*, June 14, 2010, <http://thenotebook.org/articles/2010/06/14/social-justice-slate-sweeps-to-victory-in-the-chicago-teachers-union>; Samantha Winslow, "L.A. Teachers Run on a Bigger Vision," *Labor Notes*, June 10, 2014, <http://labornotes.org/2014/01/la-teachers-run-bigger-vision>; Samantha Winslow, "Activist Coalition Wins Control of L.A. Teachers Union," March 25, 2014, http://inthesetimes.com/working/entry/16474/activist_coalition_wins_control_of_la_teachers_union; Cynthia Ladsen and Tom Edminster, "San Francisco Teachers Elect Reformers to Lead Union," *Labor Notes*, June 10, 2015, <http://www.labornotes.org/2015/06/san-francisco-teachers-elect-reformers-lead-union>. On the larger strategy of social justice unionism, which captures much of the programmatic and strategic approach of the more activist unions, see Lois Weiner, *The Future of Our Schools: Teachers Unions and Social Justice* (Chicago, Illinois: Haymarket Books, 2012).

⁸⁹³ Karen Lewis, "Karen Lewis, CTU President-Elect Acceptance Speech," CORE: The Caucus of Rank and File Educators, June 12, 2010, <http://www.coreteachers.org/karen-lewis-ctu-president-elect-acceptance-speech-2/>.

educational vision that placed the CTU in clear opposition to the liberal incorporationist ideology, and harkened back to the ideas of the economic democrats and social reconstructionists. Lewis called for greater teacher autonomy,⁸⁹⁴ substantial reduction in the use of testing,⁸⁹⁵ and a renewed teacher activism outside the classroom.⁸⁹⁶ In a reflection of the new activist stance, Lewis led the CTU on a strike in 2012 and won substantial concessions from Mayor Rahm Emmanuel's initial proposed contract. Notably, the CTU halted the implementation of merit pay, limited the use of student standardized test scores in teacher evaluations, stopped the city's plan to increase class sizes, and won a pay raise.⁸⁹⁷

In language sounding distinctly similar to the social reconstructionist of the 1930s, Lewis and CTU have expanded their political agenda and the proposed role for teachers as agents of political change. In 2015, Lewis gave a speech drawing attention to the limited and politically problematic nature of the liberal incorporationist educational vision, arguing that, “[t]hey want ‘Stepford Teachers’ and ‘Children of the Corn’—kids who are compliant and will not challenge authority or the system on eradicating

⁸⁹⁴ Lewis pushed for greater teacher autonomy at the expense of business influence, noting that “inside the classroom, the only people who can improve our schools are professional educators. Corporate heads and politicians do not have a clue about teaching and learning.” (Ibid.)

⁸⁹⁵ Lewis argued that the standardized test, which were costing the district roughly \$60 million a year, did little more than label “students, families and educators failures” and measure the district’s “slow death by starvation.” (Ibid.)

⁸⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁷ Micah Uetricht, *Strike for America: Chicago Teachers Against Austerity* (Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2014).

inequality, poverty, and injustice.”⁸⁹⁸ In the same speech, Lewis announced her endorsement of a number of progressive challengers to Democratic City Council members, including a number of teachers from the ranks of the CTU. The CTU emphasized its commitment to expand the involvement of teachers in bringing about social change through the 2015 release of “A Just Chicago: Fighting for the City Our Students Deserve,” a report detailing an expansive political agenda. In addition to calling for greater and more equitable funding of schools, the CTU pointed to the need to take on broader economic issues and called for expansive reforms including “increas[ing] the numbers of affordable and homeless housing units built across the city”⁸⁹⁹ and “guarantee[d] jobs that pay living wage and provide health insurance for families of Chicago’s students.”⁹⁰⁰ The report channels the analytical outlook of both the economic democrats and social reconstructionists by framing the existing economic and social order as fundamentally unfair and positioning teachers as powerful agents in bringing about a just future.⁹⁰¹

⁸⁹⁸ Karen Lewis, “Karen Lewis Speech to City Club Today,” *Chicago Teachers Union Net*, February 2, 2015, <http://www.ctunet.com/blog/karen-lewis-speech-to-city-club-today>. In the same speech Lewis argued forcefully that attacking teacher through accountability discourse distracts from those that truly needed to be held accountable. Lewis asked, “who holds the venture capitalist accountable? Who has been held responsible for the foreclosure crisis that saw the greatest reduction of wealth among the middle class in our nation’s history? Who has been held accountable for the rampant pension thefts? For the destruction of American jobs?”

⁸⁹⁹ Chicago Teachers Union Research Department, “A Just Chicago: Fighting for the City Our Students Deserve” (Chicago Teacher’s Union, February 2015): 22.

⁹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 13. Significantly, the CTU report positioned their proposals as a corrective to “current CPS policies of closing schools, attacking teachers, and giving more tests,” arguing that instead of this approach, “students need policies that acknowledge the existence of and work to eradicate poverty and segregation.”(13)

⁹⁰¹ In one of its most damning passages, the report critiqued the economic by noting that “[i]nequitable justice policies, healthcare, housing, education, and job availability is the expected outcome of a system designed to maintain two distinct Chicagos: one for those with access to income and one for those left to navigate whatever is left over” (*Ibid.*, 29).

Within the past few years, the efforts of activist teachers unions to combat punitive education reform has been accompanied by a number of community groups, that have become increasingly critical of the liberal incorporationist education order. Groups such as Parents United for Public Education in Philadelphia have organized to push back against the privatization, rapid characterization, and widespread school closings that have served as the backbone of the school reform efforts in Philadelphia for the last 15 years. Helen Gym, a co-founder of Parents United for Public Education who had criticized the reform approach as a “brand of disaster capitalism,” won a seat on the Philadelphia City Council in 2015, largely on a platform of halting punitive education reforms.⁹⁰²

In an effort to resist the national reform, Journey for Justice (J4J), an alliance of 36 community based organizations from 21 different cities, released a report entitled “Death by Thousand Cuts: Racism, School Closures, and Public School Sabotage.” This report explicitly criticized President Obama, Secretary Duncan, Bill Gates, Michelle Rhee and others of promoting educational reforms that attempted to “driv[e] a wedge between low-income communities of color and the teachers that serve their schools,” reducing schools to “fungible businesses,”⁹⁰³ and ultimately perpetuating a social order in which “wealth, ideology, and political opportunism have been allowed to triumph over the interests and well-being of our communities.”⁹⁰⁴ This coalescing of groups and

⁹⁰² Helen Gym, “Commentary: You’re Not Speaking to Me, Mr. Knudsen,” *The Philadelphia Public School Notebook*, April 24, 2012, <http://thenotebook.org/articles/2012/04/24/commentary-you-re-not-speaking-to-me-mr-knudsen>.

⁹⁰³ Journey for Justice Alliance, “Death By a Thousand Cuts: Racism, School Closures, and Public School Sabotage” (Journey for Justice Alliance, May 2014): 18.

⁹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 27.

unions from cities throughout the country underscores the degree to which the dominance of the liberal incorporationist ideology at the federal level has produced problems for schools across the nation.

Teacher and community resistance to the liberal incorporationist understanding of education and the punitive reforms it supports is a promising development. However, these developments have yet to meaningfully shift federal education policy from the liberal incorporationist ideology that motivated the first significant federal intervention in primary and secondary education policy back in 1965. At the national level, both political parties continue to broadly articulate a liberal incorporationist understanding of the function of public education, as evidenced by overwhelmingly bipartisan support of the ESSA in 2015.⁹⁰⁵ In his remarks at the bill signing, President Obama noted the fundamental ideological continuity of the new bill with earlier federal efforts, stating, “The goals of No Child Left Behind, the predecessor of this law, were the right one: High Standards. Accountability. Closing the achievement gap.”⁹⁰⁶ Invoking the spirit of President Johnson, Obama proclaimed, “With this bill, we reaffirm that fundamental American ideal that every child, regardless of race, income, background, the zip code where they live, *deserves the chance to make out of their lives what they will.*”⁹⁰⁷

⁹⁰⁵ The final bill passed the House by a vote of 359-64 in the House, and 85-12 in the Senate. In both chambers, Democrats supported the bill unanimously.

⁹⁰⁶ Barack Obama, “Remarks by the President at Every Student Succeeds Act Signing Ceremony,” Whitehouse.gov, December 10, 2015, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/12/10/remarks-president-every-student-succeeds-act-signing-ceremony>. President Obama went on to frame the ESSA as carrying on the spirit that animated the original ESEA, noting “this bill upholds the core value that animated the original Elementary and Secondary Education Act signed by President Lyndon Johnson -- the value that says education, the key to economic opportunity, is a civil right.”

⁹⁰⁷ Ibid., emphasis added.

Obama's remarks indicate the continued hegemony of the liberal incorporationist understanding of education's purpose, limited to providing students with the tools to compete equally in the labor market.

Moving forward, a more just education system requires a fundamental reconceptualization of the purpose of education, and of the role of the federal government. Education must be understood as something valuable beyond its ability to provide marketable skills for students. Problems that are at their core issues of broader economic structure, such as unemployment, poverty, and racial disparity can no longer be laid at the doorstep of education. Efforts to address the problems that have been blamed on education require expansive federal efforts to shift fundamentally unfair economic arrangements that are the real causes of unemployment, poverty, and racial disparity. Absent these fundamental shifts in ideology and political commitment, the cycle of blaming schools leading to ever more punitive reform measures will no doubt continue to dominate the education landscape in the United States.

Appendix I.

