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**ANALYSIS OF DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES RELATED TO  
CAREER EDUCATION AS EMPLOYED IN THE UNITED  
STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION  
AND LABOR**

**By**

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**Bachelor of Arts  
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Morehead, Kentucky  
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**Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate  
College of the Oklahoma State University in  
partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the Degree of  
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION**

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May, 1974

name: Ronald Francis Tucker

Date of Degree: May 24, 1974

institution: Oklahoma State University

Location: Stillwater, Oklahoma

title of Study: ANALYSIS OF DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES RELATED TO CAREER  
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pages in Study: 279

Candidate for Degree of Doctor  
of Education

Major Field: Vocational Technical and Career Education

Scope and Method of Study: The scope of the study was macroscopic in its overview of the basic sociopolitical patterns of a large governmental body and microscopic in its analysis of decision-making processes in a legislative body. The research was more specifically concerned with career education and its dependency upon the inter-related and complex workings of the committee as a whole.

Both qualitative and quantitative systems of research were used. The qualitative research covered a five-month period of direct field observation in the United States House of Representatives, Committee on Education and Labor in Washington, D.C. The researcher's internship was sponsored by Committee Chairman, Carl Dewey Perkins of Kentucky. Data was obtained by observations of deliberations and actions of the Committee membership. Post actions of the Committee were also included and studied in order to identify residual effects of the power structure. Interviews were made within the membership to ascertain self-identity and role perception as related to support for career education.

Quantitative methods of research included comparative legislative activities as drawn from the 89th and 92nd Congressional Records, vital statistics of membership, key committee membership voting, voting patterns on major educational and labor bills, parliamentary hierarchy of the committee, constituents responses as expressed in interviews, and major educational goals as perceived by the membership.

Findings and Conclusions: Any decision concerning career education made by the Committee on Education and Labor is the end result of a complex process, resulting in agreement between the President, the committee, and the Congress. These forces, before reaching their own individual decisions, have had to weigh and consider the wishes of their constituents, the pressures of various lobbies, and the legal ramifications. The research procedure resulted in the following findings: career education is not seen as a priority item by committee membership; many of the membership felt career and vocational education are synonymous or did not understand the concept of career education. Presently there is no specific group lobbying for career education. The future success of career education lies on the local or state level through revenue sharing or block grants. Funding is an acceptable procedure of the committee, but is highly dependent upon special needs for the underprivileged and needy.

Further, the guidance counselor must improve and play a key role in the implementation of career education, and career education must expand to include a large portion of the out-of-school population. Other findings related more specifically to the committee's organization and functions led to the conclusion that presently the committee chairman, Carl D. Perkins, is the dominating force. However, the President and Executive Branch has the most influence on total legislation; of utmost importance among most members was effective and significant legislation for education in the good of the country as a whole. Partisan differences account for major conflicts in committee decisions, seniority is a prominent force among membership, and minority leadership is highly significant within the committee.

The investigation provided a procedural basis for collecting explanatory data of this type. The investigation also illustrated that an exact methodical search procedure involving enumerative and statistical methods is impossible and impractical.

For career education to become a viable working concept it must be understood by committee membership so they will implement the necessary legislation for the overall good of career education and for the Nation.

VISER'S APPROVAL \_\_\_\_\_

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STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
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AND LABOR

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Dr. Yap

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

There has been a major shift in educational direction during the past decade. The "Great American Dream" has been that through education each new generation may reach a higher quality of life than its forebearers. There is now a growing pragmatism to value education not in terms of a diploma or a degree, but by usefulness in the world-of-work (1). Society is challenged by the need to take definitive action of the present waste of human resources and public funds. The unemployment rate among recent college graduates is nearly 8% compared with 5.6% for the total labor force. No longer is a college degree a guarantee of employment (2). Social unrest, the cost to the Nation for welfare programs, and the changing technological and industrial needs are just a few of the problems under investigation by the leaders of our society (1). Leaders who are responsible for educational programs must respond with solutions to meet the changing educational needs of every segment in society.

In his message to Congress on March 17, 1970, President Nixon <sup>Richard</sup> stated that too many people have fallen prey to the myth that a four year liberal arts diploma is essential to a full and rewarding life, when in fact other forms of post-secondary education such as a two-year community college or technical training course would be far better suited to the interests of many young people. He proposed

a Career Education Program to be funded at \$100 million in fiscal year 1972 to assist States in meeting the additional cost of starting new programs to teach critically needed skills. The President indicated that one of our great national needs is to restore pride in craft and to promote the dignity of skilled labor (3).

The career education effort has recently emerged as a means to solve much of society's ills. The term "career education" has come into American educational parlance both suddenly and surely. The Executive Branch of the Federal Government as represented by the Office of Education has identified career education as a national priority. Sidney P. Marland, U.S. Commissioner of Education, (2) in January, 1971, suggested that the implementation of career education "may set aside forever the whole question of the dropout". In addition, he has described it as a "new order of education concerned with the usefulness and self-realization of every individual". Robert W. Worthington, Associate U.S. Commissioner of Education (4), has described career education as "a bold new design for education that will affect a blend of academic, general and work skills learning so that individuals passing through the system will be ready for economic self-sufficiency" (1).

Commissioner Marland was also quoted in Phi Delta Kappan (3) as saying:

The Office of Education is committed to giving people at all ages more choices of and better preparation for careers. This means extending and improving elementary and secondary school programs so that all those who finish high school will be prepared for meaningful work or for college. It means developing new and positive attitudes toward the whole range of occupations in society. And it means extending the range and improving the quality of career development opportunities for people beyond high school age.

Professionals have joined the career education effort. The National Association of State Directors of Vocational Education (4) has stated its position on career education by the following examples:

1. Career education is not synonymous with vocational education, but vocational education is a major part of career education.
2. Career education involves extensive orientation and exploration of occupational opportunities.
3. Career education is a continuum that begins at kindergarten and extends throughout education.
4. Career education includes specific preparation for occupations.
5. Career education permits each student to realistically assess personal attributes as a part of setting life goals.

Another recent implementation of the career education concept was by leaders in a more specialized area of study. The industrial arts professionals have taken a stand in which they outline the role of industrial arts in career education K through 12. Industrial arts as a part of career education is a classification never before assigned. Under this classification industrial arts programs are eligible for federal funds under Vocational Education Act of 1963 and its amendments of 1968 (5).

The concepts describing career education indicates that the term includes a complex set of expectations and goals. It is also apparent that the shifting emphasis attached to vocational education legislation during the 1960's stimulated the momentum presently culminating in career education programs (6).

Federal legislation for vocational education has provided direction for national growth and development of vocational education programs for over half a century. There appears to be little doubt that federal legislation will continue to play an important role in the future development of vocational education programs nationally (6).

### Need for the Study

The education of people is best balanced with career demands. The concept of career education indicates that it can achieve this balance. Government, both Federal and State, is being asked to play a more direct role than ever before in setting education policy. More money is needed to train school staff to integrate career education concepts into curriculum materials at every grade level, buy tools and more sophisticated equipment for programs, and to hire many more guidance counselors so that counseling or job awareness will be brought to the elementary grades (5). All this indicates a need for government spending on a truly massive scale. Whether this can and will be done is uncertain.

The most powerful institutions of the Legislative Branch of the Federal Government are its committees, where all demands for House decisions begin their journeys -- and where most of these projected journeys end. In its decision-making process, each House Committee participates in the conflict, resolution and consensus-building functions of the parent chamber. The conflicts which are resolved in committee are the ones most likely to be resolved on the Floor. If the committee majority supporting a policy agreement is cohesive and stable, the House as a whole is more likely to produce a stable legislative consensus (7).

All Federal funding for education begins its legislative journey toward enactment in the Committee on Education and Labor, United States House of Representatives. If Federal funding is to continue or to be expanded in support of career education programs, it will do so only by the initial decision of this Committee. The power of the House Education and Labor Committee to direct national education through federal legislature is acknowledged and undisputed (6). It is therefore important to understand

the Committee's decision-making processes, how it interprets educational needs and develops legislation for education. It is reasonable and desirable to want to become familiar with the Committee members who are prominent pro-education specialists, particularly their concepts of career education; and to recognize those members who have power within the Committee's decision-making processes.

Educators, by better understanding Committee decision-making processes, may more effectively plan, implement and evaluate present programs of career education and may also be encouraged to contribute to the development of future legislative programs for career education.

#### Statement of the Problem

The concern of this study was to conduct a qualitative analysis of the decision-making processes common to the Committee on Education and Labor in the United States House of Representatives as related to career education. The problem was to discover, identify and describe characteristics of this Committee by direct observation, personal opinions expressed in interviews of the Membership; and to further describe certain factors and patterns of decision-making which may tend to affect career education.

#### Purpose of the Study

Three sociopolitical questions designed to encompass the purpose of this study are:

1. What are recognizable characteristics of the formal, typical decision-making processes of the Committee on Education and Labor?
2. What are recognizable and identifiable internal forces, structure and interactive flow of power throughout the membership of the Committee on Education and Labor?

3. Specifically, what decisions and power applications are made within the Committee which may directly affect the development of career education?

#### Scope of the Study

The scope of the study is macroscopic in its overview of the basic sociopolitical patterns of a large body of government. It is microscopic in its analysis of patterns of decision-making processes in a given legislative body. It is specifically concerned with the implementation and development of career education, but in order to maintain career education as a focal point, the complete functioning of the Committee membership must be given consideration.

Both qualitative and quantitative systems of research were needed. The qualitative research covered a five-month period during which field observation in the House of Representatives, Committee of Education and Labor, Washington, D.C. was sponsored by the Committee Chairman. Observations of current deliberations and actions of the Committee membership comprise a major portion of the research data. Past actions of the Committee were also reviewed and studied in order to identify power structure and decision-making processes. Selected interviews were made within the membership to ascertain self-identity and role perception as related to support for career education.

Quantitative methods of research were incorporated throughout the study for collating, evaluating and analyzing data and drawing conclusions that provided insight into the stated objectives.

Related literature was abundant and is used freely in formulating the research. Comparative observations of Congressional Committees and their functions were used in the analysis of the present relative research as was feasible and pertinent to the subject. For analytical data pertaining to congressional action, publications by the Government Printing Office such as the Congressional Record, are included.

## ADDENDUM TO CHAPTER I

## DEFINITION OF TERMS

absolute majority. More than half of the number of persons entitled to vote on a given question, regardless of the number in attendance or voting.

administration. 1.) In general, the management of public affairs, the enforcement of law, and the fulfillment of public policy. It is usually differentiated from the executive and legislative function in its lack of power to determine and declare public policy; and from the judicial function in its ability to arrive at decisions with relative freedom from the formality of procedural rules. 2.) The whole body of executive officials. 3.) The tenure of a President or a governor.

administrative. Pertaining to management generally, or to the art or function of managing public affairs, or to the agencies or branches of government which perform the task of administration.

administrative order. A regulation issued by an administrative officer amplifying and making more specific the provisions of a statute. In the United States the power to issue such an order is normally expressly granted by a statute; and when properly issued, the order has the force of law.

amendment. 1.) A change made or proposed on the floor of a legislative body or in committee by adding to, striking out, or altering the wording of any part of a bill or resolution. Legislative rules usually require that the amendment be germane to the subject matter, but violations are not uncommon. 2.) An addition to, or a change of, a constitution or an organic act which is appended to the document rather

than intercalated in the text. The Constitution of the United States provides for two methods of proposing amendments; (1) by a convention called by Congress on the application of two-thirds of the States; or (2) by a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress. Amendments so proposed may be ratified either by the legislatures or conventions of three-fourths of the States.

appropriation. A sum of money set aside to be expended for a public purpose and in a manner determined by law; also the act of appropriating or allocating.

attitude, social. The state of mind of an individual or his tendency to act in response to specific social situations resulting from his innate biological and psychological characteristics or from the environmental factors which condition his existence.

authority. 1.) The legal power vested in a public agency to enable its officials to execute its functions. 2.) The probability that a specific command will be obeyed.

bill, or act. The technical designation of a measure introduced in either House, and until it has been passed by that House. At that point it is reprinted as an Act, i.e. an Act of one branch of the Congress. The term "Act" is, however, popularly used in referring to a measure which has been finally passed by both Houses and becomes law, whether by approval of the President or by passage over his veto.

bi-partisan. Approved by two political parties, or including representatives of two political parties, i.e. the U.S. bipartisan foreign policy, supported by most Democrats and Republicans.

calendar. A list of bills, resolutions, or other items, in the order of their presentation for action by a legislative House as a whole,

which usually serves as a convenient order of business.

career education. The Kentucky Department of Education defines career education as a comprehensive, systematic educational program, which provides relevant and cumulative experiences designed for all individuals, all levels, all ages, to achieve maximum success in the preparation and performance of various life roles:

1. a producer and consumer of goods and services
2. a member of a family group
3. a participant in the social and political life
4. a participant in a vocational pursuit
5. a participant in aesthetic, moral and religious concerns

chairman. The presiding officer and recognized spokesman of a group such as a legislative committee or an administrative commission.

committee. A portion of the members of a legislative body to which is assigned a special task.

joint committee. A committee representing both Houses of Congress.

committee-of-the-whole. A whole legislative body turned into a committee for the purpose of suspending formal procedure and speeding its work.

conference committee. A joint committee of both Houses of Congress whose function it is to arrive at a single version of a bill that has passed the two Houses in somewhat different form.

standing committee. A permanent body organized to consider all bills, resolutions, and other items of legislative business falling within the category of matters over which it has been given jurisdiction.

committee membership. Both parties have a committee to recommend committee assignments. The proportion of Republicans to Democrats is fixed by the party in the majority for the time being. The House, then by strict party vote, adopts the slate presented by the two parties. A similar method is used in the Senate.

compromise. The adjustment of differences among disputants through mutual concession by the parties involved; any agreement secured through mutual concession.

concept. A general idea or understanding.

Congress. The Congress of the United States in the Legislative Branch of the National Government, in effect the National Legislature, and consists of two branches -- the Senate and House of Representatives. Its existence, authority and limitations are provided by the Constitution, Article I, which begins as follows: "All legislative powers herein granted shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives."

Congressman. A member of either the Senate or the House of Representatives. However, a Member of the Senate is usually referred to as a Senator and a Member of the House, as a Congressman. The official title of a Member of the House is Representative in Congress.

conservative. One who favors preservation of existing order and to regard proposals for change with distrust.

district, congressional. A geographic division of a state on the basis of population and in accordance with conditions laid down by Congress. Each Congressional district elects a Representative.

election. The process of choosing government officials by vote of the citizens.

off-year election. A local (not Federal) election.

primary election. An election within a party to select its candidates for public office.

special or by-election. An election to fill an office vacated because of death or resignation.

empirical. Something that has been experienced. Also refers to research from a field study.

enact. To pass a law. This action is usually completed by the signature of the chief executive, by which a legislature creates a statute from a bill.

extrinsic. Not forming an essential part of a thing: extraneous; inessential, not inherent; accessory originating from the outside; external.

fiscal year. The twelve month period beginning at any convenient date during which annual appropriations are to be spent, taxes collected, and accounts kept. The fiscal year of the United States begins July 1.

floor. A term referring to the full Senate or the full House, i.e. "the bill is on the floor of the House" means that the bill is up for consideration by the House.

formal. 1.) Pertaining to the extrinsic aspect of something as distinguished from its substance or material. 2.) Being or pertaining to the essential form or constitution of something. 3.) Following or adhering to accepted forms, conventions, or regulations, a formal reprimand. 5.) Characterized by strict or meticulous observation of forms.

gerrymander. An abuse in establishing Congressional districts whereby the political party in control of the state is favored by the distribution of its voters through as many districts as possible, while the voters of the opposing district party are placed in the smallest number

hearings. Meetings held by the House committees and subcommittees.

They are open to the public except when a committee, by a majority vote, determines otherwise.

hierarch. One who occupies a position of authority in an ecclesiastical hierarchy. One who occupies a high position in a hierarchy.

hierarchy. A body of persons organized or classified according to rank, capacity, or authority. 2.) A body of entities arranged in a graded series. 3.) Ecclesiastical rule or authority.

immunity. A privilege enjoyed by Members of Congress which exempts them from prosecution for any statement made in Congress.

influence. A power indirectly or intangibly affecting a person or course of events; the power to affect through prestige, wealth, ability, or position.

informal. 1.) Not performed or made according to prescribed regulations or forms; unofficial; irregular; an informal truce. 2.) Completed or performed without ceremony or formality. 3.) Pertaining to ordinary everyday use, casual, relaxed.

informal power. The initiator of a decision may not be within the formal or official structure of the decision-making organization.

interest group. Persons, who whether closely organized or not, have interests in common molding of public opinion or in the passage of legislation.

internal. Relating to, or located within the limits or surface of something; inner interior. 2.) Emanating from or dependent on the nature of something, intrinsic or inherent. 3.) Locating, acting or effective within the body.

intrinsic. Pertaining to the essential nature of a thing; inherent.

left. Pursuing egalitarian goals by reformist or revolutionary means; in opposition to the "right".

lobby. A group or person (lobbyist) seeking to influence legislators for the passage or defeat of certain legislation.

logrolling. Political slang for the practice whereby Congressmen help one another to get their pet bills passed.

majority. More than one-half of those present. The group that controls a vote. Unless an absolute majority is legally required for a decision, a majority consists of more than one-half of those present and voting.

mark-up. Recorded Membership votes. (Open to public for Education and Labor Committee.)

member assignments. The standing committees of both parties are selected on the recommendation of the Committee on Committees. The proportion of Republican or Democrats is fixed by the party in the majority for the time being.

minority. Less than half, or the group which controls only a minor fraction of the total vote in Congress.

negate. To render ineffective or invalid.

negative. Expressing, containing or consisting of a negation, refusal or denial; lacking the quality of being positive or affirmative, indicating opposition or resistance.

orientation. The line or direction followed in the course of a trend movement, or development; an adjustment or adaptation to a new environment, situation, custom or set of ideas; individual awareness of the objective world in its relation to the self.

override. To set aside or annul, as to override a veto by the President (which requires a two-thirds vote in each House of Congress).

oversight. Review and study on a continuing basis of the application, administration, and execution of those laws, or parts of laws, the subject of which is within the jurisdiction of that committee.

parochial school. A local educational institution conducted by an ecclesiastical organization.

peculiar. 1.) Unusual or eccentric; strange; queer. 2.) Standing apart from others, calling for special consideration or attention. 3.) Belonging distinctively or especially to one person, group or kind.

pork barrel. A slang expression for Federal appropriations for local improvements which are actually political favors to local politicians or citizens.

power. The probability that an individual will be in a position to carry out his will despite resistance.

process. A system of operations in the production of something. A series of actions, functions or changes that bring about an end or result.

psycho-social process. The mental activities and conditions relating to and influencing human social behavior.

qualitative. Pertaining to or concerning qualities; a characteristic or attribute of something, property, a feature.

quality. Any feature that distinguishes or identifies someone or something.

quantitative. Expressing a quantity; susceptible to measurement; pertaining to a number or quantity.

quorum. A majority of the Membership present to conduct business. No business of any character except to adjourn can be transacted without a quorum present if any Member objects. (For the Education and Labor Committee 20 Members present constituted a quorum.)

rider. An unrelated controversial measure attached to a Congressional bill in order to compel the President to accept the bill with its rider or to do without the bill. (The President cannot veto part of a bill).  
right.

right. 1.) A privilege or prerogative conferred upon a person or a group by law. 2.) A popular designation for conservatives derived from the custom in continental European legislatures of seating Members of conservative parties to the right of the presiding officer.

Rules, Committee on. A committee of the House of Representatives with power to propose modifications in the general rules and to propose special orders for the consideration of separate bills out of turn with limitations on the number and scope of amendments and the time for consideration.

seniority rule. The custom that provides that the Chairman of a Congressional Committee shall be the person who has the longest record of service on the Committee. Continued reelection to a seat in Congress thus becomes the chief qualification for a Chairmanship.

serendipity. Finding something theoretically important by chance.

staff. That portion of an administrative organization which has mainly investigative, advisory, or planning functions.

subcommittees. A group of members of a legislative body to which is assigned a special task.

Special Subcommittee on Education: Edith Green, Chairman  
 Special Subcommittee on Labor: Frank Thompson, Jr., Chairman  
 General Subcommittee on Education: Roman C. Pucinski, Chairman  
 General Subcommittee on Labor: John Dent, Chairman  
 Select Subcommittee on Education: John Brademas, Chairman  
 Select Subcommittee on Labor: Dominick V. Daniels, Chairman  
 Subcommittee on Agricultural Labor: James J. O'Hara, Chairman

Mr. Perkins is an ex-officio member, with vote, on all the subcommittees.

Mr. Quie is an ex-officio member, with vote, on all the subcommittees.

term. A fixed period of time, especially the period for which a public official is elected or appointed.

typical. Exhibiting the traits or characteristics peculiar to its kind, class, group, or the like, representative of a whole group; pertaining to a representative specimen, characteristic, distinctive, conforming to a type as a species.

veto. The return, to the legislative house in which it originated, of a bill unsigned and with the objections written by a chief executive whose signature is necessary to complete the enactment of a law. The Constitution of the United States requires that before becoming a law, every bill or resolution must be submitted to the President for his signature. If he does not sign and return it within ten days (Sundays excepted) while Congress is in session, it becomes a law without signature; but if Congress stands adjourned at the end of the ten-day period, the bill is lost (pocket veto). Congress may override the President's veto by repassing a bill by a two-thirds vote in each house on roll call.

welfare. 1.) Individual or social good. 2.) Pertaining to legislative or other acts calculated to further individual or social good.

whip. An official of the majority or minority party in Congress whose

task it is to see that all the Members of his party are present when important measures are to be voted upon. The office of Whip is unofficial and carries no additional salary.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

#### Historical Background

As Congress approaches the end of its second century, it is still the object of continuous debate and examination. This attention is appropriate in that legislative bodies are intensely political institutions that are both visible and accessible and most responsive to a critical public. Many attacks upon Congress are the result of conflicting political desires and are usually resolved by response to electoral or representational processes -- the all important vote of constituencies (7).

Such a cycle apparently occurred in the early 1960's. After almost a decade of relative political calm, an activist administration began to fill the congressional agenda with a variety of legislative initiatives to implement some massive social programs. When the temporary stalemate of 1963 was surmounted, the so-called "fabulous 89th Congress" became so successful that by late 1965 it appeared to enjoy even greater popularity than the President (7).

It is in comparison with the Executive Branch that the influence of Congress is most criticized. In the past generation, a quiet constitutional revolution has occurred as a result of executive leadership in the initiation of legislation (7). To those who are attracted to planning and orderly structure, the Executive Branch

with its highly specialized bureaucratic staffs, obviously is capable of developing comprehensive legislative proposals. On the other hand, many are concerned over the decrease of legislative influence and hold that Congress should exercise more, rather than less, power than it does now. Advocates of congressional power stress revitalizing the national legislature as the prime representative of the diverse interests of the nation, and as the formulator of national policies (7). This is a view that is becoming increasingly held, as one reviews the legislative history of the 91st Congress.

It would be incorrect, however, to assert that congressional powers have declined in any real sense. It is involved in a host of governmental functions that in earlier days were performed by local or private entities -- or else not performed at all. As President Kennedy (8) was fond of recalling, the legislative giants of the nineteenth century -- the Clays, Calhouns, and Websters -- could afford to devote a whole generation or more to refining and debating the few great controversies of the Republic. The contemporary legislator cannot take such a leisurely approach; he finds himself beset daily by a staggering number and range of public problems and constituent demands, both large and small. The increasing number, educational level, and the mass media exposure of constituents have greatly increased the volume of communications handled by congressional offices. The quantity and diversity of legislative business create their own frustrations for Congress, with the result that it is debatable whether congressional involvement is as decisive as it once was. But the fact of this involvement itself cannot be questioned (8).

Mary Louise Ellis (6) described her investigation as analagous to the study of an iceberg. Her study was an analysis of documents which included recorded legislative positions and issues in time sequence. She perceived

that perhaps the greatest portion of the action which occurred to make the Vocational Education Act of 1963 a reality was submerged from sight and more than likely never will surface, like an "iceberg". The individual inter-actions involving promises, trades, and compromises associated with the Vocational Education Act in 1963 were not documented for historical analysis. She further surmises on page 192 of her study: "The trend toward increased federal aid to education will probably continue as our social and educational institutions become increasingly complex." Her study records the product of legislative considerations and decision-making.

#### Decision-Making Processes of Congress

Lewis A. Froman (9) pointed out that congressmen are confronted daily with the necessity of making choices on a wide range of issues and problems. There is an enormous number of alternative choices in the performance of their legislative function. Well over 10,000 individual pieces of legislation are introduced in the House alone during each congressional session, and of this number, from three to four thousand deal with different subject areas or deal differently with the same subject. Fifteen hundred may reach the Floor for debate and a vote.

The internal and external pressures on congressmen are varied and multitudinous. Some people will be opposed to a bill, some will favor it, some will feel it does not go far enough, others will feel it goes too far, still others will want qualifying amendments, etc. The President and his staff are likely to be involved, as are executive agencies who must administer the program. A congressman is likely to have certain preferences about many pieces of legislation coming before Congress as a result of personal feelings, constituent reaction or for the national good.

Froman's study (9) also brought out facts regarding organizational structure based on political liberalism and conservatism as compared with this characteristic in constituencies. Non-white, urban, and lower socioeconomic groups are more likely to be liberally represented. White, rural and higher socioeconomic status groups tend to be represented by the conservative. He based his findings on vote counts for conservative and liberal issues in Congress. As can be expected, leaders were found to be more conservative than non-leaders.

William L. Morrow (10) describes a sphere of influence of a congressional committee as flowing outward to six different dimensions which in turn reciprocate a sphere of external influence, flowing inward to the committee. The six dimensions of influence described are as follows:

1. Congress -- the House and the Senate
2. Political parties
3. Interest groups -- lobbyists and like groups
4. President and federal bureaus
5. Personal convictions and goals
6. Public environment and constituency.

Morrow (10) also asserts that the processes and patterns of committee assignments have been overlooked by political scientists and journalists because of the ready acceptance of the erroneous supposition that these assignments are made primarily on the basis of seniority. He does not see this as a true supposition; rather the committee assignment process is seen as analogous to working out a giant jig-saw puzzle, with power resting in the Committee-on-Committees, observing certain limitations. Factors considered in committee assignments are personalized as to geographical

distribution, external group desires, experience and training of individual legislators, and balance among the various factions of the party. In addition to these more or less objective factors, are the formal rules for committee assignments.

In the House, the formal criteria for standing committee assignments by the Committee-on-Committees are:

1. Three committees are exclusive, namely: Appropriations, Rules and Ways and Means. A member who serves on any of these can serve on no other committee.
2. Ten committees are semi-exclusive. Members may serve on any one of the seven non-exclusive committees. The ten are: Agriculture, Armed Services, Banking and Currency, Education and Labor, Foreign Affairs, Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Judiciary, Post Office and Civil Service, Public Works, and Science and Astronautics.
3. Seven committees are non-exclusive. A member may serve on any two of these seven, or any one of them and any one of the ten semi-exclusive committees. The seven non-exclusive committees are: District of Columbia, Government Operations, House Administration, Interior and Insular Affairs, Merchant Marine and Fisheries, Un-American Activities, and Veterans Affairs (11).

The Appropriations Committee in both Houses of Congress, by the very nature of their work, are concerned substantively with the jurisdiction of nearly all other standing committees. Federal programs to aid higher education are considered by two standing committees -- the Education and Labor Committee in the House, and the Labor and Public Welfare Committee in the Senate. Therefore, all standing committees which consider legislative proposals are in a sense, participating in the appropriations process (12).

Huitt and Peabody in Congress: Two Decades of Analysis state:

As the relevant political and social variables became identified, a shift from qualitative to quantitative methods characterized by increasing attempts to systematize the data took place. Although this second phase of the behavioral-empirical approach can be traced back to the 1920s, it did not fully develop until the late 1950s.

Earlier works on Congress with but a few exceptions concentrated on formal organization, the mechanics of rules and procedures, and the legal technicalities of bill drafting and mending. Although these facets of the legislature cannot be ignored, they are of course, only a part of the process. To understand legislative policy-making it is necessary to move beyond formal and legal descriptions to attitudes and behavior of people who make up the legislature as well as those who try to influence policy-making.

Huitt and Peabody quote Robert A. Dahl's Congress and Foreign Policy (1950) as saying:

In the American democracy, as indeed in any other, much of the burden for securing responsible leadership, for maximizing agreement, and for developing a more rational understanding among the electorate ought to fall upon the legislative body. Yet the plain and ominous fact is that Congress faces tremendous difficulties in discharging this burden.

Huitt asks: Why is this the case?

Irving L. Janis in his article "Groupthink" published in *Psychology Today*, issue November, 1971, was surprised to discover the extent to which each group displayed the typical phenomena of social conformity that are regularly encountered in studies of group dynamics among ordinary citizens. Social pressures are brought to bear by the members of a cohesive group whenever a dissident begins to voice his objections to a group consensus. Symptoms of "groupthink" arise when the members of decision-making groups become motivated to avoid being too harsh in their judgements of their leaders or their colleagues' ideas. They adopt a soft line of criticism, even in their own thinking. At their meetings all the members are amiable and seek complete concurrence on every important issue, with no bickering or conflict to spoil the cozy "we feeling" atmosphere. They find it relatively easy to resort to dehumanizing solutions and are hard-hearted in dealing with outgroups or enemies.

In a cohesive group, the danger is not so much that each individual will fail to reveal his objections as to what the others propose, but that he will think the proposal is a good one, without attempting to carry out a careful, critical scrutiny of the pros and cons of the alternatives.

A group whose members have properly defined roles with traditions concerning the procedures to follow in pursuing a critical inquiry, probably is capable of making better decisions than any individual group member working alone.

Parkinson's Law is: The more amiability and esprit de corps there is among the members of a policy-making ingroup, the greater the danger that independent critical thinking will be replaced by groupthink, which is likely to result in irrational and dehumanizing actions directed against outgroups.

Jay Hall in "Decisions" on page 51 of the same issue (Psychology Today, November, 1971) states:

A disgruntled group member once defined a camel as a horse put together by a committee. Group decisions often are frustrating and inadequate. All members want agreement, but they also want to make their own points heard. So they bargain, they compromise, and the final product is often a potpourri that no group member really believes in. And when group members expect their decisions to be inadequate, they usually are a self-fulfilling prophecy.

#### Decision-Making Processes of the House

##### Committee on Education and Labor

The assignment of members to the Education and Labor Committee -- with jurisdiction over the controversial issues of school aid, segregation and labor management relations -- has called for the most careful attention to the constituencies of congressional applicants. As the party committees have seen in recent years, such an assignment is no place for a "middle-of-the-road" type. Apart from the Southerners and a handful of others from

districts safe enough to allow them comfortable independence, Democrats have felt that only members who can afford politically to take an outright pro-labor position -- i.e. who gets union support for election -- should be assigned to this Committee (11).

Members from farm or middle-class suburban districts are discouraged from expressing preference for this Committee. Service on this Committee by a member whose district is relatively free of labor management or segregation conflicts might only result in raising issues in his district that could prove embarrassing and even politically fatal to the member (11).

Republicans appear to have concluded, too, that it is impossible to take a moderate position on labor-management issues. They also dissuade members from seeking assignment to this Committee when it might impair their chances for reelection. Republican assignees, however, are more likely to take a pro-management or non-labor view for the obvious reason that fewer Republicans receive overt political support from organized labor; more have close ties with management groups (11).

This background data implies that power is not oligarchy in nature, but rests indirectly with constituencies in the assignment of Committee members.

Conflict within the Committee on Education and Labor is seen by Fenno (13) as ultimately caused by personal-political issues. The selection of Committee members is, therefore, critical in determining the degree, if not the main lines, of internal conflict.

Fenno (13) reported in 1961 an opinion on the Committee interaction as stated by one of its members:

Its a very discouraging committee. You can't get a resolution praising God through that committee without having a three-day battle over it. Its about the most difficult committee around. Our executive sessions are the most exciting things you ever saw.

Fenno further observed the Committee as one in which it is most difficult to achieve a consensus and the one most susceptible to prolonged conflict. He further concluded that the House Committee on Education and Labor appears to be a poorly integrated committee. Its internal structure is characterized by a great deal of subgroup conflict, relatively little role reciprocity, and minimally effective internal control mechanisms. External concerns, like those of party, constituency and clientele groups, are probably more effective in determining its decisions than is likely to be the case in a well-integrated committee. This study (13) was completed in 1961 when Adam Clayton Powell was Chairman and before the enactment of the Vocational Education Act of 1963. It is hoped that integration of the roles of the Committee membership will continue to improve as it has improved since that time.

The most influential committee study of this period, particularly in its application of systems and role theory, and its contribution to our understanding of how congressional committees work, is Richard Fenno's analysis of integration in the House Committee on Appropriations (1962). In July 1973 a new publication by Fenno was studied and added to this research not only in the present chapter but the system of analysis on particular findings was also added because this research had already identified some items as relevant and found them to be upheld in Fenno's study.

The categories Fenno uses in describing goals of membership are much the same as in this study. However, the purpose of his research was for comparing the different committees of Congress. The categories used in this study are of special definition to this research and are thought to

differ in the precise description as applying to the Committee membership studied.

#### Bases for Theoretical Framework

Morrow's spheres of influence as outlined previously were essentially upheld in Fenno's observations. Fenno went one step further to describe the House Committee on Education and Labor as being poorly integrated. These two theories -- Sphere of Influence and Role Integration -- will be considered as bases for investigation.

Also considered for observation and description in this research are concepts of power structure and characteristics of roles within power structures. These concepts are sociological in nature and are described as they relate to the decision-making process of the Committee.

#### Locus of Power

The Committee on Education and Labor is conceived as a hierarchy of subordinate-superordinate relationships within an institution. Functionally, this hierarchy of relationships is the causal factor for decision-making within the Committee. It is by these relationships that the assignment of priorities, the provision of facilities, the organization of procedures, the regulation of activities and decision-making processes take place. These functions are theoretically the responsibility of the superordinate member (or the Chairman) of the hierarchy (or Committee), but, each function of the Committee is completely effective only insofar as role integration is achieved. The degree to which these decision-making processes are successful is dependent upon the degree to which they are accepted by the subordinate members.

In establishing the locus of cause, the stimulus person -- theoretically the Chairman -- may be perceived as either acting from internal cause or from external cause beyond his control. It is this circumstance, that decision-making processes always operate in an inter-personal setting, that makes the nature of relationships a crucial factor in the process. Because of the peculiarities of political systems, the social power principles used for analysis must be regarded as subject to clarification by specific environmental research.

#### Oligarchy Power

An oligarchy power structure is one in which the control of a society or an organization is by those at the top. Michels (14) states that oligarchy is an intrinsic part of bureaucracy or large-scale organizations. Whether an oligarchy power structure applies to the Committee on Education and Labor is questionable because of the direct and indirect power of constituencies found in past research.

#### Direct Power

Five types of direct social power have been identified by Secord and Backman (15) for possible use in this research. They are: (1) Legitimate power; (2) Reward and coercive power; (3) Referent power; (4) Expert power and; (5) Indirect power. Relationships in the decision-making processes can exhibit each and all of these types of power.

Legitimate Power. Legitimate power is based upon the established belief in the sanctity of the traditions under which the one in the status of authority exercises his power for the achievement of organizational goals. Obedience is owed to the person in the status because he occupies a traditionally sanctioned position.

The Committee Chairman could be easily perceived as having a legitimate

right to dictate behavior, at least in certain areas, by right of his assignment to that title. The strength of legitimate power of the Chairman depends upon the degree of the subordinant's adherence to the norms and values placed on the title.

Reward and Coercive Power. In political organizations the extent of coercive power exhibited is dependent upon resources for eliciting secondary motivations. Both internal and external sources of motivation could exert a subtle, yet very keenly felt, coercive power on the decision-making by the Committee, particularly in terms of political support or non-support. Rational relationships of the Committee membership may break down under direct and indirect coercive pressure that may be brought to bear on the committee as a unit, which is more difficult, or on its individual members, which is more effective, by internal and external factions. Coercion can be effective or not effective to decision-making processes, depending on the extent it is used, by whom it is used, and what forms the pressure takes. This will be a subject for observation.

Referent Power. Referent power is based on devotion to the exemplary character or general wisdom of an individual. Obedience is owed to the person in the status because of personal trust in him and the normative patterns ordained by him.

The seniority system of congressional appointments is thought of as a possible formalized system upholding referent power. The legislative scion of Congress may be given pre-eminence in affairs, especially in committee assignments, beyond his deserts in terms of pure competence. But unless the individual has at least a modicum of the technical ability required by the task, he is likely to become merely the figurehead, effective authority

being placed elsewhere -- although he can administratively thwart, delay, or possibly totally divert legislative direction. Under certain circumstances, also, authority granted an individual in one area may spread to other areas until the halo-effect is all-encompassing and the individual foreign to the requirements of long-term decision-making in an established organization. It is exceedingly unstable, and either the subordinates granting this unbridled authority disintegrates or the authority becomes routinized in tradition or organization.

Expert Power. Expert power is based on superior knowledge and technical training and the competence for allocating and integrating roles and facilities required for attaining decision by the Committee.

Indirect Power. The initiator of a decision may not be within the formal or official structure of the decision-making organization. In this case, the role of the Committee would be that of implementing a decision made by a superordinate having indirect power. The power relationship may not be based on personal contact or on the formal structural design and purpose of the Committee, but instead be observed as an external source or power. One example of this might be the power of the President to push a specific piece of legislation through the Committee, the decision of the legislation resting with the President and not that of the official decision-making organization.

#### The Dyad Principle

To analyze power relations and integration of roles within an organization, it is deemed helpful to understand the theory of the dyad principle. A dyad is where one member in a relationship is the initiator of administrative action and another is the recipient of the action. The former is taken as the independent, superordinant, determining agent, and

the latter as the dependent and determined -- the subordinate. But it must be emphasized that the terms initiator and recipient, independent and dependent, ordinarant and subordinate are only relative -- the subordinate is not altogether passive, the superordinant is by no means altogether dominant. In a sense, the relationship is reenacted in two separate situations, one embedded in the other.

Power relations described in this manner may vary in two independent ways. First, they may vary in the degree to which one person is capable of exercising power relative to the other. This depends on the strength of dependencies that exist between the two persons. A second manner in which power relations may vary is in the degree of equality that exists between the two persons.

In addition to shifting constituency needs, personal involvements, and political differences, there are the inescapably social, ethnic, and economic cross-currents. There is a pressing need for understanding the relationships existing along this line as a major variable in the decision-making processes of the Committee and its particular consequence for career education. Variables such as these are of significance in understanding the processes of the Committee in that they lead to psycho-social power principals, and in turn are open to empirical investigation and analysis (15).

#### Aspects of Power Structure

In practice, a power structure operates with relationship between flesh and blood individuals, and although the relationship may initially be based on functional or official rather than personal considerations, interaction is in the final analysis between individuals who have particular patterns of inner needs and social relations. The distinction between what is personal and between what is good for the nation, the state, the congressional district, the political party and the "self" is difficult to maintain.

The rights and obligations of the Committee membership becomes a matter of consideration. It is a consequence of this that the personal quality gains importance as a significant variable in the study of the decision-making processes; the allocation and integration of roles and facilities nominally made in accordance with organizational standards may actually be made in terms of social and political relationships.

