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ABSTRACT

This study examined relationships between adult education provisions and their use, especially in the public school context. Data were drawn from five school districts in ten states. Nationwide adult participation in various fields of study was surveyed, followed by involvement by government at all levels. Such concepts as investment versus consumption, available educational opportunities, local income and educational levels, and the nature of private and social demand, were introduced as a theoretical basis for studying financial support to adult and continuing education. Constitutional and legislative provisions within a number of states were then outlined. Analyses were also made of adult educational demand (including actual enrollments and expenditures) in the 50 sample school districts; decision making and other elements (staffing, salaries, equipment, and so on) in the actual production of educational services; and differing approaches to adult education employed in Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, and New York. Finally, attention was given to existing and possible decision making procedures relevant to program selection. (There is an error in paging but no missing text.) (LY)

ADULT AND CONTINUING EDUCATION

Special Study Number 5 of the National
Education Finance Project

1970

Midwest Administration Center
The University of Chicago
5835 South Kimbark Avenue
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This study was performed pursuant to contract:
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CHAPTER I

AN OVERVIEW OF PUBLIC SCHOOL ADULT EDUCATION

Adult education is imperative to the preservation and progress of the United States and as such is a matter of concern to public policy. Adults must continue to learn if they are to perform effectively as citizens, parents, workers, and consumers. Through educational programs adults can be assisted (1) to overcome the inequities which race, economic status and luck often impose; (2) to adjust to the changing demands of technological innovation; (3) to provide a home environment conducive to the fullest intellectual development of their children; and (4) to increase the quality and quantity of their civic participation. Because adult education is of such importance, the provision of educational opportunities is a matter of public policy. The formulation of public policy regarding such provision should be based on empirical evidence of the relationship between means and ends. This investigation is prompted by a desire to secure information which will be useful in formulating public policy. The purpose of this study is to examine the relationships between the provisions for adult education and their utilization particularly in the context of the public schools.

This chapter presents an overview of the field, an historical account of government involvement in adult education, a description of the role the public schools have played and are playing the field, and an outline of the structure of this report. The background information in this chapter is intended to serve as an introduction to the consideration of the economics of public school adult education in subsequent chapters.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE FIELD

The first and most perplexing problem encountered in attempting to comprehend adult education is that of identifying its dimensions. Two approaches are taken here in this regard. First, the efforts of adult educators to define and to classify their field are noted. Second, the dimensions of adult education are illustrated through the reported extent of participation based upon the most recent comprehensive national survey.

Attempts at Definition

Adult education is considered by some to be undefinable[1] while others regard it as susceptible of definition, but only with difficulty. Verner,

before advancing his definition, criticized most definitions of the field as being either too specific or too inclusive.[2] The difficulties in defining adult education arise from the twin problems of identifying who is to be considered an adult and what activities, programs, or behaviors will be considered educational.

"Adult education may be defined in terms of the individuals and groups served, agencies and institutions offering programs, methods used, subject matter covered, functions, or skills and proficiencies taught. More broadly, it may be defined as a means of social adjustment and also as an educational movement."[3] Verner defines an adult as a person who has assumed responsibility for himself, and usually others, and who, under normal circumstances assumes a productive role in society.[4] Johnstone and Rivera in their bench-mark survey of adult education participation have provided criteria for identifying activities to be considered educational. These criteria are: the main purpose of the activity must be to acquire some type of knowledge, information, or skill; the activity must be organized around some form of instruction; and, in cases of self-education, the activity must be consciously and systematically organized for learning purposes.[5]

For the purposes of this report adult education will be defined as the process by which persons who assume the social responsibilities of adulthood engage in learning activities with the conscious intention of bringing about changes in their knowledge, skills, or attitudes or for the purpose of identifying and solving personal or social problems.

Various categories have been proposed for the classification of adult education functions. Bryson lists remedial, vocational, relational, liberal and political categories.[6] Floud and Halsey (from their vantage point as educational sociologists) suggest the following categories: remedial, assimilative, mobility-promoting, and compensatory.[7] Peers moves to a higher level of abstraction and characterizes adult education as having only one function, namely "developing responsible citizens in a democratic society."[8] Hallenbeck proposes five functions: expanding communication skills, developing flexibility, improving human relations, facilitating participation, and expediting personal growth.[9]

As can be seen from this reporting of views, the attempts at defining the field have not yet led to a universally acceptable formulation. Further, even the classification schemes have proved to be rather inadequate because the reasons students have for participating in a given program sometimes cannot be accurately predicted on the basis of the course content or of the intent of the host institution. Hence a more pragmatic way of identifying the dimensions of the field is through recourse to the most recent comprehensive survey of adult education participation.

The Dimensions of Programs

The dimensions of adult education programs in the United States can be seen in Table 1 which was compiled by Johnstone and Rivera in a national survey conducted in 1962. A subsequent table indicates the relative

TABLE 1

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF DIFFERENT ADULTS WHO STUDIED SUBJECTS OF VARIOUS TYPES THROUGH ADULT EDUCATION INSTRUCTION OR INDEPENDENT STUDY

Type of Subject Matter	Estimated Number of Persons*
1. Job-related subjects and skills	9,020,000
a) Technical courses: health professions	350,000
b) Technical courses: all other spheres	1,500,000
c) Teacher training courses	500,000
d) Professional courses: all other spheres	710,000
e) Business administration or management	1,160,000
f) Sales or advertising skills	620,000
g) Office management	300,000
h) Office machines (excluding typewriter)	380,000
i) General office skills (including typing)	1,030,000
j) Auto mechanics and other machine skills	690,000
k) Other skilled trades	810,000
l) Operative skills	400,000
m) Service skills in the health professions	590,000
n) Service skills in the protection and security field	330,000
o) Personal service skills	300,000
p) All other job-related subjects and skills	†
2. Hobbies and recreation	5,470,000
a) Athletic recreations	1,360,000
b) Decorative arts and crafts	780,000
c) Dancing lessons	760,000
d) Bridge lessons	640,000
e) Music (performing)	680,000
f) Music (non-performing)	230,000
g) Art (performing)	560,000
h) Art (non-performing)	320,000
i) Technical arts and hobbies	530,000
j) All other hobbies and recreations	370,000
3. Religion, morals and ethics	3,820,000
a) Traditional religious training	3,480,000
b) Religion applied to everyday life	180,000
c) All other subjects on religion, morals or ethics	220,000

*These estimates are based on 22,648 adults (94.5 per cent of sample) for whom information was available on adult education courses involving both instruction and independent studies.

†Less than 180,000.

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Type of Subject Matter	Estimated Number of Persons*
4. General education	3,500,000
a) Foreign languages	970,000
b) Mathematics or statistics	700,000
c) English literature or composition	630,000
d) History (excluding history of religion, art or music)	490,000
e) Sciences	300,000
f) Psychology	300,000
g) Social sciences (excluding political science)	240,000
h) Great Books courses	†
i) All other general education subjects	200,000
5. Home and family life	3,440,000
a) Sewing or cooking	1,890,000
b) Home improvement skills	690,000
c) Gardening	490,000
d) Child care	400,000
e) All other home and family subjects	270,000
6. Personal development	1,700,000
a) Physical fitness	380,000
b) Speed reading	360,000
c) Dale Carnegie or other leadership training courses	340,000
d) Speech or public speaking	330,000
e) All other personal development subjects	390,000
7. Current events, public affairs, and citizenship	1,080,000
a) General political education (including political science)	310,000
b) Current events	280,000
c) Courses on communism	250,000
d) Civil defense	190,000
e) Americanization and citizenship	†
f) All other public affairs courses	†
8. Agriculture	320,000
a) Farming or market gardening	280,000
b) All other agricultural topics	†
9. Miscellaneous subject matter	970,000
a) Driver training	370,000
b) Military science	180,000
c) Miscellaneous other	310,000
d) Subject matter not reported or uncodeable	†

Source: John W. C. Johnstone and Ramon C. Rivera, Volunteers for Learning: A Study of the Educational Pursuits of American Adults (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965), pp. 49-50.

importance of different institutions as purveyors of adult education. Whatever their motives might have been it is clear that an estimated twenty-five million adults pursued adult education dealing with a wide variety of subjects.

Adult education is provided by many different institutions. In fact, one major difference between adult and other levels of education is that there is a predominant institutional form for elementary, secondary, and higher education but there is no dominant institutional form for adult education. Various typologies of adult education institutions have been proposed. Knowles has suggested one of the more useful ones in that it reflects the relative importance placed upon adult education by institutions in each of a total of four categories: institutions created primarily to serve adult students; institutions initially established to serve youth but which now assume the additional task of educating adults; institutions established to serve the whole community; and institutions which were established to serve other goals but which use adult education to achieve them.[10]

Table 2 is a listing of the estimates of course attendance at different sponsoring institutions. More adults pursue education outside the regular formal educational institutions than within them by a ratio of about 2 to 1. About 56 per cent of all studies involving attendance at classes, lectures, or group discussions took place in institutions whose primary function was not education. Accordingly, it can be seen that unlike elementary, secondary and higher education, adult education takes place most frequently in institutions whose primary concern is with functions other than education.

Institutions in each of the nine categories listed by Johnstone may differ in their philosophical orientation to adult education. At least four major views are held by those in charge of institutions which are not creatures of government. These views will be presented briefly and then the predominant view of the government will be identified before an historical account of government involvement in adult education is given.

Four different approaches to the function of adult education are taken by administrators and teachers. The first approach maintains that the purpose of education is to promote the fullest development of the individual as an individual. The second approach also supports the development of each individual but with the proviso that this development must enrich the community and enhance the individual's role as a social creature. The third view is that education should be designed to solve group problems and the individual's development should occur naturally as he participates in the group problem solving experiences. In the fourth approach primary emphasis is placed on the development of interpersonal skills so that the individual may function as an effective person in his relationships with individuals and groups.[11]

Public support for adult education programs as reflected in the provision of financial resources has tended to reflect the second approach, that of providing educational opportunities to individuals as a means of improving the total community. Public support has tended to steer clear of providing adult education opportunities solely for the purpose of facilitating self-development.

TABLE 2

ESTIMATES OF COURSES ATTENDED AT DIFFERENT SPONSORING INSTITUTIONS*

Sponsoring Institutions	Number of Courses Reported	Per Cent	Estimated Number of Courses Attended at Different Institutions	Number of Different Persons Who Reported Courses	Estimated Number of Different Persons Who Attended Classes, Lectures, Talks, or Discussion Groups
Churches and synagogues	692	21	3,460,000	652	3,260,000
Colleges and universities	689	21	3,440,000	528	2,640,000
Community organizations	488	15	2,450,000	446	2,240,000
Business and industry	406	12	2,040,000	370	1,860,000
Elementary and high school	383	12	1,920,000	347	1,740,000
Private Schools	246	7	1,220,000	226	1,120,000
Government (all levels)	235	7	1,180,000	210	1,050,000
Armed Forces	116	4	590,000	96	480,000
All other sponsors	50	2	250,000	49	240,000
Total	3,305	101	16,560,000	2,667†	13,360,000†
Don't know or no answer	83			60	
Total courses	3,388		16,560,000	2,727	

*Includes only those courses studied by attending classes, talks, lectures or discussion groups.

†Does not total number of persons listed in column because some persons studied at more than one sponsoring institution.

Source: John W. C. Johnston and Ramon C. Rivera, Volunteers for Learning: A Study of the Educational Pursuits of American Adults (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965), p. 61.

GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN ADULT EDUCATION

The following brief historical review of the development of adult education in the United States documents the pragmatic viewpoint of city, state and federal legislators. Because the federal influence has been of primary importance a more detailed treatment of the federal role is also presented.

General Development of Adult Education

Agreement is lacking regarding the date of the founding of the first adult evening school. Authorities differ on the date and place, but whether it was in Providence, New York City, or Louisville and whether it was in 1810, 1833 or 1834, this specific fact is of less importance than the general agreement that such institutional programs emerged during the first forty years of the 19th Century. Knowles notes that these early evening schools would not qualify as adult education programs in the modern sense because they were created to provide education for young people who worked during the day and the curriculum was essentially the same as that offered during the day. Knowles contends, and other adult educators agree, that all age groups of adults should be served and that courses offered to an adolescent audience during the day should be adapted to an adult audience before being given in an evening school.

Major changes in adult education took place between the end of the Civil War and the end of World War I. New institutions providing adult education arose: summer schools, correspondence schools, university extension divisions, residential labor colleges, settlement houses, junior colleges, social services agencies, parks and recreation centers, and national voluntary associations. The focus of adult education shifted from the colonial emphasis on religion and the early nineteenth century emphasis on remedial education to the use of adult education as a tool to assist in solving the problems of industrialization, immigration, emancipation, urbanization, vocational education, agricultural education, citizenship and Americanization, women's education, civic and social reform, public affairs, leisure-time activity and health.

At the federal level the passage of the Smith-Lever Act set the adult agricultural education programs of the states into a unified national framework in 1914. The Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act in 1917 demonstrated the national concern for the inadequacy of state vocational education programs. The realization that many young men of draft age were lacking in any vocational skill served as a stimulus to the passage of the federal vocational education legislation.

Within the states, the legislatures were enacting permissive legislation enabling local school districts to provide adult education if they wished to do so. There was never any doubt, however, that the provision of adult education by the public schools was intended by the legislators to be a supplementary activity rather than a primary one.

During the last decades of the nineteenth century states and localities began to accept the notion that universal access to secondary education

should be provided to all citizens. However, even by 1920 high school accessibility was still irregular. Even today the educational attainment of older adults is a reflection of the inadequacy of educational provisions then.

Historically the people of the United States have tended to believe that an individual can acquire in his youth the bulk of the skill and knowledge he will require for the rest of his life. Accordingly, the bulk of the educational investment made by local, state, and national governments has been almost exclusively on programs for youth. Beyond the years of youth, educational provision has not been widely perceived as a governmental responsibility except in the case of remedial education such as literacy, vocational education, and Americanization.

It is increasingly difficult to look upon adult education as an optional activity because of the accelerating rate of technical and social change. Whereas in other times drastic cultural changes took place over a number of centuries and consequently generations, now, for the first time in the history of civilization, pervasive drastic changes are telescoped into less than the lifetime of a single generation. Accordingly everyone must continue to learn throughout his productive lifetime or face the possibility that his knowledge and skills will become obsolete. The Commission of the Professors of Adult Education has warned that a society that makes its educational investment almost entirely in children and youth is on the way to becoming obsolete and is reducing its chances for survival. The recognition of this fact is dawning on legislators and educational policy-makers who recognize that today society has as great a stake in the continued learning of its adults as it has in the education of its children.

Despite the fact that the provision of educational opportunities has been popularly regarded as a responsibility of each state, the existence of major national problems which appeared to be the result of inadequate training and education, has led to federal efforts to correct the problem situations through various kinds of adult education programs.

The Federal Role

In the United States adult education has been used as an instrument for dealing with urgent needs. When the nation was assimilating large numbers of immigrants in the nineteenth century, cities established adult education programs to assist these immigrants and rural migrants in adjusting to the industrial urban areas. When there was a concern about "foreigners" in the early years of the twentieth century, programs of adult education were established to "Americanize" them. When there was a national concern for the production of increased quantities of food and fiber, Congress enacted the Smith-Lever Act creating the Cooperative Extension Service. When it was found that many of the young men taken into the army in World War I were poorly prepared academically, vocationally, and technically, federal funds were provided under the Smith-Hughes Act to support vocational education for adults and older youths.

During the depression, when there was a concern for the stability of our government, funds were provided by Congress to support adult education so that teachers would not be unemployed, and unemployed adults and young people would develop an increased appreciation for the political system of the United States. When the defense industries found it essential during World War II to hire large numbers of unskilled and previously unemployed adults, federal funds were forthcoming to support vocational education for national defense.

Danton examined the impact of the Federal Emergency Education Program on adult education and observed that a national depression was instrumental in focusing nationwide attention on adult education after adult educators had been attempting fruitlessly to enlist the federal government's support for over a decade. In 1933 Congress authorized the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to make available up to $500,000,000 for expenditures authorized by the Federal Emergency Relief Administrator. In December, 1933, $2,000,000 a month was set aside to engage 40,000 unemployed teachers.

The Federal Relief Administrator, Harry L. Hopkins, emphasized six aspects: (1) literacy education--a program which involved 8,972 teachers and other staff and 292,808 students in April, 1935; (2) general adult education--involving 20,905 teachers and staff and 902,752 enrollees; (3) parent education--involving 670 leaders and 50,000 parents in March, 1935; (4) workers' education--involving 622 teachers and staff members serving 41,306 enrollees in April, 1935; (5) camps for unemployed women--at approximately 46 educational camps there were more than 3,000 unemployed young women between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five enrolled in the summer of 1935; (6) vocational education--5,358 teachers and staff served 219,506 enrollees in April, 1935; (7) vocational rehabilitation--396 staff members were employed in vocational rehabilitation serving 5,514 persons in April, 1935.[12]

Danton states that "In April, 1935, the total Emergency Education Program involved 43,722 teachers and others employed, with 1,646,527 persons enrolled;. . . ."[13] The federal government had entered adult education on a grand scale.

The Civilian Conservation Corps provided an optional educational program with classes offered in the following five categories: elementary, high school, vocational, college and general. Danton reports that a survey of 375,000 men in the C.C.C. camps revealed that there 7,369 illiterates. The claim is made that 4,339 of them were taught to read and write between June, 1934 and June, 1935.[14]

Although these depression-induced programs constituted a tremendous leap in the progress of adult education, it should be kept in mind that the primary objective of the program was the relief of needy teachers rather than the provision of educational stimulation to needy students.[15] Accordingly, when it became possible for teachers to secure satisfactory employment elsewhere, federal interest in supporting educational programs for needy students dissolved.

Allen reviewed the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps, describing it as "strictly a federal project with practically no state or local educational participation." Although the Corps was initially conceived as a relief and conservation program, it evolved into an educational program. Approximately 84 per cent of the Corpsmen had not completed high school and 48 per cent had not completed elementary school.

The educational and financial dimensions of the program are summarized by Allen:

> Of the over 3,000,000 men who were enrolled between January 1, 1934 and June 30, 1941, ninety per cent, over 2,700,000 had participated in some type of organized class or educational activity. Seventy-two per cent in academic classes; and 14 per cent in informal educational activities. In this period 101,125 illiterates were taught to read and write; 25,225 qualified for eighth grade diplomas; 5,007 for high school diplomas; and 270 for college degrees. Between 1933 and 1941 nearly three billion dollars was expended on the C.C.C. The highest yearly expenditure was $593,466,402 in 1936.[16]

Allen speculated that if World War II had not engulfed the United States the C.C.C. would have been continued as a permanent project of the federal government, thus maintaining a dual system of education--one operated by the states and the other by the federal government.[17]

The National Youth Administration was established in 1935 to extend the educational opportunities of the nation's youth and to equip them with skills which would enable them to find employment. The program provided work training for unemployed youth and part-time employment for needy students. Activities conducted by the N.Y.A. involved out-of-school work projects, which reached a peak employment of about 470,000 youths in February, 1941, and student work projects, which had a maximum employment of 482,000 students in April, 1940. The total annual federal allocations and appropriations for the N.Y.A. were at a maximum of $157,159,000 in fiscal 1941. The program was liquidated by January 1, 1944.[18]

Since World War II there has been a national concern about unemployed adults and a desire to conduct educational programs to increase the employability of those who are on welfare rolls. Such programs were supported through the Manpower Development and Training Act, through educational programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity and through the Elementary and Secondary Education Acts and amendments.

Adult education has received favorable attention from the last three presidents of the United States. In his education message to Congress on January 23, 1963, President Jonn F. Kennedy said:

> Ignorance and illiteracy, unskilled workers and school dropouts--these and other failures of our educational system breed failures in our social and economic system: delinquency, unemployment, chronic dependence, a waste of human resources, a

> loss of productive power and purchasing power and an increase in tax-supported benefits. . . . Failure to improve educational performance is thus not only poor social policy; it is poor economics. . . .
>
> Despite our high level of educational opportunity and attainment, nearly 23 million adult Americans lack an eighth-grade education. They represent a staggering economic and cultural loss to their families and the nation. I recommend again . . . a program to assist all states in offering literacy and basic education courses to adults.

But it was not for President Kennedy to see such legislation. It was 1964 before federal funds were provided for basic education under the Economic Opportunity Act.

In his education message to Congress on January 12, 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson said:

> Today, 70 per cent of our people live in urban communities. They are confronted by problems of poverty, residential blight, polluted air and water, inadequate mass transportation and health services, strained human relations and overburdened municipal services. . . . I recommend a program of grants to support university extension concentrating on the problems of the community.

To contribute to the solution of the urban problems President Johnson looked to the universities and their adult education programs for assistance.

On March 3, 1970, in his message on educational reform, President Richard M. Nixon said: "In September, the nation's chief education officer . . . proclaimed the Right to Read as a goal for the 1970's. Achievement of the Right to Read will require a national effort to develop new curriculums and to better apply the many methods and programs that already exist." All three presidents turned to education, and to adult education in particular, as an instrument to fight the battle for social and economic improvement.

A detailed report on federal efforts in adult education has been developed by Quattlebaum who has prepared comprehensive surveys of federal involvement in education.[19] Quattlebaum traces the inception of federal involvement in education to 1777 with the instruction of military personnel in mathematics. He observed that while general jurisdiction over education is the responsibility of the States, Congress has seen fit to appropriate funds for a wide variety of educational activities under the "general welfare" clause of the Constitution.

Education for national defense has been provided from the nation's beginning to train adult military personnel. In the twentieth century the federal government funded educational programs for the civilian population to increase its ability to support the war effort. The National

Defense Education Act of 1958 set forth the congressional policy of providing substantial assistance in various forms to individuals and to States and their subdivisions, in order to insure trained manpower of sufficient quality and quantity to meet the national defense needs of the United States.[20]

Federal programs for the promotion of programs of vocational education of civilians have included nautical education since 1874; in-service training of government personnel, at least since 1879; vocational education in the public schools, since 1917; and vocational education for the physically handicapped, since 1920.[21]

Support for the education of adults was provided for former military personnel. Although the practice of providing educational benefits for disabled veterans was established following World War I, it was at the end of World War II that the federal government adopted the policy of providing educational benefits to all veterans.

In 1964 congress enacted the Economic Opportunity Act which provided support for adult basic education programs. In 1965, adult education programs were given additional support by the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Higher Education Act, and by the Manpower Act. Most recently the congress has passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1969 which authorize a doubling of the level of federal support for adult basic education and which allow for the use of the funds to cover the costs of education through the twelfth grade where the elementary education needs have been met.