Table 1: Political and Educational Program of Four Ideologies

	Problem with US Democracy	Broad Political Program	Purpose of Education	Pedagogical Program
Economic Democracy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capitalist Economy • Economic inequality • Working class unorganized and exploited 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Egalitarian Redistribution • Income Guarantee • Worker solidarity and unionization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expose students to community problems, and ways to help deal with them • Foster solidarity • Schools not central to solving fundamental problems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education for workplace solidarity • community based education • integrated • citizenship focused • not particularly clear
Racial Democracy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Racial exclusion from full citizenship rights • Lack of equality of opportunity • Arbitrary social destiny chances on basis of race 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Racial incorporation to existing order • Equality of Opportunity • Civil Rights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Provide equal footing for labor market competition</i> • Sort on the basis of talent, intelligence, or merit • Foster interracial understanding • <i>Incorporation of blacks into existing social structures</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integration to address psychological harm • Intercultural/ Interracial education • <i>Emphasis on ensuring equality of test results, facilities, and teacher quality between racial groups</i>
Scientific Efficiency Progressives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inefficiently organized • Individuals in positions they are either under- or over-qualified for 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reform political institutions based on the most recent scientific techniques • Those with power should be the most intelligent 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Efficient incorporation into existing order</i> • <i>Preparation of students to meet the needs of labor market</i> • Sort students to employment most suitable base on inherited intelligence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Standardization of teaching methods • Tracking • Intelligence tests • <i>Achievement tests</i> • <i>Standards set outside schools</i> • <i>Preparation for success with existing order</i>
Social Re-constructionist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capitalist Economy • Exploitative economic arrangements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teacher led reconstruction of social and economic order • Transition away from Capitalism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School as the vanguard of social change/lead the way to societal reconstruction • Inculcate proper character needed for new order 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community based and experimental • Anti-competitive • Communal rather than individualistic focus • Unique to teacher, community, and students

(Points in red represent the educational program of Liberal Incorporationism)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1970 Census of Population, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973.
- “Accused Educator Blasts Reds, Refutes Charges.” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 14, 1952.
- Adler, Les K., and Thomas G. Paterson. “Red Fascism: The Merger of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia in the American Image of Totalitarianism, 1930’s-1950’s.” *The American Historical Review* 75, no. 4 (1970): 1046–64.
- “Affirming America’s Promise: 2011 Annual Report.” Baltimore, MD: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 2011. http://www.naacp.org/page/-/annual%20reports/NAACP_2011AR_FNL01.pdf.
- Alan F. Schoedel. “OSU Speaker Controversy Still Hot Issue After 5 Months.” *Toldeo Blade*, December 9, 1951.
- American Historical Association Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools. *Conclusions and Recommendations of the Commission*. New York: Scribner’s, 1934.
- Amerman, Helen E. “Perspective for Evaluating Intergroup Relations in a Public School System.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 26, no. 2 (1957): 108–20.
- Amrein, Audrey L., and David C. Berliner. “An Analysis of Some Unintended and Negative Consequences of High-Stakes Testing.” Tempe: Arizona State University: Education Policy Studies Laboratory, 2002.
- Anderson, Carol. “Bleached Souls and Red Negroes: The NAACP and Black Communists in the Early Cold War, 1948-1952.” In *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1988*, edited by Brenda Gayle Plummer, 93–113. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
- Anderson, Gary L., and Kathryn G. Herr. In *Encyclopedia of Activism and Social Justice*, 399–400. SAGE Publications, 2007.
- “Anti-Red Speaker Hit as Pro-Red.” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 13, 1952.
- Apple, Michael W. *Educating the Right Way: Markets, Standards, God, and Inequality*. 2nd edition. New York: Routledge, 2006.

- Apple, Michael W., and Thomas C. Pedroni. "Conservative Alliance Building and African American Support of Vouchers: The End of Brown's Promise or a New Beginning?" *Teachers College Record* 107, no. 9 (September 2005): 2068–2105.
- Aptheker, Herbert. "Literacy, The Negro and World War II." *The Journal of Negro Education* 15, no. 4 (1946): 595–602.
- Armfield, Felix L. *Eugene Kinckle Jones: The National Urban League and Black Social Work, 1910-1940*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014.
- Arnesen, Eric. "No 'Graver Danger': Black Anticommunism, the Communist Party, and the Race Question." *Labor* 3, no. 4 (December 21, 2006): 13–52.
- Au, Wayne. *Unequal By Design: High-Stakes Testing and the Standardization of Inequality*. New York : Routledge, 2008.
- Bailer, Lloyd H. "The Negro in the Labor Force of the United States." *The Journal of Negro Education* 22, no. 3 (1953): 297–306.
- Baker, Scott. "Testing Equality: The National Teacher Examination and the NAACP's Legal Campaign to Equalize Teachers' Salaries in the South, 1936-63." *History of Education Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (1995): 49–64.
- Banks, Waldo R. "Changing Attitudes Towards the Negro in the United States: The Primary Causes." *The Journal of Negro Education* 30, no. 2 (1961): 87–93.
- Beard, Charles A. "Property and Democracy." *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 1 (October 1934): 13–15.
- Becker, Gary S. *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education*. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research : Distributed by Columbia University Press, 1964.
- Beittel, A. D. "Some Effects of the 'Separate but Equal' Doctrine of Education." *The Journal of Negro Education* 20, no. 2 (1951): 140–47.
- Bell, Derrick A. "Serving Two Masters: Integration Ideals and Client Interests in School Desegregation Litigation." *The Yale Law Journal* 85, no. 4 (1976): 470–516.

- Ben-Porath, Sigal. "Deferring Virtue: The New Management of Students and the Civic Role of Schools." *Theory and Research in Education* 11, no. 2 (July 1, 2013): 111–28.
- Berliner, David. "Rational Responses to High Stakes Testing: The Case of Curriculum Narrowing and the Harm That Follows." *Cambridge Journal of Education* 41, no. 3 (October 2011): 111–28.
- Berliner, David C., and Bruce J. Biddle. *The Manufactured Crisis: Myths, Fraud, And The Attack On America's Public Schools*. Reading Mass.: Basic Books, 1996.
- Bertram, Eva. *The Workfare State: Public Assistance Politics from the New Deal to the New Democrats*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.
- Blalock, Jr. H. M. "Educational Achievement and Job Opportunities: A Vicious Circle." *The Journal of Negro Education* 27, no. 4 (1958): 544–48.
- Bloomberg Businessweek. "Bill Gates' Latest Mission: Fixing America's Schools." Msnbc.com, July 17, 2010. http://www.nbcnews.com/id/38282806/ns/business-us_business/t/bill-gates-latest-mission-fixing-americas-schools/.
- Bobbitt, John Franklin. *The Supervision of City Schools: Some General Principles of Management Applied to the Problems of City-School Systems*. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1913.
- Bond, J. Max. "Educational Programs for the Improvement of Race Relations: The Schools." *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 390–97.
- Booher-Jennings, Jennifer. "Below the Bubble: 'Educational Triage' and the Texas Accountability System." *American Educational Research Journal* 42, no. 2 (June 20, 2005): 231–68.
- Borstelmann, Thomas. *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Bousfield, Maudelle B. "Redirection of the Education of Negroes in Terms of Social Needs." *The Journal of Negro Education* 5, no. 3 (1936): 412–19.
- Bowers, C. A. *The Progressive Educator and the Depression: The Radical Years*. Random House, 1969.

- Boyd Bosma. *Planning for and Implementing Effective School Desegregation: The Role of Teacher Associations*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, National Institute of Education, 1980.
- Boykin, Leander L. "The Vocational Education and Guidance of Negro Youth in a Changing Social Order." *The Journal of Negro Education* 17, no. 1 (1948): 42–49.
- Boyles, Deron. *American Education and Corporations : The Free Market Goes to School*. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Breen, Jennifer Stepp. "Capitalizing Labor: What Work Is Worth and Why, from the New Deal to the New Economy." Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, 2011. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/888151857/abstract/E3F9793C82654833PQ/1>.
- Brown, Aaron. "Ladders To Improvement: Report of a Project for the Improvement of Instruction in Secondary Schools." New York, NY: The Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1960.
- . "The Phelps-Stokes Fund and Its Projects." *The Journal of Negro Education* 25, no. 4 (1956): 456–62.
- Brown, Enora R. "The Quiet Disaster of No Child Left Behind." In *Schooling and the Politics of Disaster*, edited by Kenneth J. Saltman, 123–40. New York, NY: Routledge, 2007.
- Brown, Ina Corinne. *Race Relations in a Democracy*. Vol. 5. Bureau for Intercultural Education. Problems of Race and Culture in American Education. New York: Harper, 1949.
- Brownlee, Fred L. "Educational Programs for the Improvement of Race Relations: Philanthropic Foundations." *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 329–39.
- Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* 347 U.S. 483 (1954). Justia Law. Accessed April 21, 2016. <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/347/483/case.html>.
- Brown, William O. "Race Prejudice as a Factor in the Status of the American Negro." *The Journal of Negro Education* 8, no. 3 (1939): 349–58.
- Bunche, Ralph J. "A Critical Analysis of the Tactics and Programs of Minority Groups." *The Journal of Negro Education* 4, no. 3 (1935): 308–20.

- . “The Negro in the Political Life of the United States.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 3 (1941): 567–84.
- . “The Programs of Organizations Devoted to the Improvement of the Status of the American Negro.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 8, no. 3 (1939): 539–50.
- . “The Role of the University in the Political Orientation of Negro Youth.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 9, no. 4 (1940): 571–79.
- Burnette II, Daarel. “States, Districts to Call Shots on Turnarounds Under ESSA.” *Education Week*, January 5, 2016. <http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2016/01/06/states-districts-to-call-shots-on-turnarounds.html>.
- Cahill, Jerry. “No Room for Commie Teacher, Says Educator.” *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, November 6, 1954.
- Callahan, Raymond E. *Education and the Cult of Efficiency: A Study of the Social Forces That Have Shaped the Administration of the Public Schools*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1964.
- Canady, Herman G. “The Social Psychology of Youth.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 17, no. 2 (1948): 120–23.
- Carson, John. “Army Alpha, Army Brass, and the Search for Army Intelligence.” *Isis* 84, no. 2 (1993): 278–309.
- Carter, Robert L., and Thurgood Marshall. “The Meaning and Significance of the Supreme Court Decree.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 24, no. 3 (1955): 397–404.
- Casper, Gerhard, and Philip B. Kurland, eds. “Opening Argument of Robert L. Carter, Esq., on Behalf of the Appellants.” In *Landmark Briefs and Arguments of the Supreme Court of the United States: Constitutional Law: Brown v. Board of Education, Vol. 49*. Arlington, VA: University Publications of America, Incorporated, 1975.
- . , eds. “Opening Argument of Thurgood Marshall, Esq., on Behalf of the Appellants.” In *Landmark Briefs and Arguments of the Supreme Court of the United States: Constitutional Law: Brown v. Board of Education, Vol. 49*. Arlington, VA: University Publications of America, Incorporated, 1975.

