Four areas of concern to American higher education are discussed:

1. The impact of the federal government on our national capacity to deliver educational services.
2. The unfinished agenda of higher education responsibilities.
3. Uneven capacities and performances of our 50 states must be taken into account in devising federal policy in higher education.
4. Effective use of resources in current anti-inflation/recession programs.

Several conclusions based on an analysis of the above concerns are presented:

1. That the erosion of the federal share of total higher education revenues must be reversed both as a short-run economic expedient and as a long-run commitment to imperative social values.
2. That significantly more federal matching funds should be made available to the states on a formula basis that recognizes individual state needs and efforts, to reduce inequities among the states in the availability of access to postsecondary education for students from all ethnic and age groups.
3. That for each federally assisted student, an appropriate cost of education allowance should be paid to the institution attended.
4. That two kinds of federal graduate fellowships are needed—specially targeted fellowships to help minorities and women and merit fellowships designed to identify, honor, and support the best brains in the nation.
AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION:
PROBLEMS, PROSPECTS, AND PROPOSALS

By

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With the Assistance of the Policy Analysis Service
and the Division of Educational Statistics,
American Council on Education

To a Meeting Presided over by
Virginia Trotter, Assistant Secretary for Education
U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare

November 5, 1974
The American Council on Education and its affiliate associations are deeply grateful for the opportunity afforded by this meeting to discuss with you some matters of mutual concern. Over the past several years, sincere differences of opinion as well as misunderstandings have developed between the Federal executive agencies and the higher-education community.

Fortunately, these have not deteriorated into personal animosities, nor have they meant an absence of fruitful contact on many issues of policy development and implementation. But they have, I fear, inhibited the kind of general discussion about educational ends and means that might, with patience and good will on both sides, produce a united front on many matters of grave concern to higher education and to the nation.

The problems we presently face in the nation are, to paraphrase Lincoln, "too vast for pettiness." Your necessary mandate to relate the concerns of higher education to the broader national interest must be our starting point as well. We live, as you do, at the sufferance of the general public. Within this common frame-
work, we have presently, I submit, a special opportunity to overcome the disagreements of the recent past. The Federal Government has a new President, a new Assistant Secretary for Education, a new Commissioner of Education, new faces in key departmental and office positions. The American Council has new leadership in the person of Dr. Heyns; it has new data gathering and analytic capabilities under the direction of Jack Hughes and Lyle Lanier; under Jack Morse's able leadership (and prospectively under your former colleague Charles Saunders), ACE's relationships with other higher-education associations have, I think, never been more cooperative or more promising. We sometimes differ among ourselves, but this is not surprising in a democratic, pluralistic system. The important thing is that, contrary to widespread impressions, we are and have been united on most of the basic issues of higher-education policy. The fact that a number of important legislative authorizations are up for renewal this coming year gives all of us both a mandate and an opportunity to reconsider where we are and where we wish to go.

Furthermore, deteriorating economic conditions which fall particularly heavily upon the poor and the young give an added urgency to collaborative thinking about ways in which higher education, as well as the larger universe of postsecondary education, can respond appropriately to
these solemn realities.

What we have in the way of presentation this afternoon is a first step only. ACE's Office of Governmental Relations, Policy Analysis Service, and Division of Educational Statistics, working with others at One Dupont Circle and beyond, will continue to explore and to refine our analyses and our conclusions. We want to do this, however, in appropriate relationship with you and your staff. Hopefully, this can be the beginning of an earnest attempt on all sides to build a common base of information and to rethink our values, our logic, and our policy conclusions.

Years ago, Winston Churchill commented that the danger of catch-phrases is that they drive out rational analysis for a generation. Let me begin by listing a few of the catch-phrases, even epithets, that seem to have gotten in the way of clear thinking about education.

First, is the mischievous dichotomy between "student aid" and "institutional aid", with the additional zinger that if you are for one you are against the other, and that the former favors a desirable market competition in higher education while the latter does not. It is equally mischievous to say that student aid is a higher priority than institutional aid and therefore that one can be funded without the other.
Funds flow into higher education through complex channels from students and their parents, state, and local (and now even foreign) governments, and private philanthropy. The flow of federal support is particularly intricate: grants, loans, general support, categorical support, R & D contracts, tax exemptions, and even revenue sharing.