Justifications for government expenditures on education frequently are based on a desire to correct a social disorder. Programs for the elimination of illiteracy are seen as ways of changing "people who are now a burden on the community into productive workers."[22] The elimination of illiteracy is viewed as a necessary step in the eradication of poverty. Illiteracy is perceived as a contributing factor to social maladjustment and as an "aggravant to social ills."[23]

Unfortunately, those who are enthusiastic about the need to wipe out illiteracy must admit that specific measurements of the costs of illiteracy and the benefits which might be gained from its elimination are not available, but it seems certain that the elimination of illiteracy will prove a highly productive social investment in the United States.[24] Although the elimination of illiteracy would undoubtedly yield economic benefits, it is likely that the greatest improvements it might facilitate would be in the quality of the students' lives rather than in their increased earning power or in reduction in the public welfare rolls.

Although there are welfare recipients who do develop skills and secure employment as a result of participating in educational programs, the percentage of such persons in the total population of welfare recipients is negligible. An analysis of the May, 1968 welfare rolls for Cook County, Illinois shows that only about 4 per cent of the 293,812 persons receiving public assistance are potentially available for job training.[25] The Director of Public Aid for Cook County observed, "Only a massive expansion of

education programs, a massive expansion of training programs that recognize the limitations of these recipients, a massive expansion of day care facilities, and a greatly increased program of medical and psychological assistance will make available more and more people for education and training for a productive role in society."[26]

In February, 1968, a report of the Committee on Administration of Training Programs indicated that while 10,065,000 unemployed, underemployed and low skill adults including the disadvantaged and hard core unemployed were in need of education only 275,000 adults were estimated to be enrolled in MDTA related programs.[27] Programs specifically designed to serve welfare recipients were estimated to be reaching 51,400 adults in 1968 out of a target population of 1,326,000.[28]

There were 428,000 adults enrolled in adult basic education programs of the Office of Education and the Office of Economic Opportunity out of a potential group of 23,900,000. The data indicate that slightly over 2 per cent of the adults eligible for adult basic education were enrolled in the programs administered through the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and less than 0.5 per cent were enrolled in the adult basic education program of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Similarly, less than 0.5 per cent of the adults eligible for Manpower Development and Training Programs were enrolled. Should these programs be expanded to meet the need which has been identified there would have to be programs fifty to over one-hundred times larger than those now in existence. The present posture of state and federal programs is that the educational needs of these potential students are not to be met in their lifetime.

The federal provisions for adult education as recommended by the Congress are now at record levels and have been modified to correct some of the previous flaws. Title II B of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, later amended and renamed the Adult Education Act of 1966, set an unparalleled pace for federally supported adult education activities in the sixties. However, because this legislation provided support for only the first eight grades of schooling for adults many adult educators felt that the program was inherently a half-way measure. Senator Javits and Congressman Perkins sponsored legislation to correct the situation. As one of the 1969 Amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (P.L. 91-230) they made provisions for the secondary education of adults. The new act extends through fiscal 1972 and authorizes appropriations in excess of $200 million per year, approximately a four-fold increase over the 1970 appropriations.

Quattlebaum has prepared the most comprehensive compendia of federal policies, programs, proposals in adult education and public responses to them. He reviewed the recommendations of at least forty advisory commissions convoked by action of Congress to examine federal policies and programs in education. In his opinion the following are some of the principal adverse criticisms expressed in the reports:

1) that the federal government has never established a comprehensive policy or program for its educational activities, but has initiated policies of far reaching effect as mere

incidents of some particular attempts to induce an immediate and particular efficiency;

(2) that these policies are inconsistent and sometimes conflicting;

(3) that there is a deplorable lack of coordination of federal educational programs;

(4) that the federal government has engaged in overlapping and independent promotions of curriculums in highly specialized fields while neglecting the general curricular needs of the country; and

(5) that aggressive federal agencies have promoted their causes through education without regard to overall development of education.[29]

Despite the absence of an officially endorsed policy on support to adult education, Congress has acted consistently in making funds available to support adult education programs considered to be of public benefit. In the absence of a pressing national concern the attitude of Congress has been that adult education which is primarily for the benefit of the individual adult student should be paid for by the student. The states have followed essentially the same approach in providing adult education programs in the public schools.

ADULT EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Mann, former Chief of the Bureau of Adult Education in the California State Department of Education, traced the development of public school adult education in the United States. He reports that private adult evening schools existed in New York state in 1661. Additional private adult schools were established in Boston in 1724, Philadelphia in 1734, and in Charleston, South Carolina in 1744. In 1823, Massachusetts appropriated seventy-five dollars for an evening school and subsequently increased the level of support so that by 1854, the evening school was supported entirely by public funds. Louisville and Boston also opened evening schools in the 1800's. Although these evening schools were not designed primarily to serve adults, nevertheless, they did.

In 1847, Massachusetts adopted a law authorizing cities and towns to appropriate money for the support of schools for the instruction of adults in reading, writing, English grammar, arithmetic and geography. New York City was authorized by the state legislature in 1847 to conduct evening schools for males and to expend $6,000 a year for the program. By 1857, New York City was operating twenty-five evening schools five evenings a week.

The evening school movement started in the larger cities and the state legislation regarding such programs was permissive. By 1870, there were more than one-hundred evening high schools and evening elementary

schools in the United States. By 1900, one-hundred and sixty-five major cities had established evening schools whose major purpose was to meet the educational needs of adults.[30] However, not all needs were served with equal vigor.

Between 1900 and 1930, many of the states enacted legislation to encourage local school districts to provide education for (a) aliens, and (b) native born illiterates. New Jersey enacted legislation to promote Americanization classes in 1907. In 1914, Kentucky adopted a law to provide for the education of adult illiterates. Alabama, California, Kentucky, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Ohio and Oregon are among the states that adopted laws during the period relating to one or both of these types of adult education.[31]

State leadership was required to point out the need for and to legitimize adult education programs in the local school districts. In 1920, California established the first division of adult education as a basic part of public education within the State Department of Education. Within ten years five other states had established similar administrative units and in at least nine other states some full-time or part-time adult education personnel were hired by state departments of education.[32]

Twenty-one states had made some provisions for state aid by 1930, but only one-third of them provided funds for anything other than Americanization and literacy education. By 1946, seven states were providing substantial funds for local programs and for state leadership. By 1950, twenty-four states had adopted some provisions for state aid for general adult education and eight other states had enacted authorizing legislation but had made no appropriation.

At least five methods or combinations of these methods have been used as a basis for appropriating state aid:

1. Clock hours of attendance in classes for adults.

2. Class sessions with a prescribed sum for the teachers' salaries for each class session.

3. Actual costs of the program.

4. Specific grants for instruction or administration.

5. Matching basis for approved classes or other educational activities.[33]

Federal aid has, however, probably exerted a stronger influence than state aid in adult education in the public schools. The passage of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917 stimulated the development of vocational education both in the secondary and adult fields. This program produced the first systematic pattern of adult education in all states. The extent to which the program has succeeded in getting support from all levels of government can be illustrated by the fact that in 1946-47, the percentages

of expenditures for vocational education from federal, state and local sources respectively were 25.4, 26.6 and 48.0 per cents. Mann noted that a "relatively small federal subsidy is sufficient to stimulate substantial state and local appropriations."[34]

Public school adult education has moved through four phases of development since 1800 and is now in the fifth. In the first stage, which lasted until 1840, evening schools created to serve youth permitted adults to attend. In the second stage, lasting from 1823 to 1900, state legislatures recognized that adults want and need to learn and therefore enacted permissive legislation for adult evening schools. In the third stage, 1900 to 1920, the philosophy was established that some groups of adults need to learn for the good of society. This realization led to Americanization and vocational education programs. In the fourth stage, 1920 to 1934, states strengthened their adult education staffs within state departments of education, school systems began developing adult education administrative positions and the definition of adult education was broadened to include citizenship education. The fifth stage, as conceptualized by Mann, began in 1934. It is marked by increased professionalism on the part of the teachers and administrators, by the development of special training programs for leaders and teachers, by a broadening of the scope of the curricula to satisfy more of the adult learning needs, by increased state and local financial aid and by more dynamic professional associations.

Mann felt that the end of the fifth stage would be signaled when all states provide state aid; when all public schools make provisions for meeting the educational needs of adults; and when adult education is accepted as an integral part of the public system.[35] Although all states are engaged in providing adult education because of the matching provisions of federal legislation, they must also supply funds or contributions in kind. There is little evidence of any widespread commitment to the provision of learning opportunities for adults on a basis comparable to that for children and adolescents.

In 1951, the Division of Adult Education Service of the National Education Association estimated the total enrollment in public school adult education by extrapolating from data reported for eight-hundred and eighty city school systems with 1,218,460 enrollment to approximately 3,576 urban communities not participating in the study. The projected total was 3,344,256[36] which is appreciably larger than estimates obtained by other methods.

The types of adult participants in city school systems for cities of 2,500 or more persons were found to be as follows:[37]

Foreign born working on Americanization	7.5%
Illiterate seeking basic skills	2.0%
Unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled workers	26.3%
Business and office employees	17.6%
Professional people	5.8%
Housewives	24.2%
Physically or mentally handicapped	0.4%
Other	16.2%

In 1962, adult education classes in the public schools reached 1,740,000 adults.[38] Several years earlier Olds reported that although the adult program in the public schools involved over 80,500 teachers and 1,870 local administrative personnel, the cost of the program was 1.3 per cent of the total public school expenditures.[39] Adult education has never been a major focus of public school activity. Because the adult program has tended to be financially an insignificant part of school district budgets and because the programs have been run primarily by part-time directors, adult education tends to remain a minor concern of most school administrators.

In 1961, 7.2 per cent of the school systems having an adult program employed full-time directors.[40] The most recent survey of public school adult education in school systems having 12,000 or more regularly enrolled day students indicated 41.1 per cent of the three-hundred and thirty-eight districts having an adult program employed a full-time director.[41] The assignment of an individual full-time to the adult education program is perhaps the minimal evidence of school district commitment.

Districts having larger day-school enrollments are more likely to have adult programs.[42] In the districts having directors, one-hundred and forty-one were full-time and one-hundred and ninety-seven were part-time. Approximately 5.3 per cent of the teachers were employed full-time in teaching adults. On the average each director supervised one-hundred and twenty-five teachers who instructed 5,959 adult students. About one-third of the adult students were enrolled for credit: of the 2,014,043 students, 514,358 were seeking high school credit and 230,702 were seeking elementary credit, leaving 1,269,983 non-credit enrollments. Public school adult education has provided high school completion programs but in the larger programs, the emphasis has tended to be on the non-credit offerings.

Since 1965-66, the increase in the number of full-time directors has been great. In September, 1967, there were reportedly five-hundred and forty-nine full-time public school adult education directors in the United States based on returns from forty-three states.[43] The proliferation of full-time directorships can probably be traced to the expansion of federal support for special training programs especially adult basic education.

The National Education Association conducted a study of urban public school adult education programs and problems in the United States.[44] Based on returns from eight-hundred and thirty-eight of the 1,232 school systems in cities having a population of 30,000 or more, 37.8 per cent listed lack of funds as the most serious barrier to the development of an adequate adult education program. At that time, adult education expenditures by the local school district constituted 1.9 per cent of the day school budget.