- Chaffee, Mary Law. "William E. B. Dubois' Concept of the Racial Problem in the United States: The Early Negro Educational Movement." *The Journal of Negro History* 41, no. 3 (July 1956): 241–58.
- "Charter Presented to Teachers' Unit." *Reading Eagle*, December 28, 1938.
- Chen, Anthony S. *The Fifth Freedom: Jobs, Politics, and Civil Rights in the United States, 1941-1972*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Chicago Teachers Union Research Department. "A Just Chicago: Fighting for the City Our Students Deserve." Chicago Teachers Union, February 2015. http://ajustchicago.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/A_Just_Chicago.pdf.
- Church, Robert L., and Michael W. Sedlak. *Education in the United States*. Free Press, 1976.
- "Claim Reds Make Poor Instructors." *The Schenectady Gazette*, June 2, 1954.
- Clarence J. Karier. "Testing for Order and Control in the Corporate Liberal State." *Educational Theory* 22, no. 2 (April 1, 1972): 154–80.
- Clarence Lang. "Freedom Train Derailed: Journalism, Anticommunism, an Marxism in 1950s Detroit." In *Anticommunism and the African American Freedom Movement: "Another Side of the Story,"* 161–88. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Clarence Stone Yoakum, and Robert Mearnes Yerkes. *Army Mental Tests*. H. Holt and Company, 1920.
- Clarke, Daniel P. "The Role of Psychology in Race Survival." *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 1 (1941): 51–53.
- Clark, Kenneth B. "Color, Class, Personality and Juvenile Delinquency." *The Journal of Negro Education* 28, no. 3 (1959): 240–51.
- . *Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power*. New York: Harper & Row, 1965.
- Clark, Kenneth B., and Mamie K. Clark. "Emotional Factors in Racial Identification and Preference in Negro Children." *The Journal of Negro Education* 19, no. 3 (1950): 341–50.

- . “Segregation as a Factor in the Racial Identification of Negro Pre-School Children: A Preliminary Report.” *The Journal of Experimental Education* 8, no. 2 (1939): 161–63.
- . “Skin Color as a Factor in Racial Identification of Negro Preschool Children.” *The Journal of Social Psychology* 11, no. 1 (February 1, 1940): 159–69.
- . “The Development of Consciousness of Self and the Emergence of Racial Identification in Negro Preschool Children.” *The Journal of Social Psychology* 10, no. 4 (November 1, 1939): 591–99.
- Clark, Leroy D. “The Lawyer in the Civil Rights Movement-Catalytic Agent or Counter-Revolutionary?” *Kansas Law Review* 19 (1970): 459–73.
- Clement, Rufus E. “Educational Programs for the Improvement of Race Relations: Interracial Committees.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 316–28. doi:10.2307/2292449.
- Cloward, Richard A., and Lloyd E. Ohlin. *Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960.
- Cohen, David K., and Susan L. Moffitt. *The Ordeal of Equality: Did Federal Regulation Fix the Schools?* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Coleman, James S., Ernest Q. Campbell, Carol J. Hobson, James McPartland, Alexander M. Mood, Frederic D. Weinfeld, and Robert L. York. *Equality of Educational Opportunity*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.
- Collins, Robert M. *The Business Response to Keynes, 1929-1964*. New York: Columbia Univ Press, 1981.
- Contreras, Russell. “Bill Gates: Poverty Not Excuse for No Education.” *MPR News*, July 28, 2011. <http://www.mprnews.org/story/2011/07/28/bill-gates-poverty-race>.
- Counts, George S. *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* New York: John Day, 1932.
- Counts, George S., Mordecai Grossman, and Norman Woelfel, eds. “‘Class’ and Social Purpose.” *The Social Frontier* 2, no. 5 (February 1936): 134–35.
- . , eds. “Educating for Tomorrow.” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 1 (October 1934): 5–7.

- . , eds. “National Education Policy.” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 6 (March 1935): 3–4.
- . , eds. “On the Eve of a New School Year.” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 1 (October 1934): 10.
- . , eds. “Orientation.” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 1 (October 1934): 3–5.
- . , eds. “Professional Security.” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 1 (October 1934): 9–10.
- . , eds. “The Ives Law.” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 1 (October 1934): 7–9.
- . , eds. “The Social Order Desired by Society.” *The Social Frontier* 2, no. 5 (February 1936): 133–34.
- . , eds. “W.R. Hearst Baited College ‘Reds.’” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 4 (January 1935): 3–4.
- Cox, Oliver C. “An American Dilemma: A Mystical Approach to the Study of Race Relations.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 14, no. 2 (1945): 132–48.
- . “Modern Democracy and the Class Struggle.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 16, no. 2 (1947): 155–64.
- . “Negro Teachers: Martyrs to Integration?” *The Nation*, April 25, 1953.
- . “The New Crisis in Leadership Among Negroes.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 19, no. 4 (1950): 459–65.
- . “Vested Interests Involved in the Integration of Schools for Negroes.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 20, no. 1 (1951): 112–14.
- Cremin, Lawrence A. “John Dewey and the Progressive-Education Movement, 1915-1952.” *The School Review* 67, no. 2 (Summer 1959): 160–73.
- Crocco, Margaret S., and Arthur T. Costigan. “The Narrowing of Curriculum and Pedagogy in the Age of Accountability Urban Educators Speak Out.” *Urban Education* 42, no. 6 (November 1, 2007): 512–35.
- Crooks, Kenneth B. M. “Is Negro Education Failing?” *The Journal of Negro Education* 8, no. 1 (1939): 19–25.

- Cuban, Larry. *The Blackboard and the Bottom Line: Why Schools Can't Be Businesses*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Cubberley, Ellwood Patterson. *Public School Administration: A Statement of the Fundamental Principles Underlying the Organization and Administration of Public Education*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Riverside Press, 1916.
- Daniel, Walter G. "Negro Education Progressed in 1942." *The Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 1 (Winter 1943): 107–11.
- . "The Responsibility of Education for the Preparation of Children and Youth to Live in a Multi-Racial Society." *The Journal of Negro Education* 19, no. 3 (1950): 388–98.
- Daniel, Walter G., and Marion T. Wright. "The Role of Educational Agencies in Maintaining Morale Among Negroes." *The Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 3 (1943): 490–201.
- Darling-Hammond, Linda. "Race, Inequality and Educational Accountability: The Irony of 'No Child Left Behind.'" *Race Ethnicity and Education* 10, no. 3 (September 2007): 245–60.
- Davenport, Charles B.. "Science Replies to Secretary Wallace Article: 'The Scientist in an Unscientific Society.'" *Scientific American*, August 1934.
- Davenport, Roy K. "Implications of Military Selection and Classification in Relation to Universal Military Training." *The Journal of Negro Education* 15, no. 4 (1946): 585–94.
- Davies, Gareth. "Education Policy from the New Deal to the Great Society: The Three Rs —Race, Religion, and Reds." In *Conservatism in American Political Development*, edited by Brian J. Glenn and Steven Michael Teles, 86–115. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Davis, Allison. "The Socialization of the American Negro Child and Adolescent." *The Journal of Negro Education* 8, no. 3 (1939): 264–74.
- Davis, John A. "Educational Programs for the Improvement of Race Relations: Organized Labor and Industrial Organizations." *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 340–48.

- Davis, John P. "A Survey of the Problems of the Negro Under the New Deal." *The Journal of Negro Education* 5, no. 1 (1936): 3–12.
- Debray, Elizabeth H. *Politics, Ideology & Education: Federal Policy During the Clinton and Bush Administrations*. New York: Teachers College Press, 2006.
- DeCosta, Frank A. "The Use and Results of Standardized Tests Among Pupils." In *Ladders To Improvement: Report of a Project for the Improvement of Instruction in Secondary Schools*, edited by Aaron Brown, 41. New York, NY: The Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1960.
- Deutsch, Monroe E. "Equality in Life as Well as in Death." *The Journal of Negro Education* 23, no. 4 (1954): 496–501.
- Dewey, John. "Can Education Share in Social Reconstruction?" *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 1 (October 1934): 11–12.
- . "Education and Social Change." *The Social Frontier* 3, no. 26 (May 1937): 235–38.
- . "The Meaning of Liberalism." *The Social Frontier* 2, no. 3 (December 1935): 74–75.
- . "The Social Significance of Academic Freedom." *The Social Frontier* 2, no. 6 (March 1936): 165–66.
- . "Toward a National System of Education." *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 9 (June 1935): 9–10.
- Dible, Max. "Standardized Testing to No Longer Require Teacher Assessment." *Hawaii Tribune-Herald*, May 19, 2016. <http://hawaiitribune-herald.com/news/local-news/standardized-testing-no-longer-require-teacher-assessment>.
- Doherty, Kathryn M., and Sandi Jacobs. "State of States 2015: Evaluating Teaching, Leading and Learning." Washington, D.C.: National Council on Teacher Quality, November 2015. <http://www.nctq.org/dmsView/StateofStates2015>.
- Dorsey, Emmett E. "The Negro and Social Planning." *The Journal of Negro Education* 5, no. 1 (1936): 105–9.
- Dowdall, Emily, and Susan Warner. "Shuttered Public Schools: The Struggle to Bring Old Buildings to New Life." The Pew Charitable Trust, February 11, 2013. <http://>

www.pewtrusts.org/~media/assets/2013/02/11/philadelphia_school_closings_report.pdf?la=en.

Drake, St. Clair. "The International Implications of Race and Race Relations." *The Journal of Negro Education* 20, no. 3 (1951): 261–78. doi:10.2307/2966002.

Du Bois, W.E. Burghardt ed. *An Appeal to the World; a Statement on the Denial of Human Rights to Minorities in the Case of Citizens of Negro Descent in the United States of America and an Appeal to the United Nations for Redress*. New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1947.

Du Bois, W. E. Burghardt. "Does the Negro Need Separate Schools?" *The Journal of Negro Education* 4, no. 3 (1935): 328–35.

Dudziak, Mary L. *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*. With a New preface by the author edition. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011.

———. "Desegregation as a Cold War Imperative." *Stanford Law Review* 41, no. 1 (1988): 61–120.

"Economic Report of the President." Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, January 1964.

Editorial. "An Exhibit." *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, March 25, 1941.

"Editorial Comment: Investing in Negro Brains." *The Journal of Negro Education* 4, no. 2 (1935): 153–55.

Eells, Walter Crosby. "The Higher Education of Negroes in the United States." *The Journal of Negro Education* 24, no. 4 (1955): 426–34.

Eisenhart, Margaret, and Lisa Towne. "Contestation and Change in National Policy on 'Scientifically Based' Education Research." *Educational Researcher* 32, no. 7 (October 2003): 31–38.