Part of the grants and loans to students are paid in turn to institutions for tuitions and room and board. General assistance to institutions (such as Title III) is used in part to cover the costs of education not covered by tuition income. Categorical assistance to institutions is used to buy books and equipment for students to use. R and D contracts support faculty salaries, provide students with educationally linked jobs as research assistants, and create new knowledge which spills over into undergraduate learning. Attempts to separate the funds flowing into higher education and label them "student aid" or "institutional aid" is to wade into a conceptual morass. Our labels are so misleading and even useless that we can not, for instance, currently provide a solid answer to the straightforward question: How much does student aid enhance educational opportunity? For we do not know how much of the money goes for education in the form of tuition, and how much goes for food and housing to offset low income.
Surely, together we can develop better and more accurate ways of categorizing sources of funds, delivery channels, and uses of funds to assure a better connection between the application of resources and the achievement of specific educational and social objectives.

Second, we are all suffering from a popular but false dichotomy between "career" or "occupationally-oriented" education on the one hand, and "liberal education" on the other. Our diverse system of higher education, in the words of New York's Commissioner Nyquist, a "many-splintered thing." We glory in its various manifestations and options. But most liberal education has been traditionally, and still is, career-oriented. A higher percentage of college graduates, by far, can count upon a fully employed life than can high-school graduates -- even those who graduate with specific first-job skills. Most professional schools and two-year as well as four-year colleges insist upon some liberalizing element in their technical and pre-professional curriculum.

Our policies for the education and training of young adults must address not only the quantitative needs of society for "college-trained" persons, but the values placed on education by those whose lives are directly involved. In 1973, three out of four 18-25 year olds were not pursuing a college degree.¹ This majority fully

recognizes that college preparation would enhance their chances for finding interesting and satisfying work. For example, two thirds of them would accept a 20% cut in pay for the opportunity to gain short-term education leading to a better job. Seventy-one percent would opt to return to a combined six-year program of college and work leading to a degree, if that option were open to them. The work values of non-college-trained persons are similar to those of college-trained persons, and their ambition for interesting and rewarding careers also lead to a desire to be better educated. Those who question the value of education might well seek their answers from those who lack it.

But persons do not live by bread alone. Every index we have of the outcomes of a college education, and the most definitive statement is about to appear in a belated volume of the Carnegie Commission, indicates that college-educated people are more tolerant, more participatory as citizens, have higher incomes, stay in better health, have fewer divorces, and have a more positive attitude toward life than those who have not had the advantage of a college education. We do not know the fine points of causality here. Some of these valuable dividends to individuals and to society may be the result of pre- or post-collegiate fortuities. But it would be strange indeed if none of the attitudes and behaviors were re-
lated to college experience. Among the stated goals of the Federal government in the Preamble to the U.S. Constitution are domestic tranquility, the general welfare, and the blessings of liberty. To pretend that better citizens and more tolerant and healthy individuals are not a national concern is to mock the substance of the Preamble.

All of our colleges can do better in career guidance, in making liberal-arts courses more relevant to career choices, in making vocationally oriented courses more relevant to a liberal understanding of the world. But is it not time to stop making invidious comparisons and slogan-warped financial allocations on the basis of spurious distinctions between career education and liberal education. Individuals and free societies patently need both.

Third, we need to avoid simplistic views of our federal system -- views that suggest a neat "layer-cake" image of federal-state-local relations. After a century of federal-government growth, there may well be reasons to devolve upon states and localities and private institutions a greater measure of responsibility for deciding and administering various social programs. I was privileged to join with others in recommending such devolutions in the mid-sixties in formal reports to President Johnson and to what was then the Bureau of the Budget. In consequence, I have applauded many of this Administration's
moves to decentralize federal functions.

But it is a far cry from that to the position held by some in and out of government, that there are functions that are inherently local, or inherently federal. As Professor Joseph McLean pointed out years ago, our federal system is not a "layer-cake" but a "marble-cake." It contains the untidinesses, the fortuities, and the deeper logic of political pragmatism. As long as there are national needs that transcend the interests of individual states -- affirmative action, the energy crisis, inflation, world peace -- the federal government will be involved in direct categorical relationships to colleges and universities. As long as students need help, both our states and our federal government, to say nothing of our colleges and universities and private charities, will participate in supporting needy students through grants and loans. As long as advanced disciplinary and professional training adds, through heightened mobility and communications, to the pool of national talent, claims will be made upon the federal government, as well as upon state and private resources, for assistance in supporting graduate education and research.