A basic theoretical hypothesis is that when roles and facilities subject to allocation and integration transgress in number and kind, conflicts in roles ensue with a consequent fusion of the various steps in decision making process. Observations of this hypothesis in the proposed investigation is a matter of subsequent exploration, but the general framework as presented here appears to offer fruitful dimensions and concepts for the study.

#### Summary

It was assumed that a relationship is perceived and developed by the participant of his own needs and goals. Such a relationship is based on both direct and indirect power of a superordinate as primarily independent as well as upon the dependence of the subordinate. Functioning of the decision-making process depends upon the nature of the interaction of its members in determining the power relationship.

The rights and obligations of the participants in an interaction may be defined by official and personal considerations. Decision-making and communication theoretically operate in a formal hierarchy of power structure -- independently of the particular personalities or of the social relations of the incumbents. This relationship is said ideally to be governed by expert competence (16). Nonetheless, the decision-making processes of the

House Committee on Education and Labor are described historically to contain basically the elements of legitimate, reward-coercive, and referent power.

A critical point in the Committee organizational structure is that members of the Committee are also members of a political party. The Committee member may not readily relinquish his political prerogatives to official Committee prerogatives without serious implications to his political stability.

Each element in the decision-making processes becomes a matter for both official, political, regional and personal consideration, with the result that the crucial issue is likely to be confused by the multiplicity of standards applied to it. The Committee member on the other hand, cannot avoid situations that involve simultaneously at one level personal politics, and at another level official Committee goals. In short, the affectivity dimension in the Committee processes may be as complex as it is important and as far-reaching as they are minute. Conclusions cannot be made without carefully scrutinizing the uniqueness of the Congressional Committee setting.

Research in this area will involve the examination of spheres of influence and situational factors that impel the relationships in the Committee membership toward predominantly official or personal decision-making and the relative effect of such patterns of interaction on the nature of the decision-making process.

Empirical data will be needed to establish forces of direct and indirect power and to clarify relationships, spheres of influence, and role characteristics and dimensions in the legislative Committee setting. A focal question is: What are the relationship patterns that are seen to exist in the Committee on Education and Labor in its attempts to achieve educational objectives

particularly career education objectives?

William F. Pierce, Deputy Commissioner for Occupational and Adult Education, U. S. Office of Education, stated that: "During fiscal 1972, the U.S.O.E. committed \$114 million to career education, of which \$83.5 million came from vocational and adult education" (17). This is one of the many issues the Education and Labor Committee are going to have to ponder, and resolve. "Is the effort of career educators meeting the needs of the American people?"

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Empirical data for qualitative research was collected during a five month period of assignment to the Committee on Education and Labor, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C. Data includes observations of occurring situations, taped interviews with Committee members and review of historical documents. The data is analyzed for evidence of organizational power structure and internal and external forces of influence upon the decision-making processes of the Committee as particularly related to career education.

Observations were made and recorded of current deliberations, situations and actions of the committee, its Subcommittees, Joint Committee, and staff. Observation as a research method involved life situations with the subjects of research experiencing what is being investigated. It is a method open to discovery because changes take place during the time of observation. Role characteristics in the decision-making processes were observed in the course of their development. It is the investigator's objective to record factually the events and situations as they occurred.

Case studies were composed on 37 of the 38 Committee members primarily from historical documents. The bulk of the data was recorded in interviews with 21 Committee members. The data from each interview was interpreted, analyzed and abstracted to the case study of the Committee member.

The case studies contain factors for analysis of internal and external forces influencing decision-making as well as individual orientation to the career education concept. (Appendix D)

The recorded interviews are the most interesting of empirical data collected, but care is taken to include in this study only those factors which are applicable and valid to the problem. Some statements are quoted to show the wide range of perceptions, interpretations and decision-making priorities of the Committee member.

Congressional reports, position papers, subcommittee records and current research by other investigators are included throughout this study as is pertinent to the problem. Each document was evaluated and collated only if judged to be valid in analyzing the decision-making processes of the Committee.

Quantitative methods of research are employed to evaluate, collate and analyze data in order to reach conclusions that will provide insight to the stated objectives of this study. Some findings are serendipity, but are important facts to know or as possible questions contributing to future research.

#### Limitations of the Study

Empirical data is limited in time to a five month period from August, 1972 through January, 1973. The setting of the research -- the Committee -- is one that is not suited for controlled research methods and participation by individuals rests entirely upon voluntary actions of participants at the time.

The strategy of directly being with and around the participants of a setting over a period of time is the most directly involved and is the most intimate and morally hazardous method of social research. It is precisely

because it is the most penetrating of techniques, the closest and most telling mode of gathering information, that it raised difficult social and moral questions (18). Problems that are peculiar to this study are:

- 1. Neutrality -- the problem of maintaining neutrality relative to political and social beliefs and to internal divisions that may be witnessed.
- 2. Loyalty -- the loyalties of the researcher may not evidently be seen and may be met with suspicion or fear of exposing the facts of the setting or its participants.
- 3. Marginality -- the observer cannot participate in the setting, only consider and remember events as they occur. The role of the observer can be lonely and one of anxiety and its continual fears about acceptance by persons in the setting. However, the circumstance of being marginal -- the simultaneous insider-outsider -- is one in which creative insight is best generated.
- 4. Degree of True Observation -- close scrutiny to neutrality is needed due to the fact that observations should be truthful, reports should be factual. Bias toward the researcher's desires to observe certain facts or conclusions must be controlled. The information derived from each Congressman must be used with caution, for legislators view events from a variety of perspectives. The subtleties and nuances of the Committee process cannot all be known.

The study was conducted during a Presidential campaign, election, and beginning second term in office by President Richard M. Nixon. The atmosphere, statements made in interview and general perceptions of participants are flavored by the political situation.

Despite these limitations, the relatively crude techniques of analysis as outlined are a basis for yielding significant results (18).

The Interview Synopsis contains a varying amount of data depending upon the individual case studied. There is the attempt to delete all statements or subjects that are not precise or pertinent to the decision-making processes as related to career education. Analyses of forces

influencing decision-making were categorized and defined by quantitative methods based on empirical data. Case study analyses lead to the interpretive findings of this study and are the bases to define the decision-making processes of the Committee as related to career education.

## Foreword

The findings of this research are not theoretically, nor scientifically proven. The findings are instead a description of what was seen to exist in the process of decision-making. No work could be found previously to uphold the over-all findings. Yet, with documentary proof unrealized, the findings are, in the opinion of the researcher, accurate. If a future researcher wishes to document and prove the whole picture or details of the picture, let him begin. Much of what is expressed in words, perhaps in a new way in describing the decision-making process of the committee, is the same knowledge that is generally accepted by the public. But if the citizen who is interested in education is as informed as the researcher was before he visited in Congress, the process does not quite fit together. Bits and pieces of certain aspects, and perhaps the whole process as seen in this study, are well known by most educators, but was not found to have been put to paper. Some particular facts or ideas of the research may be unacceptable to some readers, and this is as it should be, for one thing learned in analyzing the decision-making processes of the Committee is that conflict is good. It is the basis of our representative system of government. It is our nation's foundation.

## CHAPTER IV

### FINDINGS

#### Introduction

The formal rules of the House Committee on Education and Labor in the 92nd Congress are located in Appendix U and are witnessed by the Committee functioning within the formal rules of the House. Particular features in these Rules are investigated and described in this chapter because the peculiar, or atypical, rule is seen to magnify and clarify the basic decision-making processes and roles of the Membership.

The basic and broad decision-making processes of the Committee are within an established formal hierarchy which is hopefully described precisely and relevantly by the Membership interviewed, by analyzing and interpreting these comments along with field observations and references to pertinent historical documents.

The changes in formal rules and the effect of the changes on the Committee Membership is perceived to coincide and have a direct relationship to changes in Committee Chairmen.

It is the purpose of the chapter to basically describe the Committee's internal decision-making processes within an established formal set of rules. Informality and personal relationships or opinions of Membership tend to creep into some of the more descriptive

quotations, but these are secondary to the description of the formal hierarchy and the basic decision-making processes. These personal, particular aspects and informal influences are investigated more completely in following chapters.

### The Formal Setting

The House Committee on Education and Labor was first created March 21, 1867. In 1883 the Committee was divided into two separate committees, one on Education and one on Labor. The two Committees combined once again with the enactment of the Reorganization Act of 1946 and has remained as one committee since that time.

The Education and Labor Committee is among 21 standing committees in the House of Representatives. Each committee derives its powers from the rules of the House which determine committee size, assignment of membership, committee chair assignment, and jurisdiction of legislative subject matter referred to committee.

The Education and Labor Committee has fluctuated in size membership from 31 members twelve years ago to 38 members in the 92nd Congress.

Jack Reed, General Counsel for the Committee explains:

"The Committee size is generally worked out in terms of what is the magnitude of the problems confronting the Committee -- the legislative workload of the Committee -- and [House] members desiring assignment to the Committee. The Committee size is worked out by the leadership of the House. The minority and majority leadership through the Committee on Committees, which are the same members as the Ways and Means Committee, make their assignments to committees."

In the 92nd Congress, of the 38 Members, 22 were Democrats and 16 were Republicans. The Committee well represented the Republican minority party, due to the fact that the House contained 41% Republican members,

while the Committee membership is 45% Republican.

Counsel Reed further stated:

"The Education and Labor Committee is a major standing committee of the House. It considers a large number of pieces of legislation that greatly affect many of the social and economic problems of the country. As a consequence, frequently, you will find a large number of members [of the House] very anxious to take assignments to the Committee."

Of the 21 Members interviewed, 76% did, in fact, perceive the subject of educational legislation to be a personal prime interest and responsibility.

The Committee rules operate within the framework of the formal House rules. Counsel Reed stated:

"The procedure followed is: the members meet and then adopt rules. They make subcommittee chairman assignments and they also make assignments of members to those subcommittees. The Committee will adopt formal rules governing the procedure of the Committee. Now, those rules generally, very definitely, have to be consistent with the overall rules of the House, but they can enlarge upon them to the extent that they can be specific in defining the operation of the Committee. I anticipate that the rules of the 93rd Congress for the House Education and Labor Committee will be basically the same as in the 92nd Congress, perhaps with some modification."

#### The Seniority System -- Legitimate Power

Legitimate power is established by the formal rules of Congress and of Congressional Committees. In a broad picture, the power is formally dictated by the authority of the United States Constitution to the National Legislature, to Congress, to the House of Representatives, to House Committees, to the Committee Chairman. The hierarchy of formal rules and regulations cover all activities and facilities and are established in legal terms and within political customs. The position of Chairman goes to the Senior Member in a Committee who also belongs to the political party having the majority of members in the House. The Chair is a traditionally sanctioned position of power. However, legitimate power of the senior congressman reaches limitations of acceptance to those who are subordinate.

Over 90% of those interviewed related the term "seniority" or "senior" directly to "expertise" or "expert" in the legislative or education fields. The senior members are viewed by the membership as expert congressmen, procedure oriented, knowing how to plan strategy, knowing what to expect as conflict, and knowing what actions will provide compromise. They know the intricacies of legislating, of getting decisions made.

In the House Committee on Education and Labor in the 92nd Congress, Chairman Carl D. Perkins is the senior committee member of the Democratic Membership.

The larger percentage of those interviewed perceived Chairman Perkins to be an expert legislator and an expert administrator of Committee business.

#### Facilities and Allocations.

The basics of Chair responsibilities are defined by the Staff Counsel as administrative.

"The Chairman is the presiding officer of the Committee. He functions as the Chairman functions in any parliamentary society. He also serves as the chief administrative officer of the working staff in directing the activities of the Committee from day to day making sure that the staff assignments conform to the work of the Committee as expressed by the majority of members of the Committee."

The very structure of the Committee is influenced by the Chairman in the selection of Subcommittee Chairmen and the appointment of Members to the subcommittees for consideration. He can retain pieces of legislation for the full Committee and can also table or ignore pieces of legislation. He is the "locus of cause" for the allocating and integrating of roles and facilities.

The facilities are administered by him through the budgeting of the Committee and structuring of the staff personnel. Chairman Perkins is generally recognized as being fiscally frugal with the Committee budget. After becoming Chairman in 1967, he cut down drastically on personnel and spending, and introduced a bookkeeping system to account for every penny of public money spent. All expenses must be prior approved by Chairman Perkins and Members are accountable to him for their expenditures. However, the Committee allocation is run very democratically with subcommittees hiring their own staff and formulating their own budget expenses with approval from the Chairman.

Chairman Perkins was the first House Committee Chairman to divide Committee funds proportionally with the Republican minority. The minority, by rules of the Committee, are allocated a specific budget for counsel and staff in carrying out the minority activities. The size of the minority budget is commensurate with the ratio of Democratic members to Republican members so there is a sizable minority staff directed by the minority members. (The 1972 budget for the Education and Labor Committee was \$1,250,000.)

This particular aspect, the quantity of minority staff, is compared with other committees of the House in Table 1. Some House committees do not distinguish between majority and minority staff and it was found these non-partisan staffs are selected by the committee chairman although they are not appointed without previous consultation with the committee minority. The quantity of minority staff personnel for the Education and Labor Committee is clearly seen in Table I to be an unique feature among House committees.

TABLE I

TABLES SHOWING COMPARISON OF MEMBERSHIP AND STAFF  
OF STANDING COMMITTEES IN THE HOUSE  
OF REPRESENTATIVES, 92nd CONGRESS

<u>Committee Title</u>	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Total Members</u>	<u>Total Staff</u>	<u>Min. Staff</u>
Agriculture	22	13	35	16	0
Appropriations	33	22	55	57	2
Armed Services	25	14	39	33	0
Banking and Currency	22	15	37	2	1
District of Columbia	15	10	25	9	0
Education and Labor	22	16	38	33	11
Foreign Affairs	21	17	38	32	0
Government Operations	23	16	39	12	3
House Administration	15	10	25	15	3
Interior and Insular Affairs	23	16	39	20	2
Internal Security	5	4	9	53	2
Interstate and Foreign Com.	25	18	43	29	5
Judiciary	22	16	28	33	0
Merchant Marine and Fishing	21	15	36	23	2
Post Office and Civil Service	15	11	26	12	0
Public Works	23	14	37	33	4
Rules	10	5	15	6	2
Science and Astronautics	17	11	28	26	2
Standards of Official Conduct	6	6	12	4	0
Veterans Affairs	16	10	26	11	3
Ways and Means	15	10	25	26	4
TOTALS:	396	269	665	485	46

## The Staff

The staff of the Committee, whether it be minority or majority are servants of the members, carrying out member's policies. The staffs are observed to be experts and specialists in particular fields of education and labor, and were observed to work very well together in effectively carrying out legislative functions. The Committee staffs include legal counsels and legislative experts who compile and draft legislation. The staff is primarily supportive to the senior members of the Committee, those being Chairman Perkins with the majority staff, and Congressman Quie with the minority staff.

Every morning at 8:00 a.m., Monday through Friday, Chairman Perkins meets with the Committee majority staff personnel. They discuss the business before the Committee and the subcommittees. Committee business is reported, evaluated and new activities planned with division of attention according to the specialties of the staff members.

At meetings of the full Committee, subcommittees and Conference Committee, the Members and the staff work as a team. The decision concerning content and intent of pieces of legislation is made by the Member. The staff person perceives himself to be no more expert than the Member on legislative policies. Instead, the staff is responsible for supplying a source of expert draftsmanship and legal nomenclature. Members spoke of the expertise, experience and competence of their staffs during interviews.

Several Members related, because of the multitude of responsibilities and the bulk or quantity of materials, that the member must rely on their staff to interpret some bills to them. It is a known fact that

the Committee Report, which summarizes a piece of legislation brought to the floor of the House for a vote, is sometimes the only part of a bill that is read before it is voted on. This in no way indicates that the Congressman does not understand the bill; it means that the Committee Report is a summary of the legislation which is relied upon as being precise in content and the intent of the total piece of legislation. A Congressman does not have to know every word, sentence, or paragraph to decide if the bill meets with his approval or disapproval.

#### The Legislative Process

Mr. Jack Reed has been a Committee staff member since 1961; he stated:

"The Committee has gone through a series of rule changes which over the years have developed an operating procedure that enables the Committee to carry out most effectively the will of the Members of the Committee. It is organized in such a fashion to treat effectively a variety of problems that come within its jurisdiction."

During the interviews with the 21 Members of the Committee, when asked their views on the Committee, 76% of those interviewed referred to the power of the Chairman to control the Committee procedures and also perceived the present Chairman, Carl D. Perkins of Kentucky, as ruling the Committee in an uniquely democratic manner. The present democratic atmosphere surrounding Committee procedures is particularly emphasized when comparison is made with the present Chairman and past Chairmen, Adam Clayton Powell and George Barden.

One senior Member related:

"Until the last of the 1950's the Committee was conservatively controlled and almost totally unproductive. It had no rules. Barden of North Carolina was Chairman in my first year in Congress and I remember the Committee meeting four times. Bit by bit the Committee has become more liberal until now it is easily the most liberal Committee in the House. Conservatives, border-state members and Southerners do not care to serve on this Committee. The Committee should have more conservative members to be better balanced, but the

Committee is now enormously productive and the products concern the most controversial subject before Congress. The subcommittees are extremely well run despite personality differences and you can't eliminate them." (102)

Another senior member spoke of the differences he sees in Chairmen. In his view Chairman Powell of New York tended to be more autocratic, Perkins more democratic in operation of the Committee, but both gave a great amount of freedom to subcommittees' Chairmen, "In that way they are similar". He continued:

"They differ as to style, but seem to have accomplished just as much as the other one. Powell was Chairman of the Committee when there was more assistance from the Executive Branch. The present Chairman has had a tough way to go because the administration in power has been less cooperative in getting things done. Also, Powell operated a tighter system because he was autocratic. The rules under which the Committee now operates are much more desirable." (105)

One junior member pointed out these two unique factors of the Committee: "Junior members on the Committee have more to say than they do in a lot of other committees. Also, the subject matter is unique, and makes the Committee unique." (104) Another stated: "Carl Perkins is an excellent Chairman. We have the most democratic set of rules of any Committee in the House." (102)

A junior member also recognizes:

"The Chairman does an excellent job of letting everyone have his or her say." He feels that as a junior member he has: "always been able to file an individual viewpoint in Committee reports, to ask questions, advance comments and propose amendments", and proudly adds, "it is the best Committee in the House". (109)

Another junior member describes the Chairman a little differently:

"The Chairman has built-in power. Only if the Membership unitedly get up-in-arms can they overrule the Chairman. Under normal practices he is pretty powerful. We consider bills he wants to consider, pigeonholes bills he wants to; maybe the Chairman carries too much power."

Chairman Perkins states his responsibility very simply:

"Well, there are so many different viewpoints on this Committee and they represent so many different local situations. It is a real difficult task to get them to gel those view-points and to work out legislation. But the problem is of such importance, I feel we will resolve that difference just like we have always done in the past. It is going to take staying with the job constantly."

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 took effect on January 3, 1971 and was designed to reduce the secrecy of congressmen's positions on various issues. Among other provisions, all roll-call votes taken in committees are to be recorded with records available to the public. House Committee hearings may be televised or broadcast if the majority of the committee approves.

The Education and Labor Committee had, in 1967, stepped beyond this rule of public openness. Counsel Reed describes the change in Committee rules:

"The Committee was opened to the public. This was a move from conducting its business, mark-up sessions, in private -- excluding the public, to having open mark-up sessions to the public by Full Committee and the subcommittees. This is not only in the hearing process, but in the actual amending process of legislation and reporting [voting] process. So, at all times the public is to have access to the proceedings of the Committee. This enables the Committee to be more responsive to the public needs and to legislate more effectively."

The Chairman's decision to open mark-up sessions is historically defined (19, P.288) as a counter move to Committee Members who were using delaying tactics in 1967 on the Antipoverty Bill. They refused to attend the executive, mark-up session, thereby preventing a necessary quorum. Chairman Perkins opened the session to the press and the public. A quorum soon appeared. This executive session was described in close, not always complimentary, detail in news releases studied. It opened to the public for the first time, the personal conflicts and imperfect oratory of legislators.

However, that was five years before this investigation and empirical materials show 70% of the present Membership perceive open mark-up sessions as a "good" thing.

Mr. Romano Mazzoli, Committee Member who is among the 70% for open session, points out: "everybody is a boy orator and it can literally impede action, cause collusion, and doesn't accomplish anything." He goes further including himself in the boy orator role and implies: "All 38 Members like to talk, this is a part of the typical nature of a Congressman, and it is vented naturally in the Committee."

The fact that Chairman Perkins operates a democratic committee where presentation of conflicts is desired is a statement of his direct power. To allow this to occur is also an indication of a change in the committee processes since he became Chairman. He wishes conflicting viewpoints to be presented because he feels this is the most effective process to insure a piece of legislation reflecting the various needs of the national constituency.

Chairman Perkins gives free reign to policy partisanship and to policy individualism as they represent their particular local constituents. Clash and controversy, party conflict and coalition conflict within parties, guarantees the constituents viewpoint being expressed on issues. The effectiveness of the Committee is partially seen to be dependent upon the non-integration of the Membership when presenting conflicting issues.

One hundred percent of those interviewed mentioned conflict in the legislative business of the Committee. Some stated it was bad, but most perceived it to be a good process for the legislative product and that the legislation reported from Committee did present varied constituent

interest. Eighteen of the 21 Members perceived the Committee to be effective in producing good educational legislation for the needs of the Nation. Only three Members saw the democratic operation of the Committee presenting a detriment to good decision-making.

The actual productivity of the Committee in successfully reporting and passing legislation can be seen in the quantity of bills referred to the Committee by the House, the major bills (important to national interest) reported from Committee, and the number of bills passed by Congress and enacted into public law by the President. Successful legislating in terms of quantity is compared in the President Johnson years of 1965-66 during the 89th Congress when Chairman Powell was with the Committee, with President Nixon's term of office during the 92nd Congress with Congressman Perkins as Chairman. Table II compares the percent of successful legislation of the Committees in the 89th and 92nd Congresses.

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TABLE II

Legislative Activities

House Education and Labor Committee

Of The 89th and 92nd Congresses

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<u>Congress</u>	<u>Bills and resolutions referred to Committee</u>	<u>Bills Reported</u>	<u>Bills Passed</u>	<u>Percentage Passed</u>
89th	950	32	24	75%
92nd	1,116	23	19	83%

---

Chairman Perkins is an expert parliamentarian, knows the formal rules and uses them. The legitimate power of a Chairman is to encourage an open forum and then resolve the issues presented through compromising decision. Chairman Perkins often forces a decision to be made by the Membership simply by not adjourning the session until a vote is cast and the conflict thereby resolved by majority vote. This technique is illustrated in descriptions of situations as occurred.

On May 14, 1967 an article in the Washington Star stated:

Perkins also pulled off something of a coup by dragooning weary House and Senate conferees into approving a huge new elementary and secondary school aid bill in the dying hours of the 1967 Session [of Congress]. Despite lots of free advice that he should let the bill lie over until 1968, Perkins demanded and got a compromise bill out of the Conference before adjournment.

In 1969 this technique was again successful as described in the Wall Street Journal, May 12, 1969:

In a sense, these early tussles are merely warmups for the big brawls that are certain to come when the President launches major campaigns on the education and anti-poverty fronts. For example, Mr. Perkins and many other Democrats strongly oppose dispensing school aid in block grants to the states -- something House Republicans are pushing and the Administration is expected eventually to endorse. Carl has one outstanding quality: the man is absolutely relentless in pursuit of his legislative goals. He just wears the opposition down.

It was found during this study that he is still fighting this issue in the 93rd Congress, 1973. From Congressional Membership reports, Mr. Perkins did not adjourn the Conference Committee Meeting which was debating the Higher Education Act of 1972 until a decision was made to report the bill. The House and Senate conferees had met for six weeks and Chairman Perkins would not adjourn the meeting until the conferees reported. They reported the bill at 5:A.M. in the

morning; the Chairman collapsed three days later from exhaustion, but not until he had accomplished drafting the legislative report from Committee.

The fact that compromise is necessary when conflict arises cannot really be disputed. It is simply a matter of common sense in perceiving personal relationships, and is basic in defining a final decision-making process. That compromise is needed for Committee decisions are well expressed by Congressman Hansen, on the topic of Conference Committee Managers:

"We are going to conference next week on the Older Americans Bill. There are differences between Administration, sponsors of some bills, and sponsors of other bills. We got a compromise in the subcommittee that administration said it liked. These were good, honest compromises. The bill passed general committee and passed the House. Now, on the minimum wage bill we did not resolve the differences in subcommittee; it was fought on the floor and did pass. It is better to get compromises in committee first."

#### Summary

The Chairman is the locus of cause for the allocating and integrating of roles and facilities in order to achieve decision-making. The very structure of the Committee is influenced by him in the selection of subcommittee Chairmen, the appointment of Members to subcommittees, the referral of legislation to the subcommittees, the retainment of pieces of legislation for the Full Committee and the baling or ignoring of pieces of legislation. The facilities are administered by him in the budgeting of the staff and the Committee, all expenses must receive prior approval and Members are accountable to him for their expenditures. The majority Committee staff is hired by and are loyal to him. Only by his approval are activities carried out on

issues considered by the Committee, hearings on issues, and initiation of reports of legislation by the Committee. He acts directly within the formal rules and by legitimate power.

Chairman Perkins presides over the activities of the Committee and effectively controls the setting to resolve conflict. He sometimes forces this decision-making process simply by his power as Chairman to not adjourn a meeting until a majority of the Membership agrees. Effective decision-making is seen when an integration of goals is made to resolve a conflict. However, the Committee Membership provide the expectations and limitations of the Chairman's power to control the processes. During the 92nd Congress, the Committee Membership as a group accepted the power of the present Chairman. It is perceived that he is acceptable because (1) he controls the facilities and role allocations in a fair manner within his jurisdiction, and; (2) he democratically allows presentation of conflicting issues by individual Members; and (3) he ultimately provides the means for resolution of conflicting ideas, issues, and goals which lead to decisions.

The decision-making processes of the House Committee on Education and Labor are, therefore, identified as being legitimately within a formal hierarchy and are divided into two basic applications:

1. Presentation of issues which may lead to conflict
2. Decision of issues through resolution of conflict

It is within these two basic steps or applications that the more intricate processes lie. During the presentation of conflict, focal questions asked are: Who or what presents conflict; and for what reason?

To answer these questions we endeavored to establish the goals of the Membership introducing the conflict. We endeavored to answer what Membership goals are perceived to be and to define "goals" in a consistent yet explicit way as to their relationship to educational issues, particularly career education.

Because variables are so multiple, analysis is limited to factors and variables in the decision-making processes which are the most prevalent among Membership and relationships concerning career education have been particularly described.

Because every formal relationship, external or internal, directly or indirectly, relates in some manner to Membership goals, it is thought best to present next in this study individual case studies which describe the Membership. It is hoped that the case study may be perceived by the reader as containing an accurate description of the Member and may allow the reader insight into the basic processes of decision-making as well as the intricacies and complexities of it. (Appendix D)

#### Case Studies.

Case studies of the Membership were done initially in the research and were first perceived as a part of the text. However, through the trials of analysis and keeping to the goals of the papers, the case study that at first was a bulky file, was slowly dismantled and findings were distributed for explanation under the factors or dimensions or topics as organized in the final study. An original copy of the case study is contained in confidential files, but is not presented in this paper except through quantitative findings based on the count of those who were for or against a certain issue, or in presenting vital statistical facts in table or descriptive format on the Committee as a whole.

It must be remembered that interpretations presented are strictly those of the writer, that another researcher going through analysis of the identical material would and could probably come to substantiate other findings. It is hoped that this research is relative, clear in thought and intent, and can be useful to the reader.

## External Forces of Influence

### The House - No Indirect Power Seen on Decision-Making

Indirect power upon the decision-making of the Committee by Congress is very slight. Its direct power in voting for an issue reported by the Committee is seen, but the fact that the decision made in the report will or will not be acceptable in the House, has no relationship to the decision made. Therefore, no indirect force is seen by the House upon the Committee decision-making. For the national good, the belief in the issue at hand is the basis for the decision made, not whether the Congress will or will not accept it.

It is loudly and consistently stated in interviews and found printed in publications: "The Committee is not representative of the House".

Several remarks showing this typical perception were:

"The Democrats are clearly more liberal. The Committee is more liberal than the House floor, the Republican side [of the Committee] tends to be atypical also. It is not reflective of the majority of the House Republicans, it is more liberal in its vote. Thus, you have more liberal Democrats and more moderate Republicans in the Committee." (115)

"The Committee is not a cross-section of the House -- it's overloaded with liberals. There is a standing joke in the House that we write education legislation on the floor, not in Committee." (114)

"The Committee does not come out with a bill solidified, so there is always a fight on the floor and the minority tears into the bill and amends it on the floor." (112)

A key question was found in a statement by Mr. Esch of Michigan:

"1. The Committee does not reflect the constituency and the attitude of Congress; and 2. Members -- many Members of the Committee, while recognizing the fact, do not really try to compensate for it." (113)

This suggests that stronger party goals are not sought by the Committee, at least until after a bill hits the floor. The question asked is: "Why? Why does the Committee not compensate for it?"

A finding of this study is that the policy goal for education is the Committee goal rather than the Committee goal being the same as the party goal. Another remark which on close analysis points to this finding is:

"The Committee is more liberal than Congress as a whole. But no matter, on the education issue, no matter how you do it there would be fights on the floor because everybody considers himself an expert on education, and they have strong views on labor, you know." (104)

This comment keys in on the issue being at conflict on the floor because of the subject, rather than because of a party line -- it is the subject of education rather than a subject of political party lines that causes conflict.

#### How Does the Committee Differ from the House

Vital statistics of the Committee Membership are compared with those of the House in Table III.

Questions this research tries to answer are: Why is the Committee not representative of the House? How? Is it true quantitatively that it is more liberal than the House? If so, why? And by what conditions?

In Table III factors showing significances are:

1. There are a few more Republicans in the Committee than in the House. The minority party quantitatively, is well represented in the Committee. Therefore, party membership must not be the determining factor of liberal decisions in the Committee.

2. There is an increase by 10% of membership in both women representation and non-white representation in the Committee compared with the House. Psycho-social factors may indeed contribute to a more liberal legislative decision in the Committee than the House.

3. There were 9% fewer lawyers in the Committee than in the House. We can only theorize that perhaps advocacy, oratory, or legislative expertise could diminish in degree by 9% in the Committee compared with the House.

4. Voting patterns of the House and Committee vary a great deal on conservative-liberal votes cast. The Committee casts 19% more liberal votes than the House. The statement that the Committee is more liberal than the House is a true statement.

The statement referring to political parties being conservative and liberal does not hold true for the Committee, particularly the statement of the Republicans being more conservative.

The Committee indeed is more liberal in its decision-making than the House and one reason could be psycho-social goals for social minorities, i.e. women and non-whites.

TABLE III  
 VITAL STATISTICS OF MEMBERSHIPS OF THE  
 EDUCATION AND LABOR COMMITTEE WITH  
 THE HOUSE FLOOR 92nd CONGRESS

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Committee</u>
Number of Members	435	38 (8% of House)
Democrats		
Number	255	22
Percentage	59%	55%
Republicans		
Number	180	16
Percentage	41%	45%
Women Representatives		
Number	13	5
Percentage	3%	13%
Non-White Representatives		
Number	15	5
Attorneys		
Percentage	56%	47%
Average Age	51	51
Absent from Voting	5%	3%
Liberal Votes Cast	41%	58%
Conservative Votes Cast	54%	39%

Public Hearings as a Source of Communication

Public oversight hearings are viewed by the Committee Membership as a responsibility to oversee the implementation of its program by the Executive Branch of government. Public hearings are for the purpose of gathering information on policy issues. Hearings are also a means of Communication by the Committee to the public.

During the 92nd Congress, the Committee on Education and Labor held 83 public hearings on major policy issues. Of these, 12 hearings were conducted by the Full Committee and 71 were conducted by subcommittees. During the time of the empirical study, hearings were in progress, conducted by Chairman Perkins on the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

To gather facts for evaluating the implementation and results of its programs and to find what the needs may be to include in future legislation is the perception of the majority of Members interviewed.

On January 13, 1973, the Courier-Journal and Times, Louisville, Kentucky, printed an article about these hearings that well describes the setting of activities witnessed during the study:

Oversight hearings have been in session in the Committee with 200 witnesses heard. But Mr. Perkins keeps going day after day, week after week, laying a foundation for the first of what promises to be a series of conflicts over domestic social programs with an adversary --- President Nixon.

The tactic is called "building a record". It's a vital ingredient of Perkins' style, developed over 24 years in Congress. The idea is to wear down your opposition and collect testimony from so many experts that no one can challenge your homework.

You'll get mowed down like a cyclone if you don't build up a record of hearings behind you. Perkins says.

The Elementary and Secondary School Act, which was legislation sponsored by Perkins is due to expire June 30, 1973. The Act produced the first major federal aid to elementary and secondary education, mainly by Title I which allocates funds on a formula that multiplies the number of children from low-income families (under \$4,000 or on welfare) by half the State's average per pupil expenditure. Chairman Perkins introduced a bill to Congress which will extend the program for five years. Mr. Nixon wants to replace the Act along with several other

pieces of education legislation with a general revenue-sharing plan. Complicating this issue in Committee is the ranking minority member on the Committee, Mr. Quie who would distribute funds to places where students test poorly on reading and math skills. Kentucky, he maintains, would fare well by the proposal. However, Mr. Perkins is not convinced. "Don't you think every school in the country would try to get the lowest possible scores on the tests? You'd just tell your smartest kids not to come to school the day you give the test." (101)

So there was a three-way conflict on this bill during the 92nd Congress. The Courier-Journal states that Perkins is "firm in a belief that the number one priority in federal aid to education should be to the disadvantaged school children and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is the best way to do it."

One third of all responses on the subject of hearings mentioned oversight as a responsibility of the Committee, and an important one. It was felt that more oversight is needed, that there is not enough able to be done. Congressman Brademas sees "a responsibility of a Congressman is the overseeing of implementation of our legislation by the Executive Branch". Congressman Hawkins stated that "oversight hearings are to see that the laws which were passed are being implemented and actually administered in the way in which Congress intended." (105)

One Member confided, "The oversight hearings, some of which were mainly directed at the Subcommittee Chairman or a friend of his who had a little political problem in his district, so he wanted to bring in a few of his colleagues and have a hearing and thus get some press... would make a good showing for him in his home town".

A specific topic of oversight hearings discussed was the Office of Economic Opportunity, "Chairman Perkins was more than willing to conduct oversight to investigate fully." One Member stated, "If more OEO oversight had been done all along the problems would have been found -- but now it has almost torpedoed the entire program." Congressman Steiger stated, "Congress does a lousy job on oversight; it should do more. Maybe an oversight committee is needed that does nothing but oversight." (115)

The public hearings are to gather facts which assist in writing policies of legislation. It is by overseeing that proper implementation is achieved by the Executive Branch to the intent of the existing programs and, it is a means for communication between the public and committee membership on policy issues. It is used by the legislature to build a case ready for conflict and, ultimately, may be a means for resolution of conflict based upon the findings of the public hearings.

The Committee takes its oversight seriously and empirical materials indicate that Education and Labor Committee Membership wish to establish better policies for overseeing the intent of their legislation.

#### Appropriations Committee.

The Appropriations Committee of the House is similar to the House in that it is mentioned throughout interviews as a powerful Committee who has the authority to appropriate exact amounts of funds to the programs which are authorized to be funded by the Committee and House enactment.

It is stated that the Appropriations Committee does not appropriate funds for educational policies based on the intent of the Committee.

However, the fact of appropriations being controlled externally in no

way was found to influence the decision of the Committee on the amount of funds they authorize in their legislative decision. The Committee, on deciding educational policy, authorized funds according to their perception as what is necessary to implement the programs nationally. They specifically base that decision upon expert knowledge of the issue. Specific statements by Members during interview point to this relationship.

(On Title I Funding) We feel that if the money had been appropriated by the Appropriations Committee to the extent of the authorizations for Title I then this problem would not exist because there would be a sufficient amount of money to put in all the schools where these children are. But the Appropriations Committee for all these many years has just not felt compelled to appropriate a whole lot of money to the thing. I believe the authorization is some six billion dollars and the appropriations are one or two billion. (109)

#### The Court as a Force of Influence Upon Policy Issues.

The Courts are seen as a powerful and indirect force upon the educational policies decided by the Committee and Congress. There has been growing dissatisfaction in the United States populace with the use of local property taxes to finance public schools. Real estate taxes are rising and minority constituents are complaining that the financing of public schools under the present system discriminates against the students in poor school districts.

Court cases were mentioned repeatedly in interviews with the Member referring to the Committee implementation of a court decision.

One court case cited on interview is a suit filed by Mexican-American families in San Antonio, Texas, who charge that the property tax system enables prosperous school districts to spend more on each pupil's education than poorer districts and thus violates the "equal protection" provision of the 14th Amendment of the Constitution.

Committee Members mentioned this case being "important in the type of funding we will go to." (109)

One Member considers education of the handicapped a priority for the Committee because "a recent court decision requires the handicapped be given the same education and all advantages as anyone else and that will require special programs and special aid [ ] by the federal government [ ]."

Chairman Perkins, however, is forceful in describing the responsibility for education in lieu of court decision:

"People have been led to believe that the courts have to pave the way, that property taxes cannot stand this burden; and they cannot. We ought to simply state from the Federal level that we are going to give some relief and this has got to be done now." (101)

#### President or Executive Branch.

The informal rules expand, increase and extend with the formal rules. The Constitutional rule of division of powers is formally followed, but the President is seen to have informal power through party lines: the informal rules. This is seen historically as an informal rule of both Democrats and Republicans and is based on party rather than on Executive versus Legislative Branch.

In modern times the "executive communication" is a prolific source of legislative proposals. This is usually in the form of a letter from a member of the President's Cabinet or the head of an independent agency -- or even from the President himself -- transmitting a draft of a proposed piece of legislation.

The President sends education proposals either directly or indirectly to Congress. An example of executive legislation was mentioned by Congressman Mazzoli, Representative of Kentucky when he said, "The President

[Nixon] is committed to aid for private and parochial schools. The President has presented a bill in support of private and parochial schools and Congressman Mills is on the bill which gives it some status."

(109)

The indirect power exerted by leaders of a party is seen to exist, but only to the degree that the decision is acceptable on a particular issue to the individual member. If the member has a personal belief which differs from that of the party he will follow his personal belief first. Indirect power is acceptable only to the degree that it does not conflict with the member on any one issue.

The indirect power of the party is seen to exist to the highest degree by the goals expressed by the President, whichever party he belongs to. This is a stable factor found in all historical documents on the Presidential influence upon the Committee and vice versa. The President, whoever he may be, represents the desires of the national party, which ever one he belongs to. The power of the President to dictate issues is seen as the party force or goal in the Committee Membership.

Administrative proposals are usually forthcoming from executive departments and include facts or statistics concerning the people of the Nation, such as changes in population, economics and employment, and results of educational projects and pilot programs. The administrative offices have computerized data systems and expert staff who prepare reports to the Committee as requested by the Committee. The reports, and sometimes proposals for legislative policies, are sent to Committee.