Embree, Edwin R. "The Status of Minorities as a Test of Democracy." *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 3 (1941): 453–58.

Etheridge, Samuel. "Impact of the 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education Decision on Black Educators." *The Negro Educational Review* 30, no. 4 (1979): 217–32.

- Ezzell, Bill. "Laws of Racial Identification and Racial Purity in Nazi Germany and the United States: Did Jim Crow Write the Laws That Spawned the Holocaust." *Southern University Law Review* 30 (2003 2002): 1–13.
- Fabricant, Michael, and Michelle Fine. *Charter Schools and the Corporate Makeover of Public Education: What's at Stake?* New York: Teachers College Press, 2012.
- Fairchild, Henry P. "A Sociologist Views the New Deal." *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 1 (October 1934): 15–18.
- Fifteenth Census of the U.S., 1930, Population Vol. 4, Occupations by State. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943.
- Forbath, William. "Civil Rights and Economic Citizenship: Notes on the Past and Future of the Civil Rights and Labor Movements." *University of Pennsylvania Journal of Business Law* 2, no. 4 (July 1, 2000): 697-718.
- Ford, James W. "The Communist's Way Out for the Negro." *The Journal of Negro Education* 5, no. 1 (1936): 88–95.
- Foster, Stuart J. *Red Alert!: Educators Confront the Red Scare in American Public Schools, 1947-1954*. New York: Peter Lang International Academic Publishers, 2000.
- Fourteenth Census of the U.S., 1920, Vol. 4, Occupations. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1923.
- Franco, Suzanne. "Time to Reconsider the Scientifically Based Research Requirement." *Nonpartisan Education Review*, 2007. <http://nonpartisaneducation.org/Review/Essays/v3n6.htm>.
- Fraser, Steve, and Gary Gerstle. *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- Frazier, E. Franklin. "Problems and Needs of Negro Children and Youth Resulting from Family Disorganization." *The Journal of Negro Education* 19, no. 3 (1950): 269–77.
- . "The Present Status of the Negro Family in the United States." *The Journal of Negro Education* 8, no. 3 (1939): 376–82.

- “Frequently Asked Questions | Common Core State Standards Initiative.” Common Core State Standards Initiative, 2016. <http://www.corestandards.org/about-the-standards/frequently-asked-questions/>.
- Freyre, Gilberto. “Brazil and the International Crisis.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 3 (1941): 510–14.
- Gallagher, Buell Gordon. “Reorganize the College to Discharge Its Social Function.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 5, no. 3 (1936): 464–73.
- Gandy, Willard E. “Implications of Integration for the Southern Teacher.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 31, no. 2 (1962): 191–97.
- “Georgia School Board Meeting Has ‘Red Row’: Author of Textbook Accused of Having Communistic Leanings.” *The Florence Times*, September 18, 1940.
- Gerson, Jack. “The Neoliberal Agenda and the Response of Teachers Unions,.” In *The Assault on Public Education: Confronting the Politics of Corporate School Reform*, edited by William H. Watkins, 97–124. New York: Teachers College Press, 2012.
- Goddard, Henry H. “Anniversary Address.” In *Twenty-Five Years: The Vineland Laboratory, 1906-1931*, 53–69. Vineland, NJ: The Smith Printing House, 1931.
- . “A Scientific Program of Child Welfare.” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 105, Public Welfare in the United States (January 1923): 256–66.
- . *Human Efficiency and Levels of Intelligence*. Fifth Printing. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1922.
- . “The Bearing of Heredity Upon Educational Problems.” *Journal of Educational Psychology* 2, no. 9 (November 1911): 491–97.
- . “The Gifted Child.” *The Journal of Educational Sociology* 6, no. 6 (February 1933): 354–61.
- Goff, Regina M. “Problems and Emotional Difficulties of Negro Children Due to Race.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 19, no. 2 (1950): 152–58.
- Goldstein, Dana. *The Teacher Wars: A History of America’s Most Embattled Profession*. New York: Doubleday, 2014.

- Goluboff, Risa L. *The Lost Promise of Civil Rights*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- . “‘Let Economic Equality Take Care of Itself’: The NAACP, Labor Litigation, and the Making of Civil Rights in the 1940s.” *UCLA Law Review* 52 (2005): 1393–1486.
- Good, Carter V. “The Social Crisis and Reconstruction in Higher Education.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 11, no. 3 (July 1942): 267–73.
- Goodman, Mary Ellen. “The Education of Children and Youth to Live in a Multi-Racial Society.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 19, no. 3 (1950): 399–407.
- Gordon, Leah N. *From Power to Prejudice: The Rise of Racial Individualism in Midcentury America*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2015.
- . “The Question of Prejudice: Social Science, Education, and the Struggle to Define ‘the Race Problem’ in Mid -Century America, 1935–1965.” Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, 2008. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/304512800/abstract/C6F3087AC1C44AE6PQ/1>.
- Gottschalk, Marie. *The Shadow Welfare State: Labor, Business, and the Politics of Health Care in the United States*. Ithaca, N.Y: ILR Press, 2000.
- Graham, Hugh Davis. *The Uncertain Triumph: Federal Education Policy in the Kennedy and Johnson Years*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984.
- Grossman, Mary Foley. “Redefining the Relationship of the Federal Government to the Education of Racial and Other Minority Groups.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 7, no. 3 (1938): 450–53.
- Guinier, Lani. “From Racial Liberalism to Racial Literacy: Brown v. Board of Education and the Interest-Divergence Dilemma.” *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 1 (June 1, 2004): 92–118.
- Gym, Helen. “Commentary: You’re Not Speaking to Me, Mr. Knudsen.” *The Philadelphia Public School Notebook*, April 24, 2012. <http://thenotebook.org/articles/2012/04/24/commentary-you-re-not-speaking-to-me-mr-knudsen>.

Hacker, Jacob S. "Privatizing Risk without Privatizing the Welfare State: The Hidden Politics of Social Policy Retrenchment in the United States." *The American Political Science Review* 98, no. 2 (May 1, 2004): 243–60.

———. *The Divided Welfare State: The Battle Over Public and Private Social Benefits in the United States*. Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Hallinan, Maureen T. "The Detracking Movement: Why Children Are Still Grouped by Ability." *Education Next* 4, no. 4 (Fall 2004). <http://educationnext.org/the-detracking-movement/>.

Halperin, Samuel. "ESEA: Five Years Later." *Congressional Record*, U.S., Congress, House, September 9, 1970.

———. "ESEA Ten Years Later." *Educational Researcher* 4, no. 8 (1975): 5–9.

Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc. *Youth in the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and a Blueprint for Change*. New York: Orans Press, Inc., 1964.

Hartley, Eugene L. "Psychological Investigations and the Modification of Racial Attitudes." *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 287–94.

Hartman, Andrew. *Education and the Cold War: The Battle for the American School*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Haynes, Carol Hornsby. "Follow the Money: Race to the Top and ESSA." *Education News*, January 11, 2016. <http://www.educationviews.org/follow-money-race-top-essa/>.

Haney, James E. "The Effects of the Brown Decision on Black Educators." *The Journal of Negro Education* 47, no. 1 (1978): 88–95.

Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Eighty-Eighth Congress, First Session, Relating to the Training and Utilization of the Manpower Resources of the Nation. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1963.

Hearings Before the General Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, Eighty-Ninth Congress, First Session, on H.R. 2361 and H.R. 2362. Bills to Strengthen and Improve Educational Quality

and Educational Opportunities in the Nation's Elementary and Secondary Schools. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1965.

Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Eighty-Ninth Congress, First Session, on S. 370, a Bill to Strengthen and Improve Educational Quality and Educational Opportunities in the Nation's Elementary and Secondary Schools. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1965.

Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Ninety-First Congress, First Session on S. 2218 To Amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and Related Acts, and for Other Purposes. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1969.

Heilig, Julian Vasquez, and Linda Darling-Hammond. "Accountability Texas-Style: The Progress and Learning of Urban Minority Students in a High-Stakes Testing Context." *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 30, no. 2 (June 1, 2008): 75–110.

Helgerson, Evelyn. "The Relative Significance of Race, Sex, and Facial Expression in Choice of Playmate by the Preschool Child." *The Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 4 (1943): 617–22.

Henig, Jeffrey. "Education Policy from 1980 to the Present: The Politics of Privatization." In *Conservatism in American Political Development*, edited by Brian J. Glenn and Steven Michael Teles, 291–323. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Hess, Frederick M., and Patrick J. McGuinn. "Seeking the Mantle of 'Opportunity': Presidential Politics and the Educational Metaphor, 1964-2000." *Educational Policy* 16, no. 1 (January 1, 2002): 72–95.

"Hillman Elected Party Chairman." *The Milwaukee Journal*, April 9, 1944.

Hill, T. Arnold. "Educating and Guiding Negro Youth for Occupational Efficiency." *The Journal of Negro Education* 4, no. 1 (1935): 23–31.

Hochschild, Jennifer L., and Nathan Scovronick. *The American Dream and the Public Schools*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Holles, Everett. "Wirt's Warning." *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, January 16, 1935.

Holloway, Jonathan Scott. *Confronting the Veil: Abram Harris Jr., E. Franklin Frazier, and Ralph Bunche, 1919-1941*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

———. “Ralph Bunche and the Responsibilities of the Public Intellectual.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 73, no. 2 (2004): 125–36.

Hooker, Robert W. “Displacement of Black Teachers in the Eleven Southern States.” Nashville, Tennessee: Race Relations Information Center, December 1970.

Horne, Gerald. *Black and Red: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Afro-American Response to the Cold War, 1944-1963*. SUNY Press, 1986.

———. “Race from Power: U.S. Foreign Policy and the General Crisis of White Supremacy.” In *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1988*, edited by Brenda Gayle Plummer, 45–66. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Horowitz, R.E. “Racial Aspects of Self-Identification in Nursery School Children.” *The Journal of Psychology: Interdisciplinary and Applied* 7 (1939): 91–99.

House Committee on Education and Labor. “Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1969, Conference Report to Accompany H.R. 514.” Washington, D.C.: House of Representatives, March 24, 1970.

Howell, William G. “Results of President Obama’s Race to the Top: Win or Lose, States Enacted Education Reforms.” *Education Next*, Fall 2015. <http://educationnext.org/results-president-obama-race-to-the-top-reform/>.

Hughes, W. Hardin. “What About Human Equality?” *The Journal of Negro Education* 16, no. 1 (1947): 57–60.