Fourth, and in connection with this last point, there are evidences of impossibly pre-mature attempts to base Federal support -- especially at the graduate level -- upon guesstimates of prospective job markets.
The state of the art of manpower projections is in its pre-infancy. We can, of course, have an overtrained society at any point in time. But it is nonsensical to suggest that we can have an over-educated society over the long pull. With the problems around and in front of us, we need the best brains we can discover. And we need to educate the best of these best brains to the highest possible level of potentiality -- and in all fields of human endeavor.

I need not beat the matter of conceptual over-simplifications into the ground. We in higher education have contributed to misunderstandings resulting from the use of these short-hand terms. So has Congress. So has the Executive Branch. We will do our best to cooperate with both branches in working our way out of the restrictive bag of nomenclatures that presently encases us. Let us see if, working together, we can transcend the shibboleths of the recent past and focus instead on the important realities and needs of the present and the foreseeable future.

What are those realities and needs? With the help of ACE's Policy Analysis Service and Division of Educational Statistics, we have prepared a few visuals which, we hope, will help us through the next few minutes. These visuals are based upon data and analysis that point up the following areas of concern:
1. The impact of the federal government on our national capacity to deliver educational services;
2. The unfinished agenda of higher education responsibilities;
3. Uneven capacities and performances of our 50 states that, we believe, must be taken into account in devising federal policy in higher education;
4. Effective use of resources in current anti-inflation/recession programs.

1. **Capacity to Deliver Educational Services**

Historically, the federal government has been a force for change in higher education but not, fundamentally, a source of continuing support. In previous decades, federal funds have constituted a very significant share of total revenues of institutions of higher education, peaking at 22 percent in the late 1940's with the GI bill educational benefits, and again in the mid 1960's when the federal government increased substantially its support of research in the national interest. Since the mid 1960's, however, the federal share has eroded—to a low of about 15 percent in the early 1970's—about one-quarter below the earlier shares. In the last year or two for which we have data, it appears that the federal share is beginning to increase slightly, once again, but only slightly, and to a level far below past peaks.

The recent trends in the federal share of receipts are shown in Chart 1. As you can see, the federal share is higher for the private institutions as a whole than for the public, but it has also declined more precipitously in the private sector. And it
is worth remembering, of course, that that part of the federal share which represents spending for research is heavily concentrated in a small number of large universities.

It may be contended, however, that the federal share of institutional receipts is not an adequate measure of federal support for higher education precisely because the continuing decline from 1967 until just recently represents explicit changes in federal policy, shifting in the Administration's own terminology from "institutional aid" to "student aid."

Dollar amounts of student grants have increased substantially over the last decade (as shown in Chart 2), rising from $116 million in 1966 to $546 million last year. Clearly, we would hope that broad national priorities are not derived by forcing a trade-off between a national interest in new knowledge and a national interest in broadening access to higher education. But over that period, the increase in student aid was actually less than the net decrease in federally sponsored research at colleges and universities. Since some aid to students is for living expenses, it is not cycled into direct educational uses.

Further, student aid has been spread across a larger and larger number of students as eligibility for the aid has broadened. Thus, the per-student awards in current dollars have not grown substantially in spite of sharp increases in costs to students of going to school.

If we take inflation into account, and calculate the purchasing power of student assistance in constant dollars, the
real value of per student awards peaked around 1969—the same year education participation rates peaked—and then started to go down in value, even adding in the new BOG's awards. This is shown in Chart 3.

Enrollments have gone up, and costs of going to school have gone up, but federal student assistance has not gone up commensurately. Additional funds have been provided by the students and their families from savings or going into greater debt, and by the institutions of higher education themselves out of general funds.

The decreasing relative share of federal support together with increasing use of institutional general funds for student aid are two contributing factors which led to a period of severe financial exigency for institutions of higher education at the turn of the decade. Most institutions survived that shock not by increasing revenues but by cutting costs. But then in 1973 and 1974, the schools were hit by tidal waves of inflation forcing costs up once again.

Small changes in anticipated income or expenditures—such as losses of commuting students who can no longer afford transportation, or sharp increases in the total cost of energy in spite of reductions in consumption—can cast large numbers of schools, both public and private, into financial danger zones. To take a specific example, recent staggering increases in fuel costs occurring at institutions of higher education are documented on Chart 4. The consequences could easily be renewed threats to financial solvency, as illustrated on Chart 5.
There are other evidences that these budget balances were achieved by shifting costs to others or into the future. AAUP salary survey data show that faculty salaries have begun to decline in real purchasing power. An ACE Higher Education Panel Survey found that close to half of all the colleges and universities expect to curtail or defer preventive maintenance in the academic year 1974-75.