The authors stated that "a new profession has emerged during the past decade--that of adult education director."[45] That the profession had not succeeded in emerging fully is revealed by the definition of director used: someone who gave 26 per cent or more of his time to the supervision of adult education.

In selecting persons to fill the post of director of public school adult education the majority of superintendents still appear to believe that the job can be handled satisfactorily on the marginal energies of a day school faculty member. London noted that in California directors are usually chosen from among those persons having experience both in teaching and in some administrative capacity at the secondary level. His examination of the backgrounds of public school adult education directors led him to conclude that appointment often seems unrelated to the de facto qualifications for administering an adult program.[46] The directorship of public school adult education may be approaching, but has not yet acquired, professional status.

In 1949, a study of one hundred evening schools in thirty-six states was published giving information on administrative, supervisory, instructional, and promotional practices.[47] The one hundred public evening schools were selected to represent a cross-section of evening schools in the United States having activities in at least three fields and serving at least one hundred adults during 1947-48. Information was collected through visits or interviews with the principals. Other methods were used to secure data on the fifty-seven schools which were not visited. Documents from all of the schools were examined.

Table 3 shows the sources of financial support for seventy-nine selected evening schools.

TABLE 3

PERCENT OF SUPPORT DERIVED FROM SPECIFIED SOURCES FOR 79 SELECTED EVENING SCHOOLS

	Fees from Students	Local Taxes	State Aid	Federal Funds	Other	No. of Schools
45 Schools in states with state aid for adult education	13.6	23.3	49.3	9.6	4.2	45
34 Schools in states with little or not state aid for adult education	29.8	41.8	3.0	16.7	8.7	34
California	1.8	19.8	63.8	6.9	7.7	12
Michigan	42.5	42.7	4.7	10.1	-	6
New York	8.4	8.4	80.4	2.8	-	13

Source: Homer Kempfer and Grace S. Wright, 100 Evening Schools, Bulletin 1949, No.4., Office of Education, Federal Security Agency (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949), p. 46.

In an attempt to determine the effects of different levels of state aid, Kempfer and Wright removed the data for all schools in cities with two or more public evening schools. After eliminating thirty-four schools, they developed Table 4 which shows the enrollment and expenditure data for the remaining sixty-six schools.

TABLE 4

PERCENT OF ADULT POPULATION ENROLLED IN EVENING SCHOOLS AND AVERAGE EXPENDITURE PER ADULT ENROLLED AND PER ADULT LIVING IN SELECTED COMMUNITIES

	Number of Schools	Percent of Adult Population Enrolled in Evening School	Average Annual Expenditure Per Adult Enrolled	Average Expenditure Per Adult Resident in the Community
Schools in States with State Aid for Adult Education	38	4.3	$20.36	$ .88
Schools in States with Little or no State Aid for Adult Education	28	2.6	$14.50	$ .38
California	9	14.6	$22.11	$3.23
Michigan	4	6.9	$ 5.63	$ .39
New York	9	6.8	$12.97	$1.30

Source: Homer Kempfer and Grace S. Wright, 100 Evening Schools, Bulletin 1949, No. 4, Office of Education, Federal Security Agency (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949), p. 47.

The thirty-eight schools in states providing financial aid to adult education enroll 65 per cent more of the adults in their communities than do the schools receiving no state aid. These thirty-eight schools also spend two and one-third times as much per adult in their communities as do the twenty-eight schools which receive no state aid.

The existence of state aid is usually associated with a low fee or no charge to the student. Table 5 shows the distribution of registration and tuition fees for state aided and non-state aided programs.

TABLE 5

REGISTRATION AND TUITION FEE DISTRIBUTION FOR
STATE AIDED AND NON-STATE AIDED PROGRAMS

Schools	No Fees	Registration Fees Only				Tuition Fees Per Course			
		$1.00	$1.50-2.00	$3.00-3.50	$4.00-5.00	$1.00-2.00	$2.00-6.00	$ 2.00-10.00	$10.00-25.00
State Aided	19	13	8	4	3	6	6	3	0
Non-State Aided	6	3	3	2	1	0	16	2	5

Source: Homer Kempfer and Grace S. Wright, 100 Evening Schools, Bulletin 1949, No. 4, Office of Education, Federal Security Agency (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949), p. 49.

Of the twenty-five schools having no fees, over three-fourths receive state aid. Kempfer and Wright reported that public adult evening schools can be found in approximately half of the communities having a population greater than 25,000 persons.[48] They concluded that increasing state support will lead to marked increases in participation.

A major limitation of this survey is that the audience for adult education was not treated in terms of its full socio-economic complexity. Neither was an effort made to estimate the response of various groups within the population to price changes for courses of different kinds. Accordingly, while it is possible to make gross generalizations from data which lack detail, the formulation of specific policies regarding public support for adult education cannot be done most intelligently without the detailed information on clientele response to price levels of different kinds of programs.

Previous studies of adult education finance in the public schools have not provided sufficient data on the interrelationships of the multiple variables involved to serve as a sound empirical base from which to develop public policy. Accordingly, it seems reasonable to review, in summary form, the grounds proposed to justify the involvement of the public schools in adult education before turning to the presentation of the structure of this report or a study of the supply-demand relationships of adult education in the public schools and their implications for public policy.

Justification for Public School Adult Education

Adult education may further the goals of the public schools in at least the following five ways:

1. It helps meet the educational needs which occur between completion or dropping out of full-time education and the integration of the young person into the responsibilities of adulthood.

2. It frees childhood education from some of the pressure of trying to crowd in all of the courses which will be needed throughout life.

3. It provides a second chance to many who, for various reasons, did not complete elementary or secondary education and who wish to achieve such a level of education which experience has shown them to be essential.

4. It interprets, perhaps indirectly, many of the advances in educational methods and subject matter designed to help people acquire knowledge and skills useful in solving their problems.

5. It helps adults become better parents and heightens their consciousness that the public schools belong to all the people.[49]

Although it may be demonstrated that adult education programs in a community are supportive of elementary and secondary education, that demonstration is not adequate grounds for advocating that the schools provide the adult education. There are, however, several commonly accepted justifications for the local public school district playing a major role in the provisions of adult education.

> The public school is, first of all, publicly supported by the same adult population that requires its services. Second, the public school has existing plant and personnel to teach and administer programs for adults. Third, as a recognized local educational resource, the public school is able to provide educational leadership to other educational activities for adults through a variety of relationships in the community.[50]

Even though one may question how well prepared elementary and secondary school teachers are to cope with the learning needs of adults, and even though one cannot safely assume that the public schools provide educational leadership in all communities, nevertheless, the position that the public school is central to the development of adult education is well founded.

But a logical justification for adult education in the public schools provides little guidance regarding the balancing of costs and benefits. Accordingly, this investigation was undertaken for the express purpose of providing a rigorous way of conceptualizing the cost/benefit situation, empirical data reflecting existing programs, and conclusions and recommendations regarding public policy for the financing of adult education in the public schools.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

Chapter I has presented historical data on the broad field of adult education and particularly on the role of the public schools. Consideration has been given to the influence of government policy on the ways in which the schools have been involved.

At this point, it is necessary to turn to the establishment of a framework for the analysis of public school adult education from an economic perspective. Chapter II is devoted to the presentation of a theoretical model for the study of the financing of adult education.

The methodology of the study is presented in Chapter III. Identification of the sample, development of the instruments, data collection, and analytical procedures are explicated.

State policies and programs are summarized and analyzed in Chapter IV.

Factors affecting the demand for adult education in the fifty school districts sampled are presented in Chapter V.

Curriculum, staffing, cost structure and related aspects of the supply of adult education are treated in Chapter VI.

Brief descriptions and comparisons among the public school adult education programs in Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles and New York are provided in Chapter VII.

A model cost-benefit analysis is developed for public school adult education in Chapter VIII, drawing upon the findings of the proceeding chapters.

Conclusions and recommendations for public policy regarding the financing of public school adult education are given in Chapter IX.

FOOTNOTES

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CHAPTER II

THE ECONOMICS OF ADULT EDUCATION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a theoretical basis for this study of the financing of adult and continuing education. The rationale is based on the concept that the public and private institutions responsible for the education of adults are service-producing agencies. The services which are produced may be consumed or they may be invested in the capabilities of individuals. The demand for adult education services is manifested in the amount and quality of services which people are prepared to purchase at a given price. Since education for adults is mainly voluntary, some idea of the degree to which these services are demanded can be judged by observing enrollments in various programs. Expressed demand for educational services is partly a function of the perceived consequences of such participation. The pragmatism of adult learners suggests that, in the majority of cases, adults engage in learning not for its intrinsic worth but as a means of achieving some other goal. Participation in adult basic education may well be a function not of the curriculum or the instruction but rather of the opportunities that become available to the person possessing an eighth grade diploma or a high school diploma. There may also be a potential demand for programs which are not currently offered.

Among the various segments of the total educational enterprise, adult education is unique; more than other levels of education, it may be purchased in the market place. Hence, the approach which this study takes is different from that taken in the other satellite studies of the National Education Finance Project. This study has wider implications than the field of adult education, since there is widespread current discussion of various ways in which elementary, secondary, and higher education can be made more responsive to market influence.

This study therefore provides an approach to educational planning which is different from that which is usually discussed in the literature of educational finance. Rather than use current enrollment ratios and age distributions to forecast future enrollments, the study examines the demand for adult and continuing education, and attempts to determine the effect on demand of various forces, some within the educational enterprise and some external to it. Such factors as state and federal legislation, local income and educational levels, and the present supply of educational services are examined in an attempt to identify the correlates of demand for adult education services.

The underlying assumption is that decisions concerning adult education are made by individuals. The aggregate of individual decisions

becomes the demand for various kinds of services in a given community. However, agencies of society can affect the decisions of individuals by increasing the supply of various kinds of opportunities, providing information about the availability of opportunities and about the value of adult education, or reducing the price to the purchaser of adult education. In this and the other chapters, the term "private demand" refers to the preferences and intentions of governing bodies, as expressed in legislation, administrative provisions, and funding; and the term "social demand" refers to the sum of private and public demand.

What follows is a discussion of adult and continuing education as a set of economic goods. This discussion constitutes the background for the study and for the subsequent consideration of policy alternatives.

ADULT EDUCATION AS AN ECONOMIC GOOD

After a period of partial neglect, economists have turned their attention to the study of education.[1] They see education as an embodiment in the human agent of productive capabilities. The more education a person has, the greater (on the average) are his earnings. Also a society with a high level of education tends, on the whole, to have a highly productive labor force. Much economic research has centered on the measurement of the costs and benefits, to the individual and to society, associated with obtaining additional amounts of schooling.[2]

However, economists also emphasize that education produces many benefits which cannot be measured in monetary terms. Education produces gratifications, both immediate and deferred, which can best be called consumption rather than investment. These kinds of benefits cannot readily be measured. However, most people agree that these less tangible, non-pecuniary outcomes of education are vitally important although they may not be regarded as major motives for participation especially among members of lower income groups.

The benefits of education are diffused through the entire society. The family of a student, his friends, his neighbors, and the country he lives in receive some of the advantages of his schooling. The presence of educated people in a society makes possible the availability of such amenities as high quality newspapers, literary journals, music, art, and drama. A concerned and informed electorate, one of the prerequisites of democratic government, depends upon an efficient educational system. Even in these troubled times, it is clear that a society based on an understanding of the law and a respect for it must also be an educated society. In a society undergoing rapid technological change, adult education is an important way of reducing structural unemployment.