“Identifying and Implementing Educational Practices Supported By Rigorous Evidence: A User Friendly Guide - I. The Randomized Controlled Trial: What It Is, and Why It Is a Critical Factor in Establishing ‘Strong’ Evidence of an Intervention.” Accessed June 2, 2016. http://ies.ed.gov/ncee/pubs/evidence_based/randomized.asp.

“Intellectual ‘Hot Potato’ Stirs Row.” *The Miami Daily News*, September 19, 1940.

- Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power*. Part 30: Technology and Concentration of Economic Power Hearing Date: Apr. 8-12, 15-19, 22-26, 1940. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Record, 1940.
- Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Record, 1947.
- Janken, Kenneth R. "From Colonial Liberation to Cold War Liberalism: Walter White, the NAACP, and Foreign Affairs, 1941–1955." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21, no. 6 (November 1, 1998): 1074–95.
- Jeffrey, Julie Roy. *Education for Children of the Poor: A Study of the Origins and Implementation of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1978.
- Jenkins, Martin D. "Editorial Comment: Education for Racial Understanding." *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 265–69.
- Jenkins, Martin D., Francis A. Gregory, Howard H. Long, Jane E. McAllister, and Charles H. Thompson. "The Black and White of Rejections for Military Service: A Study of Rejections of Selective Service Registrants, by Race, on Account of Educational and Mental Deficiencies." Montgomery, Alabama: The American Teachers Association, August 1944.
- Johnson, Charles S. "On the Need of Realism in Negro Education." *The Journal of Negro Education* 5, no. 3 (1936): 375–82.
- . "Some Significant Social and Educational Implications of the U. S. Supreme Court's Decision." *The Journal of Negro Education* 23, no. 3 (1954): 364–71.
- . "The Negro and the Present Crisis." *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 3 (1941): 585–95.
- . "The Next Decade in Race Relations." *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 441–46.
- . "The Present Status of Race Relations, with Particular Reference to the Negro." *The Journal of Negro Education* 8, no. 3 (1939): 323–35.
- Johnson, George M., and Jane Marshall Lucas. "The Present Legal Status of the Negro Separate School." *The Journal of Negro Education* 16, no. 3 (Summer 1947): 280–89.

- Johnson, Guion Griffis. "The Impact of War Upon the Negro." *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 3 (1941): 596–611.
- Johnson, Lyndon B. "Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union." Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, January 8, 1964. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=26787>.
- . "Presidential Policy Paper No. 1: Education." Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, November 1, 1964. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=26703>.
- Jonas, Gilbert. *Freedom's Sword: The NAACP and the Struggle Against Racism in America, 1909-1969*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Jones, Daniel Stedman. *Masters of the Universe: Hayek, Friedman, and the Birth of Neoliberal Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Journey for Justice Alliance. "Death By a Thousand Cuts: Racism, School Closures, and Public School Sabotage." Journey for Justice Alliance, May 2014. http://www.j4jalliance.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/J4JReport-final_05_12_14.pdf.
- Judd, Charles H. "Is Contact with Logically Organized Subject Matter Sufficeint for the Education of Children?" *The Elementary School Journal* 36, no. 9 (May 1936): 657–64.
- . "Occupational Adjustment of Young Adults." *Journal of Adult Education* 12, no. 4 (1940): 526.
- . "Programs of Social Studies for the Schools of the United States." *The Elementary School Journal* 33, no. 1 (September 1932): 17–24.
- . "The Era of Uncertainty in Education." *School and Society* 44 (September 19, 1936).
- . "The Training of Teachers for a Progressive Educational Program." *The Elementary School Journal* 31, no. 8 (April 1931): 576–84.
- . "What Constitutes a Good Secondary School and by What Standards Should It Be Evaluated?" *Secondary Education* 3, no. 2 (March 1, 1943): 57–65.

- Kantor, Harvey. "Education, Social Reform, and the State: ESEA and Federal Education Policy in the 1960s." *American Journal of Education* 100, no. 1 (November 1991): 47–83.
- Kantor, Harvey, and Robert Lowe. "Class, Race, and the Emergence of Federal Education Policy: From the New Deal to the Great Society." *Educational Researcher* 24, no. 3 (1995): 4–21.
- Katz, Michael B. *The Undeserving Poor: America's Enduring Confrontation with Poverty: Fully Updated and Revised*. 2 edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Katz, Michael B., Mark J. Stern, and Jamie J. Fader. "The New African American Inequality." *The Journal of American History* 92, no. 1 (2005): 75–108.
- Kazin, Michael. *American Dreamers: How the Left Changed a Nation*. New York: Vintage, 2012.
- Keyserling, Leon. "Economic Progress and the Great Society." In *The Great Society Reader: The Failure of American Liberalism*, edited by Marvin E. Gettleman and David Mermelstein, 85–96. New York: Random House, 1967.
- Kilpatrick, William H. "Launching The Social Frontier." *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 1 (October 1934): 2.
- . "Loyalty Oaths - A Threat to Intelligent Teaching." *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 9 (June 1935): 10–15.
- . In *Proceedings of the Seventy-First Annual Meeting Held at Chicago, Illinois, July 1-7, 1933, Vol. 71*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1933.
- Kimeldorf, Howard, and Judith Stepan-Norris. "Historical Studies of Labor Movements in the United States." *Annual Review of Sociology* 18 (1992): 495–517.
- Kirby, John B. "Ralph J. Bunche and Black Radical Thought in the 1930s." *Phylon* 35, no. 2 (1974): 129–41.
- Klare, Karl E. "Judicial Deradicalization of the Wagner Act and the Origins of Modern Legal Consciousness, 1937-1941." *Minnesota Law Review* 65 (1978 1977): 265–339.

- Klein, Alyson. "Will Teacher Evaluations Through Test Scores Outlast Obama?" *Education Week*, November 4, 2015. http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/campaign-k-12/2015/11/will_teacher_evaluations_throu.html?cmp=SOC-SHR-FB.
- Kliebard, Herbert M. *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-1958*. 3rd edition. New York, NY: Routledge, 2004.
- Klinkner, Philip A., and Rogers M. Smith. *The Unsteady March: The Rise and Decline of Racial Equality in America*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Kohli, Sonali. "Modern-Day Segregation in Public Schools." *The Atlantic*, November 18, 2014. <http://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2014/11/modern-day-segregation-in-public-schools/382846/>.
- Korstad, Robert, and Nelson Lichtenstein. "Opportunities Found and Lost: Labor, Radicals, and the Early Civil Rights Movement." *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 3 (1988): 786–811.
- Korte, Gregory. "The Every Student Succeeds Act vs. No Child Left Behind: What's Changed?" *USA TODAY*, December 11, 2015. <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2015/12/10/every-student-succeeds-act-vs-no-child-left-behind-whats-changed/77088780/>.
- Kozol, Jonathan. *The Shame of the Nation: The Restoration of Apartheid Schooling in America*. New York: Broadway Books, 2006.
- Kuhl, Stefan. *The Nazi Connection: Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Labaree, David F. *Someone Has to Fail: The Zero-Sum Game of Public Schooling*. Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2012.
- Labaree, David F., E. D. Hirsch, and Barbara Beatty. "The Ed School's Romance with Progressivism." *Brookings Papers on Education Policy*, no. 7 (2004): 89–129.
- Ladsen, Cynthia, and Tom Edminster. "San Francisco Teachers Elect Reformers to Lead Union." *Labor Notes*, June 10, 2015. <http://www.labornotes.org/2015/06/san-francisco-teachers-elect-reformers-lead-union>.
- Lafer, Gordon. *The Job Training Charade*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2002.

- Lagemann, Ellen Condliffe. *An Elusive Science: The Troubling History of Education Research*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2002.
- . “The Plural Worlds of Educational Research.” *History of Education Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (1989): 183–214.
- Lal, Shafali. “1930s Multiculturalism: Rachel Davis DuBois and the Bureau for Intercultural Education.” *The Radical Teacher*, no. 69 (2004): 18–22.
- Lane, Layle. “Report of the Committee on Cultural Minorities of the American Federation of Teachers.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 14, no. 1 (1945): 109–12.
- Laski, Harold J. “A New Education Needs a New World.” *The Social Frontier* 2, no. 5 (February 1936): 144–47.
- Lauren, Paul Gordon. “Seen from the Outside: The International Perspective on America’s Dilemma.” In *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1988*, edited by Brenda Gayle Plummer, 21–43. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
- “Lawmakers Pass Teacher Evaluation Changes.” *Bartlesville Examiner Enterprise*, May 12, 2016. <http://examiner-enterprise.com/news/local-news/lawmakers-pass-teacher-evaluation-changes>.
- Layton, Lyndsey. “Charter Love: Feds Give \$157 Million to Expand Charter Schools.” *Washington Post*, September 28, 2015. https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/education/charter-love-feds-give-157-million-to-expand-charter-schools/2015/09/28/006ad118-6613-11e5-8325-a42b5a459b1e_story.html.
- . “How Bill Gates Pulled Off the Swift Common Core Revolution.” *Washington Post*, June 7, 2014. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/special/national/gates-foundation/>.
- Lemann, Nicholas. *The Big Test: The Secret History of the American Meritocracy*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000.
- Lewis, E. E. “The Economic Position of the American Negro: A Brief Summary.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 8, no. 3 (1939): 446–48.

- Lewis, Karen. "Karen Lewis, CTU President-Elect Acceptance Speech." CORE: The Caucus of Rank and File Educators, June 12, 2010. <http://www.coreteachers.org/karen-lewis-ctu-president-elect-acceptance-speech-2/>.
- . "Karen Lewis Speech to City Club Today." Chicago Teachers Union Net, February 2, 2015. <http://www.ctunet.com/blog/karen-lewis-speech-to-city-club-today>.
- Lewis, Roscoe E. "The Role of Pressure Groups in Maintaining Morale Among Negroes." *The Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 3 (1943): 464–73.
- Lichtenstein, Nelson. *State of the Union: A Century of American Labor*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- . "Taft-Hartley: A Slave-Labor Law." *Catholic University Law Review* 47 (1998–1997): 763–89.
- Lieberman, Robbie, and Clarence Lang. "Introduction." In *Anticommunism and the African American Freedom Movement: "Another Side of the Story,"* 2009 Edition., 1–14. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Lieberman, Robert C. "Ideas, Institutions, and Political Order: Explaining Political Change." *The American Political Science Review* 96, no. 4 (December 1, 2002): 697–712.
- . *Shifting the Color Line: Race and the American Welfare State*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Lipman, Pauline. *The New Political Economy of Urban Education: Neoliberalism, Race, and the Right to the City*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Lips, Dan, Jennifer Marshall, and Lindsey Burke. "A Parent's Guide to Education Reform." Washington, D.C.: The Heritage Foundation, September 8, 2008.
- Locke, Alain. "Education in a Democracy." *The Journal of Negro Education* 18, no. 4 (1949): 504–6.
- . "Whither Race Relations? A Critical Commentary." *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 398–406.
- Long, Edward R. "Earl Warren and the Politics of Anti-Communism." *Pacific Historical Review* 51, no. 1 (1982): 51–70.