Numbers of reports, counting in the thousands, were received by the Committee during the 92nd Congress. Twenty-one Administrative Proposals

were received by the Committee during this time. Of these, 16 were introduced in the House as bills or amendments to bills. Eight of these bills were introduced to Congress by Mr. Quie of Minnesota, ranking minority Member of the Committee. One was introduced by Mr. Quie and Mr. Perkins, another by Mr. Perkins, one by Mr. Brademas, one by Mr. Erlenborn, one by Mr. Steiger for himself and others, and one by Mr. Bell and Mr. Pucinski.

Review of all historical documents and present findings indicate the Committee Membership is more liberal on policy issues than the party goal expressed by the President. Present voting records of the Committee on issues recognized as party issues and being introduced to the Committee only to the degree that the party goal did not conflict with the personal psychosocial goal nor the policy goal of the issue. Three out of four educational policy issues analyzed showed conflicting votes among the members with the conflict based on party versus policy versus psychosocial goals.

The President can represent the party and present a specific piece of legislation to the Committee, but the party goal does not always, and in fact will not, have priority in the majority of the Membership over policy goals. Also the party goal in a small number of Members will be second in priority under psychosocial goals.

#### The Constituent As A Force of Influence.

The Committee Membership is similar to the Congressional Membership in that the individual Member truly represents the constituents they were elected by. The Committee does not contain a representative in its views toward federal responsibility for education. It is much more composed of Members who are concerned about social welfare. (Know Your Congress:p.32)

There is no quality that sets the typical Representative apart from the typical American -- except one: there is apt to be in the Congress of the U.S., leadership well above the average and with a high sense of civic responsibility. A more than ordinary identification with public affairs and an inner personal drive for the realization of what each Representative feels is the "American dream", conspire to build leadership in men who seek or are singled out for public office. This, together with the intently legalistic nature of a Congressman's functions, tends to give an overbalance of representation to the profession of law.

Beyond that the Congress is elected by the people to make laws for the people and is as diversified as the country, mirroring ideally the variegated aims, its sectional interest, its economic welfare and its politics. Overall, out of the conflict of ideas and talents, groups and parties, issues are melted down to reflect as much as possible the total interests of the whole country. These needs are expressed in the news media, and are brought to the public attention in catastrophies, i.e. natural crises such as floods or fires.

The Member is elected to Congress after campaigning to his constituency. A candidate for political office usually makes statements and promises to introduce legislation on a particular subject, if elected. The promises are based upon the needs of the people he is wishing to represent. The constituent, with his power of the vote to elect the representative, essentially initiates the future, promised piece of legislation. If the Representative cannot keep his promises and is not effective in representing his or her people, then they risk losing their office at the expiration of the term.

At the same token a Congressman is seen as a true representative of the constituency which elected him to Congress. He thinks like the majority of his voters because he was raised in the same environment as his constituents, and, therefore, is truly representative of them in Congress. In regard to helping constituents, every Member is delighted to be of assistance to the folks back home. Everyone realizes, however, that this service while beneficial to many people, cannot be regarded as quite so important as the consideration of national legislation.

This concept of representation of each constituency which elected them was not really perceived in the role of the junior individual Congressman. The ones with seniority were Congressmen who had run every two years in elections and been supported by the constituency. They perceived themselves to be representative of their constituents, as their main objective, without exception.

This may emanate from his election campaign during which he had promised to introduce legislation on a particular subject, if elected. His entire campaign may have been based upon one or more such proposals. Or, through his experience after taking office he may have become aware of the need for amendment or repeat of existing laws or the enactment of a statute in an entirely new field.

When asked about his views on the two-year term for Members, Mr. Veysey brought out a clear view of responsibility to constituents when he stated, "I think it is very important that one of the Houses be in the short-range, closely responsive to the people. That is what the House of Representatives is all about." He goes on to say that he has learned to take the issues back to the people and ask them what they

think about things. It is interesting to note that he regards this as "learned" which could imply that a new Representative would not quite be doing this or realizing that he should.

James O'Hara sees the two-year term of Representatives as a good thing. "There is something to be said for the two-year term. It certainly keeps people on their toes." (104) He goes on to make the only comment in all the interviews concerning the press when discussing the changing of a two-year term to a four-year term in Congress, he said: "I don't see the Congress willing to take the heat of the press accusing it of feathering its own nest by running a four-year term and so forth." (104)

On the two year term, a positive statement was made by Congressman William A. Steiger, "I would not change the two-year term. You run for two years and you work for two years. This forces you to work harder."

One Member interviewed had a very pessimistic outpouring about racial problems. He stated:

"The general public is racist. Where do you think the Congressman gets it? You think they invented it? They are responding to their constituents. They are representatives of the people and the people are no good."

Mr. Badillo had very personal and negative views concerning his effectiveness on the Committee, but spoke of it as the Committee effectiveness in explaining,

"I have introduced legislation to that effect [proposed integration in housing] and it gets nowhere. The Members in Education have ruled it out of order. They say it doesn't have a thing to do with education. They refused to discuss it on the Committee. I was ruled out of order to bring it up." (110)

Responses directly mentioning their constituents were nine.

One response expressed that Nixon had won the election by such a landslide that he must have the American people behind him.(109) One response was stated simply, "The votes of the Committee Members indicate the votes of the constituents they represent."

#### SUMMARY OF VOLUNTARY RESPONSES OF CONSTITUENTS

In voluntary responses 9 participants mentioned the term constituencies speaking of their own constituents.

- 103 - expressed Nixon winning the election by such a landslide he must have the American people behind him.
- 104 - is not so sure that his constituents desire federal funding to education.
- 105 - career education concept is disillusioning to constituents when played up by politicians, put into effective programs for short periods of time and then dropped.
- 109 - from election returns, President Nixon has constituents behind him.
- 109 - constituents want education programs for the so-called "average" student too.
- 109 - Congress is accountable to the people
- 110 - sees most of Congress as racial bigots who represent constituents who are also racial bigots..
- 110 - expresses major concern throughout talk is constituents, problems look unsolvable to him.
- 113 - the votes of the Committee indicate the votes of the constituents they represent.
- 116 - has structured program where constituents advise him on education.
- 120 - two-year term is good because it keeps the Congressman close to the people he represents.
- 121 - constituents seen as taking up too much time. He states he sees constituents every weekend to get input.

Note: Interview reference numbers are located in Appendix B.

## The Decision-Making Process

### Patterns of Goals.

More remote partisan influences come from the President when he acts as party leader in pushing his policy preferences. Describing the poverty bill as a "prime example of executive legislation", John Donovan emphasized the partisan caste and the partisan strategy important to the Powell-Landrum Bill by the President:

"Northern liberal loyalists would obviously vote for a bill so close to the President's heart. Landrum was to help line up a sufficient number of southern votes to make this a Democratic program. If ambitious young Republicans wanted to oppose a war on poverty in an election year, so be it. This was the strategic pattern within which the Economic Opportunity Act was sent to the Congress. It is hard to imagine that such a daring strategy was set up by anyone other than the President himself."

Committee Republicans accepted the strategy in kind. Throughout the poverty bill debate, one stated: "They were trying to make a record and we were trying to knock their record and make one of our own." Another said, "on OEO, we had 87 amendments, and they did not accept a single one." In one sense, since political parties are aggregators of the environmental groups, party leaders can command the resources of a combination of groups; and their capacity for influencing Education and Labor Members is proportionately wide ranging.

Education and Labor Members come to their Committee to make good public policy. They inhabit a distinctively pluralistic and partisan environment, and they happily operate in integral elements of the party-led coalitions in that environment. Their key decision rules prescribe a blend of policy partisanship and policy individualism. And their internal decision-making processes bear the imprint of those two rules. If our analysis is correct, the Committee's decisions themselves should

bear a similar imprint.

One way to look for the impact of policy partisanship on Committee decisions is to focus on internally expressed disagreements -- as we did previously to focus on Committee decisions as they are registered and reacted to on the House floor. If we examine Education and Labor decisions in different policy areas, we find a good deal of variation in the amount of partisanship they generate. But, by and large, the policies having the broadest impact on the society (and in that sense the most important) have the greatest partisan content. Table 6.12 by Fenno as shown below, displays the number of party votes on all roll calls in what we think are the five most important policy areas within the Committee's jurisdiction.

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Table 6.12  
Floor Partisanship on Education and  
Labor Bills: Five Policy Areas, 1955-66

<u>Policy Area</u>	<u>Number of Bills</u>	<u>Number of Roll Calls</u>	<u>Number of Party Votes</u>	<u>Percentage Party Votes</u>
Anti-Poverty	3	12	12	100%
Aid to Education (Elem. & Sec.)	6	20	17	85%
Labor Management (Excl. min. wage)	10	19	12	63%
Minimum Wage	4	13	8	62%
Aid to Education (College)	8	17	3	18%

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Judging from the response they draw from Democrats and Republicans in the chamber, Committee decisions in four of its five key policy areas have a strong partisan content. This comes as no surprise. Committee

Members perceive these issues as partisan-ideological issues, deal with them in these terms internally, and package them accordingly for floor action. Decision-making on issues of federal aid to education (elementary and secondary schools) minimum wage, labor management and poverty, gives the Committee its distinctive partisan flavor. The bipartisanship characteristic of decision-making on aid to higher education provides the minor theme. Partisanship voting patterns compared with overall patterns of the House could not be accomplished in this research as it was in Fenno's. (19) However, liberal versus conservative votes could be figured on a basis of the voting patterns seen by the New Republic, liberal versus conservative in the House and by individual Members. From this record, the votes of the Committee Members were compared with the votes of the House, the voting records of the mark-up of the Committee action on key issues which were known to be partisan issues, and compared individual votes with the party votes to give detail to the individual decisions and to reach primarily, we hope, the analysis that Fenno reached. The system of analysis is not the same; but the outcome is. Bills having first priority are those listed in the Congressional Calendar of Legislative Activities as "Major Bills".

The fourfold increase in the number of decisions is, we think, evidence of the special sensitivity of Education and Labor to changes of external partisanship. This change in volume could be attributed to Committee leadership and change in party ratios within the Committee.

The bipartisan bills showed the most scattered and undiscernable patterns, probably indicating personal and constituent influence. The most controversial bills were the bipartisan bills of national policy

concerning aid to parochial schools and women's rights amendments. These were extremely hot issues. Absences were used to a larger percentage more by the minority side than the majority side to avoid conflict on these issues.

Particular patterns of voting by the Members could be seen in that one Member definitely on the labor side, voted on one-third of the issues with the conservatives. This is in opposition to his votes cast within the House, as being a strictly liberal man. The maverick voters, those who differ on a variety of subjects, voted straight from the issue.

Most dissenting votes on all issues, partisan and bipartisan, dissenting meaning not voting with the greater percentage of voters, originated on the majority side. Most absenteeism was noted on the minority side. Mr. Perkins was the only Member voting with the majority on all issues except one, and who had perfect attendance at the meetings.

Forty-one absentees were seen in the 21 Members interviewed on the minority side. Twenty-three absentees were seen by Members on the majority side of those interviewed. Of those interviewed on the minority side 6 votes on these issues showed "present" not voting. On the majority side on these 23 issues, no votes were cast as present.

The black caucus was seen as a coalition and voted with the minority party issue on one bill, but at the same time, Members of the minority side voted with the majority. This was a bipartisan bill, the most controversial bill of integration measures on the Emergency School Aid Act.

The hottest issue to hit the Committee was the controversial aid to parochial schools. There were 20 votes cast in Committee with only 4 for aid to private and parochial schools. Of the four voting for it were: Erlenborn, Badillo, Hicks, Puckinski. Hicks lists no status on

religion, Erlernborn lists no status on religion, Badillo lists no status on religion, and Pucinski is a Catholic.

The black caucus was absent from voting on this issue. On the women's rights amendment, Chisholm voted for it along with the women on the Committee, with the black males on the Committee being absent.

On the parochial school aid, which was introduced by the President, Mr. Quie was absent from voting.

This only shows a wide range of patterns and the fact that on particular issues of liberal versus conservatives, the party lines are drawn. On issues of national policy and controversial issues, voting is variable and it is guessed would depend on all the other factors of goals in the Membership.

The Committee represents the most integrated group on matters pertaining to welfare and labor by voting in the majority on issues as straight liberal versus conservative and labor versus business.

On issues of education for the national good, the major issues are where the conflict arises and are along issues of conservative versus liberal and personal issues goals. On issues of vocational education the vote is the most bipartisan. On matters of elementary and secondary education the patterns are partisan. On higher education, the bill was so amended and changed with controversial riders that neither a partisan nor bipartisan vote could really be distinguished within the Committee.

Conference Committee.

Three Conference Committee meetings were observed during empirical study. The workings of the Conference Committee in decision-making were seen to be identical to those of the Committee. Conflict is presented and conflict is resolved on the issue under question. The similarities on an educational issue are profound.

The two like Committees in the two houses were represented alike on partisan issues in the Conference Committee; both Senate and House representatives were alike in bipartisanship issues based on policy goals in education. The Conference Committee was like the Committee in conflict of personalities and membership personal goals. The same processes are at work in the Conference Committee as in the Committee itself, that conflicts and compromises do occur, however, there is more of a tendency for conflicts arising on the basis of party policy particularly on the specific issue of formula of funding appropriations.

Compromises are made with conflict resolution on personal issues. These are normally on controversial amendments attached to the major bill. The winners are the majority. Coalitions are formed outside of party lines but inside as to controversial issues and these coalitions may retract from the party line and support the other party on an issue. Personal or constituent interest is the major conflict seen and also again policy on formula for appropriations of funds, but that this conflict usually arises from party lines. Compromise is the conflict resolution by majority vote on the issue. Chairman Perkins ploy is to demand compromise, to simply wear them out physically until no more conflict is present.

### Policy Goals of the Membership.

The Education and Labor Committee has in its history some of the most controversial issues of our society. This history includes issues such as federal aid to parochial schools which has been an issue since 1949, federal aid to education, the Taft-Hartley Act which organized labor called a "slave law" and conservative members of society called "the salvation of individual union members."

This Committee handled three-fifths of President Kennedy's legislative programs including minimum wage legislation, Federal aid to primary and secondary schools, and federal aid to colleges and universities. President Kennedy served as a Member during the 80th, 81st, and 82nd Congress, and President Nixon served as a Member during the 80th and 81st.

Remarks during interview showed the Membership goals of the Committee to be based upon the subject rather than the party line or personal line. There were a few exceptions to this, but the majority of the Membership saw themselves as legislating education for the national good. Their goals as a Committee are policy goals. They consistently described the subject matter and not the influence or power of the Committee in the House. This finding is similar to that of Fenno . (19) Richard Fenno found that "the distinctive, dominant member goal on Education and Labor is to help make good policy in an area of substantial personal interest." And also "to help make good public policy". The majority of Members interviewed stated that they enjoy Membership on the Committee because it deals with the most important subjects of education and labor, of public concern and social concern.

Another factor is that the slight minority of Members who do not hold this view, but instead express a party goal in priority over the

policy goal of the Committee are the Members who are identified as the least effective, viewed as "the outsiders", on the Committee by both the Membership and the researcher. These persons comprised 5 of the 21 interviewed.

Individual responses by the Membership are so basic to this finding and are the real proof of the study. The comments based on policy goals were seen to lie summarized in the following:

"The Committee has the real gut issues of the Nation." (121)

"The Committee on Education and Labor of the House has the responsibility of writing and authorizing legislation that touches upon the broad fields of education and labor and a number of related fields ... are responsible for initiating, inventing, creating legislation ... of amending legislation... of overseeing implementation of legislation." (103)

"Given what we have on the Committee which is social legislation, education legislation, and given the very nature of that which cannot be empirically examined like you can a tank, makes the attitude of the Committee very difficult to organize, difficult to focus clearly on the end product for the Nation because we don't really know what the end product is." (109)

"The Committee handles the most terrifically controversial subjects that are before Congress and as a consequence we have a lot of good fights ... that is because of the subject matter." (104)

Another fact mentioned by many members interviewed is "partisan considerations were put aside on the Vocational Education Act of 1968 .....very good workmanship. We brought it to the floor, passed it with hardly a ripple. That is a good indication of the standing of that particular subject matter.....vocational education." (115)

The Committee is recognized as functioning at its most effective level when passing legislation on an issue that is considered to be bipartisan. The issue is of such importance to the national good that the members worked bipartisanly. Another factor showing policy issue as the supreme issue of the Committee is in the fact that most Members view

themselves and co-Members as being experts on education and specializing in particular fields within education. Again, the outsiders, the Members not referred to at all during interviews are the Members who are not recognized as experts in the field of education.

Mr. Meeds of Washington stated: "The Committee has extremely bright people, but there are 38 Chiefs and no Indians. This leads to a lot of infighting in Committee and on the floor over bills." (107) He goes on to say, "everyone is an expert in education. Nobody ever accepts as gospel what the Committee says because it is on subjects that everyone has their own ideas about. This is bound to happen and is refreshing, really." He brought out the point that on mathematical formulas presented in bills reported by the Space and Astronautic Committee, these are accepted because no one knows any difference -- they are not experts in the field. "Everyone is an expert on education," he reiterated.

Jack Reed, the General Counsel on the staff points out that:

"Principally, in strengthening the Committee abilities to carry out effective jobs --- was done through the allocation of specific jurisdictions to standing subcommittees which enables some continuity ... Congress to Congress ... to work on problems in those particular areas."

Congressman John Brademas talks about his subcommittee, "because of the subcommittee system -- the structure, we get extremely busy in the areas of our particular responsibility." (103)

A newcomer to the Committee who at this point sees party line and conservative views as being the most important, Brademas has realized a problem in not being an expert on educational issues. He plans to solve his problem by organizing educational experts within his constituency.

The educators in his home district are to keep him informed of what they think educational policies should be. He told them, "you guys give me some real sincere, common Hoosier Horse Sense that I can put into that Committee instead of sitting there listening." (116)

#### The Dyadic Principal.

In presentation of policy issue, or issues, by any one Member, the action of all the other Members could be variable as to their own personal, political, expert, or perception on the issue. Very few of the Committee are seen as dependent agents. They are independent in reaching their own decision. It is true that the degree varies. The power exercised by one person is acceptable within variables. The degree of equality is seen as one Member being as important as another Member is, in most cases; but varies as to one Member being more expert than another on a particular issue. There are followers on certain issues, but these followers do not follow on every issue. There are leaders on certain issues, but these are not the leaders on every issue.

A major variable in the decision-making process is the socio-psychological role of the individual Member. The variables are as numerous as there are Members, but a stable factor is seen in that the socio-psychological role of the Member is similar to and represents the socio-psychological makeup of his constituency. The psycho-social power structure stems from the constituents themselves. This I feel is a major finding because it evidences the limitations put on power applications by the Membership in decision-making activities.

The Member varies in psycho-social patterns, in philosophical legislative patterns, in party representation patterns, and in expertise patterns.

The decision made must be acceptable to the psycho-social pattern of the individual Member, and this pattern represents his constituency. In most cases the psycho-social makeup and background of the Member represents the psycho-social makeup of his constituents. He expands this makeup by obtaining leadership qualities and affective decision-making applications, so he is in exception to his constituents in this manner. However, his basic beliefs are the same as, or are at least upheld to a majority degree, by his constituents or else he would not remain in Congress. His psycho-social patterns must be stable and along the lines of his constituency, or else he will disappear. This is seen in the cast of the voting patterns of the Members based on both their psycho-social views and upon the needs of their constituency. It is believed that the personal beliefs which particularly are presented in conflict arise from the psycho-social beliefs of the individual as expressed also by his constituency.

#### The Needs and Goals of the Member.

Superordinate and subordinate relationships were not along formal, organized, established patterns with the exception of the power of the Chairman to conduct the formal business of the Committee. No Member was seen to be subordinate at all times. They were subordinate only to the application of the voting process and not to the vote or decision itself. They were subordinate to the process of compromise, but only to the personal acceptability of the Member. The expert competence rule or relationship does not particularly apply in the establishing of the subordinate, superordinate roles, because every Member considers himself to be an expert on something. The expertise lies in the transacting of the business, the fact that it does get done, but this is through cooperation.

The terms official, political and personal considerations as used in the affectivity dimension in the Committee process is truly complex.

Empirical data are needed to clarify the relationships between the authority, sphere of influence and role characteristics and dimensions in the Committee setting.

#### Membership Goals.

The major concern of each Member expressed during interview was not hard to identify. It was perceived to be the concern which the Member spoke of the greatest length of time, with the greatest degree of definition, and was the most repeated theme during conversation, being referred to when the topic of conversation had been switched to something else. The major concerns of the Membership are identified as follows:

1. Social/racial problems being partly resolved through educational programs was the major concern of three Members.
2. Quality education and the accountability of educators to the public for educational programs was seen to be the major concern to three Members.
3. Fiscal responsibility of legislators to the general public was seen as the major concern to five Members. It is pointed out that this major concern takes priority over any educational subject.
4. Job training to resolve the problem of unemployment was seen as a major concern to two Members.
5. General funding to education is seen as a major concern to five Members.
6. Special education of the physically and mentally handicapped is seen as the major concern to one Member.

7. Federal support to higher education is seen as a major concern to one Member.
8. Federal support to elementary and secondary education, particularly the underprivileged and disadvantaged is seen as the major concern to one Member.

Thirteen of the 21 Members interviewed considered educational goals as their major concern. Three Members perceived psycho-social goals as a major concern, with education being a means of obtaining the goal. Five Members perceive a goal outside of educational subject matter.

Educational policies are perceived to be the unequivocal goal of 62% of the Membership; plus 14% view educational policy as a means to provide for a psycho-social goal. Educational policy is the major responsibility and the foremost goal perceived by the Membership of the Committee. Other goals, not containing the subject of education, contribute to only 24% of the major Membership goals perceived. This number of non-education oriented Members is further recognized in the research to be a fairly stable conservative coalition within the Committee.

The Membership goals as identified and seen in the above quantitative relationships are a basis for additional findings and are more completely defined later in this study.

#### Party Goals Perceived by Committee Membership.

Politically conservative versus politically liberal views on particular issues are consistently referred to by the Committee Membership. These terms are defined below as they are perceived by the Members and the researcher.

A liberal goal is one that is seen as trying to solve social problems through federal support. A liberal believes the federal government should

assist the unemployed, the disadvantaged, the sick and aged, the handicapped, etc. "Welfare" is getting people on their feet so they may live better, will not starve, have good health and then can be able to train and become employed.

A conservative is generally one who has business interests rather than labor; votes for less or no federal funds to the public, due to the general belief in government fiscal responsibility and frugality. A conservative is not interested in give-away programs which he views as encouraging laziness and the "welfare state". The conservative is for the power resting in the State and local government and these governments solving problems themselves rather than relying on the federal government for their needs.

One person stated that Democrats are put on the Committee for their labor support and the Republicans are elected and put on the Committee for their support of business.

Mr. Veysey is under the impression that the Committee can be described as having two factors of interest: labor and business. He said: "Democrats are elected for placement on the Committee by labor unions. Republicans are elected from manufacturing areas, represent Big Business and also have special interests on the Committee." He thinks that education gets second place to the labor priorities. (120) We disagree with him in this study. However, it is also upheld by Quie, Chisholm, Ruth and Hansen.

#### A Party Issue -- Party Goals.

Politics cannot be separated from the Government. It is built into the system. The two-party system of Government is very evident and vitally important. On issues involving the public interest, conflict between Members of different political parties guarantees the constituency to be represented by advocacy as well as emotion.

It is through the party system that the Congressman is elected to the House in the first place. On analysis of case studies and historical documents there appears to be only one who was initially elected to Congress without the organized support of her political party. (Chisholm, N.Y.)

The physical facilities and philosophical beliefs of Congressmen are divided: the majority party and minority party, democrats and republicans, liberals and conservatives, labor interest and business interest.

The personal philosophies and concepts of the Member are seen to be similar to those of the political party to which he belongs. It is the particular affect of variation from the recognized party goals in the decision-making of the Committee that are of particular interest to analysis. How does the Member vary from this established party line in his voting? How often? On what issues? What goal is seen to be given priority over the party goal?

A party goal is seen as an influence not unto itself, but connected with personal philosophies, ingrained in all decision. The term "party goal" is seen as the goal of the Democratic party or the goal of the Republican party. The political goal can be defined in generalities as a point in time and particular legislation when the issues can be identified as being the recognized party goals.

On the subject of partisan conflicts, Mr. Hansen said:

"I can think of one or two occasions where we have had to get locked in, feelings were high and everyone took partisan positions. But for the most part I have not found them to be any major obstacle to pieces of legislation." (117)

Conflict resolution is, however, along party lines on national policies of liberal versus conservative. Some issues transgress party lines.

Such as the issues of parochial and private school aid -- this is the philosophical issue based on national or policy goals, not party goals.

The Psycho-social Goals of the Membership.

Each Member of the Committee interviewed was an unique individual, with varying personal perceptions, abilities, goals, backgrounds and variable in acceptance of indirect pressure for establishing priority of goals in decision-making. There is, indeed, much conflict among Membership, and the conflict can be presented for many reasons.

It is determined that psycho-social goals are among the majority of issues causing conflict among Membership, and the hardest to overcome when resolving the conflict. Hostilities can build up that never cease. Coalitions are formed not just because of party goals and/or policy goals, but psycho-socially, due to personal social feelings which become psycho-social goals.

The affectiveness of the Committee is perceived by the Membership most often to be lessened by the psycho-social conflicts. This study does not begin to identify, nor to analyze all the conflicting psycho-social goals; nor the conflicts seen among individuals nor the cause and effect of these conflicts during the process of presentation of conflict.

However, they can be analyzed and identified by particular situations during the process of conflict resolution simply by the vote they cast and knowledge of the particular Member and the goal of the particular issue. A new source of information is now open to researchers in the form of recorded votes of the Committee Members. Recorded votes are the most telling factor of goal orientation in the final decision of the Committee Member.

Certain factors recognized in the empirical materials as goal orientation were similarly identified in the deciding vote on an issue. Mr. Steiger explains some of the conflict in the Committee as due to strong personalities.

"The Members are very strong, very intelligent, highly active, very opinionated; and once you have that collection that sometimes agrees and often times does not agree ..... then I am not sure that the Committee affectiveness can be improved." (115)

One Member confided that there was "bitter, personal feelings between some Democratic Members."

One Member in particular praised Mrs. Green as an "agressive leader in education. She turned out a devil of a lot of education bills. However, I disagree with her philosophically."

The significance of psycho-social goal orientation is high among Members when resolving conflict. Certain Members involved personal conflict in resolving an issue and it is guessed that all Members do this .

The psycho-social goal in exact relationship to the constituency goal represented by each Member is seen as an important factor in all but two Members interviewed. On the factor of psycho-social origin and orientation, each Member perceived himself to be representative of his constituency. The two who did not are junior Members to Congress and it is wondered if, through tenure, this relationship will develop. It is thought that perhaps this belief can be reversed with the constituency also perceiving the Representative to be faithful to their psycho-social origins. This statement is based on the fact that constituency support is needed to elect the Representative to office.

One way that the Congressman addresses the social problems and issue concerns of his constituency is by use of the Congressional Record.

The Member may feel that the goal he is fighting for is hopeless in being achieved. However, he puts up a good, hard fight and in many cases, his views and the fight become a matter of record in the Congressional Record. How much the fight is based upon getting the constituency vote and how much it is based on the true feelings of the Member cannot be quantitatively measured. However, it is thought that they are the same. This action is not perceived as being done primarily to obtain the vote, but rather for the good of his constituency. Issues with a psycho-social goal had the most activity in terms of legislation. Coercion and coalition among Members are observed to be highest when the issues have psycho-social implications. In the conflict resolution, the trading of votes on pieces of legislation (logrolling) often is seen. Reward power exists in quantity on psycho-social issues more than on any other type of issue.

An analysis of statements made by each Member during interview lead to identifying the educational orientation and the major educational goal of each Member. The analysis involved the opinion of the researcher, with the individual Member's forcefulness and clear presentation of statements.

<u>Major Educational Goal Identified</u>	<u>Number of Members Most Concerned</u>
1. Social/racial policy issues	4
2. Quality of education	4
3. Fiscal responsibility of Committee	4
4. Policy of job training	3
5. General aid to education	2
6. Special education for handicapped and disadvantaged	1
7. Higher education	1

Twelve of the 21 Members interviewed consider educational goals as their major concern. Four Members perceive psycho-social goals as their major concern. Four Members perceive a goal which is generally recognized as a party goal, that being fiscal responsibility of government. One Member was without an identified goal.

The fact that educational policy goals are perceived unequivocally by 57% of those interviewed, plus 10% more viewed education policy as a means to provide for a psycho-social goal, contributes to a finding of the research to be that educational policy is of vital concern and the foremost concern when writing legislation. Party goals, not being educationally based, contribute to only 33% of Membership goals. This minority party goal is further recognized by the researcher to be the body of the conservative coalition within the Committee.

#### Observed Patterns of Decision-Making

##### Reward-Coercive Power.

In every process of conflict reward and coercive power is seen to operate. It is the most detailed and the most used of the power applications and by every Member who is effective in achieving success of a goal on an issue. The process of "logrolling" such as "vote for me now on this issue which you are not in conflict with, and I will vote for you on the next issue with which I am not in conflict", is an example.

Some conflicts based on an issue are seen to vary in degree of application of the reward-coercive power. Most reward-coercive power is seen to be applied to constituency issues and goals; and the least to policy goals.

Reward-coercive power is an effective means of conflict resolution and was observed to be used to some degree by all Members. Documentation

of observation, however, could not all be reported, but that it is a major factor in decision-making is upheld.

However, there was found to exist a limiting factor placed on reward-power applications. The application of coercion directed in a personal, illegal, or "bad" manner was not seen to be good. Reward and coercion were only acceptable to all parties if it was based for the good of the nation or for the good of the constituency. The reward or coercion was not acceptable if it was deemed to be unfair and directly derogatory to some faction of the nation. Coercion is not acceptable when it is aimed against the Member's personal beliefs of fairness, constitutionality, legality, and along established party and governmental lines. Coercion used for the personal benefit of one individual is not acceptable. Coercion used for the benefit of a very small group of persons is not acceptable; nor is it if used for an issue relating to a large group. Coercion related to an institutional-good is acceptable, as well as when it is related to a state-good. Coercion related to a large group of minority factions is acceptable. It is also acceptable when used to obtain that which is needed for the nation. But again, it is limited to the personal Member's acceptance of the actual issue being "good for". If there is doubt whether it is "good for" the constituency represented, it is then unacceptable. Coercion is used by individuals, by coalitions of voting Members, political parties, the Committee as a group, and the Congress as a group in obtaining its goals. It is seen to be used by external forces upon the Committee -- the organized lobbies, the Executive Branch in the form of political organization or party policies, by the leaders of the party, by the constituency and other

clientele.

Reward power is seen to exist in the errand-boy role of the Congressman or his staff to assist individual constituents to achieve their goals; but this is acceptable only to the limit that it is legal, that the individual is qualified under legislative dictates to receive the assistance...whatever it may be. Coercion is not acceptable between the Committee Members and the bureaucratic branches. No favor or reward is to be made, nor is acceptable by the Membership through the gaining of benefits from the bureaus in return. Coercion is definitely not used or is not an application between the Committee, the Members, nor Congress upon the Executive Branches or the Department Offices. The relationship between the Department Offices and the Congress are along functional, legally defined lines and this must not be overstepped. If it does exist, it was not seen to exist to the researcher, and in fact, learned in the environment by observing the relationships that do exist. In no way are demands made or rewards offered in this relationship.

#### Labor Lobbies.

"For the Education and Labor Committee Member, the very important question posed by the environment is: which outside groups have the greatest capacity for affecting my ability to make public policy contributions? And the answer would seem to be: Whatever groups dominate the policy coalitions confronting the Committee." (19-P.26)

Much has been written about lobbyists particularly Labor Lobbies. It is true that Labor Lobbies are an influence upon the Committee and no doubt Congress itself, but it is also seen that the Member who is open to requests by Labor Lobbies is also from congressional districts which are labor populated, from backgrounds of union or labor work--

so essentially they are representing their constituents. The fact that labor unions are organized, can develop pieces of proposed legislation to present to Members, and can contribute financial aid to election campaigns is to their credit. However, the fact that they are any more successful than the education special interest groups was certainly not a finding on observation, nor on review of the congressional records. The statement made the Labor controls the Committee was unfounded by this research, and in fact, the very opposite may be true.

Mr. Hawkins is correct in his statement to the contrary that, "In the past decade the Committee has put out more education bills than labor bills". In searching the legislative records of the Committee, education bills were found to comprize a good majority of successful hard worked legislation and were much more sweeping in their impact on federal support to education than those for labor were.

On the other hand, a different view of Lobbies was seen by Mr. Hansen. He is "less aware of lobbyists here than in the State legislature. But here the lobbyist tend to focus on the Committees because it is there [in Committee] that the decisions are made." (117)

He serves on three committees and states that there are "two with special interest groups pretty well defined." He finds lobbyists to be "persons of good character and reputation who believe strongly in the cause they represent and can be very helpful in furnishing information. He goes on to state, "I have really not been aware of any arm twisting or pressures. Most of them [lobbyists] are aware that they need to maintain your respect and good will and you agree or not agree." (117)

Mrs. Chirley Chisholm stated:

"The Committee Members do not and the Committee does not have time to discuss intricacies of legislation influenced a great deal by lobbyists and special interest groups; we are lobbied to death...power lobbies up here on the hill. The Committee needs some education itself."

She stresses "one problem is that Committee Members are not educators; expertise, by all including herself, on what is legislated is not high. Robert's Rules of Order are just too much for her. There is much time wasted."

Mr. Ruth of North Carolina stated that "it is absolutely absurd for education and labor to be on the same Committee. My thinking is, that labor unions are vitally interested in labor and they should be. They exert a great deal of influence on the Labor Committee and this influence is inherited by education." (118)

Interview responses concerning Labor Lobbies were mentioned by seven respondents. Three perceived Labor Lobbies as good, as very important with expert advice and three perceived Labor Lobbies as bad, nuisances, and influenced their decision on education. One of these negative responses voiced an opinion that "generally all Unions were racist." (118)

#### Limitations of Influence

What is the range of permissible behavior? This could not be judged because no impermissible behavior was seen to draw effect from other Members. However, the outsiders on the Committee, the ones seen as irrelevant are those who have no concern for the national educational policies. Extreme lobbying or pressure tactics however, were voiced as impermissible by a majority of those interviewed. The lobbyists are supposed to present their proposals based on expert facts and reasoning.

### Summary

The decision-making processes of the Committee on Education and Labor are seen to be divided into two main categories:

1. Presentation of conflicting issues
2. Resolution of conflict to make the decision

The variables in both steps of the decision-making process are seen to be the goals of the Membership of the Committee. These goals are defined as: 1) Policy goal, 2) Party goal, 3) Personal goal.

During the first step of decision-making the presentation of conflict by indirect forces of influence are exhibited upon the Membership. In the presentation of conflict the variables are the greatest with all three goals presenting into the conflict. However, in the presentation of conflict, the goals themselves are definable in each Member on each issue. The conflict itself involves in-fighting exchanges and coercive power. The legitimate power of the Chairman is not exerted in this process to stop or prevent, to any great degree, the presentation of conflict. He allows full reign of everyone expressing a goal on any issue.

The integration begins as a group on the second step of the decision-making: the voting on the final issue. Again the goals are defined particularly in the votes cast and vary as to whether the goal is personal, party, or policy oriented. It is in the voting process and analyzing the votes cast by the 21 Members under case study on particular issues, that the quantitative analysis upheld a pattern of goal identification and application. It is within the records of the voting that variables were identified in direct relationship to other variables and the process is analyzed, and the Committee goal

as a group can be seen. This analysis is in the particular field of education, however, other policy issues outside of education were also analyzed as to Membership goal in the final decision-making process and the findings were again upheld in the actual process in the identification and patterns presented. In the resolution of conflict, again the Membership goals are identified as to policy, personal and party goals. However the power applications of the goals are seen as distinct in this final process. The stability factor shows that a senior Member is most likely to vote according to party on a party issue according to personal on a local constituent issue and according to policy on a policy issue.

The junior Member is likely to vote on a party issue according to party and personal goals; on a policy issue according to party, personal then policy goals; and on a personal issue according to personal goals.

If conflict arises between a party issue and a policy issue the senior Member selects the policy issue. If a conflict arises between a personal issue and a policy issue, the Member chooses the policy issue. If conflicts arise among the minority and the majority on a policy issue, it becomes a party issue and party lines are drawn. The senior Member is seen to be the initiator of a party goal on a policy issue.

These conclusions are drawn from analysis of individual Member case studies with particular votes cast showing variable in voting patterns and reaching conclusions as to what goal is identified. However, in broad categories or in the broad scope of all the voting patterns seen, these variables held true to analysis. The fact of

the analytical conclusion did not vary in a total of 26 issues voted upon by the individual Members.

#### In-Committee Voting Patterns.

An analysis of in-committee voting patterns showed several things. On 23 selected issues voted on in full Committee during the 92nd Congress the following voting patterns emerged:

The Members voted straight liberal-conservative on 48% of the issues. Of these issues, showing divided partisan votes, 81% were on policy amendments and bills concerning welfare, funds to special citizens and votes for labor.

One issue was civil rights, another was on Presidential authority. In all cases the majority vote won.

21% of the votes cast were along partisan coalitions, but Members of both minority and majority parties casting votes with the other side. This showed conflict on issues within the partisan group. One bill was on welfare, one on labor, one on civil rights and two were bills submitted by the President. In the case of the welfare bill, this was a Republican amendment. The most conflict was seen on the Republican side over the two Presidential bills with the minority side voting against the President.

Bipartisan bills, showing no difference in voting patterns between the minority and majority were 31% of the issues. However, conflict was seen with dissention votes cast. There were two very controversial bills. There was barely a quorum present to cast votes with Members. Some merely recorded as "present". No one really wanted to go on record for the vote on a controversial issue....except the senior Members and several others.