What happens to a college seeking to enhance or maintain quality during inflation? For ten years Hiram College, a private institution in Northeastern Ohio, sought to do so as shown on Chart 6--only to find that after a decade of effort its constant dollar expenditures had flattened out.

In sum, erosion of federal support and inflation have had significant impact on the institutions' capacity to deliver educational services and on their ability to help provide students with greater access.

2. The Unfinished Agenda of Higher Education Responsibilities

These economic pressures come at a time when there is still a great deal to do.

We can see on Chart 7 that the age groups colleges currently serve will be larger in 1980 than they are today. Note that at the present time only two-thirds of the undergraduate college students are "college age," 18 to 21, and that almost four-fifths of the part-time students are 25 or over. In the immediate future there will be the job of educating larger numbers of young people
because demographically-driven enrollment declines will not occur for another four or five years. Total enrollment at colleges and universities has not declined. Rates of increase of enrollment growth have declined and education participation rates have declined from 1969 peaks, for all income levels, including upper, middle and lower income families. And enrollments of individual institutions in different sectors, particularly two-year private colleges, have declined. But, overall, enrollments are increasing--calculated on the basis either of head counts or of full-time equivalents.

The job of creating truly equal educational opportunities is not finished--it has in fact just begun as illustrated on Charts 8 and 9, which show education participation rates by income levels, first including and then excluding high school dropouts. We are all well aware that the proportion of college-age whites who go on to college is half again greater than the proportion for college-age blacks--and that the proportion of higher income ($15,000 and over) youth who go on to college is three to four times the proportion of lower income youth (under $3,000). We also know that fewer women than men enter and complete college experiences.

And we have yet to undertake seriously the job of helping those who didn't have a chance to go to college when they were younger, but who now see lack of a college education as a major barrier to economic and social mobility. A recent survey, some
results of which are illustrated on Chart 10, found that 45 percent of the noncollege young people believed that inadequate education is a barrier to a desirable job.

3. State Educational Capacities and Performances

A very large number of historical, economic and political factors must be taken into consideration in evolving a federal role in support of higher education. One important factor is the extreme disparity in educational opportunities which states provide their citizens.

A chance to go to college depends in a very real way on where a student lives. This is illustrated by Charts 11 and 12. Chart 11 relates to differences across the states in the availability of educational opportunity. It shows that in some states the majority of the people are within a forty-five minute commute of a free-access college, while in other states few or none of the people are. A college is characterized here as "free access" if it has relatively open admissions and a tuition of no more than $400. Chart 12 relates to differences across the states in educational performance. It shows that the share of high-school graduates in some states who enroll in college (either in-state or out-of-state) is two or three times as great as in other states.

These realities must be taken into account in devising policies and programs in support of postsecondary education. Partial grants to students which they may carry with them are certainly of greater worth to students who have places to go to college nearby than those who don't.
4. **Effective Use of Resources in Current Anti-Inflation/Recession Programs**

Unemployment rates have just jogged up to 6 percent while inflation soars still unabated. Proposed anti-inflation measures risk still higher unemployment rates. But, as we can see on Chart 13, for young people 16 to 24 the unemployment rates are already almost twice as high as the overall rate--and for black young people the rates are almost four times as high. This means that right now, close to one out of every ten young whites and one out of every five young blacks is looking for work and can't find it. It makes eminent national sense wherever possible to transform subsistence in the form of unemployment compensation or welfare into investment in the future productive capacities of these young people, by making it possible for them to continue their education.

In addressing the special needs of young disadvantaged students we need also to be aware--as Chart 14 tells us--that our federal education policies fail to extend to the higher education levels the very constructive policy of compensatory aid for all disadvantaged students at lower education levels.
POLICY DIRECTIONS

As a result of our analysis of these concerns, I wish to enumerate several conclusions we wish to share with you in our reconsideration of federal policies on higher education. These illustrations are necessarily limited both in scope and in explanatory detail. We will be prepared in the days and weeks ahead to expand on each of them.

1. That the erosion of the federal share of total higher education revenues -- an erosion that has marked the history of the past several years -- must be reversed both as a short-run economic expedient and as a long-run commitment to imperative social values. In the short-run, in order to combat the social dangers of a growing youth unemployment, and as a logical derivative of President Ford's Ohio State speech, we believe that part of the sums to be expended by the federal government on an emergency basis for unemployment compensation and make-work schemes, can be more efficiently spent for cooperative-education, work-study, grant, and loan programs for part-time as well as full-time students -- programs whose effect it would be to increase human skills and promote a fruitful interface with the world of work, while relieving immediate pressures on the job market.
In the longer run, this administration and this society have committed themselves to equal educational opportunity for all our citizens. Former Commissioner Marland pointed out last week that in terms of stated federal objectives to aid needy students alone, appropriations lag by at least $2 billion a year. To help achieve equity and to help solve pressing national problems, a new long-range commitment of federal resources to the postsecondary education sector is essential.