Benefits which are received by third parties (other than the educator and his students) are called externalities or "neighborhood effects."[3] Many of these benefits are associated with the education of adults. Consider, for example, the training of a relief recipient. If this training results in his obtaining productive employment, so that he becomes a

taxpayer, other taxpayers will benefit. Adult education produced by agricultural extension courses may result in higher farm productivity and lower food prices. Those who are distressed by the existence of poverty benefit when adult education results in the redistribution of income, through up-grading the job qualifications of those in the lower income brackets.

Education for adults also produces many benefits which are directly beneficial to the individual. In this society, in which many economic decisions are decentralized, it is assumed that each individual allocates his resources in order to maximize his welfare, present and future. One alternative open to individuals is to purchase educational services. These services may produce immediate gratification, or may add to the person's capabilities to earn a living or to enjoy life more fully in the future. But these services must be founded on valid assumptions concerning the relationships between level of education achieved and the feasibility of accepting employment for which one is qualified if the salary is less than the welfare benefits being supplied.

Adult and Continuing Education as Investment

A major segment of the activities in adult and continuing education contribute to individual and social productivity and may therefore be regarded as an investment. The contribution may be either direct or indirect. Education contributes directly to income when the possession of a certificate indicating the completion of a given level of schooling permits an individual to obtain employment and income he otherwise could not obtain. It contributes indirectly through adding to a person's knowledge and skills, which can then be used to improve his productivity in the labor market. Our concern in the following section is mainly with these indirect contributions.

The contribution of adult education may take several forms. First, it may constitute an addition to an individual's existing skills. Second, it may be equivalent to the need for the owner of physical capital to take account of depreciation. The stock of knowledge possessed by a given individual tends to decrease over time (due to forgetting) and education is needed to compensate for this. Third, adult education may compensate for obsolescence, or the tendency for a given body of knowledge to become out-dated. Fourth, adult education may serve a socializing function by preparing a man to move from a particularistic to an universalistic society.

Much of the activity in adult and continuing education can best be regarded as providing increments to individuals' stocks of knowledge, and hence to their income-producing capabilities. Some activities may be considered as adding to the total number of years of schooling completed by an individual. Other activities are more specific, and result in the ability of the individual to perform such tasks as machine lathing or basket-weaving. On-the-job training programs which prepare people for more difficult and complex responsibilities than those they now hold fall into this category.

Not all education can be regarded as additive. At all ages and educational levels, considerable effort is required to permit people to remember what they have learned and to re-learn what they have forgotten. Knowledge and skills which are used at infrequent intervals are often lost, although re-learning may take much less time than the initial learning. In terms of human capital formation, forgetting is somewhat analogous to the depreciation of physical capital. Unless steps are taken to counteract forgetting, the knowledge base of individuals and society will diminish. Trained secretaries, for example, who return to work after raising a family, may need to go back to school to maintain their skills in typewriting and shorthand. More generally, some professional associations discharge in part their obligation to society by providing means whereby their members can continually renew their knowledge base.

A somewhat different concept is that of the obsolescence of knowledge; like physical capital, human capital can become out-dated. In fact, since ideas change more rapidly than physical structures, obsolescence in human skills and knowledge may take place more rapidly than in buildings and equipment. Obsolescence can become an important problem for people as well as for the institutions in which they live and work. The physician who is not up to date in his treatment may lose income as well as patients. The teacher whose skills are out-dated may be ineffective. The engineer who does not keep abreast of new developments will soon become unemployed. Companies which spend large sums for research may keep on the cutting edge of their industry and may adapt to change, while companies which continue to live on an out-moded idea capital may fail to survive. Clearly, one major purpose of adult and continuing education is to help individuals keep abreast of additions to knowledge and changes in technology. Such programs are often offered by business and industry and professional associations as well as by educational institutions.

Adult and Continuing Education as Consumption

The distinction between investment and consumption is important in the provision of adult education, since this distinction may affect the decision-making of individuals. Some courses are intended to produce skills which enable individuals to obtain more utility from their activities. A course in gourmet cooking for housewives or husbands, for example, develops skills which permit greater satisfaction to be obtained from a given expenditure for food. The utility to be gained from consumption-type courses is not confined to the learning period--it may enrich life for the future as well.

The decision to purchase investment-type courses is quite different from a decision to purchase courses which provide consumer satisfaction. Some people may elect both. It is not always possible to predict how an individual perceives a given course--what is investment for one may be consumption for another. However, individuals who are unemployed, who have little education, or who have low income may be so preoccupied with economic survival as to choose, on the average, courses directed toward

improving their economic status. Conversely, individuals who are employed, well-educated, and at a relatively high income level will show a tendency to enroll in consumer-type courses. Much of the data reported here applies the term investment to activities which have an economic return. This is a rather restrictive definition, since some investments provide a return, over time, of consumption-type benefits.

Education for consumption may also have third-party benefits, although these benefits may not be as visible as when adult education provides access to income producing employment. Individuals are affected by their neighbors' consumption patterns, in some communities these third-party benefits may be high enough to justify governmental subsidies of these courses.

THE AVAILABILITY OF ADULT AND CONTINUING EDUCATION

This section deals with the supply of adult and continuing education programs. Like the remainder of the chapter, the section deals mainly with education which is provided in a formal context. However, informal activities, such as the use of libraries and of educational television are sufficiently important to deserve mention.

While supply and demand are considered in different sections of the chapter, this does not imply that they can be separated. The assumption is that demand is affected by price (or tuition fees), income, and the preferences of individuals. However, demand is not independent of supply, since individuals are less likely to "want" programs which are not available. Furthermore, formal and informal advertising affect knowledge and preferences, and therefore influence demand; such advertising cannot occur in the absence of institutions involved in the provision of adult education programs.

There may also be an interaction between the nature of the demand and the manner in which education is supplied. Where education is demanded by individuals who expect private benefits, a wide range of agencies may supply the wanted services. Some of these agencies may be public, others private. Since the individual will, presumably, be willing to pay for the services he receives (only if he wants them), agencies may attempt to assess demand, provide appropriate services, and either make a profit or (at least) avoid a loss.

Private demand may be found in its purest form where courses are more in the nature of consumption (present or deferred) than investment. Persons who take a course in basket-weaving, which is designed to help them enjoy their leisure time, reap a private benefit. They will probably be willing to pay for the course, to the point where the cost to them is not greater than the benefit they perceive.

While educational activities often benefit the student or trainee, third-party benefits are also usually present. When an individual receives on-the-job training, benefits are derived by the employer and fellow employees. When a professional person upgrades his qualifications,

there are benefits to his clients. Training programs for the unemployed may benefit the entire society, through the additional taxes the now employable workers will pay, and through their contribution to the total national product but they may also be of questionable economic value in a pecuniary sense because of the poor articulation between educational programs and employment opportunities. Programs for the poor may also provide benefits to those who abhor poverty; educational programs for the chronically ill or the aged may also have a humanitarian appeal. The more widespread the third-person effects, the more willing a society will be to provide (or at least subsidize) educational programs for adults. Where specific agencies, such as businesses, the armed services, or the military receive benefits, they will be willing to provide programs.

An additional complication is the separation between the provision of services and the financing of programs. Government may be willing to subsidize services provided by other agencies. For example, business and industrial firms may, under some circumstances, receive government subsidies for on-the-job training. Some $299,000,000 was provided by the federal government for such training from August, 1963 through June, 1964. Because local school systems are organized to produce and deliver services, they are responsible for a large number of federal vocational and manpower training programs. Table 6 suggests the magnitude of federally aided vocational programs.

Magnitude of the Problem

In order to assess the population for which adult education is to be provided, it is necessary to examine its present attainments. Table 7 indicates the number of years of school completed by persons twenty-five years and over between 1940 and 1967.

The educational attainments of the population are rising, with a smaller proportion having less than five years of schooling, and a rapidly increasing proportion having at least four years of college. Although the percentage of the population having less than five years of education is decreasing, the absolute numbers of such persons still far exceed the availability of programs. Thus, the problem of ensuring minimum competence throughout the population is becoming somewhat less severe, although nearly half of the 1967 population had not completed high school. However, there is evidence that better educated people demand and need more continuing education than those who are less well educated. Hence, these data suggest a possible increase rather than a decrease in total demand.

It would be useful, at this point, to present some accurate statistics concerning the present extent of adult and continuing education activities. However, such statistics are not kept by any agency. Adult education is provided in many settings, both public and private. Public agencies often do not have accurate information, while private agencies do not report their educational activities. In the second place, questions of definition are a continuing problem. If the focus is with total enrollments, how can the problems of double counting which occur when an

TABLE 6

FEDERAL PROGRAMS OF VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Number of Teachers and Students

For year ending June 30. Includes Puerto Rico, Guam, and Virgin Islands. The post secondary program is an extension of the secondary program which enrolls only secondary school graduates or their equivalent.

Program	Teachers		Students (1,000)
	Full Time	Part Time	
Total, all programs	72,214	84,576	7,018
Adult	3,099	58,429	2,941
Secondary	54,923	15,061	3,533
Post Secondary	13,047	9,643	500
Special needs	1,145	1,143	74
Agriculture	9,060	8,996	935
Adult	185	6,885	413
Secondary	8,590	1,557	509
Post Secondary	246	242	8
Special needs	39	312	5
Distribution[a]	2,862	6,596	481
Adult	106	5,228	304
Secondary	2,461	1,037	151
Post Secondary	255	288	21
Special needs	40	43	5
Health occupations	3,014	2,245	115
Adult	58	1,233	43
Secondary	287	121	17
Post Secondary	2,655	862	54
Special needs	14	29	1
Home economics	18,375	15,696	2,187
Adult	778	12,651	685
Secondary	17,276	2,203	1,475
Post Secondary	134	291	4
Special needs	187	551	23

[a]Training in which workers engage in merchandising activities, are in contact with buyers and sellers in distributing goods or services, or are responsible for the management of such business.

TABLE 6 (Continued)

Program	Teachers		Students (1,000)
	Full Time	Part Time	
Office occupations	16,046	17,406	1,572
Adult	410	7,511	389
Secondary	13,531	7,168	985
Post Secondary	2,031	2,615	193
Special needs	74	112	5
Technical education[b]	4,779	5,733	266
Adult	173	3,409	140
Secondary	686	278	28
Post Secondary	3,910	2,012	97
Special needs	10	34	1
Trades and industry	17,422	27,484	1,491
Adult	1,387	21,195	966
Secondary	11,765	2,609	368
Post Secondary	3,765	3,332	124
Special needs	505	348	33
Other	656	420	(X)[c]
Adult	2	317	(X)
Secondary	327	88	(X)
Post Secondary	51	1	(X)
Special needs	276	14	(X)

[b]Training of highly skilled technicians in recognized occupations requiring scientific knowledge essential in fields relating to national defense.

[c]Not applicable.

Source: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education; Vocational and Technical Education, Fiscal Year 1967.

individual is enrolled in more than one program be eliminated? Financial data are also unreliable, due to a tendency to attribute overhead costs to other programs. Most difficult of all is the problem of accounting for the indirect costs of students' time. However, some fragmentary data is presented, supplemented by some information about specific agencies.