- Long, Howard Hale. "Cultural and Racial Tension." *The Journal of Negro Education* 21, no. 1 (1952): 8–19.
- . "Some Psychogenic Hazards of Segregated Education of Negroes." *The Journal of Negro Education* 4, no. 3 (1935): 336–50.
- . "The Position of the Negro in the American Social Order: A Forecast." *The Journal of Negro Education* 8, no. 3 (1939): 603–16.
- . "The Relative Learning Capacities of Negroes and Whites." *The Journal of Negro Education* 26, no. 2 (1957): 121–34.
- Loveless, Tom. "The Resurgence of Ability Grouping and Persistence of Tracking." The Brookings Institution, March 18, 2013. <http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports/2013/03/18-tracking-ability-grouping-loveless>.
- Manna, Paul. *Collision Course: Federal Education Policy Meets State and Local Realities*. Revised edition. Washington, DC: CQ Press College, 2010.
- . *School's In: Federalism and the National Education Agenda*. Georgetown University Press, 2006.
- Marable, Manning. *Race, Reform, and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction and Beyond in Black America, 1945-2006, Third Edition*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007.
- Marshall, Thurgood. "An Evaluation of Recent Efforts to Achieve Racial Integration in Education Through Resort to the Courts." *The Journal of Negro Education* 21, no. 3 (1952): 316–27.
- Martin, Ruby, and Phyllis McClure. "Is It Helping Poor Children? Title I of ESEA." Washington, D.C.: Washington Research Project of the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy and the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, 1969. <http://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED036600>.
- Mathews, Jay. "My Bluebird Group Is Back despite Scholarly Qualms." *Washington Post*, March 17, 2013. https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/class-struggle/post/ability-grouping-is-back-despite-scholarly-qualms/2013/03/17/5dc15a1c-8df8-11e2-9f54-f3fdd70acad2_blog.html.
- Mason, Lucy Randolph. "The CIO and the Negro in the South." *The Journal of Negro Education* 14, no. 4 (1945): 552–61.

- Maudus, George, and Michael Russell. "Paradoxes of High-Stakes Testing." *The Journal of Education* 190, no. 1/2 (2011 2010): 21–30.
- McCulloch, Margaret C. "Educational Programs for the Improvement of Race Relations: Seven Religious Agencies." *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 303–15.
- . "What Should the American Negro Reasonably Expect as the Outcome of a Real Peace?" *The Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 3 (1943): 557–67.
- McGuinn, Henry J. "Equal Protection of the Law and Fair Trials in Maryland." *The Journal of Negro History* 24, no. 2 (April 1939): 143–66.
- McGuinn, Patrick J. "Education Policy from the Great Society to 1980: The Expansion and Institutionalization of the Federal Role in Schools." In *Conservatism in American Political Development*, edited by Brian J. Glenn and Steven Michael Teles, 188–219. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- . *No Child Left Behind and the Transformation of Federal Education Policy, 1965-2005*. Lawrence, Kan: University Press of Kansas, 2006.
- . "The Federal Role in Educational Equity: The Two Narrative School Reform and the Debate over Accountability." In *Education, Justice, and Democracy*, edited by Danielle Allen and Rob Reich, 221–42. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013.
- McKinney, Ernest Rice. "The Workers Party's Way Out for the Negro." *The Journal of Negro Education* 5, no. 1 (1936): 96–99.
- McLaughlin, Milbrey Wallin. *Evaluation and Reform: The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, Title I*. Cambridge, Mass.: Ballanger, 1974.
- McMillan, Lewis K. "Light Which Two World Wars Throw Upon the Plight of the American Negro." *The Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 3 (1943): 429–37.
- McNeil, Linda. *Contradictions of School Reform: Educational Costs of Standardized Testing*. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- . "Faking Equity: High-Stakes Testing and the Education of Latino Youth." In *Leaving Children Behind: How "Texas-Style" Accountability Fails Latino Youth*,

edited by Angela Valenzuela, 57–112. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005.

Mehrens, William A. “Consequences of Assessment: What Is the Evidence?” *Education Policy Analysis Archives* 6, no. 13 (July 1998): 1–30.

“Memorandum from Mr. White to Mr. Wilkins,” November 23, 1951. Group II, Series A, General Office File, United Nations. Papers of the NAACP, Part 14: Race Relations in the International Arena, 1940-1955. <http://congressional.proquest.com/histvault?q=001439-016-0001>.

“Memorandum to Mr. White from Mr. Wilkins,” November 21, 1951. Group II, Series A, General Office File, United Nations. Papers of the NAACP, Part 14: Race Relations in the International Arena, 1940-1955. <http://congressional.proquest.com/histvault?q=001439-016-0001>.

Mettler, Suzanne. *Dividing Citizens: Gender and Federalism in New Deal Public Policy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Michael Fultz. “The Displacement of Black Educators Post-Brown: An Overview and Analysis.” *History of Education Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (March 1, 2004): 11–45.

Miller, Carroll L. “The Price of Educational Inequality.” Edited by Eli Ginsberg and Douglas W. Bragg. *The Journal of Negro Education* 24, no. 2 (1955): 129–30.

Miller, Eben. *Born along the Color Line: The 1933 Amenia Conference and the Rise of a National Civil Rights Movement*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Mitchell, Broadus. “The Choice Before Us.” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 2 (November 1934): 13–16.

Molnar, Alex. *School Commercialism: From Democratic Ideal to Market Commodity*. New York: Routledge, 2005.

Mooney, W.B. “On the Line of Battle.” *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 4 (January 1935): 33.

Moore, Robert. “Applying Ethics to Economics.” In *Proceedings of the Seventy-First Annual Meeting Held at Chicago, Illinois, July 1-7, 1933, Vol. 71*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1933.

- Morgan, Kimberly J., and Andrea Louise Campbell. *The Delegated Welfare State: Medicare, Markets, and the Governance of Social Policy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Mosbaek, E.J., F.R. Frola, K.F. Gorden, and J.W. Harrison. *Analysis of Compensatory Education in Five School Districts*. Washington, D.C.: TEMPO, 1969.
- Moynihan, Daniel P. *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*. Washington, D.C.: Office of Policy Planning and Research, United States Department of Labor, 1965.
- Mucciaroni, Gary. *The Political Failure of Employment Policy, 1945-1982*. University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991.
- Murakawa, Naomi. *The First Civil Right: How Liberals Built Prison America*. Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Myrdal, Gunnar. *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. Ninth edition. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1944.
- National Conference on Life Adjustment Education. *Life Adjustment Education for Every Youth*. Washington: Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, 1948. <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001287416>.
- National Education Association. "National Education Assessment: Pro and Con." Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1966.
- . "NEA's Message to Members of Congress on the Reauthorization of ESEA," March 2011. <http://www.nea.org/assets/docs/NEAESEAMessagetoHillMarch2011.pdf>.
- National Education Association of the United States, and National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities. *Report of Task Force Survey of Teacher Displacement in Seventeen States, December 1965*. Washington, 1966.
- National Institute of Education. *Administration of Compensatory Education*. Washington: National Institute of Education, U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1977. <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000751456>.
- National Negro Committee. "Platform Adopted by the National Negro Committee, 1909," 1909. Manuscript Division. NAACP Records. <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/naacp/founding-and-early-years.html#obj10>.

Neal, Ernest E. "Two Negro Problems Instead of One: A Challenge to Negro Colleges." *The Journal of Negro Education* 21, no. 2 (1952): 161–66.

Nelson, Murray R., and H. Wells Singleton. "Government Surveillance of Three Progressive Educators." presented at the American Educational Research Association, Toronto, Ontario, March 1978. <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED156560.pdf>.

"New Group Fights Any Freedom Curb: 96 Scholars and Artists Led by John Dewey Revolt Against Failure to Denounce Reds." *New York Times*. May 15, 1939.

New Jersey Star-Ledger. "Michelle Rhee: 'I Don't Think There Is a Need for Tenure.'" NJ.com, December 19, 2010. http://www.nj.com/njvoices/index.ssf/2010/12/ask_michelle_rhee_there_is_no.html.

Nicholson, Lawrence E. "The Urban League and the Vocational Guidance and Adjustment of Negro Youth." *The Journal of Negro Education* 21, no. 4 (1952): 448–58.

Noble, Jeanne L. "Future Educational Emphasis: Psychological or Sociological." *The Journal of Negro Education* 25, no. 4 (1956): 402–9.

Obama, Barack. "Remarks by the President at Every Student Succeeds Act Signing Ceremony." Whitehouse.gov, December 10, 2015. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/12/10/remarks-president-every-student-succeeds-act-signing-ceremony>.

O'Connor, Alice. *Poverty Knowledge: Social Science, Social Policy, and the Poor in Twentieth-Century U.S. History*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Ohles, John F. *Biographical Dictionary of American Educators*. Greenwood Publishing Group, 1978.

Orfield, Gary. *The Reconstruction of Southern Education: The Schools and the 1964 Civil Rights Act*. New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1969.

Orfield, Gary, and Johanna Wald. "Testing, Testing." *The Nation*, June 5, 2000.

Orren, Karen, and Stephen Skowronek. *The Search for American Political Development*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.