TABLE LV

KEY COMMITTEE VOTES AS RECORDED IN HOUSE EDUCATION AND LABOR COMMITTEE

	LABOR											BUSINESS										OUTCOME	
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	YES	NO
1.	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes	Ab	Ab	yes	yes	yes	Ab	no	yes	Ab	yes	yes	yes	23	6
2.	yes	Ab	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	yes	Ab	Ab	Ab	yes	no	Ab	Ab	no	Ab	Ab	Ab	Ab	18	6
3.	no	Ab	no	Ab	Ab	yes	yes	yes	Ab	no	no	Ab	no	Ab	Ab	10	19						
4.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no	Ab	no	no	Ab	no	no	Ab	23	10
5.	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	Ab	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	14	20	
6.	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	Ab	no	yes	no	yes	14	21							
7.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	18	16
8.	no	no	no	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	Ab	Ab	no	no	no	no	no	no	10	20
9.	yes	yes	yes	yes	Ab	yes	yes	Ab	yes	yes	yes	no	Ab	no	18	14							
10.	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	19	18
11.	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	18	19
12.	no	Ab	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	14	20									
13.	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	14	22	
14.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	Ab	Pre	Ab	Ab	yes	Pre	Ab	Pre	yes	24	2
15.	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	Ab	yes	Ab	yes	yes	yes	yes	Ab	13	21	
16.	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	Ab	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	17	19	
17.	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	Ab	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	15	21	
18.	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	Ab	Ab	yes	yes	yes	yes	16	19	
19.	no	Ab	Ab	no	Ab	no	no	Ab	no	Ab	yes	Ab	Pre	Pre	Ab	Ab	no	no	no	Ab	4	16	
20.	yes	Ab	Ab	yes	no	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes	no	no	yes	Ab	no	yes	yes	no	no	13	16	
21.	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	14	21	
22.	yes	yes	yes	no	Ab	no	yes	yes	no	Ab	yes	yes	Ab	Ab	Ab	Ab	Ab	no	yes	no	13	6	
23.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	20	16	
24.	0	2	2	2	1	2	7	3	2	0	1	2	0	2	0	2	2	1	1	0	2		
25.	0	5	3	0	3	0	0	2	0	7	3	2	1	2			1	1	1	1			
													4	2	13	5	1	6	2	2	4		

Legend:  
 Ab = Absent  
 Pre = Present, abstaining  
 . = Present  
 . = Conflict

KEY COMMITTEE VOTES RECORDED IN HOUSE EDUCATION AND LABOR COMMITTEE

1. To give public service job preference to unemployed veterans who served after 1964
2. Pay for public service jobs limited to \$12,000 per year
3. Public service jobs limited to two years unless waived
4. To approve the Public Service Jobs Bill: to provide public service employment
5. To strike provisions of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act which would extend equal employment coverage to employees of state and local governments and educational institutions
6. To strike sections of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act which would give the enforcing Commission cease and desist power, providing instead for slower sanctions through civil suit
7. To add a new program for rural housing and rehabilitation
8. To authorize the OEO to coordinate all federal anti-poverty efforts and to direct a study in order to locate the poorest areas of the country
9. To give priority to veterans for drug rehabilitation programs
10. To prohibit discrimination based on race in any program of the Child Development Act; if the Secretary of HEW determines that a pattern of discrimination exists, program is transferred to another agency
11. To require the continuation of present Headstart programs unless they are found ineffective
12. To allow sex discrimination in undergraduate admissions
13. Create a National Institute for Higher Education
14. Increase the minimum wage for non-agricultural workers to \$2.00 per hour
15. Exempt federal employees from overtime minimum wage coverage
16. Do not apply minimum wage to migrant and other seasonal workers
17. Establish a sub-minimum wage rate of \$1.60/hour for those under 18, students, and "job starters"
18. To strike the section authorizing the President to impose import and other restrictions, on the recommendation of the Secretary of Labor, where foreign competition challenges domestic sales and production.

19. To allow school aid funds to go to parochial or "private non-profit" schools
20. To prohibit Emergency School Aid Act from requiring integration plans outside neighborhood schools
21. To strike out funds earmarked for Headstart
22. Participants in Economic Opportunity Act must be 50% or more female
23. Make settlement board's decision resolving the West Coast Dock Strike retroactive to November 14, 1971

## CHAPTER V

### POWER OF THE PRESIDENT ON THE DECISIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

The White House planned to cut the federal education budget by some 10% below present spending levels for the next fiscal year as part of its broad effort to ward off an inflationary deficit or a tax increase.

The Office of Management and Budget handed the prospective spending plan to the Department of HEW. Details began to leak out as the Office of Education put together an appeal of the cutback.

Mr. Nixon has said he plans to hold spending down to about \$270 billion. That would be about a \$20 billion increase. Most of it is already allocated. A \$20 billion increase is already built into next year's budget for such things as higher Social Security payments, which Congress voted and the President signed into law before the last election.

Mr. Nixon has not spelled out yet where he intends to make the cuts his spending goals require, that he has the power to impound funds Congress has appropriated.

The prospective education budget offers an example. It is certain to embroil him this year with Congress.

In addition to the proposed education cutback, government

confirmed that there will be reductions elsewhere in the HEW budget and in the Labor Department's manpower money. How deep those cuts may be was not clear.

The President has said that he regards HEW and some of the government's other domestic departments as "bloated". His choice as HEW's new secretary is Caspar W. Weinberger, now OMB's director and a confirmed cost-cutter.

HEW is being run now under what is called a "continuing resolution", which in general allows it to spend only about what it spent last fiscal year.

Mr. Mazzoli was interviewed directly following the elections and prior to the presentation of the President's prospective budget for 1973. A response he made concerning the administrative controls of funds is:

"The Office of Management and Budget was so much in the last month terminated, cut-down, rearranged programs which Congress has clearly indicated the worthwhileness of, and shown the support for by appropriating money -- yet OMB feels that budgetary demands are such that these be terminated."

Mr. Mazzoli proclaims that:

"The Clarion Call seems to emanate from 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue and OMB [Office of Management and Budget] to here -- Capitol Hill -- that Congress must be fiscally responsible, and if in their opinion, be fiscally responsible for us by means of vetoing or through OMB empoundment. Right now the battleground is over the question of Presidential prerogatives and congressional authority in the use of spending money which has been appropriated."

Congressman Thompson was dismayed and said:

"I just cannot describe the depth of my dismay over Nixon's attitude and I view it as callousness, I really do."

Congressman Thompson continued:

"I think he has his priorities mixed up and I think if one looks at his public statements and then at this action, the man is simply untruthful." (102)

A matter-of-fact statement was made by Jack Reed concerning the prospective budget for 1973:

"Title I as conceived by the Committee and Congress had an authorization through fiscal year of 1973 of about 7 billion dollars. Budgetwise the administration has only proposed about \$1,596,000 to carry this program out which is roughly 25% of what the real program needs."

Congressman Perkins appeared agitated, and a man who was ready to pick a fight. In his expressed concerns during the interview he gave the impression of a man with one concern, to see legislation for education passed successfully, money appropriated, and then used as Congress intends. He definitely sees the work of the Committee as being threatened by the President. He considers the present funding to be inadequate:

"The present problem stems from the inadequacy of the funding of the various programs in the country."

He went on more precisely on his feelings of the 10% budget cut:

"We are underfunded about 110% now. I anticipate that the Committee on Education and Labor will be in a real battleground and serve as the nucleus on the Floor of the House to wage the battle for higher appropriations for education this year. The effectiveness of many of our most worthy progressive programs has been destroyed because of the inadequacy of the funding. Education cannot stand any 10% cut or any cuts. Appropriations must be increased and we intend to do everything in our power, at least Carl Perkins will, to see that the President's proposal is not carried out to any degree.

Nixon was against federal aid to education clear back in 1949 when he persuaded another Californian to switch his vote to "nay" to make the tally 13 against and 12 "yea" for a bill that would have given \$15 million annually to Kentucky schools." (101)

A Republican, Edwin Eshleman of Pennsylvania, expressed a way to cope with the cutoff of funds by administration:

"On passing money bills, there is terminology used in writing it. One way gives the administration the discretion whether to spend the money or not. But we can put into the bill a statement which would make it mandatory to spend the money. I predict that it will become more used by Congress since the President has seen fit to exercise executive discretion by non-spending." (114)

Eshleman further states that:

"We are not getting our dollar's worth out of education... I think the federal government contributes 8% to nationwide public education. This should be increased, but I don't know how much. Our goal should perhaps be a third State, third local and third Federal government funding for education, but we will not reach that in this decade. I do not agree with the President cutting education 10%. If we are going to increase our 8% contribution to eventually 33%, we are never going to do that by cutting. So, I am not opposed to cuts... this is the trouble, every Congressman has his own idea where the cuts should occur and we could get a concensus out of that, and concensus is not always the best way to do business. I agree with cuts, but not in the field of education -- we should be increasing our education appropriations." (114)

Mrs. Chisholm's conversation was centered mainly on social problems and personal goals, on the work of the Committee and herself, but in speaking about the future funding of education she stated:

"So much of it depends upon who is in the White House, that is, who is going to have to sign a bill or veto the bill. The Committee's efforts can be influenced a great deal by prior knowledge that is .. if "A" is not done the bill will be vetoed. It is really overplayed." (108)

Congressman Ruth during interview explained:

"Cutting education and cutting the education budget are not necessarily synonymous. There is a lot of duplication of effort and ways to save money in education. We might be working on extremes instead of the average young man."

Mr. Ruth is a "great believer that the taxpayers pay this money and it should be sent back if we choose to do so, in a block grant and let those people administer the money as they see fit." He continued:

"It is pretty hard to turn back the clock and one of our problems with education is that it is pretty hard to kill "Santa Claus", once it is started it is extremely difficult to stop. This is one of the reasons President Nixon

introduced his special revenue sharing plan because it at least gave us a chance to regroup and reorganize our education programs and it is guaranteed that no one area would get any less money than they are now getting, but it is an opportunity to be freer in how to spend it."

He goes on to stress that he is really not in favor of the revenue sharing plan, but of the block grants to states. He said:

"We have some programs that their inefficiency merits their being eliminated, but I do not agree with some Members of the Committee who want to keep sending money in at 50% efficiency ... that is 50% waste." (118)

Contained in Appendix "I" is a "Memorandum of Disapproval" from the White House on October 27, 1973 which vetoed nine Acts of Congress after Congress had adjourned on October 18, 1972. The wording of the memorandum which gives the President's approach to Congress, is explicit. The reader is advised to study the memorandum and reach his own conclusions concerning the acceptability and tone of the content of the memorandum. But the researcher's impression is that the President could have used a more diplomatic approach in vetoing the Acts. The researcher feels that if he were a Congressman he would find the tone of the memorandum to be patronizing on the one hand and offensive on the other, even if the Acts were of no personal concern.

Prior to the memorandum and also in the Appendix (Appendix "K") is a copy of an address by the Honorable Morris K. Udall of Arizona, in the House of Representatives on Wednesday, October 11, 1972, and listed in the Congressional Record. It is a scorching description of the Presidential vetoes of Nixon. It should be remembered that it was addressed and published prior to the nine vetoes mentioned above.

These two appended messages, one from the Executive Office and the other from the Congress are very good examples of the conflict

between the two. This conflict, a struggle of power in support of opposing philosophies to federal spending and governmental responsibilities is a major finding of the research. It is a finding that is not original, but is exclaimed in newspapers, other media, and is certainly upheld in this study and described as found within the Committee on Education and Labor. Within the Education and Labor Committee, the power of the President is considered to be a pertinent and peculiar finding. But the fact that this is also a typical reaction by Congressmen outside of the Committee (in the House and Senate) must also be mentioned. So, in a sense, in this factor of decision-making the influence of the President can be considered to be both typical and peculiar, both formal and informal.

1. Formal Legitimate - direct power to veto decision of Education and Labor Committee and Congress.
2. Informal, indirect - probably coercive-power over party membership and others to influence prior to decision.

#### Democratic Initiatives.

John Brademas, in an article for The New York Times on January 8, 1973 spelled out what he considered to be supreme contempt for the legislative branch of government by the President. Congressman Brademas noted:

The accession of Representative J. Ray Madden of Indiana to the Chairmanship of the Rules Committee will mean more cooperation from that key unit than the House leadership has known in a generation.

In addition, the absence from the House, because of death, defeat, resignation or retirement of six Committee Chairmen and six of the top ranking Republicans on Committees, will produce more constructive, aggressive leadership than their predecessors gave.

There is a third reason to anticipate a renascent Congress in the next two years. Not only most Democrats, but also a number of Republican Senators and Congressmen oppose the Administration's attempts to centralize executive powers in the White House staff, the impounding of funds, the attacks on press and threats to television, and the still unexplained Watergate campaign tactics. All these are reasons the voters did not give Mr. Nixon a compliant Congress.

Senator Sam Ervin, of North Carolina, and Representative Chet Holifield, of California, Chairmen of the Government Operations Committee will fight the effort to establish superdepartments run by Presidential assistants who when Congress tries to question them, plea executive privilege and immunity from public accountability.

The President's refusal to spend money Congress voted to meet urgent problems is already being challenged in the courts and will bring a constitutional confrontation with Congress.

Many Republicans in Congress are irked that President Nixon failed either to speak for them or share his copious campaign funds, and share their Democratic colleague's resentment that he waited till Congress adjourned before vetoing bills.

The Democratic leaders in both the House and Senate of the 93rd Congress have made it perfectly clear that they will cooperate with President Nixon in the interest of the nation.

John Brademas feels that "Congress nor the American people are ready for "Le Grand Richard" in the White House or to change the name of Camp David to Colombey-les-deus-Eglises." Included in Appendix "M", in its entirety, is a copy of the article. This partial quote is used in the text to help describe one body of belief that Mr. Nixon has shown contempt for the legislative branch of government.

### The President's Direct Power to Veto the Decision

Obviously a bill cannot become a law of the land until it has been approved in identical terms by both Houses of the Congress. When the bill has finally been approved by both Houses all the original papers are transmitted to the enrolling clerk of the body in which the bill originated. The Committee on House Administration reviews the bill for accuracy, then it is signed first by the Speaker of the House, seconded by the President of the Senate and sent to the President of the United States for approval. A bill becomes the law of the land only after:

1. Presidential approval; or
2. Failure of the President to return it with his objections to the House in which it originated within 10 days while the Congress is in session; or
3. Overriding of the Presidential veto by a two-thirds vote in each House.

It does not become law without the President's signature if the Congress by its adjournment prevents its return with his objections. This is known as a "pocket veto". An example of this is HR 13111, the Labor-Health Education and Welfare Appropriations Bill. It was vetoed by President Nixon on nationwide television on January 26, 1970. Congress voted to override but failed to get the two-thirds majority needed.

The indirect power of the party is seen to exist to the highest degree by the goals of the President, of whichever party is represented by the President. This is a stable factor. The President, whomever he may be, represents the desires of the national party, whichever one he

belongs to. The power of the President to dictate issues is seen as a major party force on the Committee Membership. Review of all historical documents and present findings on the quantity of legislative decisions found the Committee's Members more liberal on policies than the President. In contrast, one of George Barden's [North Carolina] favorite sayings was that "there never was a piece of legislation that was not inacted that hurt anyone." (Jean Thompson)

## CHAPTER VI

### CARL DEWEY PERKINS, CHAIRMAN OF THE EDUCATION AND LABOR COMMITTEE

Congressman Carl Dewey Perkins is from the seventh district in Kentucky. He is Chairman of the thirty-eight member House Education and Labor Committee, one of the most important and influential committees in the House of Representatives. He was born in Hindman, Knott County, Kentucky, October 15, 1912.

To the 411,018 people Chairman Perkins represents, he is called Carl D., a fellow mountain man. Carl Dewey Perkins, who is considered by many to be foxy, has never lost his mountain twang or rustic quality. He still wears his old suits and white socks, and is set in his arduous personal schedule and routine. He demands excellence in himself and his staff, and is considered to be honest and fair to his constituency and comrades in Congress, and his integrity to his high position of trust is unblemished.

The voters of his district are particularly proud of Congressman Perkins. They have supported his re-election since 1948, when he first was elected to Congress. Benjamin F. Reeves, assistant to the Chairman stated that Congressman Perkins only personally spent \$1800 on his re-election in 1972. Congressman Perkins travels just as much as is possible to his home district. He feels he is duty bound to the folks back home, to get their feelings on the many accute

problems of Eastern Kentucky. He makes everyone feel that if he can help, no matter how minimal the problem, all they have to do is ask and he will do all that is within the limits of his position to be of assistance.

The Congressman has an uncanny feeling for political issues, such as black lung, social security, compensation, education, etc.

It is reported that the Congressman used to drive 90,000 miles a year between Washington and his home district. Now that more of the Congressman's time is required in Washington he commutes a good deal by air. He also sends newsletters, telling his constituents what is going on in Washington and uses a weekly radio program stating his own position on pending legislation.

The seventh district economy is still basically dependent on the coal industry. One of the big problems concerning unemployment is the increased emphasis in strip-mining which employs fewer workers than the traditional deep-mining.

He also represents 30,000 tobacco growers in his district and according to Chairman Perkins over half the territory now consists of farmers for the first time. Besides tobacco and coal, livestock, petroleum refining and metal industries contribute slightly to the economy.

About 80% of the people are considered rural dwellers as compared to the national average of 26.5%; 70% of the people are blue-collar workers, compared to 35.4% nationally. Negro and foreign heritage peoples together total only 2% of the population.

Clay Wade Bailey (20), a reporter for the Kentucky Post since 1940 stated: "There have been no major issues at stake in any of Perkins' campaigns. He is so well entrenched in the 7th District that he will be

Congressman until he goes to heaven."

Many factors give credence to this assertion. Ward Sinclair (22), Washington bureau chief of the Louisville Courier-Journal attributes Perkins' stronghold to the absence of Republicans in the district, the personality of Congressman Perkins and the political power structure that exists in Eastern Kentucky.

Chairman Perkins is also an expert in the use of the "proxy". (Appendix N) He as Chairman has the power to make certain those Members, in agreement with him, fill out proxy forms if they are unable to attend certain hearings that are important in finalizing a vote.

John Brademas (D-Ind.), Albert Quie (R-Minn.), Jack Reed, General Counsel for the Committee all agree that the Committee is more liberal than the House as a whole, and because of the controversial nature of the legislation, more bills are significantly altered on the floor of the House.

Several significant changes were brought about in the Committee when Perkins became Chairman in 1967. He added one subcommittee (agricultural labor), became the first Committee Chairman to divide Committee funds proportionally with the Republican minority. The subcommittees hire their own staff and formulate their own budget subject to Perkins' approval. Also Perkins cut down drastically on personnel and spending.

Drew Pearson (21) reported that under previous Chairman Adam Clayton Powell (D-New York) the Committee staff was possibly the largest and most unstable in Congress. It was estimated that as many as 200 aides worked for Powell. Pearson reported Perkins dropped expenditures \$256,000. For the first time Perkins introduced a bookkeeping

system to account for every penny of public money.

One of the most far-reaching changes Perkins initiated was open Committee mark-up sessions.

In 1967, extension of the Economic Opportunity Act was before the Committee. Perkins was trying to get a bill, but the minority wasn't at all interested in the bill. Many would just as soon let the OEO die so they didn't bother to attend the sessions. Chairman Perkins knew this and felt they were probably sitting across the hall in the lounge. So he stated: "open these doors and let the press and public come in and see what's going on..." In 10 minutes the Committee Members had filed in.

Since then more and more of the Committee sessions have been open. In the 90th Congress 28.5% of the Committee's hearings were closed. In the 91st Congress 8.5% were closed, and in the first session of the 92nd Congress only 3% were closed.

It should be noted in accord with his advocacy of public mark-ups, Perkins was one of the 9 out of 21 standing Committee Chairmen to vote for the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970. This Act, which took effect on January 3, 1971, was designed to reduce the secrecy on Congressman's positions on various issues. Among other provisions all roll-call votes taken in Committee would be made public, recorded teller votes would be taken, and house committee hearings could be televised or broadcast if the majority of the Committee approved.

Carl Dewey Perkins is known for his working long hours and is one of the few members of Congress with an excellent attendance record over the years, having attended every floor vote from 1967 to 1971.

Perkins likes to have his staff around. His work day usually starts around 8:A.M. when he has a meeting with his staff, Secretary Lucille

Blake, Chief Clerk Dan Baker, General Counsel Jack Reed, Associate General Counsel Bill Gaul, Assistant to the Chairman Ben Reeves; they discuss various constituent and Committee problems. Mr. Reeves said that the Chairman wanted them to participate in Committee hearings and often converses with them during the hearings. He mentioned the Oversight Hearing Report by Committee #1 and its rationale and implications concerning career education. (Appendix P) Both Perkins and his hearings are considered to be informal.

Besides the formal changes of mark-up sessions and curtailed spending, Perkins' easy-going style as compared to the flamboyant style of Congressman Powell is an important comparison and was reflected in national press by the U.S. News and World Report, January 23, 1967 when this statement appeared: "Mr. Powell has been arrulous and flamboyant. Mr. Perkins is regarded as quiet and self-effacing. Mr. Perkins has the reputation of being a team member."

Perkins feels the biggest difference as being that between the way he and Powell ran the Committee.

"Powell was a much more colorful man, and I'm not. He never did say a derogatory thing about me. I did a lot of mark-up when he was on the floor. He was a good Chairman, but I helped make him a great Chairman. I helped him get many important bills thru."

Congressman Perkins has championed a list of efforts in the area of education. In 1956 he helped draft an impacted areas bill aimed at giving relief to overcrowded school districts and in 1961 Perkins introduced a bill to establish an adult basic education program and work-study program. Both of these were finally incorporated into the Economic Opportunity Act of 1968.

In the 88th Congress Perkins was the primary architect of the Vocational Education Act of 1963. In 1971 Perkins was one of the early supporters of the school lunch programs; was instrumental in moving legislation for school lunches. He was the sole author of HR 5257, which became Public Law 92-32. It authorized an additional \$150 million through June 1972 to provide free or reduced-price meals for needy children and extend the school breakfast program for two years. This bill aided many school districts that were faced with mounting school lunch costs.

During a three-day Washington conference concerning rural poverty, Perkins stated: "While 34% of the nation's poor living in rural areas, only 15% of the funds of the OEO were spent on rural projects. There is an imbalance that is hard to understand." In an article in the Louisville Courier-Journal, October 11, 1969, Perkins was quoted as saying he has supported metropolitan area Congressmen when they need money for their district's developmental needs, and they should do the same for him.

Some of Perkins' efforts pertaining to education and labor have come under attack. In reference to poverty programs, Charles Goodell (R-New York) said: "He has shown enthusiasm only for programs for Appalachia Kentucky."

Mary Jerol (23) of the National Education Association said Perkins is justified in his complaint that too many programs are urban-oriented. She continued: "The problem is also severe in the rural areas and if it wasn't for Carl, everything would go to the cities. Perkins carries the torch for the rural areas."

Perkins' generous attitude toward education and welfare funding carries over to foreign relations spending and military foreign aid and

the Inter-American Developmental Bank, and against reducing the Peace Corps or the International Developmental Association.

In one of the many Legislative battles with the Republican Administration concerning educational revenue-sharing bill which was introduced this week by a California Republican Congressman, the Courier-Journal quoted Congressman Perkins as saying: "That bill is dead!!" (March 24, 1973)

If the unexpected pronouncement from the powerful House Education and Labor Committee Chairman was not enough, the ranking Republican on the 38 member committee added his own post-mortem as well. Albert Quie, sitting beside Perkins in a hearing room at Morehead State University, said the Nixon Administration education revenue-sharing proposal "doesn't stand a snowball's chance in the 'warm place' of passage."

Adult education aid, another of Perkins pet projects, is one of the school programs that the Nixon Administration proposes to lump under a "supportive service" category with library materials, innovative programs and school lunch reimbursement money.

Congressman William D. Ford of Detroit, Michigan criticized the Administration in this regard, saying that decisions on "adjustments" in federal aid programs place Congress and state educators in the position of having to take from one person to give to another. The Administration is "forcing us to fight with each other". He predicted that Congressional debate on education spending is going to see "north versus south, rich versus poor and rural versus urban" over funds. (The Courier-Journal, James Nolan, Saturday, March 24, 1973)

"A new approach to career education in the public schools is also being developed. This would give young people more realistic career preparation and help to build an easier, more effective school-to-work transition, paving the way toward a real solution to the problems of jobless youth."

Richard M. Nixon

The White House  
March 15, 1973

## CHAPTER VII

### CAREER EDUCATION

In January following President Nixon's second term in office and when appropriations were impounded ---

Mr. Perkins felt that vocational education has been updated to a great degree, it is no longer outmoded by any sense of the word. The present problem stems from the inadequacy of the funding of various programs in the country. Mr. Perkins is very skeptical of the \$112 millions of dollars used for career education by the U.S.O.E. with approximately 85% of those funds coming from vocational appropriations (particularly if vocational education is just an equal partner with higher education and general education). As Chairman Perkins looks into the future of education he states we must make greater expenditures at all levels for technical and career education.

Mr. Quie pointed out that the Office of Education now has statutory authority from the Higher Education Amendments of 1972 to fund some projects in career education. He said: "This could be the most dramatic thing that has occurred in education in many a year." Congressman Quie expressed a very clear view or concept of career education, its intent and further defined the differences between occupational, vocational and career education. Mr. Quie remarked:

"It is interesting that in the Higher Education Act of 1972 the Occupational Education Title was never worked up in a normal way in the subcommittee. We realized that the bill had to move up, so we added it to the Higher Education bill. It was accepted

without a descending vote, without having given it proper hearings and so-forth before hand. It went through the House and while we had a lot of battles [on the floor] on various parts of the bill, no one raised their voice against [the Occupational Education Title] in the Congress."

Congressman Quie voiced a complaint against "guidance counselors who really don't understand occupational, vocational education at all. All they are thinking about is how you get to the college. It is not going to be hard selling it to the general public through the media, it is going to be difficult to sell the professional educator." (111)

Mr. Meeds has a good concept of career education and sees it as a part of education in the future. However, he believes that vocational education in the community colleges to train students in specific skills is the answer. He feels the student cannot learn to be a "master mechanic" in high school, but he can learn this in a community post-secondary school. (107) He recommends a system of education in the U.S. that would be similar to the Israel system which has a full academic course and a full vocational course too, just more hours in the day. There should be more alternatives than academic study open to the student. He states: "Marland's conception that academic study is a waste of time and money because of the dropouts and the unemployed is not the answer -- I cannot agree with him." Meeds feels that academic study should not be cut in any way from the program in schools, but vocational education made available too. Mr. Meeds thinks "we have a degree dazzled society in the U.S." Congressman Meeds views the "role of education as a preparation of people for life; the skills that they need to provide income and substance; to live in our society; to communicate with each other; to understand what is going on in the world". He states that he came to Congress in 1965 and one of the first votes he cast was "for the Appalachian Development Program."

Congressman Mazzoli described a career education program which was in progress in Louisville, Kentucky. The project is located in the Emerson School and is thought to be exceptionally well administered and a success in teaching. He stated the students learn in a way which is unique and interesting and avoids the boredom or frustration which so often characterizes our school systems. On the concept of career education, Mr. Mazzoli states, "The concept is okay, but to say that we will 'reach the millineum' where every kid who enters kindergarten is going to wind up in the 12th or 16th grade in a career is probably a bit utopian." (109)

Mr. Mazzoli disputes the theory of irrelevancy in education curriculums based on H.E.W. reports by stating that "we do not need to throw out the baby with the bathwater and just simply say that because 51% of any group of people find that the educational system is 'irrelevant', that in fact it is irrelevant, because that may not really follow."

The maverick Mazzoli further said: "Before we get new programs, let's work on the old. Discipline is needed. Let's stay put for a while; set priorities and stick by them."

On the issue of racial problems, Mr. Mazzoli made a simple statement and right to the point: "You guarantee the opportunity to get something, not to get it."

Congressman Hawkins, of California, knew the concept of career education very well. He was a well-informed man on education and the workings of government as well as he should after 38 years experience. In looking through documents, past and present, Mr. Hawkins' name appeared frequently as sponsor of Acts which became laws. He is relatively quiet appearing, unobtrusive, quiet speaking, and calm--but it was realized

during interview that here was a mind of an expert in legislation, an effective Congressman, Committee Member and politician. This research discovered him and regards him to be among the most effective Congressmen studied.

He does not view career education to be a part of vocational education but a separate entity. He states that vocational education is still stigmatized, underfunded, operating in the past and that vocational education teachers are not well equipped...the equipment is old, and not related to the world of work.

"It is disillusioning to constituents, to students, for politicians (Congressmen) to talk about the great plan for career education, when actually this will probably not come about. I think that I would...that the Members would be most willing to accept career education or pass solid legislation that would fulfill our obligations in this field." He further stated: "I think we would have trouble in the House and even if it got through we would have trouble in the Appropriations Committee...and even if the Appropriations Committee was fairly liberal, we would have trouble with Administration."

He then stated there would be difficulty with the Office of Management and Budgeting who would not spend the money. So he feels this is exactly what would happen. (105)

Congressman Hawkins feels that the President, Vice President and Marland are "talking out of both sides of their mouths on career education". It is implied by Marland that many things about career education are good. "It implies to me that if you are going to motivate and equip an individual for a career you have to raise the point if that career is actually available ...is the job available!" He feels pilot projects are the only way to see if the concept can be successful. (105)



Mr. Hawkins is a black man who is an effective legislator and who is optimistic in his views. When asked about his opinion of race problems he stated:

"I think the races will lose all of their political emotion that we see now. You just cannot have a society such as ours without so much bias. People are equal and eventually we will get to where it doesn't make a difference; people living in the same neighborhoods. I think a lot of it has been created. The reasons for creating it are beginning to evaporate. We are living in a far different world and outside forces make it worse than what it is, [such as] national interest, pride and leadership. We are going to have to do some of these things."

He feels it is disillusioning to constituents, to students -- for politicians, such as Congressmen, to talk about the great plan for career education, "when actually this will probably not come about." (105)

Mr. John Brademas served as a Member of the liberal coalition on the Committee who, in 1963, participated in reshaping the Vocational Education Act to include more than farming. John Brademas believes:

"The present close linkage between education and earning a living will not be perceived as important 'down the road' as it is today. More and more people will be studying throughout their lives for emphasis on what we call 'life-long learning'. There will be more emphasis on learning, generally, for the richness that it gives to life rather than for the sake of earning." (103)

Mr. Brademas points out a philosophical problem of vocational education:

"Society sometimes overtakes them [State and Federal Programs] and the constituency for which they were constructed to serve may have significantly changed. So if you have the same program, the same structure of the program, and usually the same bureaucracy at the local, State and Federal levels seeking tenaciously to hold on to that program, even though the program in terms of its content ought to be substantially altered if it is going to be effective to general needs. We may well have saved that [vocational education] program by modernizing it." (103)

Mr. Brademas made a pointed remark when he said:

"There is very little understanding in Congress, even among those of us who live with these matters, and in the country, in the difference between career education and vocational education. Some of us suspect that the term "career education" is simply fancy rhetoric, to me it [vocational education] sounds more attractive and is the same vocational program that we have had for the last several years." (103)

Brademas points out that he has not participated in legislating vocational education programs in the last four years because he is a Member of the subcommittee on higher education and Chairman of the select education subcommittee. Vocational education is not within his subcommittees jurisdiction.

Mr. Brademas is a specialist in higher education, so he considered Marland's statement that college degrees have been overemphasized to be unfounded. He related this with "regret, with some skepticism the announcements coming out of the Office of Education that they have just discovered this program called "career education". He does realize however, "we are going through a period of reassessment of aims of education generally in the United States...reassessing the aims of education at all levels." (103)

Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm has eloquent and pertinent beliefs concerning change in the education system. She thinks we have "a tendency in this country to hold on to something because it is more comfortable not to be able to be challenged by something that is going to come around the corner." Mrs. Chisholm continued:

"Even though we may recognize some of the inherent difficulties for any particular situation, we just do not want to change; because change frightens people. We are damaging the young people in terms of preparing them for the future because America is experiencing change in society.

Young people are bored to death. They will drop out if that classroom situation does not stimulate them and it does not excite them and motivate them to learn. And this is the fault of many, many teachers. I have seen it. I was a teacher myself. I have seen teachers who really don't enjoy teaching, but they have the training. Teacher training needs change, put them in the schools after two years, get them into the real life situation of teaching. I have come to the conclusion that the salary a teacher gets does not have anything to do with their commitment to children. Better salaries do not make better teachers." (108)

Mrs. Chisholm had not read Marland's publication on career education and asked the interviewer to explain the concept to her. In all her remarks during interview she showed an articulation and forcefulness and clarity in speech. She exhibited much concern for the minority groups, that they should have opportunity in education and society. She is perceived by the observer to feel very deeply for people in general; concern for individual persons, as well as the group. She feels that teacher quality is sometimes very poor and poor teachers who are outdated in techniques and will not change, should leave the system or be removed.

Mario Biaggi is a man described by his staff assistant as being of the "work ethic" and in reviewing printed materials about him, this is very true. He believes that education should contain both the liberal arts and curriculum for college prep and also the trade skills for those wanting this. "Not everyone should go to college; skilled trades are badly needed." Mr. Biaggi has worked on manpower programs with Congressman Daniels and last year introduced a bill to put across new manpower programs specifically aimed at the prisons.

Congressman Frank Thompson has been on the Education and Labor Committee for 18 years. He admits to not knowing the concept of career

education, and following an explanation of it by the interviewer, he sees it as relative to vocational education and the New Jersey manpower training, poverty programs, adult education and post-secondary schools for vocational training. He points out that community colleges should be available as a solution for vocational training for those students who do not go on to four year colleges. (102)

Mr. James G. O'Hara expressed his concern over constituency acceptance of general funding to education. He related that a local measure to change the structure of funding was voted down in his Congressional district.

"We have a proposition on the ballot that would have shifted school finance from being about 50-50 state income tax and local property tax to 100% state income tax and the electorate by a very substantial margin voted it down."

He is not certain people want federal funding for education...but goes on to say that they will vote for increased funds one way or another when the need arises. Mr. O'Hara is a proponent of vocational education and job training. He feels that vocational education should be job oriented in a better manner and should be expanded to become more relevant and available to more kids. He was unfamiliar with the concept of career education and the concept was briefly explained to him. After some thought he stated a problem he sees in career education: "a significantly larger commitment of resources than they [Administration] have been willing to put into it; and also it is going to require some pretty hard analysis of just how you can do each of these three phases effectively." He continued:

"I think breaking down those phases is a good thing, but if they really want to implement that and start off right with grade school, junior high school and high school obviously it is going to require more funds." (104)

Mr. O'Hara finds a reality at the local level on educational problems when he states:

"When school or education has funding problems of overcrowding or closing early or such, from lack of funds, the ones people look to as causing the bad situation are state government and particularly school boards and administrators." (104)

Congressman William Ford of Michigan states:

"There is a combination of things happening to keep vocational education from being successful. Nixon has almost totally turned his back on it, to leave it starving to death with no money and secondly in administering the programs in such a way that they discourage change of ways in which to spend vocational education funds. The tradition that we want is not getting to enough young people and is not really equipping the ones it is getting to for meaningful work. There has been very little private effort and little or no government effort to utilize the manpower skills we have. This Administration has cut back on all programs made in 1968 to vocational education." (106)

Mr. Ford stresses short term, intensive training of skills, particularly skills for meaningful employment. He feels students should learn job responsibility, what it means to have people depending on you to be at work on time, regularly, and doing your part of your job adequately, this sort of thing. He sees this sort of accomplishment if you "work backward" and begin with what job you have available, then train the student for that job.

Earle F. Landgrebe supports the President's cut in education funds. He states as his reason: "As far as quality of education tied to the amount of money that is being spent...it's a real hoax. Maybe we can reduce it 10% and maybe we can increase the efficiency and effectiveness." Mr. Landgrebe is a man who was a truck driver and became the owner of his own company. He is now, reportedly a self-made millionaire. He considers general education to be good enough because that is what he had.

He thinks that the student will get out and find a job if he wants a job and will get what he wants if he works hard enough. Landgrebe proposes to take "Marland's concept with a grain of salt." He expresses his idea on educational change by stating, "and sometimes when you have education pretty good, a liberal wants to tear it apart and start over again." Mr. Landgrebe feels we might "be putting too much emphasis on vocational education at the cost of the liberal arts." (116)

Marvin Esch stated this also:

"Of all the votes that come out of the Committee, there is generally more agreement on the concept of putting funds into these programs [vocational education] than in any other area and that really is the acceptance of constituencies."  
(113)

Mr. Eshleman sees career education as a supplement to vocational education, but states that we would not need career education if we had good counselors. He feels that the term "career education" is being used because of the stigma to vocational education. He also voices this fear: "I don't think a kid should be labeled in seventh grade, but introduced to career choices, okay." (114)

Mr. William Steiger sees vocational education as a "step child" of education. He points out the ending of the "great American dream" and feels that career education may add a new dimension to education.

Edwin B. Forsythe was explicit on one point in stating that, "more quality and more accountability must get into the teaching profession."

He continued:

"Far too many teachers were unable to make it [in another field] and got their teaching certificate. Now they are protected with tenure and so there is no incentive to really keep up." (119)

Mr. Forsythe is a Member of the Committee without wishing to be. He stated he would prefer to be on The Interstate and Foreign Commerce

Committee. In speaking about education he relates mainly to education in New Jersey and sees that education must "do a balanced job and keep the 'door open' so to speak." (119)

Victor Veysey of California was surprising in his view of teachers and the change that he proposes is needed. He states "what is needed is to replace manhours [of teachers] with machines." He continued:

"You can lead a teacher to water but you can't make him use it effectively or he is so tied to the traditions that he really can't break out. This is an area that has got to have a lot of attention. We are going to get the teachers intercompetitive with the plumbers." (120)

Mr. Veysey was blunt and to the point in most of his conversation. His statement regarding education in general is a good example of this:

"Education is what most of our life is all about. Without the possibility of learning, without the possibility of teaching, without the possibility of passing on knowledge, information and wisdom, from one generation to another generation, we won't have any civilization. This is what education is all about." (120)

John Dellenback expressed the opinion of the more conservative Member on the Committee when he said:

"We all tend to make the generalization, make the demand, make the case for what we think is important then we sort of wave our hands and say we will get the money from someplace. We educators have got to be able to face the hard alternatives of where we are going to get those dollars. Where are those dollars going to come from? For every dollar we want additional---where specifically are we going to get them". (112)

Concerning Marland's statement on career education, Dellenback states:

"Now Marland, I am delighted to see, has a real concern about occupation and career education. But you cannot emphasize one and then downgrade the other. It is just a case of which concept is in the front of the public attention and which has the cutting edge at the moment."

On the problem of counseling for careers, Mr. Dellenback states: "We need to get some of our best educators in the counseling field because counseling is one of our most important fields."

John Dellenback pointed out what he considers to be a major fault of education philosophers who push new concepts by saying: "We think we have not been doing enough to train the young person to fit into life, so then we will structure this and it will now fall into place." He continued: "Well, it won't fall into place!"

"We think that the tool is going to crack all the problems for all the people, the answer is we are wrong, it will not do this particular thing. I just see there are parts of the puzzle that have not been fitted in and emphasis on career education and all it connotes is a real piece of the puzzle. It is just a piece that has not been emphasized. So, fit it in, but don't think of it as a panacea. We can structure too much. We can say--it is not only just going to reach post-secondary, it is going to reach back into the secondary, junior, high, back into the elementary, back into kindergarten--we are going to start having pregnant women lying on their beds with sound coming in to start training the child before it prowls out of the womb and we are going to do this in all its totality. Well, it does not work. We must keep it in perspective."

Mr. Peter Peyser had not heard of the concept of career education. Following a brief explanation of the concept, he perceived it as different than vocational education and pointed out that guaranteed jobs will not work.