(1) The total population of the United States in 1967 was just under two hundred million. About one hundred and seven million were twenty-five years of age and over. Approximately six million adults had less than five

TABLE 7

LEVEL OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY PERSONS 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER, 1940 TO 1967

Year	Per Cent by Level of School Completed		Four or more years of college
	Less than 5 years of elementary school	Four years of high school or more	
1940	13.5	24.1	4.6
1950	10.8	33.4	6.0
1960	8.3	41.1	7.7
1964	7.1	48.0	9.1
1967	6.1	51.1	10.1

Source: Stanley Moses, "The Learning Force: An Approach to the Politics of Education." Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Research Corporation, March 1970, p. 15. (Mimeographed.)

years of elementary schooling. Over fifty million adults had not completed high school.

(2) The Bureau of the Census conducted a study of Participation in Adult Education which concluded that "in October, 1957, 8.3 million, or 7.8 per cent of the adults in the United States were estimated to have participated in adult education classes at some time during the preceding year."[4]

(3) The National Opinion Research Center conducted a national study of the educational activities of the adult population which concluded that "approximately twenty-five million American adults, more than one person in five, had been active in one or another form of learning during the twelve month period just prior to June, 1962. Fifteen per cent, or more than seventeen million were full time students, and close to nine million had engaged in independent study."[5] The types of activities engaged in and the degree of participation are described in Table 8. The study found that about 61 per cent of the adults interviewed had participated at some time in an adult learning activity.

(4) Wilbur Cohen presented a figure of twenty-five million as the total of participants in 1965 in "vocational, technical, and professional training outside the formal structure" and nineteen million as participating in more general activities of adult education.[6]

(5) In a recent study, Stanley Moses distinguished between the "core" of the educational system (including formal elementary-schooling and higher education) and the "periphery," which includes most of what is called adult

and continuing education. He estimates that 44.2 million people were involved in these programs in 1965. Large increases are predicted between now and 1975.

TABLE 8

ESTIMATED PARTICIPATION BY TYPE OF SUBJECT MATTER

Type of Subject Matter	Estimated Number of Persons
1. Job-related subjects and skills	9,020,000
2. Hobbies and recreation	5,470,000
3. Religion, morals, and ethics	3,820,000
4. General education	3,500,000
5. Home and family life	3,440,000
6. Personal development	1,700,000
7. Current events, public affairs, citizenship	1,080,000
8. Agriculture	320,000
9. Miscellaneous subject matter	970,000
Total	29,320,000

Source: Stanley Moses, "The Learning Force: An Approach to the Politics of Education." Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Research Corporation, March 1970, p. 20 (mimeographed). A more detailed presentation of this table will be found in Chapter I of this study, pp. 3-4.

TABLE 9

THE EDUCATIONAL PERIPHERY: ENROLLMENTS

The Educational Periphery	1940	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975
1. Organizational	8.2	10.2	10.9	13.0	14.5	21.7	27.4
2. Proprietary	2.5	3.5	3.5	4.0	7.8	9.6	18.1
3. Anti-poverty	-	-	-	-	2.8	5.1	7.0
4. Correspondence	2.7	3.4	3.5	4.5	5.0	5.7	6.7
5. TV	-	-	-	.01	5.0	--	10.0
6. Other adult	3.9	4.8	5.1	6.6	9.1	10.7	13.2

Source: Stanley Moses, "The Learning Force: An Approach to the Politics of Education." Syracuse, New York, Syracuse University Research Corporation, March 1970, p. 22. (Mimeographed.)

In explanation of this table, Moses writes as follows:

> Organizational education refers to the host of programs which take place under the auspices of organizations which conduct these activities as a part of their function of employing people. These programs are initiated in order to upgrade the capabilities of personnel, even when the content of the programs is not directly job related. The three broad groupings of organizational programs are those conducted by business, government, and the military. The types of programs may involve participation in formal job training programs, in classroom instruction provided by the organization during the working day, or in programs which take place outside the confines of the organization but which are undertaken under the sponsorship of the organization. The latter while still remaining under the employ of the sponsoring organization.
>
> "Proprietary" refers to educational programs administered under the sponsorship of private training schools which are not part of the "regular" educational establishment--hence the appellation "special schools" used by the Office of Education in describing such institutions. These schools are for the most part run for the purpose of profit. There are a number of associations of "proprietary" schools such as the National Association and Council of Business Schools and the National Association of Trade and Technical Schools. These Associations include schools which offer a wide variety of training programs ranging from air conditioning and airline personnel training to woodworking and X-ray technicians. However, these national associations do not claim to include all the activity taking place in this area, inasmuch as many individual schools do not meet their accrediting requirements.
>
> Our inclusion of "anti-poverty" programs under a separate heading is a reflection of the great growth which has taken place in the last few years in the types of educational programs which are directed toward the poor and unemployed. A new "educational system" of manpower activities has been instituted by government at all levels, although primarily through the subsidization of the Federal Government. Almost all of the programs instituted under the War on Poverty are educational in terms of program structure and the nature of services provided to participants. These programs are directed at those who have not benefited from the traditional programs of the Core. While all of the programs in the Periphery strive to impart various skills and knowledge to adult members of the community, most of the people involved in these programs have already at least a functional level of educational achievement which has enabled them to participate in the labor market and achieve some degree of success. In fact, according to extensive surveys of adult participation in education, there has been little involvement of the lower classes in adult education programs. The aim of anti-poverty programs is to involve that part of the citizenry which has been excluded from the main stream of American life--both from successful achievement on the job and from related social and cultural benefits.

"Correspondence" refers to all individual programs of instruction undertaken on an individual basis or as the result of involvement in an institutional setting. The primary service performed by correspondence courses is that they have provided the opportunity for individuals who ordinarily would not have access to formal programs of education to participate in self-directed programs of instruction which often lead to some form of certified accreditation. It has often been the means by which participants have been able to overcome deficiencies of formal education and thereby prepare themselves for entry into the labor market at a higher level or else to further themselves by becoming eligible for higher programs in "regular" educational institutions.

Correspondence learning takes place in all areas of American life and cuts across the boundaries of all the organizations in the Periphery. The Federal Government and the military; colleges and universities, religious organizations and vocational associations; all of these make use of correspondence courses as a means of welding together the interest of their members who may be spread afar and otherwise unable to participate in organized learning situations. They also satisfy the desire to learn on the part of those who do not have the time or inclination to participate directly in organized programs.

"Television" as a medium for involving mass numbers of people in educational programs represents the new frontier of growth for education. In discussing education via television, we are solely concerned with the activities of those enrolled in programs of instruction which are presented in a systematic manner and which allow for formal contact between the learner and the program. Our discussion, consequently, does not take into account the vast amount of learning which takes place through programs with educational content. Even within the prescribed limits of our interest, however, there still remains a vast area of dynamic ferment and growth which is currently occurring in the field of educational television.

"Other Adult" represents a residual category which encompasses those educational programs not included in other categories. Many of these programs take place in "regular" institutions of the Core, while many take place under a variety of private community auspices. Education for adults is a concern of community institutions and national associations such as libraries, museums, the Red Cross, Community Chest, settlement houses and Y's. There are also many educational programs conducted for the public by business as part of consumer education and service, and various programs initiated for adults by national organizations such as the Great Books Club and Foreign Affairs Study Institutes. Not included in our discussion are the large number of learners involved in programs sponsored by religious groups. Unlike most of the other programs which we have been discussing, these programs are culturally oriented and are not directly job related, although there may always exist some carry-over between the knowledge attained in these programs and an individual's vocational pursuits.[7]

(6) It is even more difficult to estimate total costs than to estimate enrollments in educational programs for adults. The programs are provided in numerous agencies, many of which do not conduct accurate internal cost analyses. Businesses, for example, sometimes submerge training costs in operational costs. School districts may charge off part of their adult program to their regular day program. Another complication is that the foregone earnings component of costs is greater for adult education than for elementary and secondary schooling.

Even if accurate total and average costs could be stated, they would not provide the full picture. Extreme variations exist, from the cost of attendance at a lecture series to the cost of a lengthy management training program. On-the-job programs seem to be especially costly. Mincer has calculated some estimates of on-the-job costs, as compared to regular schooling (Table 10). Extrapolating from these data it does not seem unreasonable to assume that the total cost of adult education programs approaches that for the elementary-secondary sector.

TABLE 10

AGGREGATE ANNUAL INVESTMENT IN TRAINING AT SCHOOL AND ON-THE-JOB, UNITED STATES MALES 1939, 1949, 1958, BY LEVEL OF SCHOOLING
(In $ Billions)

	1939			1949			1958		
Educational Level	School	Job	Total	School	Job	Total	School	Job	Total
	Current Dollars								
College	1.1	1.0	2.1	3.8	4.3	8.1	8.7	8.7	17.4
High School	1.8	1.4	3.2	3.4	3.8	7.2	8.4	3.8	12.2
Elementary	.9	.6	1.5	2.1	.9	3.0	4.5	1.0	5.5
All Levels	3.8	3.0	6.8	9.3	9.0	18.3	21.6	13.5	35.1
	1954 Dollars								
College	2.1	1.9	4.0	4.3	4.7	9.0	8.1	8.1	16.2
High School	3.5	2.7	6.2	3.8	4.2	8.0	7.8	3.5	11.3
Elementary	1.9	1.1	2.8	2.4	1.0	3.4	4.2	.9	5.1
All Levels	7.3	5.7	13.0	10.5	9.9	20.4	20.1	12.5	32.6

Source: Jacob Mincer, "On-the-Job Training: Costs, Returns, and Some Implications," Journal of Political Economy, LXX (October, 1962), p. 57.

Agencies providing Adult Education

Adult and continuing education is provided by many agencies. Some agencies are differentiated by function. Others compete against each other for students and resources. All in all, there is an impressive array of programs and courses which are offered in different kinds of situations. The individual can, where he is not constrained by his institutional affiliation, choose from among these offerings.

Two major caveats must be stated. First, some individuals are required to take training as a condition for retaining their present employment. On-the-job training which is offered as a prerequisite for employment within a given firm or programs for upgrading skills in the military are of this nature. Here, the individual's freedom of choice becomes limited, since the organization has an interest in the kinds of training he chooses.

A second limitation is provided by an individual's place of residence. In the major cities the variety of educational opportunities is such as to satisfy most people's preferences. Suburbanites can travel to take advantages of opportunities which are not provided in their immediate area. However, their costs rise because of travel time. Individuals living in rural areas or small towns have fewer educational opportunities. If the public school programs offered in these locations are also limited, the freedom of choice suggested above is significantly restricted.

Two other problems must be considered. The first is the difficulty many people have in obtaining information about educational opportunities. Often information is passed largely by word of mouth; those outside the regular communications network are unable to learn about the programs which might interest them. In the Johnstone and Rivera survey 55 per cent said they knew of at least one place adults could go to receive information; 33 per cent did not know whether or not such resources were available; and 12 per cent said they knew of no such places (Table 11). Knowledge of existing facilities is greater among those with higher educational attainment. Accordingly, participation by those who may be in the greatest need of education is more difficult to facilitate because those in the lower socio-economic group simply are not as familiar with their opportunities as are those more favored socio-economically.

The second problem is that programs often have prerequisites--either stated or unstated. There are many more opportunities for the college graduate than for the person who has not completed elementary school. Hence, adult education may often serve to increase rather than decrease differences among individuals.