- Padin, Joe. "Prodding the Educational Worm." *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 4 (January 1935): 34.
- Patterson, F. D. "Colleges for Negro Youth and the Future." *The Journal of Negro Education* 27, no. 2 (1958): 107–14.
- Patterson, William L. *We Charge Genocide: The Crime of Government Against the Negro People*. New York: International Publishers, 1951.
- Pedroni, Thomas C. *Market Movements: African American Involvement in School Voucher Reform*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Petrovich, Janice, and Amy Stuart Wells, eds. *Bringing Equity Back: Research for a New Era in American Educational Policy*. New York: Teachers College Press, 2005.
- Phi Delta Kappan. "USOE Orders States to Repay Title I Funds Improperly Spent." *Phi Delta Kappan* 53 (November 1971): 199.
- Pierson, Paul. *Dismantling the Welfare State?: Reagan, Thatcher and the Politics of Retrenchment*. Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- . *The Transformation of American Politics: Activist Government and the Rise of Conservatism*. Princeton University Press, 2011.
- Plaut, Richard. "Blueprint for Talent Searching: America's Hidden Manpower." New York: National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, 1957.
- . "Southern Project Report 1953-55." New York: National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, 1956. <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/pageturn/mums411-b059-f004/#page/1/mode/1up>.
- Plummer, Brenda Gayle, ed. *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1988*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
- Pope, James Gray. "Labor and the Constitution: From Abolition to Deindustrialization." *Texas Law Review* 65, no. 6 (May 1987): 1071–1136.
- Powdermaker, Hortense. "The Anthropological Approach to the Problem of Modifying Race Attitudes." *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 295–302.

- Powdermaker, Hortense, and Helen F Storen. *Probing Our Prejudices: A Unit for High School Students*. New York: Harper, 1944.
- Randolph, A. Philip. "The Trade Union Movement and the Negro." *The Journal of Negro Education* 5, no. 1 (1936): 54–58.
- Ravitch, Diane. *Reign of Error: The Hoax of the Privatization Movement and the Danger to America's Public Schools*. New York: Knopf, 2013.
- . "Who Wrote the Common Core Standards? Here Is a List." Diane Ravitch's Blog, April 23, 2014. <https://dianeravitch.net/2014/04/23/who-wrote-the-common-core-standards-here-is-a-list/>.
- Rawls, Kristin. "Who Is Profiting From Charters? The Big Bucks Behind Charter School Secrecy, Financial Scandal and Corruption." *AlterNet*, January 21, 2015. <http://www.alternet.org/election-2014/who-profiting-charters-big-bucks-behind-charter-school-secrecy-financial-scandal-and>.
- "Read the Standards | Common Core State Standards Initiative." Common Core State Standards Initiative, 2016. <http://www.corestandards.org/read-the-standards/>.
- Redd, George N. "The Educational and Cultural Level of the American Negro." *The Journal of Negro Education* 19, no. 3 (1950): 244–52.
- Reddick, L. D. "Educational Programs for the Improvement of Race Relations: Motion Pictures Radio, The Press, and Libraries." *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 367–89
- . "What Should the American Negro Reasonably Expect as the Outcome of a Real Peace?" *The Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 3 (1943): 568–78.
- Redding, Arthur. *Turncoats, Traitors, and Fellow Travelers: Culture and Politics of the Early Cold War*. University Press of Mississippi, 2012.
- Reed, Douglas S. *Building the Federal Schoolhouse: Localism and the American Education State*. Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Reed, Touré. *Not Alms but Opportunity: The Urban League and the Politics of Racial Uplift, 1910-1950*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008.

Report of NEA Task Force III. "School Desegregation: Louisiana and Mississippi. Report of NEA Task Force III." Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, November 12, 1970. http://archive.org/details/ERIC_ED045758.

Report of the Seventeenth Decennial Census of the United States, Census Population: 1950, Volume II, Characteristics of the Population. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1952.

Report to the 11th Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations by the Committee on Resolution. "Resolution on Expulsion of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America and Withdrawal of Certificate of Affiliation." In *The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History with Documents, 197–99.* Boston: St. Martin's Press, 1994.

"Republican Party Platforms: 2012 Republican Party Platform." Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, August 27, 2012. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=101961>.

Rhodes, Jesse H. *An Education in Politics: The Origins and Evolution of No Child Left Behind.* Miller Center of Public Affairs Books. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012.

"Rightists Bolt N.Y. Labor Party, Charge Browder Now Has Control of A.L.P." *Chicago Tribune*, March 30, 1944.

Roberts, Thomas N. "The Negro in Government War Agencies." *The Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 3 (1943): 367–75.

Robey, Ralph West. *Abstracts of Social Science Textbooks.* New York: National Association of Manufacturers, 1941.

Robinson, Malila N., and Catherine A. Lugg. "The Role of the Religious Right in Restructuring Education." In *The Assault on Public Education: Confronting the Politics of Corporate School Reform*, edited by William H. Watkins, 125–42. New York: Teachers College Press, 2012.

Rodgers, Daniel T. *Age of Fracture.* Cambridge, Mass.; London: Belknap Press, 2012.

Rossinow, Doug. *Visions of Progress: The Left-Liberal Tradition in America.* Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.

- Rotberg, Iris C. "Charter Schools and the Risk of Increased Segregation." *Phi Delta Kappan* 95, no. 5 (February 1, 2014): 26–31.
- Rudwick, Elliott M. "Du Bois' Last Year as Crisis Editor." *The Journal of Negro Education* 27, no. 4 (1958): 526–33. =
- Rugg, Harold. "Social Reconstruction Through Education." *Progressive Education* 9, no. 12 (1932).
- . "This Has Happened Before." *Frontiers of Democracy* 7, no. 58 (January 15, 1941): 105–8.
- Russell, Judith. *Economics, Bureaucracy, and Race*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.
- Rustin, Bayard. "From Protest to Politics." In *The Great Society Reader: The Failure of American Liberalism*, edited by Marvin E. Gettleman and David Mermelstein, 85–97. New York: Random House, 1967.
- Ruttenberg, Stanley H. *Manpower Challenge of the 1970s*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970.
- Saltman, Kenneth J. *Capitalizing on Disaster: Taking and Breaking Public Schools*. Boulder: Routledge, 2007.
- . "Introduction." In *Schooling and the Politics of Disaster*, edited by Kenneth J. Saltman, 1–21. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- . *The Failure of Corporate School Reform*. Boulder, CO: Routledge, 2012.
- . "The Rise of Venture Philanthropy and the Ongoing Neoliberal Assault on Public Education: The Eli and Edith Broad Foundation." In *The Assault on Public Education: Confronting the Politics of Corporate School Reform*, edited by William H. Watkins, 55–78. New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 2004.
- San Diego Union-Tribune. "The Reformer." *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, March 24, 2013. <http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/news/2013/mar/24/tp-the-reformer/>.
- Schlink, F.J. "Correspondence." *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 3 (December 1934): 28.

- Schmidt, Vivien A. "Taking Ideas and Discourse Seriously: Explaining Change through Discursive Institutionalism as the Fourth 'new Institutionalism.'" *European Political Science Review* 2, no. 01 (March 2010): 1–25.
- Schmitt, Edward R. *President of the Other America: Robert Kennedy and the Politics of Poverty*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010.
- Schneider, Mercedes. "Those 24 Common Core 2009 Work Group Members." deutsch29 - Mercedes Schneider' EduBlog, March 31, 2015. <https://deutsch29.wordpress.com/2014/04/23/those-24-common-core-2009-work-group-members/>.
- Schrecker, Ellen. *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1998.
- . *The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History with Documents*. Boston: St. Martin's Press, 1994.
- . *The Lost Soul of Higher Education: Corporatization, the Assault on Academic Freedom, and the End of the American University*. The New Press, 2010.
- "Second National Conference on Intergroup Relations." *The Journal of Negro Education* 18, no. 2 (1949): 186–91.
- "Second National NEA - PR&R Conference on Civil and Human Rights in Education." Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, May 1965. http://archive.org/details/ERIC_ED019351.
- Selective Service System. Special Monograph No. 10: Special Groups. Vol. Volume 1. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953.
- Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare*. "Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1969, Report of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, on H.R. 514, To Extend Programs of Assistance for Elementary and Secondary Education, and for Other Purposes." Washington, D.C.: United States Senate, January 21, 1970.
- . "Report on Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965." Washington, D.C.: United States Senate, April 6, 1965.
- Sheldon, Kennon M., and Bruce J. Biddle. "Standards, Accountability, and School Reform: Perils and Pitfalls." *Teachers College Record* 100, no. 1 (1998): 164–80.

Sixteenth Census of the U.S., 1940, Population, Vol. 3, The Labor Force. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943.

Smith, Alfred Edgar. "Educational Programs for the Improvement of Race Relations: Government Agencies." *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 361–66.

Smith, Mary Lee, Linda Miller-Kahn, Walter Heinecke, and Patricia F. Jarvis. *Political Spectacle and the Fate of American Schools.* New York: Routledge, 2003.

Smith, Preston H. *Racial Democracy and the Black Metropolis: Housing Policy in Postwar Chicago.* Minneapolis: Univ Of Minnesota Press, 2012.

Smith, Rogers M. "Ideas and the Spiral of Politics: The Place of American Political Thought in American Political Development." *American Political Thought* 3, no. 1 (2014): 126–36.

———. *Political Peoplehood: The Roles of Values, Interests, and Identities.* Chicago ; London: University Of Chicago Press, 2015.

———. "Which Comes First, the Ideas or the Institutions?" In *Rethinking Political Institutions: The Art of the State*, edited by Ian Shapiro, Stephen Skowronek, and Daniel Galvin, 91–113. New York: New York University Press, 2006.

Smuts, Robert W. "The Negro Community and the Development of Negro Potential." *The Journal of Negro Education* 26, no. 4 (1957): 456–65.

Snedden, David. "Seeking Realistic Objectives." *California Journal of Secondary Education* 25 (January 1, 1950): 455–59.

Snowden, Frank M. "The Italian Press Views America's Attitude Toward Civil Rights and the Negro." *The Journal of Negro Education* 21, no. 1 (1952): 20–26.

Spence, Lester K. "The Neoliberal Turn in Black Politics." *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society* 14, no. 3–4 (2012): 139–59.

Sparks, Sarah D. "What Role Will Research Play in ESSA?" *Education Week*, December 4, 2015. http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/inside-school-research/2015/12/essa_waves_at_tiered_evidence.html?cmp=SOC-SHR-FB.