Orval Hansen, a Member who is observed as a great supporter of Nixon still expresses an opinion of his own on education by stating:

"I think the Federal government will need to assume more of the responsibility of higher education. Many of the major institutions are in very serious financial straits, and I think in many cases they are going to have to defect some internal reforms to get better value for the dollar for what is invested in it. But overall, I think we should move more as we are now, in the direction of using community colleges, particularly for the first two years of academic course and also for the kinds of vocational, technical and specialized training that will

not lead to a degree, but does develop a skill for which there is a market, and then using your major universities as centers for graduate study." (117)

In the beginning of the conversation with Mr. Ruth of North Carolina he pointed out a criticism of educators in placing the stigma onto vocational education:

"In Congress, I would say that vocational education is one field that has had absolutely no enemies. Now unfortunately, a high percentage of schools begin as vocational schools and either the President, Trustees or somebody just can't wait to make an application to become a college. This bothers me a great deal. They are the first to put the stigma on their own enterprise so to speak." (118)

Herman Badillo of New York brought out forcefully a problem in the urban minority sections of New York with vocational education. He explained:

"Vocational education in New York City is an absolute disaster. Since the jobs the kids are being trained for either do not exist or are not available because of discrimination in unions. In one school they are still learning to take apart -- and this is so, an airplane engine I learned to take apart, and the plane has not been in use since 1947. The blacks and Puerto Ricans are learning carpentry and bricklaying and cannot get accepted into the building and trade unions, therefore, it is a waste of time. So the problem is not the question of vocational education. The problem is, unfortunately the educators have put blinders on. They say that the function of vocational education is to train kids. They are not going to make a decision as to whether or not those jobs will be available." (110)

Congressman Badillo sees the answer as not being education, but as being "jobs". He propounds to "don't train a kid for a union that is not willing to accept them unless you intend to take on the union." He feels vocational education glosses over this, because it is supposed to train kids for jobs and they have statistics showing that the jobs exist; but they don't say that the jobs don't exist for these kids. The statistics, he feels, are worthless because they fail to take into account the racial fact.

## Findings

### Implications in the future on career education:

The concept of career education is not seen as a priority item for education by the Committee Members interviewed. Several problems are indicated in the future based upon the findings of the decision-making process.

The concept of career education is pushed or was pushed by Commissioner Marland who is a politically appointed Commissioner. The fact that Marland is an educator and firmly believes in career education is accepted. However, there are conflicts with Marland on the fact that he stresses this over higher education. The Committee is very likely to continue to set priorities for general aid to education, in bipartisan support of programs in elementary-secondary education, in vocational and manpower training, and in support of higher education.

Career education educators must prove to the Committee that the concept of career education is a worthwhile, expansion or extension of one or all of the basic policy programs. Career education is not seen as an entity of its own, it is seen as a new term for vocational education, as a new method of teaching technique, or as a means of training the underprivileged for a job that is available to him. The usefulness and effectiveness and importance as a priority in education is not seen. It has no priority by itself, but as a part of the other priorities, if it fits in well and does not take away from or change the positive effects of the other priorities.

The concept of career education as seen by the Committee Members interviewed is that it should "not make waves" just fit into the

prescribed and established programs. All Committee Members wish to improve the education policies, they wish to find out what is bad, of poor quality in education and remove it. They wish to find out what is considered to be successful for the student and expand it. Their ideas and opinions vary as far as what they conceive to be successful or relevant, but the fact that an implementation of a program should prove itself worthy of continuance, is a known fact. Funding to education is an acceptable policy by the Committee. They will fund to education primarily on the concept of special needs, the underprivileged or needy student.

Career education has a hope for being developed as an education concept on the educator level. There is need to get the educators to support it, and to present it within the order and programs and general policies of education. If general aid to education of funds in block grants or by direct funding in revenue sharing is accomplished, then the advancement of career education must come at the state and local level.

If national funds are ear-marked for career education in the future, the evaluation of the programs must be done, and the success must be expertly presented. Programs which will help the special problem student will achieve unanimous support. If career education can be a successful tool for the disadvantaged and the underprivileged, it will most probably receive unanimous support. If it is seen to be hazy in support of the underprivileged, or questionable, if its scope is seen to take away from or infringe upon the already established policy of liberal arts, then it will fail.

One finding that could be enlarged upon is the finding of the recognized importance of counselors in job placement and successful career choices. The role of the counselor and his importance in the career education concept could be a plus factor in gaining support in the Committee. The effectiveness of good counseling is recognized by Committee Members and is seen as a goal for career education. Career education could not work without good counselors who have successful techniques in their local areas and for aiding the individual student.

Another finding that could be enlarged upon is the use of career education as a tool for the successful education and job placement of the underprivileged, the disadvantaged, and the handicapped, within the urban centers as well as the rural. Vocational education has been expressed as not being useful to the large metropolitan areas. Is career education relevant to these masses of students? What role can career education play for the special student? These are the main formal points of policy for educational funding. That it not be for the average, but for the non-average student. Federal funding will probably be authorized along these lines, not as a general funding to the whole educational picture. Career education must expand its policies to the post school unemployed, older American. There is Federal support in this area by policy.

The particular findings would indicate that the lobbyists for career education must make themselves known. Right now most lobbyists are vocational education leaders; primary, secondary and higher education leaders. The career education concept is not really advocated by any organized group. The vocational education organizations see it as

a broadening of their own scope, which may be realistic. However, the general educators and higher educators are not seen by Committee Members to be advocates of it. Commissioner Marland is. So who are the educators and the national groups who can or will support the career education concept in lobbies in Washington?

Another point is the fact that the Members view the educational organizations and leaders to be the ones who stigmatize vocational education. So the education leaders themselves must be scrutinized as to integration of ideas within a group, as to the policies they advocate. Do the educators support career education? On what fronts is it supported? Is it supported by leaders in primary and secondary education? Is it supported by leaders in higher education? Is it supported by vocational education leaders? These lobbies, particularly the vocational education and the higher education lobbies, are seen to have an impact on the Committee policies. However, the impact of general education is seen to be socially and personally influenced, and not lobby influenced for the national good. Who is going to present the case for career education on an organized front, expertly, to Congress?

The success of career education lies in its being evaluated as successful in achieving goals, in the communication of its aims to an organized interest group of educators, and ultimately to the Committee.

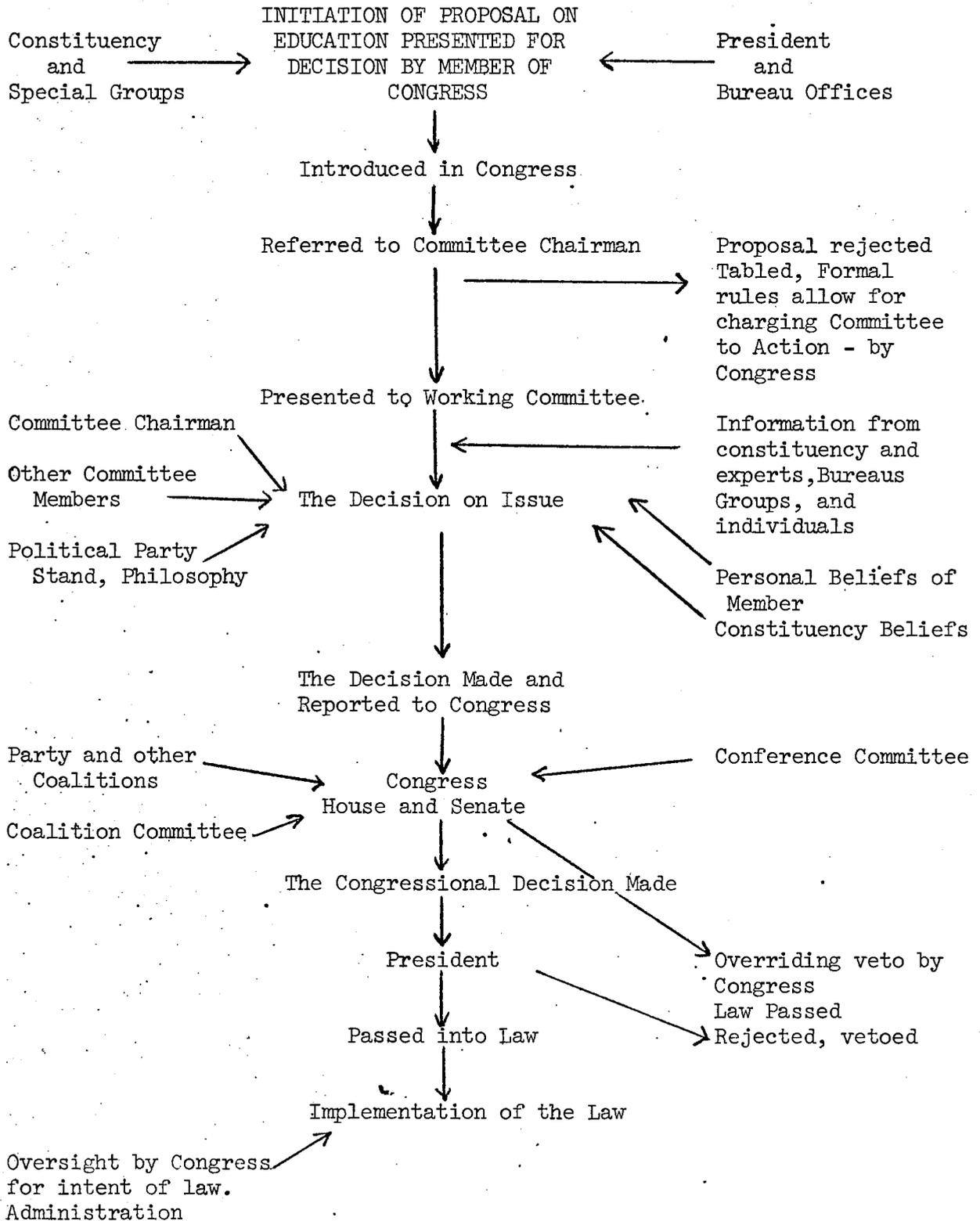
It must be evaluated as successful in the areas of career placement, in fitting into the educational system, as adding to the educational system and not taking away from the concept of richness of life on ether-eal aims; and not deleting the teaching of basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic. It must be successful by not trying to replace

higher education concepts based also on richness of life and education for the sake of education; for contributing to a great degree to the achievement of the special student, the handicapped, the underprivileged. It must be successful by non-discriminatory practice with minorities and special problem students, and evaluated as fiscally sound in achieving its aims. Teachers in the school systems must be capable and able to put forth, to implement the system. It must be acceptable on a national basis to educators. Finally, the public must be aware of the national good of career education. The goals for career educators are:

1. Implement career education under the present funding mechanisms in an efficient, and success-goal orientation as possible. To be accountable for the implementation of the present career education program.
2. To have relevant, meaningful, and as precise as possible, a means of evaluating the programs.
3. To communicate these evaluations to the educators of the nation, to the general public, to the organized education associations, to the Committee on Education and Labor.
4. To be prepared when career education expands and grows to solve new problems such as teacher training, implementing on broader scales and making allowances for changes and special needs of localities and students.
5. To be aware of ways of communicating the concept of career education, through public relations methods, to the general public and educators.

O B S E R V E D

THE DECISION MAKING PROCESSES  
ON AN EDUCATION QUESTION



Tabulation on Career Education.

- 14 did not understand or know the concept of career education.
- 12 see career education as synonymous with vocational education.
- 9 see the American education system undergoing a change in the "great American dream" concept.
- 9 feels both liberal arts and vocational education or career education are needed.
- 8 stated that jobs cannot be guaranteed and career education is missing the point because it could not provide jobs.
- 7 mentioned good guidance counselors will be needed.
- 7 knew the concept of career education well.
- 6 stated educators have put stigma on vocational education.
- 6 stated the public feels stigma is attached to vocational education.
- 6 felt there will be problems in providing funding for career education.
- 6 saw the main purpose of vocational education and career education as providing jobs for graduates.
- 6 felt greater funding was necessary for vocational education and career education.
- 5 stated education must change programs to meet constituency needs.
- 5 saw career education as different from vocational education.
- 5 were pro-community colleges.
- 4 were on Committee at beginning of vocational education funding.
- 3 do not agree with career education and felt Marland to be wrong.
- 3 stated pilot projects should be tested first before career education is put into effect.
- 3 stated career education must be relative to job offerings
- 3 mentioned that Committee and Congress have never turned down funds for vocational education.

## Continued:

- 2 felt education if for richness of life, not jobs.
- 1 felt cluster concept was needed, community based.
- 1 saw career education as most dramatic thing in many a year.
- 1 saw Higher Education Act as influencing career education.

## CHAPTER VIII

### SUMMATION OF FINDINGS

The decision-making processes of the Committee on Education and Labor are seen to be influenced by the following forces of power; the President, the Chairman of the Committee, the Congress, the personal beliefs and goals of the Membership, the constituency, labor lobbies and the courts, in that order.

The importance and degree of influence exerted is seen to be variable according to the issue involved. The formal process is a legislative one and successful decisions are regarded as legislation passed.

The President is the force seen as having had the most power over the passing of legislation during the 92nd Congress, but that the legislation would not have been possible without the decisions of the Committee and the Congress. The decision-making is a process of agreement by all parties of the Committee, the majority of the Committee, the majority of the Congress and the rule of the President and the decision to accept the rule of the President by the Congress and the Committee.

The most power seen affecting the decision in the legislative decision-making process is that of the President. However, this

directs back to the approval of Congress to the President's decision and then back again to the approval of the constituents with their representatives' decision. The process is a complex and variable one.

It is said that seniority is the final power in Congress. This is both true and untrue. The senior Congressmen are remaining in Congress through the years because they are expert and effective in decision-making. They are expert politicians in that they represent their constituents truly. They know their way around. They have organized staffs, office systems and efficient working schedules. New Members complain about the seniors who wield all the power. But the new Members also complain because they do not have enough staff, enough time to learn to know what they are supposed to be doing, and feel they do not have a voice to promulgate. It is easy to comprehend that a Congressman remaining in service for a number of years grows in ability to work efficiently and becomes effective in putting forth influence. Seniority is the rule, but only because it is the best rule. This does not mean that the junior Member does not have a voice. Many new Members to Congress and the Committee are serving four years or less and have learned to be effective in promoting the decisions they want made.

The Chairman, Carl D. Perkins of Kentucky, at this time does definitely carry the most power. He can call meetings and adjourn them. He can assign subcommittees. The minority ranking Member has almost as much power. To get legislation passed through a Committee means compromise and the Chairman and minority leader are the ones causing the compromise. The Chairman in particular, uses a "present-a-case" method whereby he remains in session until something is decided; a compromise is made. He

has been known to physically wear the Members out and to keep the meeting in session until a compromise is made to get the bill through. He is considered to be very effective.

Most conflict is in partisan decision-making, and is described as being a conflict of differences stemming from party philosophies. The actual decision made is one of compromise between two differing sides on an issue and usually the issue is one that involves constituencies, philosophies or party policies.

The ultimate power lies directly with the constituents in voting the man to Congress in the first place, and then voting to keep him there. If the constituents are not pleased the man does not stay in Congress. The constituents do vary. Urban-industrial regions will select a labor oriented Congressman who in turn must provide inducements in the way of labor-favored legislation. The labor lobbyists in turn induces Congressmen to write, sponsor and then vote for labor-favored legislation.

Big business also wants Congressmen on the Labor Committee to fight for the views of business to counter balance the influence of labor on the Committee. Many Members request the Committee position because education is the field in which they once had a profession. Many select this Committee because they are representing a cause, such as racial integration, poverty and underprivileged areas and constituents; and can do much for their people through this Committee.

Hence the Committee is composed of Members who are influenced by labor, business, education and social reasons.

The Committee's legislation is also influenced by the President, his directives, and the pressures he exerts to make his desires known.

In summation, the influences exerted are political, social, economical and philosophical. The forces using these influences are the President, the Chairman of the Committee, the Congress, the Membership, the constituency, labor lobbies and finally the courts of the Nation.

## CHAPTER IX

### CONCLUSIONS

The decision-making process of the Committee as applicable to career education can be described as highly complex and extensively variable. It is true, the Committee operates within a set of formal rules stipulating seniority as a power wielding factor; rules that stipulate number on Committee, seating arrangements, subcommittee chairmanship, assignment to Committee, the operation and function of the Committee and rules governing the decision-making process of the Committee. Variables pertaining to any Committee governed under these rules may affect career education or have completely different results on the decision-making processes.

In the 1950s the Education and Labor Committee was conservative in its attitudes toward career oriented education. It was governed under the same rules as it is now. But its tone was conservative; and it was considered to be unproductive in that it only met four times in one session of Congress. There were no disputes, hearings... nothing. The decision-making process directly affecting career education was limited in degree or quantity of decisions made. Under Adam Clayton Powell and Carl Dewey Perkins, during Democratic reigns in the Presidency, the Committee was highly productive. The operation or function of the Committee, under two different chairmen, was also different. Powell was known as an authoritarian, Perkins is

known as democratic in their philosophies toward career education.

Direct or formal power affecting career education was seen operating in the Chairmen of the subcommittees and the general Committee. The formal power was exercised and was accepted by the Membership in certain ways. The actual power was seen to be quite variable as to degree of pressure or power exercised, how it was exercised on each individual Member, on the Committee as a whole, upon Congress, the House, and the Senate. Career education decisions were made on issues according to the formal rules, according to personal, political, sociological, special interest, executive and constituency influences. The degree pressure could be applied by any one source varied and does vary with each source at different times and in degree with each individual. The equilibrium theory may be used to explain the variables in each factor of influence. Influence was used according to need for certain contributions; with contributions being made according to the influence of inducements and vice versa.

The future legislation regarding career education will have to be a joint effort on the part of educators from the fields of vocational education, general education, and higher education in order to bring about the necessary changes to make career education a reality in our educational system. The researcher concludes that at the present there is insufficient pressures exerted on the Chairman and minority leader by career educators; and this must be remedied as well as the utilization of total committee membership in the overall awareness in the aims and objectives of career education.

## CHAPTER X

### RECOMMENDATIONS

Congress, educators, parents and the public are going to have to become more concerned about the need to provide more accurate and complete information and meaningful experiences to students about occupational and educational alternatives. Although traditionally general educators are not usually concerned with attitudes concerning occupations as such, they are concerned with modifying behavior in the dimensions of career development.

According to Bandura, "The development of beneficial attitudes is often regarded as a major objective of social change endeavors." (24) He further points out that it is assumed a correlation exists between the attitudinal domain and subsequent actions. Yet in light of this objective, Toffler states that "the more crucial the question of values (attitudes) becomes, the less willing our present schools are to grapple with it. It is no wonder that millions of young people trace erratic pathways into the future, ricocheting this way and that like unguided missiles." (25)

Students possess a vast repertoire of behavior which reflects attitudes about occupations and education. Many of these attitudes are based on inadequate information, however, and experience acquired from misguided socialization agents.

But even with inaccurate or faulty information, the youth today seem to possess a high degree of sophistication. Today's students do not appear to be as naive as the students of the past. Even so, thousands of students graduate from high school each lacking a useful education and incapable of performing a skilled job.

In the agrarian society of the American Nation in former years, adult roles were quite visible. Large extended families provided uncles, aunts, grandparents, parents and others for the young to imitate. The youth were surrounded by and involved in work activities which provided the knowledge and experience upon which attitudes were formulated.

Changes in American society have virtually eliminated the traditional method of gaining knowledge and experience upon which attitudes and subsequent occupational decisions are facilitated. If students who comprise the emerging labor force are to be viable members of society, it is important that they be provided with the knowledge and experience upon which future occupational decisions can be based.

Congress recognizes the need for "new ways to create a bridge between school and earning a living for young people" by including a section on Exemplary Programs and Projects in the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968. One method of carrying out the purposes of Part D, Section 142, is to establish innovative model programs designed to familiarize elementary and secondary school students with the broad range of occupations (26) for which special skills are required and the requisites for careers in such occupations. Theoretical developmental models have been provided by numerous educators and practitioners.

If career education is going to be a success in the future, the concept must be understood and accepted by the Committee on Education and Labor and Congress as a whole. Career education is going to have to be accepted by educators, parents and the public as part of the solution to our social and economic problems. It is true there is no proof of successful career education programs. There is no problem with everyone being "for" career education. The real issues evolve around who pays, and how much.

For career education to become a viable program the following experiences must be achieved: 1) industrial and educational experiences, 2) decision-making experiences, 3) adequate career counseling, 4) career games which are relevant to student needs, 5) regular visits to career guidance centers, 6) periodic career conferences, 7) job site visits, 8) reinforcement models, 9) staff career specialists, 10) student career logs.

Through a career development program, education can become much more relevant for Americans of all ages, therefore, administrators and teachers must be willing to: 1) move away from a traditional regimented curriculum, 2) give up an authoritarian orientation, 3) bring the real-world into the classroom, 4) give the student the basic necessary knowledge in reading, writing and arithmetic, 5) allow students to begin an educational experience at the point of interest and concern of the students, 6) have diversified experiences with adroit training leading to more broadly prepared worker's and necessary job placement.

In the United States, we have many problems related to economic, social, and political conditions which can be improved and alleviated

through a maximum effort involving the proper perception of Members of the Education and Labor Committee, the Congress in general, the Administration, educators, parents, and the public regarding implementing the overall basic concept of career education; plus the appreciation and dignity in work, and the humanistic approach of general concern for our fellow man. If career education is to become a viable objective for all education, then as Cicero once said: "Man most closely resembles God when he is doing good to his fellow creatures", must become a reality.

For possible future studies the researcher recommends:

1. Some parallel study on the state level with state legislators and state committees concerning career education,
2. A more in depth study within the same framework, comparing several states; correlate results between these and analyze and compare with this study,
3. Repeat this study after 5 years, 10 years lapse in time and compare with results.

The researcher sincerely hopes that this study may be beneficial to others in their search for knowledge concerning career education. It is also hoped that this study may give others a more knowledgeable understanding of one of our most powerful, important and influential Committees developing the future policies of education in the United States.

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APPENDIX A

FORMS USED FOR CASE STUDIES

CASE STUDY

SOCIAL HISTORY

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ State: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Political Party: \_\_\_\_\_ City: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Age: \_\_\_\_\_ Sex: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Race: \_\_\_\_\_ Religion: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Education: \_\_\_\_\_ Background, Urban \_\_\_\_\_ Rural \_\_\_\_\_  
 Marital Status: \_\_\_\_\_ Geographical Congressional \_\_\_\_\_  
 No. of Children \_\_\_\_\_ District \_\_\_\_\_  
 Occupation previously: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Other: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

POLITICAL HISTORY

Years in Congress: \_\_\_\_\_ Years on Committee \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rank on Committee: \_\_\_\_\_ Minority \_\_\_\_\_ or Majority \_\_\_\_\_  
 Subcommittee Status: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bills Legislated: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

Votes on Educational Bills in Committee:

<u>Title</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Absent</u>	<u>Outcome</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Votes on Educational Legislation in House:

<u>Title</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Absent</u>	<u>Outcome</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Analysis of Political Orientation to Education from Voting Record:

Liberal \_\_\_\_\_ Conservative \_\_\_\_\_ Moderate \_\_\_\_\_

Comments \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

C A S E   S T U D Y

INTERVIEW AND/OR DOCUMENT SYNOPSIS

Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
Date and Background of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

TOPIC INTERPRETAION:

CASE STUDY ANALYSIS OF FORCES INFLUENCING  
DECISION-MAKING AS IT RELATES TO CAREER EDUCATION

FORCES INFLUENCING DECISION-MAKING	RELATIONSHIP TO CAREER EDUCATION			
	Positive	Negative	Indifferent	Unknown
Internal Forces				
Voting Record				
Social Orientation				
Political Orientation				
Education Orientation				
Vocational Education Orientation				
Career Education Orientation				
Personal Effectivity Perception				
Committee Effectivity Perception				
Power of the Chairman				
External Forces				
Political				
Social				
Executive-President & Bureaus				
Constituency				
Lobbies-Special Interest Groups				
Congress-House and Senate				
Oversight Hearings Effectivity				

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW REFERENCE NUMBERS  
AND  
TAPE - TRANSCRIPTION TIME DATA

INTERVIEW REFERENCE NUMBERS

- 101 Carl D. Perkins, Chairman, Kentucky
- 102 Frank Thompson, Jr., New Jersey
- 103 John Brademas, Indiana
- 104 James G. O'Hara, Michigan
- 105 Augustus F. Hawkins, California
- 106 William D. Ford, Michigan
- 107 Lloyd Meeds, Washington
- 108 Shirley Chisholm, New York
- 109 Romano L. Mazzoli, Kentucky
- 110 Herman Badillo, New York
- 111 Albert H. Quie, Minnesota
- 112 John Dellenback, Oregon
- 113 Marvin L. Esch, Michigan
- 114 Edwain D. Eshleman, Pennsylvania
- 115 William A. Steiger, Wisconsin
- 116 Earl F. Landgrebe, Indiana
- 117 Orval Hansen, Idaho
- 118 Earl B. Ruth, North Carolina
- 119 Edwin B. Forsythe, New Jersey
- 120 Victor V. Veysey, California
- 121 Peter A. Peyser, New York

TAPE - TRANSCRIPTION TIME DATA

<u>Congressman</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Interview Time</u>
Romano L. Mazzoli	Kentucky	2-5-73	90 min.
Edwin D. Eshleman	Pennsylvania	2-4-73	90 min.
Albert H. Quie	Minnesota	2-4-73	60 min.
Orval Hansen	Idaho	2-3-73	60 min.
Shirley Chisholm	New York	2-3-73	60 min.
Edwin B. Forsythe	New Jersey	9-6-72	120 min.
August F. Hawkins	California	9-2-72	120 min.
Lloyd Meeds	Washington	12-13-72	60 min.
Mario Biaggi	New York	1-4-73	60 min.
Earl F. Landgrebe	Indiana	1-4-73	30 min.
Earl B. Ruth	North Carolina	1-9-73	60 min.
Peter A. Peyser	New York	1-10-73	90 min.
William A. Steiger	Wisconsin	12-15-73	60 min.
Frank Thompson, Jr.	New Jersey	12-18-73	120 min.
Carl D. Perkins	Kentucky	1-4-73	60 min.
John Brademas	Indiana	1-10-73	120 min.
Victor V. Veysey	California	1-11-73	90 min.
William D. Ford	Michigan	1-10-73	90 min.
Herman Badillo	New York	1-5-73	90 min.
James G. O'Hara	Michigan	1-11-73	90 min.
Marvin L. Esch	Michigan	9-4-72	60 min.
John Dellenback	Oregon	9-5-72	60 min.

TAPES: 1580 minutes = 26 hours, 20 minutes

Jack Reed, Counsel: 90 min.  
 Peter Ilchuck: 60 min.

Verbal Input: Bill Gaul  
 Bill Cable  
 Don Barens  
 Austin Sullivan  
 Don Baker  
 Louise Wright  
 Jean Thompson  
 Louise Dargans  
 Richard Limb  
 John Warren

APPENDIX C

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR  
92nd Congress, 2d Session

and

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR  
SEATING ARRANGEMENT

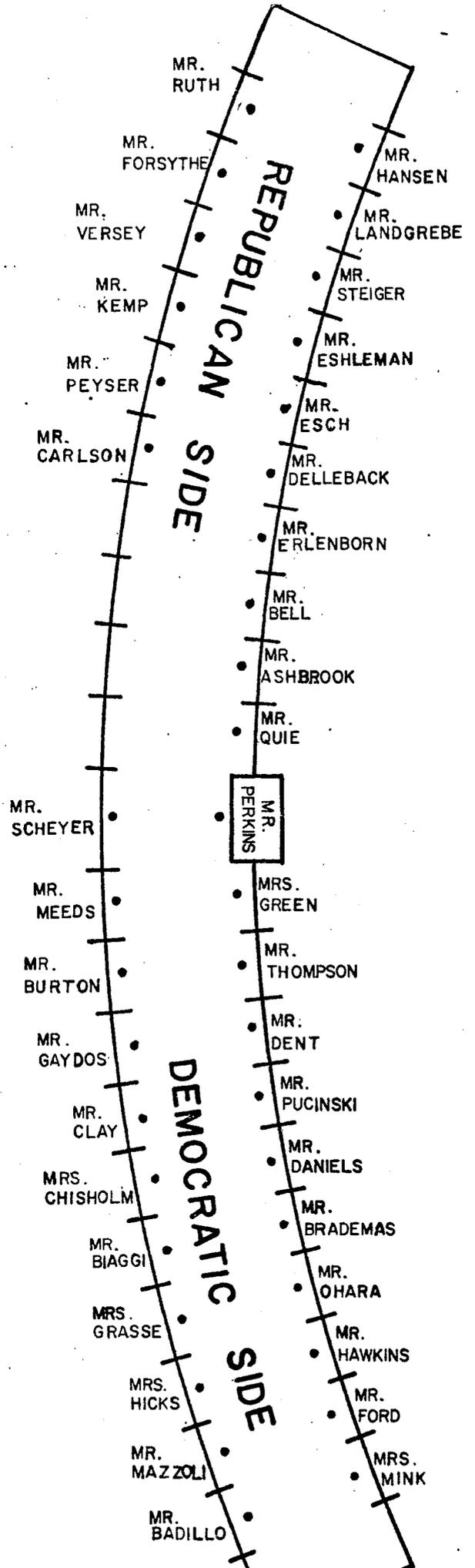
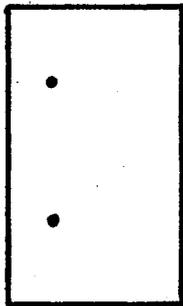
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
 COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR  
 92d Congress, 2d Session

Carl D. Perkins, Kentucky, Chairman  
 Edith Green, Oregon  
 Frank Thompson, Jr., New Jersey  
 John H. Dent, Pennsylvania  
 Roman C. Pucinski, Illinois  
 Dominick V. Daniels, New Jersey  
 John Brademas, Indiana  
 James G. O'Hara, Michigan  
 Augustus F. Hawkins, California  
 William D. Ford, Michigan  
 Patsy T. Mink, Hawaii  
 James M. Scheuer, New York  
 Lloyd Meeds, Washington  
 Phillip Burton, California  
 Joseph M. Gaydos, Pennsylvania  
 William "Bill" Clay, Missouri  
 Shirley Chisholm, New York  
 Mario Biaggi, New York  
 Ella T. Grasso, Connecticut  
 Louise Day Hicks, Massachusetts  
 Romano L. Mazzoli, Kentucky  
 Herman Badillo, New York

Albert H. Quie, Minnesota  
 John M. Ashbrook, Ohio  
 Alphonzo Bell, California  
 John N. Erlenborn, Illinois  
 John Dellenback, Oregon  
 Marvin L. Esch, Michigan  
 Edwin D. Eshleman, Pennsylvania  
 William A. Steiger, Wisconsin  
 Earl F. Landgrebe, Indiana  
 Orval Hansen, Idaho  
 Earl B. Ruth, North Carolina  
 Edwin B. Forsythe, New Jersey  
 Victor V. Veysey, California  
 Jack F. Kemp, New York  
 Peter A. Peyser, New York  
 Clifford D. Carlson, Illinois

Special Subcommittee on Education: Edith Green, Chairman  
 Special Subcommittee on Labor: Frank Thompson, Jr., Chairman  
 General Subcommittee on Labor: John H. Dent, Chairman  
 General Subcommittee on Education: Roman C. Pucinski, Chairman  
 Select Subcommittee on Labor: Dominick V. Daniels, Chairman  
 Select Subcommittee on Education: John Brademas, Chairman  
 Subcommittee on Agricultural Labor: James G. O'Hara

**COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION & LABOR**  
**92D CONGRESS**  
**2d SESSION**



APPENDIX D

CASE STUDIES

## CASE STUDY AND ANALYTICAL SUMMARY 101

CARL D. PERKINS, CHAIRMAN

A Democrat from Hindman, Knott County, Kentucky

Represents seventh district, 22 counties. Rural area, farming, tobacco, coal mines.

Birth date October 15, 1912, born in Hindman, Kentucky. Age 60. A white male.

Graduate of Law, 1935. Baptist church. Married to Verna Johnson. One son.

Army veteran of World War II, European theater, battles of Northern France, Ardennes, Rhineland, Central Europe.

Was previously a teacher in public school system, Attorney at Law.

Served as Kentucky Commonwealth Attorney, 1939; Kentucky General Assembly 1940; Knott County Attorney 1941-49, Counsel for Department of Highways 1948.

Representative in Congress since 1948, 81st Congress. 24 years of service. Chairman, Ranking majority member.

Interpretative Findings of Empirical Data

Chief Membership Goal -- Establish National policies for aid to education.

Particular Goal -- Federal aid to education, particularly for the disadvantaged and underprivileged, emphasis on elementary and secondary education.

Additional General Concepts -- 1. Education is underfunded now, cannot cut 10%. 2. Work of Committee and intent of Congress for education is perceived as threatened by President. 3. Committee will fight for higher appropriations in 93D Congress, particularly for elementary and secondary education appropriations.

Voting and Legislative Findings -- New Republic Rating, 8+, 4-, Moderate Liberal voter on House Floor.

Sponsored Vocational Education Amendments Act of 1963; the Elementary and Secondary Educations Act of 1965; the Vocational Education Amendment Act of 1968 containing the Career Education Concept.

Continued --

## CASE STUDY AND ANALYTICAL SUMMARY 101 -- Continued

CoSponsored the Occupational Education portion of the Higher Education Act of 1972 along with Messrs. Quie and Pucinski; CoSponsored the Higher Education Act of 1972, Mrs. Green Sponsor.

Knew and cosponsored concept of career education.

## CASE STUDY AND ANALYTICAL SUMMARY 102

FRANK THOMPSON, JR., CONGRESSMAN

A Democrat from Trenton, New Jersey.

Represents the fourth district which is urban and labor populated.

Born July 26, 1918, 54 years old, in Trenton, New Jersey.  
A white male.

Graduated from Wake Forest Law School, North Carolina.  
A Catholic married to Evelina Van Metre of Washington, D.C.  
Has two grown daughters.

Veteran of the Navy, commanded action at Iwo Jima and Okinawa.

Practiced law before entering Congress and retains some practice.

Was a member of the State Assembly from 1949 to 1953, was minority leader in 1950. Worked as a campaign manager for President Kennedy during 1960.

Representative in Congress since 1954, the 84th Congress. He is third ranking majority member of the Committee; Chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Labor. Second ranking majority member on the House Administration Committee, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Accounts. Trustee of the John F. Kennedy Center and member of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Commission.

Interpretative Findings of Empirical Data

Chief Membership Goal -- Labor oriented. However, on education, rated goal is -- Establish National policies for aid to education.

Particular Goal -- Education that is job training oriented.

Additional General Concepts -- 1. Teachers should unionize.  
2. Education is underfunded now, cannot be cut 10%.

Voting Pattern -- New Republic Rating 10+, 1-, 1 Absent,  
Liberal.

Did not know concept of career education.

## CASE STUDY AND ANALYTICAL SUMMARY 103

JOHN BRADEMAS, CONGRESSMAN

A Democrat from South Bend, Indiana

Represents third district, a marginal, rural/urban/industrial area.

Born March 2, 1927, 45 Years old, in Mishawaka, Indiana.  
A white male.

BA Degree from Harvard 1949, magna cum laude; Doctor of Philosophy, 1954, Oxford University, Rhodes Scholar; Doctor of Laws Honorary Degree, plus many more honorary degrees.

Member of the First United Methodist Church. Is a bachelor.

Veteran of the U.S. Navy, 1945-46.

Was previously an educator, assistant professor of political science, Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana. Executive to Adlai E. Stevenson, 1955-56. Rich background in education and politics, with political advisory and assistant roles.

Entered Congress in 1958, 86th Congress. Was Majority Whip in 92D Congress. Is seventh ranking Member of Committee; Chairman of the Select Subcommittee on Education.

Interpretative Findings of Empirical Data

Chief Membership Goal -- Establish National policies for aid to education.

Particular Goal -- Education of the handicapped, rehabilitation and older Americans. Enrichment throughout life through education.

Additional General Concepts -- 1. Education is underfunded now, cannot cut 10%. 2. Committee will fight for higher appropriations in 93D Congress. 3. President Nixon is anti-education.

Voting and Legislative Findings -- New Republic Rating, 12+ Most Liberal.

Cosponsored the Vocational Education Amendments Act of 1968.

Knew concept of career education.

## CASE STUDY AND ANALYTICAL SUMMARY 104

JAMES G. O'HARA, CONGRESSMAN

A Democrat from Utica, Michigan.

Represents 12th District including parts of Detroit. Urban, industrial area.

Was born November 8, 1925 in Washington, D.C., is 47 years old. A white male

Has A.B. and LL.B. Degrees, a Catholic, married to Susan Puskas. Seven children.

A veteran of World War II, Pacific Theater of Operations, enlisted in 511th Parachute Infantry Regiment.

Previously practiced law.

Never held a political office prior to Congress.

Entered House of Representatives in 1958, 86th Congress. Is eighth ranking Member of Committee, Chairman of Subcommittee on Agricultural Labor. Is active in Democratic Party Reform. Member of Joint Committee on Congressional Operation. Headed Democratic Party Commission on Rules following 1968 convention, progressive, for reform.

Interpretative Findings of Empirical Data

Chief Membership Goal -- Establishing National policies to help solve social/racial problems.

Particular Goals -- Social, racial problems; job skill training.

Additional General Concepts -- 1. The work of the Committee and intent of Congress is perceived as threatened by the President; concept of national problem to fund education.

Voting and Legislative Findings -- New Republic Voting pattern, 11+, 1-, Liberal

Cosponsored Vocational Education Amendments Act of 1968.

Did not know concept of career education.

## CASE STUDY AND ANALYTICAL SUMMARY 105

AGUSTUS F. HAWKINS, CONGRESSMAN

A Democrat from Low Angeles, California.

Representative of 21st District, portions of Los Angeles County and City of Compton. Urban

Born August 31, 1907 in Shreveport, Louisiana, moved to California at age 11. Aged 65. A black male.

AB Degree in Economics from UCLA. Active in Juvenile Delinquency Prevention work in Los Angeles County. Engaged in real estate business.

Was the first Black Member of the California State Assembly in 1934. Served until entered U.S. Congress in 1962.

Entered Congress, 88th Congress in 1962. Is the ninth ranking Member of Committee. Is a member of the Congressional Black Caucus. Expert legislator.

Interpretative Findings of Empirical Data

Chief Membership Goal -- Establishing National policies to help solve social/racial problems.

Particular Goals -- Solving and resolving racial problems through national legislation; over all concern for Nations society, educational needs.

Additional General Concepts -- 1. The work of the Committee and intent of Congress is threatened by the President;  
2. Foresees trouble with appropriating funds for education and social progress.

Voting and Legislative Findings -- New Republic Rating 10+,  
2 Absent, Liberal.

Sponsor and cosponsor to equal opportunity legislation.  
Cosponsor to Vocational Education Amendments Act of 1968.

Knew concept of career education.

## CASE STUDY AND ANALYTICAL SUMMARY 106

WILLIAM DAVID FORD, CONGRESSMAN

A Democrat from Taylor, Michigan

Representative of 15th District, portions of Wayne County, an urban, suburban area.

Born August 6, 1927 in Detroit, Michigan. Aged 45 years. A white male.

Graduate of Henry Ford Trade School, B.S. and LL.B from Wayne University and University of Denver.

Has three children, two boys, one girl.

Serves in the U.S. Navy 1944-46; in the U.S. Air Force Reserves 1950-58.

Previously practiced law, was Justice of Peace, City Attorney.

Served in State Senate 1962-64.

Entered Congress in 1964, 89th Congress. Is the 10th ranking member of Committee.

Interpretative Findings of Empirical Data

Chief Membership Goal -- Establish National policies for aid to education.

Particular Goals -- Manpower training; against administration cutting of job corps program.

General Concepts -- President Nixon is anti-education; 2. the work of the Committee and intent of Congress is threatened by the President. 3. Education is underfunded now, cannot be cut 10%.

Voting and Legislative Findings -- New Republic Voting Rate 11+, 1-, Liberal.