2. That significantly more federal matching funds should be made available to the states, on a formula basis that recognizes individual state needs and efforts, to reduce inequities among the states in the availability of access to postsecondary education for students from all ethnic and age groups. Programs should include measures such as New York, California, and other states have established to provide scholar-incentive and tuition-equalization grants which enhance opportunity for students from varied backgrounds and which make maximum use of private as well as public facilities, in accordance with the special needs of each state. Additionally, programs such as those envisioned by Title X of the 1972 Amendments, should be initiated nation-wide to expand low- and no-tuition programs, and facilities where needed, to reach all
populations within each state. The impact of these programs would be to reduce the financial squeeze now being exerted on middle and lower income families seeking higher education.

3. That for each federally assisted student, an appropriate cost-of-education allowance should be paid to the institution attended in recognition of the fact that student aid covers only a part of the full cost of education to the institution.

4. That two kinds of Federal graduate fellowships are needed, quite apart from considerations about the adequacy of our current supply of Ph.D's: (a) specially targeted fellowships to help minorities and women to fill the pipeline leading to the realization of affirmative action placements in colleges and universities of the future; (b) merit fellowships designed to identify, honor, and support regardless of income, race, sex, or national origin, the best brains in the nation.

5. That the Federal government -- in cooperation with the states, educational institutions, and industry -- initiate a new program of continuing educational services for adults who have left formal education settings to enter the labor market and who wish to improve their employment opportunities both in terms of income and career satisfaction.
6. That existing categorical programs in support of higher education be reviewed, consolidated, and reformulated or reaffirmed in terms of new national and international imperatives. In this connection, we call to your attention ACE's brochure called "Federal Programs in Postsecondary Education: An Agenda for 1975." We are leaving copies with you.

7. That programs of data collection, research and innovative development be strengthened in order to insure continuing improvement in the efficiency and effectiveness of American higher education services. We cite in particular the need for expediting statistical reports on the existing conditions and trends in higher education, and special surveys of adult populations to determine educational needs and preferences.

SUMMATION

To suggest these directions for public policy is not to lay down a series of interest-group demands. It is to suggest lines of thinking that need refinement and modification through active exchanges with responsible officials and legislators. We shall welcome the opportunity to work them out with you in a spirit of cooperative
give and take. And of course, we will look favorably on opportunities for further collaborative analysis of the very sketchy proposals outlined above.

We are not asking the Federal government to solve all of our problems. Through better management; related, appropriate, accountability systems; through increased productivity, more positive responses to public need, better staff development; by sorting out what should be retained from the best of the past, and what should be postulated experimentally for the future; institutions of higher education themselves must take the leadership in strengthening themselves. Much has already been done; more needs to be done.

Furthermore, state governments have a continuing and growing role to play in the planning and coordination of higher education, in giving general support of no- and low-tuition policies, and in providing incentive and tuition-equalization schemes aimed at helping private higher education.

Private philanthropy has an increasingly important role to play in extending the diversity and insuring the health of our pluralistic system.

Finally, parents and students, who must continue to bear their share of the financial burdens of higher education, also have a responsibility for insisting that
higher educational institutions live up to their promises and their stated values.

The role of the Federal government is, however, crucial. Federal tax laws can make or break private giving. Federal incentives can help stimulate and direct state higher education policies. Federal assistance of all kinds gives vital support to a wisely pluralistic educational system across the face of the nation.

Alluding once again to an earlier theme, following World War II, Federal initiative was critically important and successful in enabling millions of veterans to attend college under the GI bill -- and thereby to avert the massive unemployment that was otherwise expected. In view of current economic problems, that kind of initiative is needed again today.

One last thought! As the 94th Congress convenes, you and we will be directing our attention to two separate issues -- new appropriations and new authorizing legislation. In some world in outer space perhaps the two are synonymous, but in this imperfect world they are quite different. The appropriation requests must, of course, reflect today's realities -- a careful assessment of what share of the Federal Treasury can be devoted to all our social goals and within that share what proportion can be devoted to education. We may disagree on the relative
size of shares, but we all recognize that they must necessarily fall short of need.