- “Squabble over Accused Red’s Appearance Grows Hot.” *The Pittsburg Press*, March 13, 1952.
- “States Open to Charters Start Fast in ‘Race to the Top.’” U.S. Department of Education, June 8, 2009. <http://www2.ed.gov/news/pressreleases/2009/06/06082009a.html>.
- Stein, Judith. *Pivotal Decade: How the United States Traded Factories for Finance in the Seventies*. New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press, 2011.
- Strauss, Valerie. “Everything You Need to Know about Common Core — Ravitch.” *Washington Post*, January 18, 2014. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/answer-sheet/wp/2014/01/18/everything-you-need-to-know-about-common-core-ravitch/>.
- Stokes, Anson Phelps. “American Race Relations in War Time.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 14, no. 4 (1945): 535–51.
- Storrs, Landon R. *The Second Red Scare and the Unmaking of the New Deal Left*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Sugrue, Thomas J. “Reassessing the History of Postwar America.” *Prospects* 20 (October 1995): 493–509.
- Taylor, Clarence. *Reds at the Blackboard: Communism, Civil Rights, and the New York City Teachers Union*. Columbia University Press, 2013.
- “Teacher’s Union Holds Convention.” *Reading Eagle*, December 27, 1938.
- The Associated Press. “Text of the Platform as Approved for Adoption Today by the Progressive Party.” *New York Times*, July 25, 1948.
- The Eighteenth Decennial Census of the United States, Census of Population: 1960, Volume I, Characteristics of the Population. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1963.
- “The Influence of Testing on Teaching Math and Science in Grades 4-12.” Boston College: Center for the Study of Testing, Evaluation, and Educational Policy, October 1992.
- The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. “A Letter to President Woodrow Wilson on Federal Race Discrimination,” August 15, 1913. Manuscript

Divison. NAACP Records. <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/naacp/founding-and-early-years.html#obj20>.

The New York Times. "Editorial Comments on The Social Frontier." *The Social Frontier* 1, no. 2 (November 1934): 22.

The President's Commission on Higher Education. "Higher Education for American Democracy: A Report." Washington, 1947.

The Task Force on Economic Growth and Opportunity. "The Disadvantaged Poor: Education and Employment." Washington, D.C.: Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1966.

The United Press. "Books Criticized By Legionnaires Reported Stolen: Prof. Rugg's History Texts Missing at Sunbury." *The Pittsburg Press*, January 2, 1941.

Thomas, Norman. "The Socialist's Way Out for the Negro." *The Journal of Negro Education* 5, no. 1 (1936): 100–104.

Thompson, Chas. H. "Editorial Comment: FEPC Hearings Reduce Race Problem to Lowest Terms-- Equal Economic Opportunity." *The Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 4 (1943): 585–88.

———. "Editorial Comment: How Imminent Is the Outlawing of Segregation." *The Journal of Negro Education* 20, no. 4 (Autumn 1951): 495–98.

———. "The Basis of Negro Morale in World War II." *The Journal of Negro Education* 11, no. 4 (1942): 454–64.

Thompson, Daniel C. "Evaluation as a Factor in Planning Programs for the Culturally-Disadvantaged." *The Journal of Negro Education* 33, no. 3 (1964): 333–40.

Thorndike, Edward L. "Intelligence and Its Uses." *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, January 1920.

———. "Racial Inequalities." *The Educational Forum* 10, no. 2 (January 1, 1946): 133–37.

———. "Scales and Tests Supersede Old-Fashioned School Marks." *The Journal of Education* 94, no. 15 (October 27, 1921): 395–97.

- . “The Distribution of Education.” *The School Review* 40, no. 5 (May 1932): 335–45.
- . “The Goal of the Social Effort.” *Educational Record* 17, no. 2 (April 1, 1936): 153–68.
- . “The Influence of Disparity of Incomes on Welfare.” *American Journal of Sociology* 44, no. 1 (July 1938): 25–35.
- . “The Nature, Purposes, and General Methods of Measurement of Educational Products.” In *The Measurement of Educational Products*, edited by S.A. Courtis, 16–24. 17th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Pt. 2. Bloomington, IL: Public School, 1918.
- Tillman, Linda C. “(Un)Intended Consequences? The Impact of the Brown v. Board of Education Decision on the Employment Status of Black Educators.” *Education and Urban Society* 36, no. 3 (May 1, 2004): 280–303.
- Tomlinson, Stephen. “Edward Lee Thorndike and John Dewey on the Science of Education.” *Oxford Review of Education* 23, no. 3 (1997): 365–83.
- “To Secure These Rights: The Report of the President’s Committee on Civil Rights.” New York: The President’s Committee on Civil Rights, 1947. [http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.\\$b154984](http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$b154984).
- Townsend, Willard S. “Full Employment and the Negro Worker.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 14, no. 1 (1945): 6–10.
- Truman, Harry S. “Executive Order 9835 - Prescribing Procedures for the Administration of an Employees Loyalty Program in the Executive Branch of the Government.” Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, March 21, 1947. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=75524>.
- . “Executive Order 9980 - Regulations Governing Fair Employment Practices Within the Federal Establishment.” Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, July 26, 1948. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=78208>.
- . “Executive Order 9981 - Establishing the President’s Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services.” Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, July 26, 1948. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=60737>.

- . “Special Message to the Congress on Civil Rights,” Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, February 2, 1948. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=13006&st=&st1=>.
- Tucker, Marc. “Student Tracking vs. Academic Pathways: Different...or the Same?” *Education Week*. Accessed May 27, 2016. http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/top_performers/2015/10/tracking_vs_pathways_differentor_the_same.html?cmp=SOC-SHR-FB.
- Tyack, David. *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974.
- Uetricht, Micah. *Strike for America: Chicago Teachers Against Austerity*. Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2014.
- United States. Office of Education. Division of Secondary Education. “Life Adjustment Education for Every Youth.” Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, 1948.
- United States. President’s Commission on Higher Education. “Higher Education for Democracy: A Report.” Washington: U.S. Govt. Print Off., 1947.
- Urban, Wayne J., and Jennings L. Wagoner Jr. *American Education: A History*. Fourth edition. New York, NY: Routledge, 2008.
- U.S. Department of Education. “Race to the Top Executive Summary,” November 2009.
- Vickery, William E., and Steward G. Cole. *Intercultural Education in American Schools, Proposed Objectives and Methods*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943.
- Wall, Wendy L. “Anti-Communism in the 1950s.” August 15, 2012. <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/fifties/essays/anti-communism-1950s>.
- . *Inventing the “American Way”: The Politics of Consensus from the New Deal to the Civil Rights Movement*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Wallace, Henry A. “The Scientist in an Unscientific Society.” *Scientific American*, June 1934.
- Ware, Caroline F. “The Role of the Schools in Education for Racial Understanding.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 421–31.

- Watkins, William H. "The New Social Order: An Educator Looks at Economics, Politics, and Race." In *The Assault on Public Education: Confronting the Politics of Corporate School Reform*, edited by William H. Watkins, 7–32. New York: Teachers College Press, 2012.
- Weaver, George L-P. "The Role of Organized Labor in Education for Racial Understanding." *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 414–20.
- Weaver, Timothy Paul Ryan. "Neoliberalism in the Trenches: Urban Policy and Politics in the United States and the United Kingdom." Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, 2012. <https://proxy.library.upenn.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1170966236?accountid=14707>.
- Weiner, Lois. *The Future of Our Schools: Teachers Unions and Social Justice*. Chicago, Illinois: Haymarket Books, 2012.
- Weir, Margaret. *Politics and Jobs: The Boundaries of Employment Policy in the United States*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Wesley, Charles H. "Education for Citizenship in a Democracy." *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 1 (January 1941): 68–78.
- White, Walter. "Time for a Progress Report." *The Saturday Review*, September 22, 1951.
- Whitemore, Ron. "Social Justice Slate Sweeps to Victory in the Chicago Teachers Union." *The Philadelphia Public School Notebook*, June 14, 2010. <http://thenotebook.org/articles/2010/06/14/social-justice-slate-sweeps-to-victory-in-the-chicago-teachers-union>.
- Wilkerson, Doxey A. "Russia's Proposed New World Order of Socialism." *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 3 (1941): 387–419.
- . *Special Problems of Negro Education*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939.
- . "The Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes." *The Journal of Negro Education* 7, no. 1 (1938): 104–8.
- . "The Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes: A Measure of the Economic Value of Vocational Education." *The Journal of Negro Education* 8, no. 1 (1939): 118–20.

- . “The Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes: The Negro and the Battle of Production.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 11, no. 2 (1942): 228–39.
- Wilkins, Roy. “Next Steps in Education for Racial Understanding.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 432–40.
- . “The Role of the NAACP.” *Social Problems* 2, no. 4 (April 1955): 201–4.
- Williams, Lorraine A. “The Interracial Conference of the National Council of Negro Women.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 26, no. 2 (1957): 204–6.
- Winfield, Ann G. “Resuscitating Bad Science: Eugenics Past and Present.” In *The Assault on Public Education: Confronting the Politics of Corporate School Reform*, edited by William H. Watkins, 143–59. New York: Teachers College Press, 2012.
- Winslow, Samantha. “Activist Coalition Wins Control of L.A. Teachers Union,” *In These Times*. March 25, 2014. http://inthesetimes.com/working/entry/16474/activist_coalition_wins_control_of_l.a._teachers_union.
- Wissemann, Nicholas. “Falsely Accused: Cold War Liberalism Reassessed.” *The Historian* 66, no. 2 (June 1, 2004): 320–34.
- Wolff, Edward N. *Does Education Really Help?: Skill, Work, and Inequality*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Wright, Guy. “Once Pro-Russian but Not Now, Speaker at Pitt and Tech Claims.” *The Pittsburg Press*, March 14, 1952.
- Wright, Marion T. “Educational Programs for the Improvement of Race Relations: Negro Advancement Organizations.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 13, no. 3 (1944): 349–60.
- . “Some Educational and Cultural Problems and Needs of Negro Children and Youth.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 19, no. 3 (1950): 310–21.
- Wright, Richard. In *The God That Failed*, edited by Richard Howard Stafford Crossman, Reprint Edition 1984., 115–62. Salem, New Hampshire: AYER Company, 1984.
- Yee, Vivian. “Grouping Students by Ability Regains Favor With Educators.” *The New York Times*, June 9, 2013. <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/10/education/grouping-students-by-ability-regains-favor-with-educators.html>.

- Yerkes, Robert M. "News Items and Communications." *The Journal of Educational Research* 1, no. 4 (April 1920): 321.
- Zeligs, Rose. "Children Explain Their Intergroup Attitudes." *The Journal of Negro Education* 22, no. 4 (1953): 534–48.
- . "Growth in Intergroup Attitudes During Brotherhood Week." *The Journal of Negro Education* 19, no. 1 (1950): 94–102.
- Zimring, Fred, Barrows Dunham, and John Dewey. "Notes and Documents: Cold War Compromises: Albert Barnes, John Dewey, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 108, no. 1 (1984): 87–100.