Knew concept of career education.

## CASE STUDY AND ANALYTICAL SUMMARY 107

LLOYD MEEDS, CONGRESSMAN

A Democrat from Everett, Washington.

Represents second district, an urban area.

Born December 11, 1927, Dillon, Montana. Aged 45. A white male.

Graduate of Everett Junior College, LL.B. Gonzaga University in 1958. He is married. A Veteran of the U.S. Navy.

Served as Prosecuting Attorney for Spokane and Snohomish Counties, private practice of law.

Entered Congress in 1964, 89th Congress. Is 13th Majority Member of Committee. Also a Member of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

Interpretative Findings of Empirical Data

Chief Goal -- Establish National policies for aid to education.

Particular Goals -- 1. Balance vocational education with liberal arts education; 2. Special interest in American Indians.

General Concepts -- 1. President Nixon is anti-education.  
2. Education is underfunded now, cannot be cut 10%.

Voting and Legislative Findings -- New Republic Voting 10+,  
2-, Liberal.

Cosponsored and introduced Vocational Education Amendments Act of 1968.

Knew concept of Career Education.

## CASE STUDY AND ANALYTICAL SUMMARY 108

SHIRLEY ANITA CHISHOLM, CONGRESSWOMAN

A Democrat from Brooklyn, New York.

Represents 12th District, Kings County, urban area.

Born November 30, 1924, in Brooklyn, New York, aged 48.  
A Black female.

BA Degree Brooklyn College, MA Degree Columbia University.  
Many honorary degrees.

Married to Conrad Chisholm, a special investigator.

Previously was a nursery school teacher and director.

Served in the New York State Assembly for four years.  
Member of many political organizations. Is the first Black woman in Congress. Campaigned for President in Democratic Primaries of 1968.

Entered 91st Congress in 1968. Is 17th in rank on Committee.  
Is a member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Interpretative Findings of Empirical Data

Chief Goal -- Establish National policies for aid to education.

Particular Goals -- 1. Educators must progress, change views, curriculum, attitudes, for good of child; 2. Teachers must care for the needs of the students, motivate, teach them. 3. Very strong concern for people as individuals, helping with their problems.

Voting and Legislative Findings -- New Republic Voting rate 10+, 2 Absent, Liberal.

Did not know concept of career education.

## CASE STUDY AND ANALYTICAL SUMMARY 109

ROMANO L. MAZZOLI, CONGRESSMAN

A Democrat from Louisville, Kentucky

Represents the third district including Jefferson County, City of Louisville and Shively, an urban area.

Born November 2, 1932 in Louisville, Kentucky. Aged 40. A white male of Italian descent. A Catholic, married to Helen Dillon since 1959, two children; a boy and a girl.

B.S. and J.D. Degrees. Previously practiced law and served in the Nashville Railroad Company Law Department. Past lecturer and present lecturer in business law.

Served in the Kentucky State Senate, 1967

Representative to Congress since 1970, 92D.Congress. Is the 21st ranking member in 22 of the majority in Committee. Considered to be a freshman maverick.

Interpretative Findings of Empirical Data

Chief Membership Goal -- Establish good National policy for aid to education.

Particular Goals -- 1. Has intense personal views. Statement of "Do not throw baby away with bathwater," concerning career education versus liberal arts education is example. 2. Does see the work of the Committee and intent of Congress threatened by the President. 3. Education is underfunded now, cannot cut it 10%.

Voting and Legislative Findings -- New Republic Votes 9+, 3-, Moderate Liberal.

Knew concept of career education.

## CASE STUDY AND ANALYTICAL SUMMARY 110

HERMAN BADILLO, CONGRESSMAN

A Democrat from Bronx, New York.

Represents the 21st District, Bronx, an Urban area.

Born August 21, 1929 in Caguas Pureto Rico. Aged 43. A Pureto Rican male. First of his birth to sit in Congress, House of Representatives.

BBA from City College of New York, magna cum laude graduate of Brooklyn Law School, 1954; class valedictoria CPA Degree in 1956. Married to Irma Deutsch since 1961.

Previously practiced law and was a CPM. Member of New York City Hospitals Corporation.

Helped to establish 1960 Democrats for Kennedy group in East Harlem. Delegate to Democratic National Convention in 1968 and Member of Credentials Committee. Is a Member of Democrat Rules Committee. Wants to be Mayor of New York.

Representative to Congress since 1970, 92D Congress. 22nd ranking member of majority.

Interpretative Findings of Empirical Data

Chief Membership Goal -- Solving social/racial problems.

Particular Goals -- 1. Helping the plight of racial minorities wanting equal education, jobs, housing.

General Concepts -- President Nixon is anti-education, anti-poor, anti-society. Education is underfunded now, cannot cut 10%.

Voting and Legislative Findings -- New Republic Votes, 12+ Most Liberal.

Did not know concept of career education.

## CASE STUDY AND ANALYTICAL SUMMARY 111

ALBERT HAROLD QUIE, CONGRESSMAN, RANKING MINORITY MEMBER

A Republican from Dennison, Minnesota

Represents the first District, a rural area.

Born September 18, 1923, in Dennison, Minnesota. Aged 49.  
A White male; married to Gretchen Hansen since 1948. Has five children.

Received a BA in political science in 1950 from Olaf College.

A Navy Pilot veteran of World War II.

Previously was a farmer (still is), school board member, soil conservation director.

Served in the State Senate in 1954.

Representative to Congress since 1958, 85th Congress. Is the Ranking Minority Member of the Committee.

Interpretative Findings of Empirical Data

Chief Membership Goal -- Establish National policies for aid to education.

Particular Goals -- 1. Provide general aid to education by funding 25% through income tax. 2. Education of the handicapped; compensatory education; career training through additional funds. 3. Need more qualified, dedicated teachers.

Voting and Legislative Findings -- New Republic Voting rate 1+, 11-, Conservative.

CoSponsored the Occupational Education portion of the Higher Education Act of 1972 with Messrs. Perkins and Pucinski.

Knew concept of career education.

## CASE STUDY AND ANALYTICAL SUMMARY 112

JOHN DELLENBACK, CONGRESSMAN

A Republican from Medford, Oregon

Representative of the fourth district, an urban, rural area, represented by timber industry.

Was born November 6, 1918 in Chicago, Illinois. Aged 54. A white male married to Mary Jane Benedict since 1948. Has three children, two boys and one girl.

BS in applied economic science; J.D. from Michigan Law School in 1949. Phi Beta Kappa.

Member of the United Presbyterian Church, on the Board of Elders.

Veteran of the U.S. Navy.

Previously practiced law, was instructor of business law.

Served as Representative to State Assembly 1960-64. Past legislative history shows emphasis of service concerned taxes.

Entered Congress in 1966, 90th Congress. Is the sixth ranking minority Member of Committee. Member of the Special Subcommittee on Education.

Interpretative Findings of Empirical Data

Chief Membership Goal -- National fiscal responsibility, against federal spending for education.

Particular Goals -- 1. Need efficiency of the dollar spent for education. 2. Follows Quie proposals for type of funding for education. 3. Educators need accountability for programs.

Voting and Legislative Findings -- New Republic Voting Rate, 2+, 10-, Conservative.

CoSponsored the Vocational Education Amendments Act of 1968.

Knew concept of career education.

## CASE STUDY AND ANALYTICAL SUMMARY 113

MARVIN L. ESCH

A Republican from Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Represents the second district, urban area.

Born August 4, 1927 in Flinton, Pennsylvania. Aged 45.  
A white male, Lay Preacher in the Presbyterian Church.  
Married to Olga Jurich with three children, two boys, one girl.

Veteran of the U.S. Army.

AB in political science, MA in 1951, PhD in 1957 in speech and education from the University of Michigan.

Previously an associate professor for 14 years and lecturer at University of Michigan and Wayne State University Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations. Labor and Management Consultant.

Served in Congress since 1966, 90th Congress. Is the seventh ranking minority member. Member of the Select Subcommittee on Labor. Also a member of Science and Astronautics Committee. Chairman of the Republican Task Force on Ecology and Population.

Interpretative Findings of Empirical Data

Chief Membership Goal -- Establish National policies for aid to education.

Particular Goals -- 1. Wants to see general aid to education.  
2. Hopes general aid will replace remedial programs in education. 3. Thinks teachers should unionize.

Voting and Legislative Findings -- New Republic Voting Rate, 4+, 6-, Moderate.

Cosponsored the Vocational Education Amendments Act of 1968.

Knows concept of career education.

## CASE STUDY AND ANALYTICAL SUMMARY 114

EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN, CONGRESSMAN

A Republican from Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Represents the 16th District, a Rural area.

Born in December 4, 1920, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Aged 52. A white male, married to Kathryn E. Dambach. Has two sons. Is a member of the Lutheran Church.

Served in the U.S. Coast Guard during World War II.

Previously taught school. Has B.S. degree in political science.

Served 12 years in the State House of Representatives. Was Chairman of the Education Committee, majority whip and minority whip in State House. Served as Vice Chairman of the Pennsylvania Higher Education Agency 1964-67.

Entered Congress in 1966, the 90th Congress. Is the eighth ranking minority Member of the Committee. Is a member of the Subcommittee on Agricultural Labor.

Interpretative Findings of Empirical Data

Chief Membership Goal -- Federal Government should be fiscally responsible.

Particular Goals -- 1. Fiscal responsibility when legislating for education.

General Concepts -- 1. Committee will fight for higher appropriations in 93rd Congress. 2. Education is underfunded now, cannot cut 10%, cut somewhere else.

Voting and Legislative Findings -- New Republic Voting Rate, 0+, 9-, 3 Absent. Conservative.

Did not know concept of career education.

## CASE STUDY AND ANALYTICAL SUMMARY 115

WILLIAM A. STEIGER, CONGRESSMAN

A Republican from Oshkosh, Wisconsin.

Representative of the sixth district, an urban, suburban area.

Born May 15, 1938 in Oshkosh, Wisconsin. Aged 34. A white male, married to Janet Dempsey. Has one child.

Received a BS degree from the University of Wisconsin.

Was previously President of the Steiger-Rathke Development Company.

Served in the State Assembly 1960-64. Was a delegate to the Republican Convention in 1968.

Entered Congress in 1966, the 90th Congress. Is the ninth ranking minority Member on Committee.

Interpretative Findings of Empirical Data

Chief Membership Goal -- Could not be determined by this research. Spoke historically, factually on most subjects.

Voting and Legislative Findings -- New Republic Voting Rate, 2+, 10-, Conservative.

Cosponsor of the Vocational Education Amendments Act of 1968.

Knew concept of career education.

## CAST STUDY AND ANALYTICAL SUMMARY 116

EARL F. LANDGREBE, CONGRESSMAN

A Republican from Valparaiso, Indiana

Represents the second district, a rural area.

Born January 21, 1916 in Porter County, Indiana. Aged 56. A white male. Member of the Lutheran Church, serving three terms on the Vestry. Married to Helen Field of Valparaiso. Has two sons.

Worked his way up from dishwasher, to truck driver to owner of International Harvester Agency and Landgrebe Motor Transport, Inc. Past Director of Porter County Guidance Clinic. Director of First Federal Savings and Loan Association.

Served in the State Senate for 10 years.

Entered Congress in 1968, the 91st Congress. Is the 10th ranking minority Member. Serves on the Select Subcommittee on Education and the General Subcommittee on Labor.

Interpretative Findings of Empirical Data

Chief Membership Goal -- Government fiscal responsibility.

Particular Goals -- 1. Does not believe in federal spending for education. 2. Liberal education is all that is needed. 3. Education and educators need quality. 4. Committee should cut funds as President wishes.

Voting and Legislative Findings -- New Republic Voting Rate, 1+, 10-, 1 Absent, Conservative

Congressman Landgrebe cast the only negative vote of the Membership when reporting the Bipartisan Bill for Higher Education, 1972.

Did not know concept of career education.

## CASE STUDY AND ANALYTICAL SUMMARY 117

## ORVAL HANSEN, CONGRESSMAN

A Republican from Idaho Falls, Idaho.

Represents the second district, a rural area.

Born August 3, 1926 in Firth, Idaho. A white male married to Jane Duncan from Southport, England. They have seven children five girls and two boys. A Mormon.

A Veteran of the Navy serving in World War II. Member of the U.S. Airforce Reserves.

Holds a BA from the University of Idaho, J.D. and received advanced study at the London School of Economy and Political Science, University of London, 1954, 55.

Served as Staff Assistant to the late United States Senator Henry Dworshak from 1950-54. Lecturer in Europe, Africa and the Middle East, 1955, 56. Has privately practiced law.

Served in the State House for four years, was majority leader in the House in 1964. Served in the State Senate in 1966.

Entered Congress in 1968, 91st Congress. Is the 11th ranking minority Member of Committee.

Interpretative Findings of Empirical Data

Chief Membership Goal -- Establish National policies for education.

Particular Goals -- 1. Supports higher education and community colleges. 2. Supports vocational education in community colleges.

Voting and Legislative Findings -- New Republic Voting Rate 3+, 9-, Moderate Conservative.

Knew the concept of career education.

## CASE STUDY AND ANALYTICAL SUMMARY 1 1 8

EARL B. RUTH, CONGRESSMAN

A Republican from Salisbury, North Carolina

Represents the eighth district, a rural agribusiness area.

Born February 7, 1916, Aged 56. A white male married to Jane Wiley from Charlotte, N.C., since 1938. Four children. Is an Elder in the Presbyterian Church.

Holds PhD in Education. Was previously an educator.

Served in the U.S. Navy. Held Political office of City Council Member, Mayor pro tem.

Entered Congress in 1968, 91st Congress. Is the 12th ranking minority Member on Committee.

Interpretative Findings of Empirical Data

Chief Membership Goals -- Fiscal responsibility of government, with power resting in State and Local governments.

Particular Goals -- 1. education programs need cut, inefficient use of funds. 2. Need to cut funds as President wishes. 2. Should increase National Defense.

Voting Pattern -- New Republic Voting Rate, 12-, Most Conservative.

Did not know career education concept.

## CASE STUDY AND ANALYTICAL SUMMARY 119

EDWIN B. FORSYTHE, CONGRESSMAN

A Republican from Moorestown, New Jersey.

Represents the sixth district, an urban area.

Born January 17, 1916, aged 56. A white male. A member of the Quaker Church. Previously worked in family dairy business. Served in local government.

Served in State Senate, was minority leader in 1966, 67. Was President of Senate and Acting Governor in 1968.

Entered Congress in 1970 to fill vacancy of Representative Cahill, 91st Congress. Is the 12th ranking Member of the minority party on Committee.

Interpretative Findings of Empirical Data

Chief Membership Goal -- Fiscal responsibility for education.

Particular Goals -- 1. education and teachers must contain more quality, accountability, against tenure. 2. Thinks teachers will be replaced by computers. 3. Wants to be a member of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, not on Education and Labor Committee. 4. Need to cut funds as the President wishes.

Voting and Legislative Findings -- New Republic Voting Rate, 2+, 10-, Conservative.

Did not know concept of career education.

## CASE STUDY AND ANALYTICAL SUMMARY 120

VICTOR VINCENT VEYSEY, CONGRESSMAN

A Republican from Brawley, California

Represents the 38th District, 3 counties including parts of San Bernadino, a rural, agribusiness and agriculture area.

Born April 14, 1914, in Los Angeles, California. Aged 58. He is a white male married to Janet Donaldson since 1940. Has four children, three boys and one girl. Is a member of the Presbyterian Church. Is said to be a millionaire.

Graduated in 1936 from the California Institute of Technology receiving MBA later from Harvard in 1938. Further study at Stanford University.

Was in the war effort industry during World War II.

Previously a college professor, rancher, industrial relations consultant and plant manager, a school board member. Was the district president in California for the beet growers union.

Served in the State Legislature in 1963-71, was California delegation whip at Republican Convention, 1968. Was supporter of Governor Regan and Mr. Nixon during campaigns.

Entered Congress in 1970, 92D Congress. He is the 14th in rank on the minority side of Committee. Is a Member of the Subcommittee on Agricultural Labor; General Subcommittee on Education, and; Select Subcommittee on Labor.

Interpretative Findings of Empirical Data

Chief Membership Goal-- Establish national policies for education.

Particular goals -- 1. General revenue sharing for education.  
2. Follows Nixon.

Voting Patterns -- New Republic Rating, 11-, 1 Absent, Conservative.

Did not know concept of career education.

## CASE STUDY AND ANALYTICAL SUMMARY 121

PETER A PEYSER, CONGRESSMAN

A Republican from Irvington, New York

Represents the 25th District, a urban, suburban area.

Born September 7, 1921. Aged 51. A white male married to Marguerite Richards from Monroe, Louisiana. Has five children. Is a member of the Episcopal Church. BA Degree from Colgate University in 1943.

Served in the U.S. Army as a Private and Sergeant. Was in the Battle of the Bulge. Served in National Guard as Captain 1955-58.

Was previously an insurance agent and manager. Was Mayor of Irvington.

Entered Congress in 1970, 92D Congress. Is the 16 ranking minority member on the Committee.

Interpretative Findings of Empirical Data

Chief Membership Goal -- Establish national policies for aid to education.

Particular Goals -- 1. Education is underfunded now, cannot cut 10%.

Voting Patterns -- New Republic Voting Rate, 6+, 6-, Moderate.

Did not know concept of career education.

APPENDIX E  
SERENDIPITY FINDINGS

SERINDIPITY FINDINGS

	<u>Responses</u>
1. One priority of Committee (foremost priority) in 93rd Congress is Title 1, or Funds to Elementary and Secondary Education, which expires on June 30, 1974. (101)	1
2. Block grants are needed as types of general aid to education; let local and state level decide whether or how to spend it. (118)	1
3. Teachers should unionize. (102),(111),(113)	3
4. Counselors are needed, good ones. (113),(106),(112),(111),(115),(112),(114)	7
5. Definition of critical mass. (109)	1
6. Education if for enrichment of life. (103)	1
7. Quality of Education, teachers needs improving, changes should be made. (108),(117),(103),(113),(111)	5
8. 25% funding for education is goal. (111)	1
9a. Funding to education should be decreased. (118),(102)	2
b. Cannot be increased. (115)	1
10. General aid to education needed-- idea contained in many particular statements. (121), (122)	2
11. The main point is use the money efficiently-- <u>Accountability</u> of programs. (112),(117),(109),(119)	4
12. Education seen as the social "great qualizer". (102)	1

## MAJOR RESPONSES:

- |                                  |   |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 1. Need for counselors:          | 7 |
| 2. Improve quality of education: | 5 |
| 3. Accountability of funds:      | 4 |
| 4. Unionize:                     | 3 |

APPENDIX F

MARLAND'S DEFINITION FOR CAREER EDUCATION

## MARLAND SPELLS OUT DEFINITION FOR CAREER EDUCATION .

Speaking in April, 1973, before the 33rd session of the International Conference on Education, the Commissioner offered concrete definition to what had previously been formative concepts for career education. Addressing his introductory remarks in fluent French, Dr. Sidney Marland then reverted to English for the text of the following:

Career education -- designed to prepare students for the attache' case professions as well as lunch box occupations will receive its first trial in six United States public school districts this year.

American schools are producing too many youngsters who qualify neither for a job nor for college. Many high school graduates go on to college only because they haven't the vaguest idea of what else to do.

Career education is designed to give every youngster a genuine choice, as well as the intellectual and occupational skills necessary to back it up. Career education is not merely a substitute for "vocational education", or "general education", or "college-preparatory education". Rather, it is a blending of all three into an entirely new curriculum. The fundamental concept of career education is that all education experiences -- curriculum, instruction, and counseling -- should be geared to preparation for economic independence, personal fulfillment, and an appreciation for the dignity of work.

Career education will eliminate the artificial separation between things academic and things vocational. Three factors will distinguish career education from traditional vocational education; it will be offered as part of the curriculum of all students; it will permeate the entire spectrum of a youngster's education, from kindergarten through high school; and it will offer a much wider range of occupational choices than we are now offering in regular vocational education programs.....

Career education will begin as early as kindergarten through revised curriculums that relate reading, writing, and arithmetic to the varied ways by which adults earn a living. As a youngster advances into junior high school, he will select three of fifteen occupational "clusters"...by senior high school he will concentrate on one "cluster", developing sufficient skill in a specific occupation to qualify for a job. All students will have an opportunity to enjoy actual work experience during their high school years through cooperative arrangements with business, industry, and public institutions and agencies. Yet each student's program will retain enough flexibility to enable him to switch to a related occupation later with a minimum of additional training. In

addition, each student in a career education program will always retain the option of going on to higher education.

Thus, career education will demand no permanent bondage to a single career goal. Rather, it will reveal to students the great range of occupational options open to them and help them develop positive attitudes toward work.

APPENDIX G

POSITION PAPER ON CAREER EDUCATION  
BY THE  
DIVISION OF VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION  
BUREAU OF ADULT, VOCATIONAL, AND TECHNICAL  
EDUCATION, U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

CAREER EDUCATION

Career education provides for a broad approach to preparation for citizenship; provides job information and skill development; and also helps individuals develop attitudes about the personal, psychological, social and economic significance of work in our society. It develops and fosters avocational and recreational interests of individuals to help prepare for a well-rounded living in a world in which leisure time is increasing and greater opportunity for self-expression through creative production are available.

Career education is a comprehensive educational program which begins in grade 1 or earlier and continues through the adult years. For elementary and secondary education, the program includes a restructuring of basic subjects, grades 1-12, around the theme of career development, including opportunities and requirements in the world of work. The basic academic subjects, such as mathematics, science, social studies and language arts become more relevant because the student is helped to see the relationship to future career goals. In the elementary school, students are informed about the wide range of jobs in our economy, and the associated societal roles. In junior high school, students will explore specific clusters of occupations through hands-on experiences and field observation, as well as classroom instruction. In senior high school, students will prepare for job entry through classroom, laboratory and cooperative education activities and prepare for further education. Placement in a job or in further education are options open to all students. At the post-secondary and adult levels, opportunities will be provided for entrance and exit at any level, at anytime, in the

individual's career development.

Extensive guidance and counseling activities assist the student in developing self-awareness and in matching his interests and abilities against potential careers.

#### CHARACTERISTICS

1. Career education helps students to develop a personal plan for lifelong learning which will include, learning about the world we live in, its people, the social and physical environment; learning about the sciences, arts, and literature we have inherited and are creating; and learning about the way in which the world's people are interacting. Effective career education equips individuals to live their lives as fulfilled human beings.
2. Career education is organized in a pyramid approach, beginning with awareness in the elementary grades and moving from the general to the more specific orientation to the world of work. In junior high school students are provided with exploratory experiences. These experiences in turn, provide knowledge and experience to assist decision-making regarding areas of study and more specific preparation which the student will pursue in senior high school, post-secondary and adult programs. Intensive guidance and counseling are provided concurrently with classroom instruction and skill development to improve the student's decision-making abilities.
3. Careers are studied in relation to fields of work or clusters of occupations which are related to each other, such as the construction occupations cluster, the health occupations cluster, or the fine arts and humanities cluster.

4. Emphasis is placed on using multi-media learning approaches such as films and video-tapes which may be more effective with students having a wide range of learning styles and skills. Types of instructional methods include classroom and laboratory activities, field observation, in-school skill training, work experience, co-operative education, and on-the-job training.
5. All students leaving high school will be prepared for, and actively assisted in securing placement in either a job, post-secondary education, or higher degree education.
6. Career education focuses on the needs of the individual, the needs of society, the economy, and employers.
7. Career education provides knowledge and experiences that enhance employment adaptability in a time of rapid changes due to technological advances and fluctuating economic trends.
8. Successful operation of a career education program will require actively participating advisory councils, composed of local employers and union representatives and involved community groups are essential.

#### GOALS OF CAREER EDUCATION

1. To make all education subject matter more meaningful and relevant to the individual through restructuring and focusing it around a career development theme.
2. To provide all persons the guidance, counseling, and instruction needed to develop their self-awareness and self-direction; to expand their occupational awareness and aspirations; and to develop appropriate attitudes about the personal and social significance of work.

3. To assure the opportunity for all persons to gain an entry level marketable skill prior to their leaving school.
6. To build into the educational system greater utilization and coordination of all community resources.
7. To increase the educational and occupational options available to all persons through a flexible educational system which facilitates entrance and re-entry either into the world of work or the educational system.

#### GOAL 1

Goal: To make all education subject matter more meaningful and relevant to the individual through restructuring and focusing it around a career development theme.

The learning of language arts, mathematics, sciences, and social studies in the abstract, without practical application, has limited students' abilities to find meaning and relevance in their school work. The present system which emphasizes abstract reasoning has been particularly detrimental to those youngsters whose strength are other than in the abstract, verbal and quantitative areas. It has so separated academic learning at all levels of education from reality, that even those students who reject the "establishment" do so without the practical skills necessary to bring about the change they see as essential.

Schools which restructure and focus basic subject areas around the career development theme will be able to capitalize on the interests and motivations of the student. Basic skills will become useful tools in reaching the goals set by students, because they will be able to identify career interests to which they may relate their education.

Redirecting basic subject areas to include career development objectives will provide the focus for activity-centered learning and permit laboratory application for abstract basic skills.

#### GOAL 2

Goal: To provide all persons the guidance, counseling, and instruction needed to develop their self-awareness and self-direction; to expand their occupational awareness and aspirations; and to develop appropriate attitudes about the personal and social significance of work.

The objectives of career development for a specific individual are so broad that few, if any, school staff members could provide all the experience necessary for their accomplishment. Such objectives include: (a) helping the students to view themselves as worthwhile persons; (b) assisting the students to experience success in their own eyes; (c) helping the students to consider, understand, and assess the values of work-oriented society; (d) assisting the students to develop an appreciation of their own talents and interests; (e) helping the students to make appropriate choices from the widest possible range of alternatives available; (f) helping the students to formulate plans for implementing decisions which they have made; (g) helping the students to accept personal responsibility for such decision; and (h) helping the students by guiding them into kinds of education and employment that will prepare them to implement the decisions they have made.

The Herculean nature of this task is compounded by the inadequate self-concepts of disadvantaged youth and adults; the limited range of work and learning experiences available to some minority group and rural students; and the deteriorating conditions in some urban schools.

Many youths have limited contacts with work role models from which they might pattern their behavior and aspirations.

With career education, the focus of all education is to expand the student's awareness of others, self-awareness, self-direction, occupational-awareness, and aspirations. All teachers, counselors, and administrators should accept and work toward these objectives. The entire community becomes the student's arena for exploration and for the identification of their own role models. In this way, schools can assist in the development of students who will become mature decision-makers about careers and the personal and social significance of work.

#### GOAL 3

Goal: To assure the opportunity for all persons to gain an entry level marketable skill prior to their leaving school.

The purpose of including exploratory experience and some occupational preparation beginning in the junior high schools is to provide marketable skills for all, regardless of when they choose to leave school. Occupational preparation will become more sophisticated as the student progresses through high school and masters concepts at increasingly higher levels of complexity.

#### GOAL 4

Goal: To prepare all persons completing secondary school with the knowledge and skills necessary to pursue further education or to become employed.

All persons completing secondary school will be prepared to exercise two basic options -- immediate employment and/or further education.

This requires a curriculum which offers every student in secondary school the opportunity to develop a marketable skill. Emphasis will be given to the basic communication and computational skills necessary for a broad range of gainful employment and educational opportunities. Additionally, each student will be equipped with at least minimal job entry level skills in one of the job clusters. This will be accomplished in a variety of ways, including but not limited to: (1) enrollment in vocational education programs, (2) work experiences in the community, or (3) participation in some other occupational education experience.

Some students will elect not to pursue further education immediately after completing secondary school. These students will be provided an in-depth vocational education program to develop their knowledge and skills in a family of occupations within a job cluster. (For example: air pollution abatement and control within the environment cluster; fashion merchandising within the marketing and distribution cluster.) Basic knowledge essential to performing in other families of occupations within the job cluster will also be acquired by each student. Relationships of families within the cluster and between clusters will be explored so that students will continuously be aware of additional opportunities available. They will be encouraged to pursue the necessary further education as their occupational aspirations broaden. It is essential, therefore, for students in a vocational education program to be equipped with the academic skills essential to the pursuit of further education in the field of their career interest.

Each senior high school student will receive the following kinds of experiences:

- (1) A "core" curriculum in the occupational cluster of his choice.

This core curriculum will build upon the exploratory and entry-level and will provide higher levels of skill development when these skills are common to all the occupations in the cluster. Students preparing for job entry and students preparing for higher education would be enrolled in the cluster curriculum.

- (2) Basic subject matter areas such as language arts, social studies, mathematics, and science which are related to and which support the cluster core curriculum selected by the student.

- (3) A choice of electives designed specifically for job preparation and/or a choice of electives designed specifically to prepare for entry into further education in an area of his choice.

Consequently, all persons completing secondary school will be prepared to exercise two basic options -- immediate employment and/or further education.

An attempt will be made to provide some work experience for all students sometime during their secondary school enrollment. Arrangements will be entered into with business, industry and other employees for the purpose of providing students with job entry level skills. Continued emphasis will be given to cooperative vocational education as one effective method of providing in-depth training for occupations.

Many students will choose to prepare for further education while in secondary school. These students will have limited time for in-depth occupational preparation. Minimal job entry level skills will be developed by these students through the cluster program, and the technique of work experience as discussed above, or through participation in some other occupational education experience.

#### GOAL 5

Goal: To provide services for placing every person in the next step in his development whether it be employment or further education.

The school system will provide a placement service which will assist every person leaving school to enter into the next step of his development. The placement service will give special consideration to those persons leaving school before completing grade 12. Efforts will be undertaken to help the students find gainful employment based upon their previous experiences. Short term courses to provide at least minimal job entry level skills for those persons leaving school before acquisition of basic job skills will be made available.

Students requesting assistance for job placement will be referred to specific job openings and assisted in every possible way to gain employment. Students who are leaving the geographical area of the school system will be referred to appropriate resource people at the new location. The placement service will be available to both youth and adults served by the schools.

GOAL 6

Goal: To build into the educational system greater utilization and coordination of all community resources.

There will be comprehensive planning for education which utilizes and coordinates all community resources as appropriate, in order to reach the goals and objectives of career education. Such planning will encompass the resources of public and private schools from early childhood education through grade 12, public and private post-secondary institutions, public and private colleges and universities, business, industry, labor, individual practitioners, and any other public or private resource which will make education more meaningful and relevant. The total community will be involved in planning and implementing the educational program.

GOAL 7

Goal: To increase the educational and occupational options available to all persons through a flexible educational system which facilitates entrance and re-entry either into the world of work or the educational system.

Emphasis will be given to making the educational system flexible in its entrance and exit requirements so that all persons may acquire the educational and occupational experiences to meet their needs when they want them. In other words, there will be no "dropouts" from the system.

Persons will be assisted by the school system to enter the world of work before completing secondary school when this option is exercised. The school system will be flexible enough in its re-entry requirements to

permit all persons to continue their formal education when they desire. Alternatives such as re-entry into regular day school, evening school, or correspondence school and leaving opportunities through educational media will be utilized to accommodate the student's options directed toward the furthering of this formal education. Instruction will be individualized to meet the student's needs, while at the same time meeting basic requirements for graduation, or completion of prescribed curriculum.

Extensive adult classes will provide all persons with a means of upgrading or updating knowledge for their present employment or to acquire knowledge for new employment throughout their lifetime. Schools will need to cooperate with business and industry and various public and private agencies and institutions to assure all persons access to the training necessary for them to keep abreast of the changing job market created by technological change and other factors.

Career guidance and counseling services will be made available to all youth and adults leaving the system or planning for re-entry into the system.

APPENDIX H

POSITION PAPER ON CAREER EDUCATION  
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE  
DIRECTORS OF VOCATIONAL  
EDUCATION

## POSITION PAPER ON CAREER EDUCATION

## NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE DIRECTORS OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

In the quest for relevancy in education, nothing is more pertinent than providing every youth with the capability to make intelligent career decisions -- and the opportunity to prepare for entry and progress in such careers.

Central to the belief that career decisions must be made through sensible choice rather than by haphazard chance -- and that actual preparation for entry into careers in an organized, purposeful manner is a self-evident requisite -- is the proposition that public education, from kindergarten through college, must set about making arrangements of organization and instruction that will meet such needs.

It is the belief of the National Association of State Directors of Vocational Education that Career Education, constituting a central theme in the total universe of public education, should be assigned high priority throughout the nation -- in every state -- and in every public educational agency! It should become a major objective of public education, with its achievement measured by employability in occupations, both gainful and useful, that are a reasonable match of both the talents and the ambitions of every citizen.

The National Association of State Directors of Vocational Education pledge vigorous support of Career Education as an emerging, essential concept that will provide a viable system of learning experiences which will assist youth to acquire useful information about the occupational structure of the economy, the alternatives of career choice, the obligations of involvement in the total work force, the intelligent

determination of personal capabilities and aspirations, the requisites for all occupations, and opportunities to prepare for gainful and useful employment.

It is this latter component of Career Education -- that of opportunity to prepare for employment---which can be well-served by contemporary programs of occupational education. To deny this climaxing opportunity--whether such preparation be performed at the secondary level, post-secondary level, in adult classes, or in business and industrial enterprises--is to nullify the purpose of Career Education and is to make futile a realistic goal of education.

In this context, we believe, further, that the following characteristics are inherent and essential aspects of Career Education:

1. Career Education is not synonymous with Vocational Education but Vocational Education is a major part of Career Education.
2. Career Education enhances rather than supplants public school educational programs.
3. Career Education is an integral part of the present public school enterprise.
4. Career Education involves all students--and all educators.
5. Career Education involves extensive orientation and exploration of occupational opportunities.
6. Career Education emphasizes individual instruction and student determination.
7. Career Education is a continuum that begins at kindergarten and extends throughout employment.
8. Career Education contributes to student incentives and aspirations.

9. Career Education includes specific preparation for occupations.
10. Career Education assures realistic occupational choices.
11. Career Education promotes wholesome attitudes towards all useful work.
12. Career Education permits each student to realistically assess personal attributes as a part of setting life goals.
13. Career Education provides a means of articulation from grade to grade and level to level.

We further believe that in order for this concept to be realized, we as State Directors of Vocational Education propose to work for:

1. The retention of Vocational Education as an intrinsic, and significant and identifiable component of Career Education.
2. The development of curriculum, beginning at the kindergarten level that provides to the student an increasing value and appreciation of the dignity of work, the knowledge of the world of work, and the need for and satisfaction of acquiring a saleable skill.
3. Necessary changes in teacher education which will provide competent Career Educators as well as Vocational Educators.
4. Additional funding for all components of Career Education including but not limited to additional funding for the Vocational Education Acts of 1963 and 1968 in order to carry out our role in a system of Career Education.
5. The redirection of present general education funds into the implementation of Career Education programs.

6. The establishment of effective coordination so that articulation is provided between all levels of education.
7. The acceptance of the characteristics of Career Education as stated.

APPENDIX I

MEMORANDUM OF DISAPPROVAL

THE WHITE HOUSE

## MEMORANDUM OF DISAPPROVAL

I have promised the American people that I will do everything in my power to avoid the need for a tax increase next year. Today, I take another important step in the fulfillment of that sincere pledge.

This effort really began last January, when I submitted the Federal Budget for fiscal year 1973 to the Congress. As I explained at the time that budget was carefully prepared so that all justified Federal programs could be provided without any need for higher taxes -- and without causing higher prices.

When it became clear that the Congress was exceeding the budget in many bills, I proposed that a spending ceiling of \$250 billion be adopted as insurance against a 1973 tax increase.

The Congress rejected that spending ceiling. Instead, it approved spending far in excess of my no-new-taxes budget.

Some of these bills have presented very difficult decisions about whether to sign or to veto. A number of them have attractive features, or would serve very worthwhile purposes--and of course I have received strong advice that to veto them just a few days before the Presidential election would be politically very damaging.

However, in this memorandum are nine measures which I cannot sign without breaking my promise to the American people that I will do all in my power to avoid the necessity of a tax increase next year.

I have made that promise in good faith, and I believe in keeping the promises I make -- and in making only those promises that I am confident I can keep.

If I were to sign these measures into law, I would, in effect, be making promises that could not be kept -- since the funds required to finance the promised services are not available, and would not be available without the higher taxes I have promised to resist.

I believe that political leaders must lay the facts on the line, to talk straight to the people and to deliver on the promises they make to the people.

Although the choices are not easy, I am withholding any approval from 9 Congressional spending programs that would breach the budget by \$750 million in fiscal year 1973 and by nearly \$2 billion in fiscal year 1974.

Each of these measures by itself might seem justifiable, or even highly desirable. But the hard fact is that they cannot be considered by themselves; each has to be considered in the broader context of the total budget -- in terms of how that total weighs on the taxpayers, and how it affects the struggle to curb rising prices.

I am withholding my approval from the following bills:

Labor - HEW and Related Agencies Appropriation Act (H.R. 16654)

This is the second time I have vetoed inflated appropriations this year for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. This amounts to a textbook example of the seeming inability or unwillingness of the Congress to follow a prudent and responsible spending policy. In my budget for fiscal year 1973, I requested that the Congress provide an increase of \$2.1 billion over fiscal 1972 funds for the HEW programs contained in this bill. On top of that generous increase -- which would have provided substantial expansion while recognizing competing priorities in other program areas -- the Congress amassed a budget -breaking

additional increase of \$1.8 billion. I vetoed this in August because it was clearly excessive and unwarranted.

The bill now before me contains the same face amount of the measure I previously vetoed. In a partial concession to that veto, however, H.R. 16654 contains authority for the over-spending to be held to \$535 million -- a result that would still amount to pressure for higher taxes.

This Administration is second to none in its demonstrated concern and clear accomplishments in health, education and manpower matters. My budget represented a balanced and rational approach to the funding of many high priority domestic programs in a time of tight-budget resources, while continuing this Administration's shift of priorities and funds toward the human resources activities of the Government.

H.R. 16654 is as unwarranted as the version I vetoed last August. Public Works and Economic Development Act Amendments of 1972 (H.R. 16071)

This bill would unnecessarily add vast new authorizations for Federal programs which have been shown to be ineffective in creating jobs or stimulating timely economic development. Public works projects have notoriously long lead times -- so by the time this spending became fully effective, the need for such stimulation would be passed and the stimulation would be inflationary.

The bill would stimulate increased bureaucracy in the regional commissions by using them as a funding rather than a planning and coordinating level of Government.

It would also provide assistance to workers and firms affected by Federal environmental actions. These provisions would be highly inequitable and almost impossible to administer. The unemployment benefits provision would fragment and undermine our basic Federal-State

unemployment insurance system and its costs would be essentially uncontrollable. The proposed pollution control facilities loan program has only vague and unspecified objectives.

Amendments to the Mining and Mineral Policy Act (S.635)

This bill would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to provide matching categorical grants to establish and support a mineral research and training institute in each of the 50 States and Puerto Rico, as well as grants for related research and demonstration projects. It would fragment our research effort and destroy its priorities. Such an inflexible program would preclude us from taking advantage of the best research talents of the Nation -- wherever they may be. The Federal Government's ongoing programs of similar and related kinds of research, currently funded at about \$40 million annually, have provided a flexible and efficient means of meeting minerals problems of the highest national priority and can readily be adapted to continue to do so.