By its very nature an appropriation is a one-year-at-a-time process. Authorization, on the other hand, reflects a long-term three-to-five year assessment of need or, to put it another way, a statement of aspirations. So it is our earnest hope that as we work together on the Education Amendments of 1975, we need not be unduly constrained by immediate budgetary considerations but may take the larger, longer view of the needs for higher education and shape the legislation accordingly.

Higher education needs your understanding, your cooperation, and your support.
CHART 1

THE FEDERAL SHARE OF RECEIPTS OF INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION
By Control of Institutions

Percent

Fiscal Years

Source: U.S.O.E. N.C.E.S.
CHART 2

TRENDS IN FEDERAL STUDENT ASSISTANCE

In Million Dollars

Federal Student Assistance

Number of Awards

In thousands

Sources: U.S.O.E., A.C.E./P.A.S.
TRENDS IN FEDERAL STUDENT ASSISTANCE

Federal Student Assistance Award per Student

$600

In Current Dollars

In Constant Dollars

Fiscal Years

Sources: U.S.E. A.C.E/P.A.S.
COST INCREASES IN FUEL, BY REGION
1972-73 to 1973-74

Source: Verner, Liljefors, Bernhard and McPherson
CHART 5

CURRENT FUNDS REVENUES AS A PERCENT OF EXPENDITURES OF INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

By Control of Institution: Aggregate United States

Sources USOE, NCES
TEN YEAR COMPARISON OF ENROLLMENT AND EDUCATIONAL AND GENERAL BUDGET OF HIRAM COLLEGE, 1964-1974
CHART 7
POPULATION TRENDS IN UNITED STATES:
Selected Age Groups, 1960-1980

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, A.C.E./P.A.S.

Estimated
EDUCATION PARTICIPATION RATES BY INCOME LEVEL, RACE AND SPANISH ORIGIN*
October 1972, (Including High School Dropouts)

*All primary family members 18 to 24 years old minus those enrolled below college level

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, A.C.E./P.A.S.
CHART 9

EDUCATION PARTICIPATION RATES BY INCOME LEVEL, RACE AND SPANISH ORIGIN*
October 1972. (Excluding High School Dropouts)

Percent Enrolled

White
Black
Spanish Surname

*All primary family members 18 to 24 years old minus the number of high school dropouts and those enrolled below college level.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, A.C.E./P.A.S.
ATTITUDES OF NONCOLLEGE YOUTH TOWARD WORK AND EDUCATION
1973

• Attitudes
  Would welcome less emphasis on money
  Desire interesting work
  Believe inadequate Education is a barrier to a desirable job

• Activities
  Would take Educational Training
  Would give serious thought to Career Planning Year
  Would take a 6 year combined Work/College Program

Source: Daniel Yankelovich
PERCENT OF STATE POPULATIONS WITHIN COMMUTING DISTANCE OF A FREE-ACCESS COLLEGE

Rank Order  State
1  Connecticut
2  North Carolina
3  Mississippi
4  Florida
5  California
6  Maryland
7  Illinois
8  South Carolina
9  Alabama
10  West Virginia
11  Kentucky
12  Massachusetts
13  Washington
14  Virginia
15  Oregon
16  Hawaii
17  Louisiana
18  Wisconsin
19  New Hampshire
20  Arkansas
21  Kansas
22  Wyoming
23  Colorado
24  Rhode Island
25  Vermont
26  Tennessee
27  Missouri
28  Idaho
29  Michigan
30  Iowa
31  Texas
32  New Jersey
33  Arizona
34  New York
35  Delaware
36  Oklahoma
37  Alaska
38  Montana
39  North Dakota
40  Georgia
41  Minnesota
42  Pennsylvania
43  New Mexico
44  Utah
45  Nebraska
46  Ohio
47  South Dakota
48  Nevada
49  Indiana
50  Maine

Source: Warren W. Willingham, CSEB
PERCENT OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES ENROLLING AS FIRST-TIME UNDERGRADUATES
Fall 1968, By State

Source: USOE, ACE/PAS
CHART 13

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION OR STUDENT AID?

Unemployment Rates of Young People, By Race
As Compared With Overall Rates

Rate of Unemployment

Nonwhite, 18-24

White, 18-24

Total Population*

*Persons 16 years of age or older who were unemployed

Source: U.S Dept. of Labor
A COMPARISON OF FEDERAL POLICIES FOR AIDING DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS

At Elementary and Secondary Levels

At Higher Education Levels