Some work has been done toward estimating the enrollments in programs offered by various agencies. In particular, Malcolm Knowles published a set of estimates based on follow-up work done in 1925 and 1934 by Morse A. Cartwright and in 1950 by Paul L. Essett. These estimates (Table 12) reflect the problems we have in obtaining accurate information. However, with the exception of the Johnstone and Rivera study of 1962, better data are lacking.

TABLE 11

KNOWLEDGE OF ADULT EDUCATION FACILITIES IN COMMUNITY

Type of Facility	Foreign Language Instruction (Per Cent)		Any Other Instruction (Per Cent)	
Know of some places where adults can study		52		55
High schools	28		34	
College or university	27		25	
Vocational or business school	2		8	
College or university extension	5		7	
Community institutions	4		7	
Elementary schools	*		2	
Private schools	4		1	
All other facilities	6		1	
Say there are no such places ..		15		12
Don't know of any such places .		33		33
Total		100		100
Base		9,958		9,956
No information		6		8
Total (weighted)		9,964		9,964

*Less than 1 per cent.

Source: John W. C. Johnstone and Ramon C. Rivera, Volunteers for Learning: A Study of the Educational Pursuits of American Adults (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965), p. 201.

TABLE 12

ESTIMATED PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION
1924-1955

Type of Program	Enrollment (in thousands)			
	1924	1934	1950	1955
Agricultural Extension	5,000	6,000	7,000	8,684
Public Schools	1,000	1,500	3,000	3,500
Colleges and Universities	200	300	500	1,500
Private Correspondence Schools .	2,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Educational Radio and Television	500	5,000	6,000	5,000
Libraries	1,200	1,000	1,500	1,961
Men's and Women's Clubs	1,000	1,000	--	1,525
Parent Teacher Associations	15	60	--	350
Religious Institutions	150	200	--	15,500
Business and Industry	100	60	--	750
Labor Unions	13	15	--	850
Armed Forces	--	--	250	388
Health and Welfare Agencies	--	--	--	6,500
Others	4,681	6,156	10,000	2,000
Total	14,881	22,311	29,250	49,508

Source: Stanley Moses, "The Learning Force: An Approach to the Politics of Education," Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Research Corporation, March 1970, p. 19 (mimeographed).

DEMAND FOR ADULT EDUCATION

Programs of adult education are provided, as it were, in the market place. Various kinds of institutions produce and offer a wide variety of courses. Their success is measured, in part, by the number of people who enroll in these courses. Enrollment is a function of many separate decisions made by individuals. These decisions constitute, in total, the expressed demand for adult education. There is also a latent demand; in many instances, individuals would enroll for a course if such a course were available. The concern of this chapter is mainly with expressed demand. However, public policy should also be directed toward providing the kinds of information to potential clients which might lead them to engage in activities which have beneficial third party effects.

The benefits to education are obtained, in many cases, by third parties. These third party benefits (or externalities) have been discussed

previously in this chapter. Because of their importance, there is a social demand for education at all levels including adult education. This social demand is so important that governments often intervene, providing courses, and subsidizing attendance.

The effect of government intervention is to increase the quantity of adult education which is demanded. Adult education is seldom compulsory; one exception is when social welfare agencies require that their clients enroll in certain courses. In general, governments increase enrollments by increasing the supply of adult education, by providing courses and instructors, or decreasing the price, by the use of subsidies which result in decreased tuition fees, or negative tuition in the form of financial inducements to participate. This study therefore concentrates on examining private demand, and considers government subsidies in terms of their effect on private demand.

Private Demand for Adult Education Services

Economic theory suggests that demand for a good is a function of price, income, and preference. Other things being equal, an "average" individual will purchase more of a good at a lower than a higher price. Furthermore, if the object or service purchased is desired, an individual will buy more of it if he has a higher income. Finally, he will purchase more of those goods and services he prefers. These variables are important for the current discussion.

(a) The price to a purchaser of adult education includes tuition, and other out-of-pocket expenses, and indirect costs, such as foregone earnings. Again considering other things equal, the quantity of adult education which is demanded should increase as tuition costs decrease. This relationship is discussed in more detail in the following section and provides a basis for the analysis of data.

(b) Individuals with higher income may spend more for adult education than those with lower incomes. They may also have higher costs, since they may place a higher value on their time, due to the nature of foregone opportunities.

(c) Each individual may possess his own "preference function" which includes a valuation of educational services. Included in this function will be a preference for consumption or investment, and specific preferences with regard to courses.

These variables are valuable independent variables. One dependent variable in the analysis of demand will be enrollment. Because school systems vary in size, a ratio of enrollment to population is used as the demand variable. The purpose, in the empirical section of this report (Chapters 5 and 6) is to "explain" variation in demand, in terms of demand theory. This explanation will be used, in a final chapter, to develop policy recommendations.

Relationship Between Price and Demand

Social policy can be implemented by using government subsidies to change the tuition rates, and by changing the availability of programs. Income and individual preferences are largely beyond the control of adult educators, although a strong program may have some effect on the tastes or preferences of the individuals in a given community.

The relationship between price and demand is called elasticity. If tuition changes cause a large change in enrollment, demand is said to be elastic with respect to price. If tuition changes leave enrollment unchanged, demand is said to be inelastic with respect to price. The concept of elasticity is useful in considering total enrollments, enrollments in various kinds of courses, and enrollments in different institutions.

(a) Total enrollments may in some cases be affected by tuition changes. An example of this phenomenon is the state of Michigan where, prior to 1964, there was an average charge of $20 to $30 per course for adults enrolling in high school courses. In 1964-65 state aid became available, and tuition fees were discontinued. Subsequently, enrollments rose substantially, and the number of school districts offering adult high school courses almost doubled in two years (Table 13).

TABLE 13

ADULT ENROLLMENT IN HIGH SCHOOL COURSES IN MICHIGAN

Year	Enrollment
1961-62	31,334
62-63	32,000
63-64	30,746
64-65	36,000
65-66	51,777
66-67	65,000

Source: State of Michigan, Bureau of Adult Education

Olds' study provides further support for the notion that the demand for adult education is elastic with respect to price. Olds found greater participation among low income people in communities where the schooling was free than in communities where tuition was charged; conversely, he found that greater

participation of higher income people was associated with tuition schools than with free schools. Johnstone and Rivera found that a majority of persons from lower socio-economic levels cited finance as a major obstacle to their participation in adult education activities.

(b) The distribution of enrollments among program areas may be related to tuition fees. There is little published data on this subject. This analysis is designed to illuminate this question.

(c) Where similar programs are offered by competing institutions, tuition fees may be a factor in determining where adults will enroll. This is a particularly critical issue when junior colleges and public school systems offer competing programs. The pattern of state aid may have an important effect on decisions to enroll in one or the other institution.

In summary, tuition structures may affect whether individuals enroll for adult education programs, which programs they select, and which institutions they choose. Tuition structures are in turn a result of the decisions of legislative and administrative agencies. These agencies are, presumably, affected by considerations of social demand.

Social Demand for Adult Education

Economists agree that education provides benefits for others in addition to the individuals who enroll in programs. Hence, if decisions concerning education were left to the individual and his family, the total investment would be less than optimal. This argument is therefore used to justify government subsidies for education.

Arguments for government subsidy of education often refer most explicitly to the elementary-secondary sector. It is often assumed that college students reap a sufficient benefit from their studies to justify their paying a considerable part of the cost of their own education. The same assumption is often made in case of adult and continuing education. This assumption may sometimes be justified. For example, a consulting engineer may justify spending a considerable portion of his time and sizable sums of money on adding to his competence, on the basis of the additional fees he may charge. However, there are many cases where social benefits are so extensive as to warrant substantial subsidies for adult education.

(a) Our economy is highly dependent on a well-trained and flexible work force. In a period of rapid technological change, new skills are constantly required. If the supply of individuals for new kinds of jobs is less than the demand, bottlenecks are created, which will interfere with the orderly growth of the economy.

There are, therefore, strong arguments for governmental subsidy of manpower development programs. Such programs encompass a

wide variety of offerings, from the on-the-job training programs offered in many industries to programs offered by secondary schools, junior colleges, and vocational schools. Programs for training the so-called "hard-core unemployed" also fall into this category.

(b) There is a wide range of social benefits in connection with the use of education to reduce income differentials and to alleviate poverty. Such programs have numerous justifications. From an economic standpoint, there are benefits to the use of education in helping individuals become productive citizens. When a man or woman becomes a wager-earner, he or she adds to the total product, and becomes a taxpayer rather than a recipient of welfare. Some programs can be justified, in whole or part, on this basis.

Another justification for programs for low income adults is that low educational levels for large numbers of people cannot be accepted in a functioning democracy. Communication is important in maintaining a socially-integrated society, and effective communication depends upon literacy. One kind of communication is that involved in keeping individuals aware of income tax laws, and permitting them to fill out their tax returns. In an illiterate society, the personal income tax would be impossible.

Many people hold value judgments which are antithetical to the existence of large differences in income among the parts of the total society. The present level of poverty, while obviously acceptable in some quarters, arouses revulsion among some sectors of our population when its effects are made known to the public. One way of reducing poverty is through education; adult education programs can be justified, in part, on their success in increasing the educational level of under-educated adults.

(c) As noted above, consumption-oriented courses also often have social as well as private relevance. Ways in which educational agencies might stimulate the offering of such courses are discussed in the final chapter.

The above analysis has important implications for the research to be reported here, and the questionnaires were developed with this theoretical approach in mind. The data analysis is also influenced by the above rationale. Finally, our policy recommendations are related to the approach taken in this chapter.

FOOTNOTES

[1]See Mark Blaug, Economics of Education: A Selected Annotated Bibliography (London: Pergamon Press, 1966). Also, Mary Jean Bowman, "The Human Investment Revolution in Economic Thought," Sociology of Education, XXXIX (Spring, 1966), pp. 111-137.

[2]For example, see Theodore W. Schultz, The Economic Value of Education (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963). Also, Gary S. Becker, Human Capital (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964).

[3]See Milton Friedman, "The Role of Government in Education," in Capitalism and Freedom (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

[4]Reported by Stanley Moses, "The Learning Force: An Approach to the Politics of Education," Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Research Corporation, March 1970, p. 19 (mimeographed).

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid., p. 20.

[7]Ibid., p. 29.

CHAPTER III

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Two considerations guided the development of the research design and the selection of an appropriate methodology for this satellite study. First, the conceptualization of the problem in terms of the economic theory of demand directed the thrust of the inquiry and is reflected in the data collection instruments. Second, the recommendations of the National Educational Finance Project central staff, which was concerned with compatibility among the Satellite Projects, materially influenced both the selection of states and school districts. The purpose of this chapter is to outline the research procedures used in this study.

SAMPLE

A two-stage procedure was used to select the sample of school districts. The first stage involved the selection of ten states. The second stage comprised the identification of five school systems within each state.

Selection of States

Initially, the study team developed the following criteria to guide the selection of the sample states.

1. Geography -- There should be representation of each of the four geographical areas in the United States: Northeast, North Central, West, and South.

2. Per Capita Income -- There should be representation of the range of state per capita income.

3. State Support of Education -- There should be representation of the range of state per pupil expenditures in the public schools.

4. Population -- There should be representation of the range of state populations.

5. State Level of Education -- There should be representation of the range of state median education levels in terms of the median school years completed by persons twenty-five years old and over.

6. Urbanization -- There should be representation of the range of urbanization in terms of the percentage of urban population in each state, as defined by the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

7. High School Equivalency -- There should be representation of the range of state requirements for high school completion in terms of such factors as classroom hours and equivalency tests.