Airport Development Acceleration Act (S.3755)

This bill would increase Federal expenditures and raise percentage participation in categorical grant programs with specific and limited purposes. I believe this would be inconsistent with sound fiscal policy. Airport development funds have been almost quadrupled since 1970 under this Administration.

Flood Control Act of 1972 (S 4018)

This measure would authorize federal projects which would ultimately cost hundreds of millions of dollars. It contains projects never approved or recommended by the executive branch. In addition, it contains a number of objectionable features such as authorizing ill-defined and potentially costly new programs, and limiting my authority to

establish criteria and standards to measure the feasibility of water resources projects in determining which ones to recommend for Congressional authorization. However, a number of projects in this bill are in my judgment justified and I will recommend legislation to authorize their construction early in the next Congress.

Upgrading of Deputy U.S. Marshals (H.R. 13895)

This would raise the pay of some 1,500 deputy marshals by as much as 38 percent, through wholesale across-the-board upgrading. There is no justification for this highly preferential treatment, which discriminates against all other Government employees who perform work of comparable and responsible duties and whose pay is now the same as that of deputy marshals.

National Cemeteries Act of 1972 (H.R. 12674)

This bill would block the orderly system of surplus land disposal established by general law and Executive order, by requiring an unusual Congressional approval procedure before any VA land holdings larger than 100 acres could be sold.

These property transfer restrictions would undermine the executive branch's Government-wide system of property management and surplus property disposal which is designed to assure the best and fullest use of Federal property. It would impede the Legacy of Parks program and the procedures for disposing of surplus Federal property under the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act and Executive Order 11508.

Also, the bill deals inconsistently with the serious problem of burial benefits for the Nation's veterans and war dead. It commissions a study of this problem at the same time it preempts the results of

such a study by authorizing new burial benefits which would annually add \$55 million to the Federal budget beginning next year. The Administrator of Veterans Affairs already is at work on such a study, which will identify the alternatives for improving burial and cemetery benefits. In the interim, it would be unwise to commit additional Federal resources as proposed by this bill.

Veterans Health Care Expansion Act of 1972 (H.R. 10880)

The liberalizing features of this bill would unnecessarily add hundreds of millions of dollars to the Federal budget. It would open the VA hospital system to non-veterans and would expand the type of direct medical services available from VA. By providing direct medical services to veterans' dependents, the bill runs counter to this Administration's national health strategy which would provide national financing mechanisms for health care and sharply reduce the Federal Government's role in the direct provision of services.

The bill also purports to set mandatory minimums on the number of patients treated in VA hospitals. In testimony on this bill, the Veterans Administration strongly object to this provision on the grounds that it was totally unnecessary and could result in inefficient medical treatment and wasteful administrative practices. The tragic result would be a lower quality of medical care to all patients.

While I strongly support the VA health care system and will continue to encourage its improvement in the future, I cannot approve a bad bill.

Rehabilitation Act of 1972 (H.R. 8395)

This measure would seriously jeopardize the goals of the vocational rehabilitation program and is another example of Congressional fiscal irresponsibility. Its provisions would divert this program from its

basic vocational objectives into activities that have no vocational element whatsoever or are essentially medical in character. In addition, it would proliferate a host of narrow categorical programs which duplicate and overlap existing authorities and programs. Such provisions serve only to dilute the resources of the vocational rehabilitation program and impair its continued valuable achievements in restoring deserving American citizens to meaningful employment.

H.R. 8395 also would create organizational rigidities in the vocational rehabilitation program which would undermine the ability of the Secretary of HEW to manage the program effectively. The bill also would establish numerous committees and independent commissions which are unnecessary, would waste the taxpayers' dollars, and would complicate and confuse the direction of this program. Finally, the bill would authorize funding which are in excess of the budget request and far beyond what can be made available and used effectively.

Richard Nixon

THE WHITE HOUSE  
October 27, 1972

APPENDIX J

"A NATION UNREADY FOR LE GRAND  
RICHARD", by JOHN BRADEMAS

THE NEW YORK TIMES, Monday, January 8, 1973  
by John Brademas, a Democrat and Chief Deputy Whip, represents Indiana's Third District in Congress and is the third ranking Member of the Committee on Education and Labor.

### "A National Unready for Le Grand Richard"

When President Nixon tries to pass himself off as an American Disraeli, do not be beguiled. It's Charles de Gaulle, with his supreme contempt for the legislative branch of government, whom Mr. Nixon really admires.

The President's vetoes of bills unanimously passed by bipartisan majorities, his impounding of appropriated funds, his attempts to create superdepartments by Executive fiat rather than legislation -- all these actions make obvious Mr. Nixon's intention to spurn any Congressional olive branches that may be offered him.

But if the President is feeling feisty after his impressive victory, he should take care, for the 93d Congress promises to be one of the most active and assertive in years.

Here are some of the reasons for expecting a resurgent Congress in 1973 and '74.

Despite the Nixon landslide, Democrats kept solid control of both the House and Senate. If the American people had intended a mandate for the President's policies, they would have given him a Republican Congress to carry them out. If the President insists he won a mandate on Nov. 7, then we in Congress have a right to say we did too.

Another reason to expect more from the next Congress -- and get it-- is that Senate Democrats, bolstered by two additions, are already busily shaping their own legislative program for early action. Majority leader Mike Mansfield has warned that Democrats won't wait for Administration proposals but will use their 57-to-43 margin to send their own bills to

the floor.

In the House, Speaker Carl Albert, with one term of experience in his high office, and the new majority leader, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts, will be in a much stronger position to give leadership on Democratic initiatives. For example, the accession of Representative J. Ray Madden of Indiana to the chairmanship of the Rules Committee will mean more cooperation from that key unit than the House leadership has known in a generation.

In addition, the absence from the new House-- because of death, defeat, resignation or retirement -- of six committee chairmen and six of the top ranking Republicans on committees will, in several cases, produce more constructive, aggressive leadership than their predecessors gave.

There is a third reason to anticipate a renascent Congress in the next two years. Not only most Democrats but also a number of Republican Senators and Congressmen oppose the Administration's attempts to centralize executive powers in the White House staff, the impounding of funds, the attacks on press and threats to television, the still unexplained "Watergate campaign tactics". These are reasons the voters did not give Mr. Nixon a compliant Congress; they are also among the reasons it won't be compliant.

Senator Sam Ervin of North Carolina and Representative Chet Holifield of California, chairmen of the Government Operations Committee, will fight the effort to establish super-departments run by Presidential assistants who when Congress tries to question them, plead executive privilege and immunity from public accountability.

The President's refusal to spend money Congress voted to meet urgent problems is already being challenged in the courts and will bring a constitutional confrontation with Congress as well.

And many Republicans in Congress, peeved that President Nixon failed either to speak for them or share his copious campaign funds, also feel their Democratic colleagues' resentment that he waited till Congress adjourned before vetoing bills, some passed unanimously, to help older Americans, the severely disabled and flood victims.

With no opportunity in late October to override the vetoes, Congress will act swiftly to approve these measures.

Nor will the Administration's threat to hold local television stations accountable for reporting to the Government on the content of network news contribute to improving relations with Congress.

Nor, it seems safe to add, will Mr. Nixon be helped on the Hill by his failure to bring peace in Vietnam and his renewal of the bombing.

The 93d Congress -- as its Democratic leaders in both the House and Senate have made perfectly clear -- will cooperate with President Nixon in the interest of the nation. But neither Congress nor the American people are ready for Le Grand Richard in the White House or to change the name of Camp David to Colombey-les-deux-Eglises.

APPENDIX K

BY THEIR VETOES YOU SHALL KNOW THEM  
By the Hon. Morris K. Udall

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD - Extension of Remarks, October 11, 1972  
by Hon. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, in the House of Representatives

BY THEIR VETOES YOU SHALL KNOW THEM

Mr. Udall: Mr. Speaker, I made some remarks last week concerning the nature of several vetoes made by the present administration. Since then I have discovered some more interesting facts about how the President has used the ultimate legislative power of his office.

The veto is a powerful weapon. It takes two-thirds of both the House and Senate to override. Most Presidents have used the power comparatively rarely and the Congress has been even more reluctant to countermand the President's wishes. In our history, there have been 2,250 regular and pocket vetoes which have been overridden only 75 times.

During the 8 years of the Eisenhower administration, 73 bills were vetoed outright. 103 were pocketed for a total of 181. Of these, Congress voted only twice to override the President. I should point out that the overwhelming percentage of the Eisenhower vetoes were private bills aimed at benefiting individuals or specific groups.

President Kennedy, during his 3 years in office vetoed 12 bills and pocketed nine others for a total of 21. None were overridden and at least 13 of his vetoes were directed against private interests.

Under President Johnson, the record was similar. In five years, President Johnson vetoed 18 bills, pocketed 14 for a total of 30. Congress did not override any and at least 18 were against private bills.

Now we come to the Nixon administration and suddenly--there is a significant difference in the nature of the presidential veto.

The President has vetoed a total of 18 bills since he has been in office. Only three have been against private interest. Three have been overridden.

A listing of the kind of bills he has killed is extremely enlightening in discovering the real priorities of the President.

First. The \$19.7 million Labor - HEW Appropriations bill for fiscal 1970.

Second. The \$18 million appropriation for HUD, the Veteran's Administration, National Aeronautics and Space Administration and other agencies for fiscal year 1971.

Third. A Federal "blue collar" pay raise which would have adjusted pay rates of Federal employees to comparable rates found in private industry.

Fourth. The political broadcasting expenditure bill which would have limited expenditures for broadcast advertising for federal and gubernatorial candidates.

Fifth. The \$9.5 billion Employment and Manpower Act of 1970 for manpower training and public service employment programs.

Sixth. The Appalachian Regional Development Act amendments which would have provided \$5.7 billion for a regional development program.

Seventh. The economic opportunity amendments authorizing extensive child development programs.

Eighth. The \$165 million appropriation over 2 years for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

Ninth. The \$30.5 million appropriation for Labor, Health, Education and Welfare for fiscal year 1973.

Tenth. The temporary 20 percent increase in railroad retirement benefits which Congress overrode last week.

His pocket vetoes are also noteworthy:

First. A bill to include firefighters within the categories of hazardous occupations.

Second. An authorization of \$225 million to promote the field of family practice medicine and to assist medical schools in relieving a shortage of doctors in general practice for fiscal years 1971-73. Senator Kennedy has since filed a suit in U.S. district court challenging the constitutionality of this veto.

Third. A bill to equalize retirement benefits for totally disabled District of Columbia policemen and firemen.

The Congress, of course, had overridden two other bills before the action last week on the railroad retirement benefits.

The first was the Hill-Burton hospital construction act authorizing \$350 million for fiscal year 1973. The second was the \$4.4 billion appropriation for fiscal year 1971 for the Office of Education,

It was the first time in the history of this country that a President had vetoed a major education bill.

I have taken the trouble to list each of these bills because I think a clear pattern emerges. The President has consistently opposed programs which would have benefited the working man, the poor and the elderly. He has vetoed money for education and child development and to increase pensions for the old and disabled. He has killed appropriations for hospitals, veterans, the hard-pressed space industry and the exploited coal miners of Appalachia.

Yet he has refused to limit television and radio advertising for political campaigns. If one gives credence to even a small part of what has been exposed by the Watergate affair, the reasons should be obvious. The President's party has so much money they can afford to keep it piled up in office safes -- and even lose track of checks worth tens of thousands of dollars.

He has set out on an apparent deliberate drive to emasculate the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and one can only speculate as to the true motives of this policy -- especially in view of the Vice President's attacks on the press in recent years.

There has been a qualitative difference in the kind of bills singled out for the Presidential veto. It amounts to a direct disregard by this administration compared with those of earlier Presidents of the will of the people as expressed by the Congress. Many of the programs were desperately needed to face serious and growing problems of our Nation.

The Administration appears to be going all out to help the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. Bills to increase the number of general practitioners are stuffed into the President's pockets in the same way reckless way that contributions from big corporations are stuffed into the pockets of his campaign committee.

The difference is that millions of people could benefit from better medical care, increased pensions, better child care facilities and all the other labor, health and education programs that did not become law because the President had other priorities and said "No". To paraphrase the Bible: "By their vetoes you shall know them."

The record has been set forth and it speaks for itself.

APPENDIX L

EXCERPTS FROM: "Education Fight Looms"  
By Martha V. Gottron

EXCERPTS FROM: "Education Fight Looms", by Martha V. Gottron  
Published in the Congressional Quarterly

An early showdown is shaping up between President Nixon and Congressional critics on one of his pet proposals -- special revenue sharing for education. Nixon wants 30 different programs consolidated into one general grant to states and localities; his critics fear he business.

The basic legislation involved is the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, a cornerstone of the late President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. The act technically expires June 30, but it would automatically be extended for another year unless Congress passed alternative legislation.

Joining readily into the conflict between the President and Congress is the education lobby itself, generally supporters of the present programs. "The American Federation of Teachers has felt that the major effort of the federal government in education should be directed toward those most in need." David Selden, Federation President, testified in opening hearings. "For this reason, we can find no acceptable substitute..."

In his fiscal 1974 budget message, President Nixon promised to offer a plan that would give the states \$2.8 billion to be spent on five broad areas of education. His bill is expected to go to Congress in March.

Perkins is adamant in his opposition to special revenue sharing.

And yet a third alternative may be offered by Quie, as he plans to offer legislation drastically changing the method by which ESEA

Title I grants are distributed to educationally disadvantaged students.

ESEA provides grants to the states for a variety of education programs, materials and services. But the heart of the act is its Title I, which directs funds for compensatory education to school districts on the basis of the number of students from low-income families served by the district. And it is Title I that has been the focal point of controversy.

Its detractors say the funds have been mispent and that studies have shown no direct correlation between the amount of dollars spent and educational achievement. Its supporters reply that results have been good generally and that most failures resulted from inadequate funding.

Yet another study... a Department of HEW staff project recommended a "critical mass" expenditure of about \$300 per pupil -- not a lot more or less -- for basic compensatory education.

"The evidence indicating that compensatory education has not worked is -- sobering but not overwhelming," the researchers concluded. "Our disadvantaged children of even relatively modest order, this both constitutes success...and warrants further support and exploration."

The bill currently under consideration of the House Education and Labor Committee incorporated the study group's proposals. In addition to extending ESEA programs through fiscal 1978, it would rework the formula for distributing Title I funds to first give the school district \$300 for each child from a family with an income under \$4,000 a year or on public assistance. Any funds left over would be divided on the basis of the old formula.

Quie's formula, according to one aide, would "get away from income data as a basis of distribution and move to a determination of actual educational disadvantage." The aide said distribution of grants based on often outdated census information was not only inequitable but did not properly target funds where they were most needed.

Education revenue sharing was not enthusiastically received on Capitol Hill in 1971. Education revenue sharing, Selden testified, "represents only a retreat from the promise of a good education for American children."

APPENDIX M

HOW A BILL BECOMES LAW

## HOW A BILL BECOMES LAW

Bills introduced in Congress may originate in various ways.

1. They may be introduced by the Legislators themselves on their own initiative;
2. They may be recommended by the President to party leaders or to Congress;
3. They may be framed by Congressional Committees,
4. They may be the result of proposals from citizens, lobbyists, and special groups.

Public opinion can be so powerful that discussions at social gatherings, club meetings, or even the crossroad store can exercise strong influence on Members of Congress in passing or killing a bill.

After a bill has been drafted and phrased in correct legal form - it may be introduced either in the Senate or in the House, with the exception of revenue bills which must always originate in the House, as provided by the Constitution. This practice is based on the English custom that taxes must be levied and spent by the house more directly responsible to the people.

## STEPS:

1. When a bill is introduced in the House, it is first placed in a basket known as the "hopper".
2. The bill is then read by the House Clerk (by title only); it is assigned a number, and ordered to be printed.
3. Speaker assigns bill to Committee [Congress may act on 20,000 pieces of legislation during a Congress (2 years)].
4. House Committee considers.  
The committee may report the bill favorably; amend, revise, or rewrite it completely; or table it. If tabled, as is the case with the majority of bills, it is forgotten unless forced to the floor by a majority vote of House members, or reintroduced in a succeeding session of Congress.

5. If the bill is reported favorably, it is put on a House Calendar to await its turn for consideration -- unless it is an emergency measure or is unusually important. In that case, the House Rules Committee has the power to push it ahead of other bills already on file.
6. After reaching the floor of the House the measure is given a second reading in full.

Congressmen study printed copies of it, and friends and foes speak for or against it (debate is limited).

At this stage, the bill may be amended or returned to the Committee for revision before a vote is taken.

7. If the majority vote for the bill, it then comes up for a third reading (by title only), and another vote is taken.
8. If the bill is passed, it is attested by the House Clerk.
9. The Speaker of the House signs the bill and sends it to the Senate.
10. The bill is introduced in the Senate by the Senate Clerk, by title only.
11. The Vice-President assigns the bill to committee for study.
12. Senate committee considers -- some committee meetings are not public; open hearings are held for many important bills.
13. When the bill comes out of committee, it is either filed and put on the Senate Calendar to await its turn or it is pushed ahead by the Senate majority leaders.
14. After reaching the Floor it is read in full, debated without time limits unless the Senate imposes such limits, and brought to a vote.
15. It is read a third time (by title), and again put to a vote; and passed before it is sent to the Vice President for his signature.
16. If the Senate amends the bill it is returned to the House for approval or for further revision.
17. When the amendments are not approved by the House, a Conference Committee, composed of members from both Houses, is appointed to reconcile the differences. When agreement is reached, the revised bill is sent back to the House and Senate for their final approval.

18. Amended bill approved in both House and Senate.
19. Speaker and Vice President sign bill.
20. Sent to President for his signature.
21. If President signs bill it becomes law of land.
22. Becomes Law without President's Signature:  
The bill automatically becomes law if the President holds it for 10 days (excluding Sundays) without signing or vetoing it. Failure to sign shows that the President disapproves part of bill but will not veto it.
23. Bill is Vetoed:  
When the President vetoes a bill, it is returned to Congress with a message explaining his objections. To become law, the bill must pass both Houses of Congress again, with a two-thirds majority. Few measures command a two-third vote to become law over the veto.
24. Pocket Veto:  
If the bill reaches the President less than ten days before Congress adjourns, it cannot become a law without his signature. If he fails to sign within that period -- that is referred to as a "pocket veto" and the bill is killed.

APPENDIX N  
PROXY FORM OF  
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

# Committee on Education and Labor

CARL D. PERKINS, CHAIRMAN

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

## PROXY FORM

Honorable \_\_\_\_\_  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.

Dear \_\_\_\_\_:

I hereby authorize you to vote in my place and stead  
in the consideration of \_\_\_\_\_  
and any amendments or motions pertaining thereto.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Member of Congress

Executed this the \_\_\_\_ day of  
\_\_\_\_\_, 19\_\_, at the time of  
\_\_\_\_\_ p.m./a.m.

APPENDIX O

RULES OF THE COMMITTEE ON  
EDUCATION AND LABOR

## UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

## COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

92d Congress

RULE 1. REGULAR AND SPECIAL MEETINGS. (a) Regular meetings of the committee shall be held on the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 9:45 a.m., while the Congress is in session. When the Chairman believes that the committee will not be considering any bill or resolution before the full committee and that there is no other business to be transacted at a regular meeting, he will give each member of the committee, as far in advance of the day of the regular meeting as the circumstances make practicable, a written notice to that effect and no committee meeting shall be held on that day.

(b) The Chairman may call and convene, as he considers necessary, additional meetings of the committee for the consideration of any bill or resolution pending before the committee or for the conduct of other committee business. The committee shall meet for such purpose pursuant to that call of the Chairman.

(c) If at least three members of the committee desire that a special meeting of the committee be called by the Chairman, those members may file in the offices of the committee their written request to the Chairman for that special meeting. Such request shall specify the measure or matter to be considered. Immediately upon the filing of the request, the clerk of the committee shall notify the Chairman of the filing of the request. If, within three calendar days after the filing of the request the Chairman does not call the requested special meeting to be held within seven calendar days after the filing of the request, a majority of the members of the committee may file in the

offices of the committee their written notice that a special meeting of the committee will be held, specifying the date and hour thereof, and the measure or matter to be considered at that special meeting. The committee shall meet on that date and hour. Immediately upon the filing of the notice, the clerk of the committee shall notify all members of the committee that such meeting will be held and inform them of its date and hour and the measure or matter to be considered; and only the measure or matter specified in that notice may be considered at that special meeting.

(d) All legislative meetings of the committee and its subcommittees shall be open. No business meeting of the committee, other than regularly scheduled meetings, may be held without each member being given reasonable notice. Such meeting shall be called to order and presided over by the Chairman, or in the absence of the Chairman, by the ranking majority member of the Committee present.

RULE 2. PROCEDURES FOR MEETINGS AND HEARINGS. The rules of the House as far as they are applicable shall be the rules of the committee, and procedure in the committee, where not otherwise provided herein, shall follow the procedure of the House. Committee members may question witnesses only when they have been recognized by the Chairman for that purpose, and only for a 5-minute period until all members present have had an opportunity to question a witness. The 5-minute period for questioning a witness by any one member can be extended only with the unanimous consent of all members present. The questioning of witnesses in both full and subcommittee hearings shall be initiated by the Chairman, followed by the ranking minority member and all other members alternating between the majority and the minority.

RULE 3. JOURNAL; ROLLCALLS. The proceedings of the committee shall be recorded in a journal which shall, among other things, show those present at each meeting and include a record of the votes on any question on which a record vote is demanded. All record votes shall be public information. A record vote may be demanded. All record votes shall be public information. A record vote may be demanded by one-fifth of the members present or, in the apparent absence of a quorum, by any one member. With respect to each record vote by the committee to report any bill or resolution, the total number of votes cast for and the total number of votes cast against the reporting of such bill or such resolution shall be included in the committee report.

RULE 4. SUBCOMMITTEES. There shall be seven standing subcommittees as follows: The General Subcommittee on Education, the General Subcommittee on Labor, the Special Subcommittee on Education, the Special Subcommittee on Labor, the Select Subcommittee on Education, the Select Subcommittee on Labor, and the Subcommittee on Agricultural Labor, plus such other special or select subcommittees as the committee shall determine to be appropriate.

The jurisdiction of such subcommittees shall include, but shall not be limited to, the following:

General Subcommittee on Education. - Education through the high school level, and vocational education.

General Subcommittee on Labor. - Wages or hours of labor.

Special Subcommittee on Education. - Education beyond the high school level.

Special Subcommittee on Labor. - Relationships between employers and employees and their representatives.

Select Subcommittee on Education. - Special education programs.

Select Subcommittee on Labor. - Safety and health of the employees and compensation for the injuries; manpower development.

Subcommittee on Agricultural Labor. - All matters dealing primarily with agricultural workers and their dependents.

The majority members of the committee may provide for the appointment of such other subcommittees as they may deem advisable.

RULE 5. APPOINTMENTS TO SUBCOMMITTEES. All members shall be appointed to not more than three subcommittees with due regard to committee seniority and individual preferences, insofar as practical; PROVIDED, That each majority member shall be assigned to at least one standing education subcommittee and one standing labor subcommittee. Assignment of minority members to subcommittees shall be made after consultation with the ranking minority member. Majority members of subcommittees shall retain seniority on the subcommittees to which they are initially appointed, except that subcommittee chairmen serving on subcommittees other than the subcommittee which they chair shall serve in the lowest seniority ranking and except that no majority member may be the ranking member on more than one subcommittee. The chairman and ranking minority member are ex-officio members of all subcommittees.

RULE 6. RATIO OF SUBCOMMITTEES. The ratio between majority members and minority members on each subcommittee shall be at least three majority members for each two minority members. In calculating this ratio there shall be included the ex-officio members of subcommittees, PROVIDED, That in determining the number of members required for a quorum of a subcommittee under Rule 13 the ex-officio members of such subcommittee shall not be considered but an ex-officio member may be counted at any meeting for the purpose of determining a quorum. And further PROVIDED, That to the extent practicable, the chairman shall assign not more than nine majority members and the ranking minority member not more than six minority members (including ex-officio members) to each subcommittee.

RULE 7. SUBCOMMITTEE CHAIRMANSHIP. The chairmen of the standing subcommittees shall be the ranking members of the majority party. The chairman of all other subcommittees shall be appointed by the Chairman of the committee with due regard for seniority.

RULE 8. SUBCOMMITTEE MEETINGS IN THE MAIN HEARING ROOM. Available dates for subcommittee meetings during the session shall be assigned by the chairman to the subcommittees as nearly as practicable in rotation and in accordance with their workloads.

RULE 9. SUBCOMMITTEE RULES. The rules of the committee shall be the rules of its subcommittees.

RULE 10. COMMITTEE STAFFS. The professional and clerical staff of the Committee on Education and Labor shall be appointed as follows:

- A. Professional and clerical members of the subcommittee staff shall be appointed, and may be removed, and their remuneration determined by the subcommittee chairman in consultation with and with the approval of the majority members of the subcommittee within the budget approved for the subcommittee by the full committee;
- B. The professional and clerical staff assigned to the minority shall be appointed and their remuneration determined in such a manner as the minority members of the committee shall determine within the budget approved for such purposes by the committee;
- C. The professional and clerical employees of the committee not assigned to a standing subcommittee or to the minority under the above provisions shall be appointed, and may be removed, and their remuneration determined by the Chairman in consultation with and with the approval of the majority members of the committee within the budget approved for such purposes by the committee.

RULE 11. SUPERVISION, DUTIES OF COMMITTEE STAFFS. The professional and clerical staff of a subcommittee shall be under the general supervision and direction of the chairman of that subcommittee. The professional and clerical staff assigned to the minority shall be under the general supervision and direction of the minority members of the

committee who may delegate such authority as they determine appropriate. The professional and clerical staff of the committee not assigned to a subcommittee or to the minority shall be under the general supervision and direction of the Chairman, who shall establish and assign the duties and responsibilities of such staff members and delegate such authority as he determines appropriate.

\*Staff members shall be assigned to committee business and no other duties may be assigned to them.

RULE 12. HEARINGS PROCEDURE. (a) The Chairman in the case of hearings to be conducted by the committee and the appropriate subcommittee chairman, in the case of hearings to be conducted by a subcommittee, shall make public announcement of the date, place, and subject matter of any hearing to be conducted on any measure or matter at least one week before the commencement of that hearing unless the committee determines that there is good cause to begin such hearing at an earlier date. In the latter event the chairman or the subcommittee chairman whichever the case may be shall make such public announcement at the earliest possible date. The clerk of the committee shall promptly notify the Daily Digest Clerk of the Congressional Record as soon as possible after such public announcement is made.

(b) So far as practicable, each witness who is to appear before the committee or a subcommittee shall file with the clerk of the committee, at least 24 hours in advance of his appearance, a written statement of his proposed testimony and shall limit his oral presentation to a summary of his statement.

(c) When any hearing is conducted by the committee or any subcommittee upon any measure or matter, the minority party members on the committee

shall be entitled, upon request to the Chairman by a majority of those minority party members before the completion of such hearing, to call witnesses selected by the minority to testify with respect to that measure or matter during at least one day of hearing thereon.

RULE 13. HEARINGS - QUORUMS. (a) Subcommittees are authorized to hold hearings, receive exhibits, hear witnesses, and report to the committee for final action, together with such recommendations as may be agreed upon by the subcommittee. No such meetings or hearings, however, shall be held outside of Washington or during a recess or adjournment of the House without the prior authorization of the committee Chairman or of a majority of a quorum of the subcommittee.

(b) A majority of the members of the committee shall constitute a quorum of the committee for business and a majority of the members of any subcommittee shall constitute a quorum thereof for business: PROVIDED HOWEVER, That any two members shall constitute a quorum for the purpose of taking testimony.

RULE 14. BILLS, RESOLUTIONS REPORTED. (a) Whenever the committee has ordered a bill or resolution to be reported to the House, the Chairman of the committee, the chairman of the subcommittee reporting the bill or resolution to the full committee, or any member authorized by the committee to do so may report such bill or resolution to the House. It shall be the duty of the Chairman to report or cause to be reported promptly such bill or resolution, and to take or cause to be taken necessary steps to bring such bill or resolution to a vote.

(b) When any bill or resolution is ordered reported to the House, any member desiring to file minority, supplemental, or individual views

shall have such time to prepare the views as the committee may determine but in no case shall the time be less than three calendar days (excluding Saturdays, Sundays, holidays, and the day upon which the bill or resolution is reported).

RULE 15. PROXIES. (a) A vote by any member in the committee or in any subcommittee may be cast by proxy, but such must be in writing and in the hands of the chief clerk of the committee or the clerk of the subcommittee, as the case may be, during each rollcall in which they are to be voted. Each proxy shall designate the member who is to execute the proxy authorization and shall be limited to a specific measure or matter and any amendments or motions pertaining thereto. Each proxy to be effective shall be signed by the member assigning his vote and shall contain the date and time of day that the proxy is signed. Proxies may not be counted for a quorum. The records of the committee or any subcommittee on all rollcall votes shall indicate when a member's vote has been cast by proxy.

(b) Proxies shall be in the following form:

HON. \_\_\_\_\_,  
House of Representative,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear \_\_\_\_\_: I hereby authorize you to vote in my place and stead in the consideration of \_\_\_\_\_ and any amendments or motions pertaining thereto.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Member of Congress

Executed this the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, 19\_\_\_\_, at the time of \_\_\_\_\_ p.m./a.m.

RULE 16. AUTHORIZATION FOR TRAVEL OF MEMBERS AND STAFF. (a) Consistent with the primary expense resolution and such additional expense resolutions as may have been approved, the provisions of this rule shall govern

travel of committee members and staff. Travel to be reimbursed from funds set aside for the full committee for any member or any staff member shall be paid only upon the prior authorization of the Chairman. Travel may be authorized by the Chairman for any member and any staff member in connection with the attendance of hearings conducted by the committee or any subcommittee thereof and meetings, conferences, and investigations which involve activities or subject matter under the general jurisdiction of the committee.

Before such authorization is given there shall be submitted to the Chairman in writing the following:

- (1) The purpose of the travel;
- (2) The dates during which the travel is to be made and the date or dates of the event for which the travel is being made;
- (3) The location of the event for which the travel is to be made;
- (4) The names of members and staff seeking authorization.

(b) In the case of travel of members and staff of a subcommittee to hearings, meetings, conferences, and investigations involving activities or subject matter under the legislative assignment of such subcommittee to be paid for out of funds allocated to such subcommittee, prior authorization must be obtained from the subcommittee chairman and the Chairman. Such prior authorization shall be given by The Chairman only upon the representation by the applicable chairman of the subcommittee in writing setting forth those items enumerated in (1), (2), (3), and (4) of paragraph (a) and in addition thereto setting forth that subcommittee funds are available to cover the expenses of the person or persons being authorized by the subcommittee chairman to undertake the travel and that there has been a compliance where applicable with Rule 12 of the committee.

(c) Prior to the Chairman's authorization for any travel the ranking minority member shall be given a copy of the written request therefor.

RULE 17. SCOPE OF COMMITTEE WORK. The scope of the work of the committee and its subcommittees includes all legislative proposals and other matters pertaining to the following: Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938; National Labor Relations Act; Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947; Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act; Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959; Longshoremen's and Harbor Worker's Compensation Act; Davis-Bacon Act; Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962; Contract Work Hours Standards Act; Farm Labor Contractor Registration Act of 1963; Federal Employees' Compensation Act; Federal Coal Mine Safety Act; Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963; Library Services and Construction Act; National Arts and Cultural Development Act of 1964; Economic Opportunity Act of 1964; Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961; National Defense Education Act of 1958; Vocational Rehabilitation Act; Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act; Vocational Education Act of 1946; Vocational Education Act of 1963; Public Laws 815 and 874 (81st Cong.); Freedmen's Hospital; Gallaudet College; Howard University; St. Elizabeths Hospital; fair employment practices; equal pay for women; labor statistics; regulation or prevention of importation of foreign laborers under contract; child labor; convict labor; entry of goods made by convicts into interstate commerce; school construction; mediation and arbitration of labor disputes; welfare of miners; industrial safety; impact of Government programs such as compulsory military service on education; fine arts; civilian awards; education programs for the physically handicapped, mentally retarded, deaf, speech-defective, gifted, etc.; juvenile

delinquency; youth programs; intercultural activities; scholarships in connection with a Peace Corps; scholarships for underdeveloped areas in Africa, Asia, Latin America; problems on employment; impact of automation; impact of imports and exports on American employment; irregularities in labor and management; and all other legislative proposals affecting either wages or hours of labor, education, or relationships between employers and employees or their representatives, and affecting the safety or health of employees or compensation for their injuries.

RULE 18. REFERENCE OF LEGISLATION AND COMMITTEE AGENDA. Every bill, resolution, investigation, or other matter (except such as are to be considered by the committee without referral) referred to the committee or initiated by the committee shall be referred by the Chairman of the full committee to the appropriate standing subcommittee within 1 week from the date of its receipt by the committee unless the committee shall order that it be held for the full committee's direct consideration, or order that it be referred to a particular subcommittee.

Referral to a subcommittee shall not be made until 3 days shall have elapsed after written notification of such proposed referral to all subcommittee chairmen, at which time such proposed referral shall be made unless one or more subcommittee chairmen shall have given written notice to the Chairman of the full committee and to the chairman of each subcommittee that he intends to question such proposed referral at the next regularly scheduled meeting of the committee, or at a special meeting of the committee called for that purpose at which time referral shall be made by the majority members of the committee.

All bills shall be referred under this rule to the subcommittee of proper jurisdiction without regard to whether the author is or is not a

member of the subcommittee. A bill, resolution, or other matter referred to a subcommittee in accordance with this rule may be recalled therefrom at any time by a vote of the majority members of the committee for the committee's direct consideration or for reference to another subcommittee.

Bills, resolutions, or other matters favorably reported by a subcommittee shall automatically be placed upon the agenda of the committee as of the time they are reported and shall be considered by the full committee in the order in which they were reported unless the committee shall by majority vote otherwise direct: PROVIDED, That no bill reported by a subcommittee shall be considered by the full committee unless it has been in the hands of all members at least 48 hours prior to the meeting, together with a comparison with present law and a section-by-section analysis of the proposed change, and a section-by-section justification.

No committee report shall be filed until copies of the proposed report have been available to all members at least 36 hours prior. No material change shall be made in the report distributed to members unless agreed to by majority vote: PROVIDED, That any member or members of the committee may file, as part of the printed report, individual, minority, or dissenting views, without reference to the preceding provisions of this rule.

RULE 19. BUDGET - COMMITTEE BUDGET AND EXPENSES. The Chairman in consultation with the majority members of the committee shall, for each session of the Congress, prepare a preliminary budget. Such budget shall include necessary amounts for staff personnel, for necessary travel, investigation, and other expenses of the full committee and after

consultation with the minority membership, the Chairman shall include amounts budgeted to the minority members for staff personnel to be under the direction and supervision of the minority, travel expenses of minority members and staff shall be paid for out of the amounts so set aside and budgeted. The chairman of each standing subcommittee, in consultation with the majority members thereof, shall prepare a supplemental budget to include funds for each additional staff, and for such travel, investigations etc., as may be required for the work of his subcommittee. Thereafter, the Chairman shall combine such proposals into a consolidated committee budget, and shall present the same to the committee for its approval or other action. The Chairman shall take whatever action is necessary to have the budget as finally approved by the committee duly authorized by the House. After said budget shall have been adopted, no change shall be made in such budget unless approved by the committee. The Chairman or the chairmen of the standing subcommittees may initiate necessary travel requests as provided in Rule 16 within the limits of their portion of the consolidated budget as approved by the House, and the Chairman may execute necessary vouchers therefor.

Once monthly, at the regularly scheduled meeting, the Chairman shall submit to the committee, in writing, for its approval, or other action, a full and detailed accounting of all expenditures made during the period since the last such accounting from the amount budgeted to the full committee. Such report shall show the amount and purpose of each expenditure and the budget item to which such expenditure is attributed.

RULE 20. RECOMMENDATION OF RULE FOR APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES. Whenever in the legislative process it becomes necessary to appoint conferees, the Chairman shall recommend to the Speaker as conferees the names of those

members of the subcommittee which handled the legislation in the order of their seniority upon such subcommittee and such other committee members as the Chairman may designate. In making assignments of minority members as conferees the Chairman shall consult with the ranking minority member of the committee.

RULE 21. TELEVISION BROADCAST, RADIO BROADCAST, AND STILL PHOTOGRAPHY

COVERAGE OF COMMITTEE HEARINGS. (a) Any public hearing of the committee may be covered by television broadcast, radio broadcast, and still photography, or by any of such methods of coverage. The following requirements shall be strictly adhered to when hearings of the committee or any of its subcommittees are covered by television broadcast, radio broadcast, or still coverage:

(1) All live television or live radio coverage shall be conducted and presented without commercial sponsorship.

(2) No witness served with a subpoena by the committee shall be required against his will to be photographed at any hearing or to give evidence or testimony while the broadcasting of that hearing, by radio or television is being conducted. At the request of any witness who does not wish to be subjected to radio, television, or still photography coverage the Chairman may direct that all lenses shall be covered and all microphones used for coverage turned off.

(3) Not more than four television cameras, operating from fixed positions, shall be permitted in a hearing room. The allocation among the television media of the positions of the number of television cameras permitted in a hearing room shall be in accordance with fair and equitable procedures devised by the Executive Committee of the Radio and Television Correspondents' Galleries.

- (4) Television cameras shall be placed so as not to obstruct in any way the space between any witness giving evidence or testimony and any member of the committee or the visibility of that witness and that member to each other.
- (5) Television cameras shall not be placed in positions which obstruct unnecessarily the coverage of the hearing by the other media.
- (6) Equipment necessary for coverage by the television and radio media shall not be installed in, or removed from, the hearing room while the committee is in session.
- (7) Floodlights, spotlights, strobelights, and flashguns shall not be used in providing any method of coverage of the hearing, except that the television media may install additional lighting in the hearing room, without cost to the Government, in order to raise the ambient lighting level in the hearing room to the lowest level necessary to provide adequate television coverage of the hearing at the then current state of the art of television coverage.
- (8) Not more than five press photographers shall be permitted to cover a hearing by still photography. In the selection of these photographers, preference shall be given to photographers from Associated Press Photos and United Press International News pictures. If request is made by more than five of the media for coverage of the hearing by still photography, that coverage shall be made on the basis of a fair and equitable pool arrangement devised by the Standing Committee of Press Photographers.
- (9) Photographers shall not position themselves, at any time during the course of the hearing, between the witness table and the members of the committee.

(10) Photographers shall not place themselves in positions which obstruct unnecessarily the coverage of the hearing by the other media.

(11) Personnel providing coverage by the television and radio media shall be then currently accredited to the Radio and Television Correspondents' Galleries.

(12) Personnel providing coverage by still photography shall be then currently accredited to the Press Photographers' Gallery.

(13) Personnel providing coverage by the television and radio media and by still photography shall conduct themselves and their coverage activities in an orderly and unobtrusive manner.

(b) In order to assure compliance with clause 33 of Rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives with respect to the conduct of public hearings observing accepted standards of dignity, propriety, courtesy, and decorum and to assure the proper, expeditious and thorough conduct of the committee's fact-finding mission through the hearing process, the Chairman may, consistent with clause 33, provide special rules governing such matters as the specification of facilities, placement of microphones, location of cameras, the allocation of space for representatives of the media in the hearing rooms of the committee as circumstances may require.

The adoption of these rules shall in no way enlarge or modify the scope of the Committee on Education and Labor.

CLAUSE 27 OF RULE XI, RULES OF THE HOUSE OF  
REPRESENTATIVES, 92D CONGRESS

(a) The Rules of the House are the rules of its committees and subcommittees so far as applicable, except that a motion to recess from

day to day is a motion of high privilege in committees and subcommittees. Committees shall adopt written rules not inconsistent with the Rules of the House and those rules shall be binding on each subcommittee of that committee. Each subcommittee of a committee is a part of that committee and is subject to the authority and direction of that committee.

(b) Each committee shall keep a complete record of all committee action. Such record shall include a record of the votes on any question on which a record vote is demanded. The result of each rollcall vote in any meeting of any committee shall be made available by that committee for inspection by the public at reasonable times in the offices of that committee. Information so available for public inspection shall include a description of the amendment, motion, order, or other proposition and the name of each member voting for and each member voting against such amendment, motion, order, or proposition, and whether by proxy or in person, and the names of those members present but not voting. With respect to each record vote by any committee on each motion to report any bill or resolution of a public character, the total number of votes cast for, and the total number of votes cast against, the reporting of such bill or resolution shall be included in the committee report.

(c) All committee hearings, records, data, charts, and files shall be kept separate and distinct from the congressional office records of the member serving as chairman of the committee; and such records shall be the property of the House and all members of the House shall have access to such records. Each committee is authorized to have printed and bound testimony and other data presented at hearings held by the committee.

(d) (1) It shall be the duty of the chairman of each committee to report or cause to be reported promptly to the House any measure approved by his committee and to take or cause to be taken necessary steps to bring the matter to a vote.

(2) In any event, the report of any committee on a measure which has been approved by the committee shall be filed within seven calendar days (exclusive of days on which the House is not in session) after the day on which there has been filed with the clerk of the committee, for the reporting of that measure. Upon the filing of any such request, the clerk of the committee shall transmit immediately to the chairman of the committee notice of the filing of that request. This subparagraph does not apply to a report of the Committee on Rules with respect to the rules, joint rules, or order of business of the House or to the reporting of a resolution of inquiry addressed to the head of an executive department.

(3) If, at the time of approval of any measure or matter by any committee (except the Committee on Rules) any member of the committee gives notice of intention to file supplemental, minority, or additional views, that member shall be entitled to not less than three calendar days (excluding Saturdays, Sundays, and legal holidays) in which to file such views, in writing and signed by that member, with the clerk of the committee. All such views so filed by one or more members of the committee shall be included within, and shall be a part of, the report filed by the committee with respect to that measure or matter. The report of the committee upon that measure or matter shall be printed in a single volume which-

- (A) shall include all supplemental, minority, or additional views which have been submitted by the time of the filing of the report, and

- (B) shall bear upon its cover a recital that supplemental, minority, or additional views are included as part of the report.

This subparagraph does not preclude -

- (i) the immediate filing or printing of a committee report unless timely request for the opportunity to file supplemental, minority or additional views has been made as provided by this subparagraph; or
- (ii) the filing by any such committee of any supplemental report upon any measure or matter which may be required for the correction of any technical error in a previous report made by that committee upon that measure or matter.

(4) A measure or matter reported by any committee (except the Committee on Appropriations, the Committee on House Administration, the Committee on Rules, and the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct) shall not be considered in the House unless the report of that committee upon that measure or matter has been available to the members of the House for at least three calendar days (excluding Saturdays, Sundays, and legal holidays) prior to the consideration of that measure or matter in the House. If hearings have been held on any such measure or matter so reported, the committee reporting the measure or matter shall make every reasonable effort to have such hearings printed and available for distribution to the members of the House prior to the consideration of such measure or matter in the House. This subparagraph shall not apply to:

- (A) any measure for the declaration of war, or the declaration of a national emergency, by the Congress; and
- (B) any executive decision, determination, or action which would become, or continue to be, effective unless disapproved or otherwise invalidated by one or both Houses of Congress.

(5) If, within seven calendar days after a measure has, by resolution been made in order for consideration by the House, no motion has been

offered that the House consider that measure; the Speaker may, in his discretion, recognize any member of the committee which reported that measure to offer a motion that the House shall consider that measure, if that committee has duly authorized that member to offer that motion.

(e) No measure or recommendation shall be reported from any committee unless a majority of the committee were actually present. No vote by any member of any committee with respect to any measure or matter may be cast by proxy unless such committee, by written rule adopted by the committee, permits voting by proxy and requires that the proxy authorization shall be in writing, shall designate the person who is to execute the proxy authorization, and shall be limited to a specific measure or matter and any amendments or motions pertaining thereto.

(f) (1) Each committee of the House (except the Committee on Rules) shall make public announcement of the date, place, and subject matter of any hearing to be conducted by the committee on any measure or matter at least one week before the commencement of that hearing, unless the committee determines that there is good cause to begin such hearing at an earlier date. If the committee makes that determination, the committee shall make such public announcement at the earliest possible date. Such public announcement also shall be published in the Daily Digest portion of the Congressional Record as soon as possible after such public announcement is made by the committee.

(2) Each hearing conducted by each committee shall be open to the public except when the committee, by majority vote, determines otherwise.

(3) Each committee shall require, so far as practicable, each witness who is to appear before it to file with the committee, in advance of his appearance, a written statement of his proposed testimony

and to limit his oral presentation at his appearance to a brief summary of his argument.

(4) Whenever any hearing is conducted by any committee upon any measure or matter, the minority party members on the committee shall be entitled, upon request to the chairman by a majority of those minority party members before the completion of such hearing, to call witnesses selected by the minority to testify with respect to that measure or matter during at least one day of hearing thereon. All committees shall provide in their rules of procedure for the application of the five-minute rule in the interrogation of witnesses until such time as each member of the committee who so desires has had an opportunity to question the witness.

(5) No point of order shall lie with respect to any measure reported by any committee on the ground that hearings upon such measure were not conducted in accordance with the provisions of this clause; except that a point of order on that ground may be made by any member of the committee which has reported the measure, if in the committee, such point of order was (A) timely made and (B) improperly overruled or not properly considered.

(g) All hearings conducted by standing committees or their subcommittees shall be open to the public, except executive sessions for marking up bills or for voting or where the committee by a majority vote orders an executive session.

(h) Each committee may fix the number of its members to constitute a quorum for taking testimony and receiving evidence, which shall not be less than two.

(i) The chairman at an investigative hearing shall announce in an opening statement the subject of the investigation.

(j) A copy of the committee rules, if any, and this clause of this Rule shall be made available to the witness.

(k) Witnesses at investigative hearings may be accompanied by their own counsel for the purpose of advising them concerning their constitutional rights.

(l) The chairman may punish breaches of order and decorum, and of professional ethics on the part of counsel, by censure and exclusion from the hearings; and the committee may cite the offender to the House for contempt.

(m) If the committee determines that evidence or testimony at an investigative hearing may tend to defame, degrade, or incriminate any person, it shall -

(1) receive such evidence or testimony in executive session;

(2) afford such person an opportunity voluntarily to appear as a witness; and

(3) receive and dispose of requests from such person to subpoena additional witnesses.

(n) Except as provided in paragraph (m), the chairman shall receive and the committee shall dispose of requests to subpoena additional witnesses.

(o) No evidence or testimony taken in executive session may be released or used in public sessions without the consent of the committee.

(p) In the discretion of the committee, witnesses may submit brief and pertinent sworn statements in writing for inclusion in the record.

The committee is the sole judge of the pertinency of testimony and evidence adduced at its hearing.

(q) Upon payment of the cost thereof, a witness may obtain a transcript copy of his testimony given at a public session, or, if given at an executive session, when authorized by the committee.

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APPENDIX P  
OVERSIGHT REPORT  
SPECIAL FIELD HEARING SUBCOMMITTEE #1

## OVERSIGHT REPORT

## SPECIAL FIELD HEARING SUBCOMMITTEE #1

On March 24, 1971 a caucus of the Democratic Members of the House Committee on Education and Labor adopted the following motion.

Resolved: That pursuant to the last sentence of Rule 4 of the Rules of the Committee on Education and Labor there shall be created two special oversight subcommittees for the purpose of providing oversight hearings and assisting the full Committee during its consideration of the Economic Opportunity Act extension to consist of seven (7) Majority Members and five (5) Minority Members.

The Special Subcommittee #1 was assigned jurisdiction over Title I Manpower Programs: JOBS, CEP, NYC, Public Service Careers, and Mainstream. Under Title II of the Act, the subcommittee was assigned community action agencies, local incentive programs, comprehensive health services, emergency food and medical services, family services, senior opportunities and services, and alcoholic and drug programs. The creation of the subcommittee was timely because it allowed for the exercise of oversight responsibilities at a time when any necessary changes resulting from such review could be readily referred to the full Committee which was considering legislation for the Economic Opportunity Act.

Subcommittee #2 was assigned the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Concentrated Employment Program and Public Service Careers programs under Title I because of the continuing problems found in the administration of these programs at a time when the national

unemployment rate was on the rise. Of the three (3) programs, NYC received immediate attention due to the lateness of the spring and the growing concerns expressed about the level of funding for summer jobs.

#### FIELD HEARINGS

The first hearing of the subcommittee was held in Los Angeles, California. This was due to expressed concerns that the city might be headed for another "Watts explosion" if there were reductions in the already too few summer jobs.

The previous year, the NYC program had been funded at \$197.9 million for a ten week period. In 1971, the Administration had requested appropriations for 414,200 job opportunities at a cost of \$165.7 million for a 9 week period, clearly a reduction.

Testimony from the leaders of the communities and administrators of youth programs revealed:

- - - - -at least 125,000 of over 600,000 high school aged youth between the ages of 14 and 18 would be poor and in need of summer employment.

- - - - -most of the needs were concentrated in East Los Angeles; an area predominantly Spanish-surnamed and Black.

- - - - -unemployment rates among teen-agers in poor neighborhoods was 27.8 percent, and specifically among blacks in the same category 42.4 percent.

- - - - -there existed a correlation between dropout rates in the schools in these areas and the level of family income.

- - - - -without many of these youth receiving summer jobs, there would be no family income since their parents also constituted the

highest number of people among the unemployed.

- - - - - the youth did not seek handouts, but meaningful summer employment.

- - - - - program administrators could prepare to produce creative involvement in constructive job opportunities in:

- (1) minor renovations and rehabilitation of public properties.
- (2) painting and cleaning up of non-profit corporate properties and government properties.
- (3) tutorial and remedial education help projects.
- (4) the setting up and maintenance of day care nurseries to accomodate the children of working mothers living in the inner city and the barrios (Spanish inner city communities).

Two days later the subcommittee held hearings in the city of San Francisco investigating the NYC allocations and the need for summer jobs.

The subcommittee found that there were an estimated 180,000 - 235,000 youth living in the poverty areas of that city. Of this number, between 12,000 and 16,000 teen-agers would be seeking summer jobs. The NYC slot allocation without increases would only provide 2,150 slots during that period. The problem of more youth than jobs was not unique to San Francisco. However, the subcommittee did find that the city was rather unique in the fact that it supplimented its summer program with direct appropriations from its own treasury, in addition to going to the public sector.

While in San Francisco, the subcommittee also looked into the operation of other manpower-oriented programs under Title I of EOA.

It found that Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) was organized to provide all services necessary to provide low-income, unemployed and under-employed persons the opportunities to obtain

gainful employment. The subcommittee also found that:

- - - - CEP implements the public service careers (New Careers) program providing enrollees with the opportunities for clerical training, language/vocational, medical secretaries, teachers aides and Civil Service youth training operations designed to lead directly to jobs.

- - - - remedial education along with the on-the-job training is provided while making possible two years of college education.

- - - - some of the graduates were former welfare recipients currently holding meaningful jobs.

All the testimony received was not as positive as that above. The investigation revealed that the burden of unemployment rate at that time of 6 percent, is not evenly distributed. In the inner city of San Francisco this translated into a 30-35 percent rate of unemployment. The man-power environment in the city reflected that non-White and Spanish-surnamed persons numbered about 40 percent of the total population of 709,000, with minority breakdowns estimated at: Black, 101,000; Spanish-surnamed 67,000; Chinese, 62,000; Filipino, 20,000; Japanese, 11,000; and 11,000 others.

The statistical breakdown, which showed the heaviest concentration of the poor in the Black, Chinese, Spanish-surnamed and elderly communities, is important because it provides further proof of what many city officials have tried to impress upon the subcommittee; the need for planning future programs around the needs of a multi-complexed community rather than just dropping dollars into meaningless summer youth programs.

The hearings on NYC programs in both cities ended with recommendations ranging from relaxation of child labor laws to:

- - - -an increase in the number of NYC slots allocated on a national scale.
- - - -the elimination of matching requirements for job slots.
- - - -increased funding of the Recreation Support Program which compliments NYC, with an extension on the upper age limit of youth served from 13 to 18 years of age.
- - - -the making available of transportation funds eliminating matching requirements; and removing the restrictions as to employment and employment related use.
- - - -announcement of grants not later than April 30th, thereby allowing effective and efficient planning.

With the enacting of the Second Supplemental Appropriation bill there was a small increase in the number of job opportunities in all cities. This increase was due in great part to the efforts of the Members of this subcommittee who fought hard to generate the growing awareness needed to appropriate more funds. Unfortunately, the efforts at maintaining a ten week summer program were ineffective and the President's request for nine weeks prevailed.

The subcommittee continued its hearings on youth unemployment by convening in Washington, D.C. on June 10, 1971 to hear testimony from the Assistant Secretary for Manpower Administration in the Department of Labor. This oversight hearing was very important because inquiries reaching the subcommittee made it increasingly clear that there existed vast differences between the 414,200 NYC slots initially requested for the summer of 1971, and the 824,000 job opportunities reportedly

available for youth as of June of 1971. The Administration witness revealed the following:

- - - -although more than 824,000 job opportunities were projected for youth during the summer of 1971, only 609,000 were actually in the NYC summer program

- - - -63,000 jobs were in the Federal Summer Employment Program for Youth.

- - - -2,000 were in the newly established Youth Conservation Corps.

- - - -150,000 were scheduled for disadvantaged youth by the National Alliance of Business without Federal assistance. (However, nowhere near that number of jobs were made available in the final analysis due to the state of the economy and the rising unemployment rate among adults.

- - - -the Department of Labor, in cooperation with the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), developed SPARE (Summer Program Action to Renew Environment) which did involve over 10,000 NYC youth in a variety of environmental activities.

- - - -the VEPS (Vocational Exploration in the Private Sector) in partnership with the Office of Education of HEW and the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) operated in selected cities. Its main purpose was to provide on-the-job training in the private sector and work experience.

- - - -funds for the programs should be equally distributed around the country on the basis of three criteria: unemployment, poverty and work force.

The testimony provided by the Administration's witness pointed to the need to not only make improvements in the Title I programs

under EOA, but also the need to consider some major reforms in the Manpower Development and Training Act with a view toward more effectively meeting the needs of our nation's young labor force on a year round basis and not just through crash efforts in the summer months.

On June 25th and 26th, the subcommittee held two days of hearings in New York City. The New York hearings were important because they reviewed the manpower programs under Title I and the community action agencies and other social services programs under Title II of EOA, at a time when a great deal of attention in the country and the Congress was turning to the possible uses to which anticipated Public Service Employment could be put if authorized under the Emergency Employment Act then pending before the House Education and Labor Committee.

In New York City, the subcommittee found a Manpower and Career Development Agency within the Human Resources Administration, established to provide a comprehensive and coordinated municipal manpower agency to New York City's disadvantaged. MCDA is based in the 26 poverty communities of New York City, with all manpower services under one authority for both planning and operations, and has made provisions for the delivery of services within its system with other agencies operating under other authorities (various State, Federal, and voluntary organizations). Witness after witness from local units of government and the community left the committee with a great deal of information on the problems and some possible solutions to the problems in our large urban areas where the demand for services exceeds the supply.

The following observations resulted from those hearings.

- - - -The Manpower and Career Development Agency (MCDA) and the Coordinated Area Manpower Planning System (CAMPS) committee define

poverty in New York City at a higher income level than does the Federal Government, because living costs are higher in that city.

- - - -The Federal census has undercounted the number of poor.

As a result, New York City's portion of funds (calculated on a Federal population count) will be insufficient to service the actual population.

- - - -The working poor comprise about 60 percent of New York's total poor population.

- - - -In 1971, the number of poor estimated to require manpower services total 1 million persons (including 80,000 welfare recipients).

Responsibility for the administration of Federal manpower programs is divided among agencies at the Federal level, resulting in piecemeal, uncoordinated delivery of services at the State and local administrative levels.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR REFORM

1. The mayor should be designated in NYC as the sponsor for all manpower related funds entering the city.

2. Federal legislation authorizing the inclusion of one comprehensive planning body in manpower legislation, to act as the integrating agent for all manpower related services in order to provide coordinated, one stop delivery on a city wide basis, should federal funds be decategorized.

3. Abolition of categorical sponsorship due to the realization that funds allotted to specific manpower activities may be disproportionate in terms of local needs for other kinds of manpower services.

4. Local control which would allow for the variation in manpower needs in different localities.

5. The Federal government should reward State and local governments

already allotting funds to manpower instead of penalizing them through maintenance of effort clauses.

6. Distribution formulas should be changed to take into account local cost-of-living index, and poverty for that area should be defined according to that particular index.

#### NEW CAREERS

Under the Public Service Careers program of Title I, the subcommittee found in New York City, one of the most effective New Careers programs in operation.

- - - -Provide an entry level job in a job ladder leading to a professional rank for persons previously unable to reach that professional level due to lack of educational training;

- - - -Enable the professional to devote more of his time to work requiring his advanced skills, by releasing him from essential but non-professional tasks and assigning these to a less highly trained para-professional; and

- - - -Improve community understanding of the service system by the involvement of community persons in the delivery of services within this system.

In terms of accomplishments in New York City alone, New Careers has:

- - - -provided training for over 1,600 persons.
- - - -placed on jobs at the end of training over 1,200 persons.
- - - -enrolled over 450 persons in college.
- - - -have had 75 college graduates to date.
- - - -have over 800 persons working as case aides in the department of social services and 400 others who were placed in such jobs as: educational assistants, nurses aides and LPNs, addiction service workers, mental health workers, dental assistants, relocation aides, housing manager aides, and health planning aides.

The 318 new enrollees in the new contract (as of June 1, 1971) were to be trained for such positions as: physician's assistants, medical

therapist, family planners, teachers' assistants, public health assistants and bilingual teachers.

There were two particular problems that the subcommittee found with the New Careers concept to be nationwide. These were (1) the problem of guidelines which have been in the revision stage within the Department of Labor since the original ones were issued in 1967. For over 15 months, this subcommittee has received assurance after assurance that the new guidelines were "forthcoming." The subcommittee can document instances where the Department of Labor has failed to give adequate notice to sponsors to allow for planning under renewed contracts. In these cases, the incompleteness of the revised guidelines has been cited as the reason for prolonged uncertainty. In another case, a sponsor was notified in November of 1971 that under the revised guidelines, insurance benefits for enrollees would be discontinued. Fortunately, the sponsor contacted the subcommittee which in turn contacted the Department of Labor. The notice was withdrawn.

(2) The lack of upward mobility for New Career graduates once placed in positions with such agencies as the Department of Social Services in New York City. Subcommittee staff personally visited such departments and talked with many new careerists who had received assurances of promotions and work related continued educational opportunities. In many cases these promises had not been fulfilled due to the financial crisis facing many of our municipalities. One possible solution to this problem lies in expanded opportunities under public service employment in future legislative consideration.

The subcommittee investigated the operations of the Community Action Agencies in New York City by reviewing the New York City Council Against

Poverty, created in July, 1968.

The Council consists of 51 members, 25 of whom are representatives of the poor and are appointed by a local community corporation to represent each poverty area; 17 public officials appointed by the mayor and nine agencies and organizations representing religious life, labor and industry, and civic areas of concern.

The work of the council is handled largely by committee and the policy implementation work is executed day to day by a staff director. There are 19 committees of the Council which handle and review such matters as program policy; community corporation practices, education, legal, and other more general aspects of urban life.

The problems confronting the Poverty Council in New York City were similar to those facing other areas reviewed; too little money for too many people resulting in fighting among minority group members -- the prime recipients of assistance under the Economic Opportunity Act programs. The continuation of proposed cuts in these programs will further polarize the multi-ethnic communities involved. There is a great need to maintain greater vigilance over these programs affected by continued attempts to dismantle the OEO.

In August of 1972 at the request of Members of Congress from that area, the subcommittee held hearings in San Diego, California, looking into the problem of defunding Community Corporations by the Regional Office of Economic Opportunity. The subcommittee found that the Office of Economic Opportunity had placed special conditions on the Economic Opportunity Council, many of which were not within the framework of the law, as a prerequisite for continued funding.

- - - -that representation no longer reflected the poor, but organizations active in community affairs.

- - - -that funds for 80 percent (or \$1,700,000) of \$2 million for programs sponsored by the Economic Opportunity Council went for administrative overhead.

- - - -that \$61,000 in overruns on the Department of Labor vouchers covering a 3 to 4 year period, incorrectly calculated by the Economic Opportunity Commission, was being deducted from one year's funding period rather than spread out over a period of time, therefore reducing the shortages created by repayment.

- - - -that Community Corporations were given no technical assistance and short periods of time to prepare detailed reports for the Economic Opportunity Council, and presented with threats of defunding for failure of compliance.

The list of discrepancies and charges and counter-charges has been a rather long one. The subcommittee is still in communication with the Washington Office of the OEO in an effort to resolve as many of these conflicts as possible.

Two very valid observations have been made to this date; (1) there is a great desire on the part of Community Corporations to receive direct funding, and (2) there is a great need to continue investigations into the operation of Community Action programs which seem to have just as many problems today as they did when first created by legislative enactment. The only significant change appears to be a shift in interest on the part of those charged with seeing that Congressional mandates are met.

In August of 1972, the Subcommittee also conducted hearings and Field Trips in Hawaii. The investigations were conducted jointly by both subcommittees charged with overview of the Economic Opportunity Act.

The subcommittee's activities came about as the result of growing concerns over the crises in housing and unemployment being created by the closing of many of the pineapple plantations and the subsequent dislocation forcing people to look for new homes and employment in a time when neither appears to be readily available.

The plantations were closing due to the financial restraints being felt by the mainland purchase of pineapples from other areas, many of which are closer and cheaper in handling cost.

Many of the plantations had provided housing for their workers as one of the benefits of employment for decades.

The subcommittee's main purpose was to see if the farmworkers could qualify for assistance under Title III-B of the Economic Opportunity Act, which provides assistance for Migrant Seasonal Farmworkers and their families, in addition to certain emergency food and medical services.

Site visits and testimony from people on the Island of Kauai, population about 30,000 revealed that:

- - - -Kauai's housing is classified as 5 percent dilapidated and 22 percent deteriorating. This means that approximately 2,000 homes being in these categories. At an average of four persons per family, 8,000 poor live in substandard housing conditions out of a population of 28,176.

Since returning to Washington, D.C. with the data accumulated

from this particular investigation, the subcommittee has been in constant contact with the Office of Economic Opportunity in an effort to assist the areas involved in obtaining the desired assistance. The subcommittee also found that there might exist eligibility for assistance under the rural housing development and rehabilitation program, newly added in the OEA amendments of 1972. This program provides low interest loans at 3 percent for about 30 years and contains a forgiveness clause. The program also requires cooperation with the Mainstream program under OEO which allows its workers to assist in construction, and thereby reduces cost.

The subcommittee anticipates more assistance being forthcoming in meeting the needs discovered as a result of these hearings.

While on the Island of Kauai, the subcommittee visited the Job Corps Training Center and was very impressed with the operations and the caliber of preparation being made available to the enrollees.

#### CONCLUSION AND PROJECTIONS

The subcommittee on oversight of EOA and the subcommittee on oversight of ESEA chaired by Congressman Hawkins, both conclude that there exists vast differences between the pictures presented in Washington, D.C. of program operation and the images found by making on-the-spot investigations.

Under the Economic Opportunity Act, the subcommittee finds that:

- - - -It is no longer sufficient to simply extend the manpower programs authorized under Title I. There is a major need for greater integration of the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the Public Service Employment programs into comprehensive manpower legislation to be considered in the 93rd Congress.

- - - -Youth activity must be changed from a summer crash program to a comprehensive year-round effort. The chairman of this subcommittee has prepared for introduction, comprehensive legislation which would provide year-round recreation support services, while coordinating existing programs among federal agencies in an effort to provide more effective services.

- - - -There should be legislative considerations given to regulating the changing of guidelines for the implementation of programs to prevent constant revision from interrupting Congressional intent.

- - - -In visiting sponsors of Federal programs, Members and staff should look more closely at the services required under the grant contract, thereby establishing a valid basis for drawing a distinction between what is actually presented as program operation and what should be program operation.

- - - -The monitoring of programs should not be discontinued because of recent enactments of extending legislation.

Oversight has proven itself as the tool for insuring that effective administration is maintained where found to exist and restored where missing.

Submitted by: Subcommittees on Oversight of EOA and ESEA,  
Congressman Augustus F. Hawkins, Chairman

APPENDIX Q

CAPSULE BIOGRAPHIES:  
Graham Arthur Barden  
and  
Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.

## ARTHUR GRAHAM BARDEN

Arthur Graham Barden, a Representative from North Carolina; born in Turkey Township, Sampson County, North Carolina, September 25, 1896; moved to Burgaw, Pender County, N.C. in 1908; attended the public schools; during the First World War served as a seaman in the United States Navy in 1918 and 1919; was graduated from the law department of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1920; was admitted to the bar the same year and commenced practice in New Bern, N.C.; teacher in the New Bern, N.C. High School in 1920; judge of the county court of Craven County, N.C. 1920-24; member of the State house of representatives in 1933; elected as a Democrat to the Seventy-fourth and to the twelve succeeding Congresses (January 3, 1935-January 3, 1961) was not a candidate for renomination in 1960; is a resident of New Bern, North Carolina.

## ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR.

Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., a Representative from New York; born in New Haven, Connecticut, November 29, 1908; is of the Negro race; attended the public schools of New York City; was graduated from Colgate University, Hamilton, New York in 1930, from Columbia University, New York, New York, in 1932, and from the theological department of Shaw University, Raleigh, North Carolina, 1934; studied four months in Europe, North Africa, and Asia Minor; was ordained to the ministry and officiated in New York, New York since 1931; member of the New York City Council in 1941; publisher and editor of a newspaper in New York City 1941-45; instructor at Columbia University Extension School, Department of Religious Education, 1932-1940; editor-writer for a New York daily newspaper in 1934; co-founder of the National Negro Congress; member of the Consumer Division, State of New York, Office of Price Administration, 1942-44; member of the Manhattan Civilian Defense 1942-45; elected as a Democrat to the Seventy-ninth and to the seven succeeding Congresses (January 3, 1945 to January 3, 1961). Re-elected to the Eighty-seventh Congress.

APPENDIX R

1972-1973 APPROPRIATIONS COMPARISONS  
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

The following tables compare the 1972 appropriations with the 1973 appropriations in the first two columns. The final HEW bill allows the President to reduce funds but he may not cut any one program more than 13% below the amount appropriated. The third column shows the lowest amount which can be made available -- that is, it shows the amount available if the President were to make the full 13% reduction.

OFFICE OF EDUCATION APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1972 and 1973

This is the lowest amount allocable for this line item in view of the language in the Bill prohibiting the President from cutting any one program more than 13% below the HEW-Labor Appropriations Bill he had previously vetoed.

ACTIVITY	1972 Appropriations	1973 Appropriations	
<u>Elementary and Secondary Education</u>			
Aid to school districts			
Educationally deprived children			
ESEA I .....	\$1,597,500,000	\$1,810,000,000	\$1,575,000,000
Supplementary services ESEA III	146,393,000	171,393,000	149,111,910
Strengthening State Departments of Education			
General Support ESEA V-A.....	33,000,000	43,000,000	37,410,000
Comprehensive planning and evaluation ESEA V-C.....	-0-	10,000,000	8,700,000
TOTAL ESEA.....	\$1,776,893,000	\$2,034,393,000	\$1,769,921,910
<u>School Assistance in Federally Affected Areas</u>			
Maintenance and operations..... (P.L. 874)	\$592,580,000	\$635,495,000	\$552,880,650
Construction (P.L. 815).....	19,300,000	35,910,000	31,241,700
Public Housing .....	-0-		
TOTAL SAFAA.....	\$611,880,000	\$671,405,000	\$584,122,350

This is the lowest amount allocable for this line item in view of the language in the Bill prohibiting the President from cutting any one program more than 13% below the HEW-Labor Appropriations Bill he had previously vetoed.

ACTIVITY	1972 Appropriations	1973 Appropriations	
<u>Library Resources</u>			
Public Libraries			
Services LSCA I & III.....	\$49,209,000	\$69,500,000	\$60,465,000
Construction LSCA II.....	9,500,000	15,000,000	13,050,000
School Library Resources ESEA III..	90,000,000	100,000,000	87,000,000
Equipment and Monor Remodeling			
NDEA III.....	50,000,000	50,000,000	43,500,000
Undergraduate Instructional Equip.			
HEA VI.....	<u>12,500,000</u>	<u>12,500,000</u>	<u>10,875,000</u>
TOTAL Library Resources.....	\$211,209,000	\$247,000,000	\$214,890,000

ACTIVITY

1972 1973  
 Appropriations Appropriations

ALLOCABLE FOR THIS FISCAL YEAR  
 in view of the language in the  
 Bill prohibiting the President  
 from cutting any one program  
 more than 13% below the HEW-  
 Labor Appropriations Bill he  
 had previously vetoed.

Education for the Handicapped

State Grant Programs EHA-B.....	\$37,500,000	\$65,000,000	\$56,550,000
Special Target Programs			
Deaf-Blind Centers EHA-C, Sec. 622.....	7,500,000	10,000,000	8,700,000
Early Childhood Projects EHA-C, Sec. 623.....	7,500,000	12,000,000	10,440,000
Specific learning disabilities EHA-G.....	2,500,000	5,000,000	4,350,000
Regional resource centers EHA-C, Sec. 621.....	3,550,000	7,243,000	6,301,410
Innovation and Development EHA-E Sec. 641 and 642.....	6,105,000	9,916,000	8,671,920
Technology and Communications EHA-F and EHA-D.....	11,000,000	13,500,000	11,745,000
Special Education and Manpower EHA-D.....	<u>34,685,000</u>	<u>39,700,000</u>	<u>34,539,000</u>
TOTAL EHA.....	\$110,340,000	\$162,359,000	\$141,252,330

Vocational and Adult Education

Grants to States for Voc. Ed.			
Basic Voc. Ed. Programs VEA-B..	\$376,682,000	\$426,682,000	\$371,211,334
National Advisory Council.....	330,000	330,000	287,100
Programs for Students with special needs VEA, Sec. 102(b)...	20,000,000	29,898,000	26,011,260
Consumer and Homemaking VEA-F..	25,625,000	38,322,000	33,340,140
Work-Study VEA-H.....	6,000,000	6,000,000	5,220,000
Cooperative Education VEA-G....		24,500,000	21,315,000
State Advisory Councils VEA -A, Sec. 104.....	2,690,000	3,811,000	3,315,570

## ACTIVITY

1972                      1973  
Appropriations Appropriations

allocable for this line item,  
in view of the language in the  
Bill prohibiting the President  
from cutting any one program  
more than 13% below the HEW  
Labor Appropriations Bill he  
had previously vetoed

<u>Vocational Research</u>			
Grants to States for innovation			
VEA-D.....	\$16,000,000	\$20,000,000	\$17,400,000
Curriculum Development VEA-I...	4,000,000	7,000,000	6,090,000
Grants to States for Research			
VEA-C.....	18,000,000	23,000,000	20,010,000
Adult Education AEA.....	<u>51,300,000</u>	<u>51,300,000</u>	<u>44,631,000</u>
TOTAL Voc. Ed. and Adult Ed. ....	\$540,127,000	\$659,162,000	\$573,470,940

Educational Renewal

<u>Educational Systems Improvement</u>			
Bilingual Education ESEA VII...	35,000,000	60,000,000	52,200,000
Dropout Prevention ESEA VIII...	10,000,000	10,000,000	8,700,000
Personnel Development			
Teacher Corps EPDA, B-1.....	37,435,000	37,435,000	32,568,000
Other Personnel Development			
EPDA-D AEA.....	2,900,000	3,000,000	2,610,000
National Priority Programs			
Educational Technology			
Comm. Act of 1964, CRA.....	20,000,000	32,000,000	27,840,000
Drug Abuse Ed.DAEA.....	12,400,000	13,900,000	12,093,000
Right to Read CRA.....	1,750,000	12,000,000	10,440,000
Career Model Installation CRA...	-0-	14,000,000	12,180,000
Environmental Education EEA.....	3,180,000	4,000,000	3,480,000
Other Priority Programs AEA,ESEA, Sec. 808,CRA.....	11,250,000	12,375,000	10,766,250

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ACTIVITY

1972 1973  
Appropriations Appropriations

Educational Renewal (continued)

Data Systems and Services			
Educational Statistics.....	\$ 8,000,000	\$ 6,900,000	\$ 6,003,000
National Achievement Study,CRA	5,000,000	7,000,000	6,090,000
Product Identification and Dissemination CRA, GEPA,Sec.12...	8,000,000	15,500,000	13,485,000
Planning and Evaluation GEPA,Sec. 402.....	<u>11,225,000</u>	<u>10,205,000</u>	<u>8,878,350</u>
TOTAL EDUCATION RENEWAL.....	\$171,114,000	\$238,315,000	\$207,334,050

TOTAL Office of Education Appropriation  
in the HEW-Labor Appropriations

Bill.....\$3,521,274,000 \$ ,09 ,994,000 \$3,561,774,780

APPENDIX S

POSITIONS OF DISTINCTION

POSITIONS OF DISTINCTION

Positions of Distinction Held by  
Past and Present Members of  
The Committee on Education and Labor

Among the persons who have been Members of this Committee in the 104 years of its continuous existence there is found the following:

Three Presidents of the United States

1. James Buchanan, New Jersey
2. John F. Kennedy, Massachusetts
3. Richard M. Nixon, California

One Vice President

1. Richard M. Nixon, California

Two Members of the U.S. Senate

1. Simeon D. Fess, Ohio
2. George S. McGovern, South Dakota

One Solicitor General of the United States

1. John Goode, Jr., Virginia

Two Secretaries in the Cabinets of Presidents

1. William B. Wilson, Pennsylvania
2. Steward L. Udall, Arizona

Two Governors of States

1. Gilbert C. Walker, Pennsylvania
2. Allen C. Candler, Georgia

#### Eight State Senators

1. Frederick W. Dallinger, Massachusetts
2. J. T. Updegraff, Ohio
3. Allen D. Candler, Georgia
4. John J. Gardner, New Jersey
5. Dudley M. Hughes, Georgia
6. Frederick N. Zihlman, Maryland
7. James Monroe, Ohio
8. David J. Lewis, Maryland

#### Fourteen members of the State Legislature

1. Samuel M. Arnell, Tennessee
2. James Monroe, Ohio
3. John Goode, Jr., Virginia
4. John J. O'Neill, Missouri
5. Allen D. Candler, Georgia
6. William H. Wade, Missouri
7. Benjamin A. Enloe, Tennessee
8. Ashbury F. Lever, South Carolina
9. Frederick W. Dallinger, Massachusetts
10. William F. Kopp, Iowa
11. John J. Douglass, Massachusetts
12. Vincent L. Palmisano, Maryland
13. William H. Larrabee, Indiana
14. Graham A. Barden, North Carolina

#### Three State Judges

1. Graham A. Barden, North Carolina

2. Walter I. Hayes, Iowa

3. Frederick W. Dallinger, Massachusetts

One Dean of a College

1. Simeon D. Fess, Ohio

Two College Professors

1. James Monroe, Ohio

2. Simeon D. Fess, Ohio

One College President

1. Simeon D. Fess, Ohio

APPENDIX T

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

1. Appropriations	George Mahon, Democrat	Texas
2. Ways and Means	Wilbur D. Mills, Democrat	Arkansas
3. Rules	Ray J. Madden, Democrat	Indiana
4. Education & Labor	Carl D. Perkins, Democrat	Kentucky
5. Banking & Currency	Wright Patman, Democrat	Texas
6. Armed Services	F. Edward Hebert, Democrat	Louisiana
7. Agriculture	W.R.Poage, Democrat	Texas
8. Foreign Affairs	Thomas E. Morgan, Democrat	Pennsylvania
9. Government Operations	Chet Holifield, Democrat	California
10. House Administration	Wayne L. Hays, Democrat	Ohio
11. Interior and Insular Affairs	James A. Haley, Democrat	Florida
12. Judiciary	Peter W. Rodino, Jr., Democrat	New Jersey
13. Interstate & Foreign Commerce	Harley O. Staggers, Democrat	West Virginia
14. Public Works	John A. Blatnik, Democrat	Minnesota
15. Merchant Marine and Fisheries	Leonor K. Sullivan, Democrat	Missouri
16. Science & Astronautics	Olin E. Teague, Democrat	Texas
17. Veterans Affairs	Williams Jennings Bryan Dorn, Democrat	Texas
18. Internal Security	Richard Ichord, Democrat	Missouri
19. Post Office and Civil Service	Thaddeus J. Dulski, Democrat	New York
20. Standards of Official Conduct	Melvin Price, Democrat	Illinois
21. District of Columbia	Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Democrat	Michigan

VITA

Ronald Francis Tucker

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Education

**Thesis:** Analysis of Decision-Making Processes Related to Career Education as Employed in the United States House of Representatives, Committee on Education and Labor.

**Major Field:** Vocational-Technical and Career Education

**Biographical:**

**Personal Data:** Born in Morehead, Kentucky, June 16, 1937; the son of Francis Burns and Mary Mildred Carter Tucker.

**Education:** Graduated from Breckenridge Training School, Morehead, Kentucky, 1955, received the Bachelor of Arts degree from Morehead State College, Morehead, Kentucky, 1960 with a degree in Industrial Arts Educations and Speech and Drama, and Physical Education; received the Master of Arts degree from Morehead State University in 1968, with a major in Industrial Arts and Teacher Education; completed requirements for the Doctor of Education degree at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, May 1974.

**Professional Experience:** Industrial Arts instructor at Bethel-Tate High School, Bethel, Ohio for 1961 school year. In 1961 accepted a teaching position in the South Western City School District, Grove City, Ohio. Was an instructor in the Industrial Education Dept. 1961-1964 at Pleasant View High School, Grove City, teaching mechanical drawing, technical drawing, basic woods, advanced woods, electricity, machine shop and graphic arts. Assisted in coaching basketball, football, and wrestling. Taught physical education at Finland Junior High School 1964-1966. Safety engineer for Gates McDonald and Company of Columbus, Ohio, 1966. Assistant Professor, Industrial Education, Morehead State University, 1968-1971.

**Awards:** One of the Vocational Technical Educators to be awarded EPDA 552 Grand to pursue a doctoral degree at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1971.

**Professional Organizations:** American Vocational Association, Kentucky Vocational Association, Phi Delta Kappa, American Association of University Professors, American Industrial Arts Association, Iota Lambda Sigma, National Association of Industrial Technology.