Professor William S. Griffith enlisted the following five authorities in adult education to serve as final consultants on sample state selection.

Dr. Donald G. Butcher, Coordinator
Adult Education and Community Service Programs
Michigan State Department of Education

Dr. J. Kenneth Cummiskey, Director
Community Services Project
American Association of Junior Colleges

Mr. Paul Delker, Director
Division of Adult Education Programs
U.S. Office of Education

Mr. Robert A. Luke, Director
Division of Adult Education Service
National Educational Association

Mr. Joseph A. Mangano, Chief
Bureau of Continuing Education
New York State Education Department

On the basis of their extensive knowledge of the field of Adult Education, these men were each asked to nominate twelve states possessing the features specified in the criteria. The following ten states comprised the final sample.

1. California
2. Florida
3. Illinois
4. Maine
5. Michigan
6. Mississippi
7. New Jersey
8. New York
9. North Carolina
10. Texas

Selection of School Districts

Since a considerable amount of information was needed from each district to answer the central questions of the study, only a limited number of districts could be realistically included in the survey. On the other hand, since the district was the unit of analysis, a sufficient number was required to permit more than just descriptive analysis. Consequently, the number of school districts in each state was set at five, making a total of fifty school systems.

Professor Griffith formed an advisory panel on the development of criteria for the selection of school districts within the sample states. The following served as consultants in this area.

Dr. Edgar J. Boone, Professor
Adult Education
North Carolina State University

Mr. James A. Dorland
Executive Secretary
National Association for Public School Adult Education

Dr. Malcolm S. Knowles, Professor
Adult Education
Boston University

Dr. Burton Kreitlow, Professor
Adult Education
University of Wisconsin

Dr. Jack London, Professor
Adult Education
University of California, Berkeley

Mr. Joseph A. Mangano, Chief
Bureau of Continuing Education
New York State Education Department

Dr. Anita L. Martin, Consultant
Adult Education
Weston, Massachusetts

Dr. Howard McClusky, Professor
Adult Education
University of Michigan

Mr. Elmer A. Mueller
State Director of Adult Education
Minnesota State Department of Education

Dr. Wayne Schroeder, Professor
Adult Education
Florida State University

Mr. Curtis Ulmer, Professor
Adult Education
University of Georgia

Mr. Clyde Weinhold, Director
Bureau of Adult Education
New Jersey State Department of Education

The advisory panel developed the following criteria for the selection of school systems within each state.

1. Population--Districts ranging from large cities to small towns.

2. Community Wealth--Districts ranging from high to low on an assessed valuation per pupil scale.

3. Industrial Mix--Districts with a single dominant industry, those with a heterogeneous industrial base, and those with little or no industry.

4. Ethnic and Racial Mix--Districts which are homogeneous with respect to race and ethnicity and those composed of several discreet sub-populations.

5. Educational Level--Districts with high average levels of education and districts with low average levels of education.

6. Unemployment--Districts with high and low levels of unemployment.

7. Educational Opportunities--Districts having a great variety of different institutions providing adult education opportunities and those in which the public school is the dominant institution.

8. Federal Support--Districts which have sought federal and other special funds and those which have consciously avoided using such sources of program support.

Using the criteria formulated by the advisory panel of consultants, the Chief State School Officer for Adult and Continuing Education in each of the ten states recommended the following districts for inclusion in the sample of school districts for study:

CALIFORNIA

1. Los Angeles Unified District
2. Oakland Public Schools
3. Palo Alto Public Schools
4. Sacramento Public Schools
5. Stockton Public Schools

FLORIDA

1. Dade County Public Schools (Miami)
2. Broward County Public Schools (Ft. Lauderdale)
3. Gadsden County Public Schools (Quincy)
4. Hillsborough County Public Schools (Tampa)
5. Pinellas County Public Schools (St. Petersburg)

ILLINOIS

1. Bloomington Public Schools
2. Chicago Public Schools
3. East St. Louis Public Schools
4. Maine Township High schools
5. Rockford Public Schools

MAINE

1. Biddeford Public Schools
2. Lewiston Public Schools
3. Portland Public Schools
4. Presque Isle Public Schools
5. Van Buren Public Schools

MICHIGAN

1. Cassopolis Public Schools
2. Detroit Public Schools
3. Manistique Area Schools
4. Midland Public Schools
5. Muskegon Heights Schools

MISSISSIPPI

1. Carroll County Schools
2. Hinds County Schools
3. Houston Separate School District
4. Itawamba Junior College
5. Meridian Junior College

NEW JERSEY

1. Fair Lawn Public Schools
2. Maplewood Public Schools
3. Newark Public Schools
4. Vineland Public Schools
5. Wayne Public Schools

NEW YORK

1. New York City Public Schools
2. Newburgh Public Schools
3. Niagara Falls Public Schools
4. Rochester Public Schools
5. White Plains Public Schools

NORTH CAROLINA

1. Central Piedmont Community College (Charlotte)
2. South West Technical Institute (Sylva)
3. Lenoir Community College (Kinston)
4. Forsyth Institute (Winston-Salem)
5. Robeson Technical Institute (Saint Pauls)

TEXAS

1. Fort Worth Independent School District
2. Houston Independent School District
3. Laredo Independent School District
4. McCamey Independent School District
5. West Texas Education Service Center

Once the school districts had been identified by the Chief State School Officer, the professional adult educators associations in each of the ten states were contacted to validate the recommended school districts. Their judgments upheld the initial selection.

Instrumentation

Data collection required the development of two questionnaires. The first (Data Form I) was the main questionnaire and was administered to the director of adult education in each participating school system. This questionnaire sought data on the community adult education courses, enrollment, revenues, expenditures and decision making. A pilot study was carried out in a large district selected from the sample to test the feasibility of the instrument. Contingent on this pilot study, a number of changes were made and the questionnaire was reduced in size.

Several comments about the questionnaire are worthy of mention. In the interest of comparability with the other satellite projects, average daily membership of the school district was requested rather than average daily attendance. The director was asked for estimates of demographic

data. In view of the economic orientation of the study, courses were classified by the director either as investment courses (Category I), mixed investment-consumption courses (Category II), or consumption courses (Category III), according to criteria specified in item No. 19 of the questionnaire (attached). More elaborate categories were rejected on the grounds of complexity and in the light of the theoretical considerations of the study.

The second questionnaire, the mini-questionnaire (Data Form II) was designed to gather data on socio-economic characteristics of selected course participants, together with a measure of their motive for taking the course and their willingness to pay for the course. The mini-questionnaire only contained ten items to enable course participants to complete it in five minutes of a regular course session. Copies of both questionnaires may be found on pages 54 and 63 of this chapter.

DATA COLLECTION

Two phases of the data collection occurred simultaneously. These involved collection of data from the State Department of Education and from the five school systems in each of the ten sample states. The third phase concerned collection of data from the other forty state Departments of Education. The fourth phase was the administration of the mini-questionnaire to participants in a sample of courses.

School Systems

Clearance to proceed with the study was first gained at the state level by letters to the state commissioners of education. After permission was received, the superintendents of the fifty districts were contacted by letter to request their cooperation and the name of the official responsible for adult and continuing education in their district. Letters were sent to the adult education directors in each district explaining the study. A member of the research team then arranged a personal appointment, usually with the director, to apprise him of the objectives of the study, to resolve any difficulties with the questionnaire and to seek his cooperation in completing the questionnaire as accurately and fully as possible. Follow-up letters and long distance phone calls were used to prompt return of the questionnaire. Thirty-eight districts, 76 per cent of the sample, provided usable responses. Of the remaining twelve, six districts did not respond and six returned incomplete and substantially unusable questionnaires. No systematic bias was evident in the twelve districts deleted from the analysis.

State Departments of Education

Concurrent with the personal visits to the school districts, study personnel visited the Department of Education in each of the ten sample states to gather detailed information on state legislative and administrative provisions together with financial data on state adult and continuing education activities.

In addition, the same data were requested from the remaining forty states by mail (Data Form III). Twenty-nine states returned the requested information by mail. Ten states provided basic information over the phone. Only one state neither returned the requested materials nor provided the information over the phone.

The Mini-questionnaire

The mini-questionnaire (a small, five minute instrument) was designed to provide basic information about course participants. The instrument was administered by the adult education directors in nine school systems in five states. Two school systems were selected in each of Illinois, Maine, New Jersey and North Carolina. One school system was selected in New York. These systems were deliberately selected on the basis of the speed with which the directors had completed and returned the main questionnaire. It must be noted that the sample is heavily biased since the states are exclusively located in the north central, northeastern and southeastern regions of the United States. This bias is reflected in the racial composition of the respondents. In the total of eight hundred and twenty-two respondents, six hundred and sixty-six were white Americans, sixty-five black Americans and thirty-two all other ethnic groups.

Five or six courses were identified in each school system. A range of courses was chosen to represent both investment, mixed, consumption courses. The courses reflected a variation of fees and a range of enrollments.

DATA ANALYSIS

Data from both questionnaires were coded and then key-punched onto computer cards. The University of Chicago version of the package computer program 'Data Text' was used to provide frequency distributions of the categorical data, means and standard deviations of the continuous data, and summary measures of the information collected on individual courses.

The second step in data analysis involved the bivariate tabulation of relationships suggested by the theoretical considerations of the research. Such bivariate relations included continuous variables such as dollars and numbers of people, discrete variables such as course type and degree specialization, or a combination of both. In the continuous case, the data provided a number of opportunities to apply the regression model, using the University of Chicago version of the package program 'Snap'.

DATA FORM I

COMMUNITY DATA, COURSES, STUDENTS, REVENUES,

EXPENDITURES, AND DECISION-MAKING

1. School District Name _____

2. School District Address _____

3. Name of School District Superintendent _____

4. Type of School System (City, County, District, etc.) _____

5. Grades in School System (K-8, K-12, K-14, etc.) _____

6. Number of School Buildings in System _____

7. School district average daily membership for full-time day students in 1968-69 _____, in 1964-65 _____.

8. School district's per pupil expenditure in 1968-69 _____

9. What was the total enrollment in your adult education program for each of the following years?

   1964-65 _____ 1965-66 _____

   1966-67 _____ 1967-68 _____ 1968-69 _____

10. What were the total expenditures in your adult education program for each of the following years?

    1964-65 _____ 1965-66 _____

    1966-67 _____ 1967-68 _____ 1968-69 _____

11. Please estimate:

    A. The total population of your school district _____

    B. The total adult population (over 18 years) in your school district.

    _____

    C. The percentage of enrollees in your program who reside outside your school district _____

    D. Number of square miles in your school district area _____

E. The average level of education (last year of school completed) for adults in the school district area _____.

F. The average household income in your school district area _____

G. Per cent of ethnic and racial groups in your school district area:

(1) Black American %____ (4) American Indian %____

(2) Mexican American %____ (5) Other _____ %____

(3) Puerto Rican and Latin American %____

12. How many years have you been the director or supervisor of adult education in your school district? _____

13. What is the highest degree you hold:

None_____ Bachelor's _____ Master's _____ Doctor's _____

Other (Specify) _____

14. Subject major or area of specialization _____

15. Were you hired from inside _____ or outside _____ the school district for this position?

16. What is your age? _____

17. What is your total annual salary? _____

18. Give the number of full-time equivalent professional staff, including yourself, who worked on the adult education program in your district during the 1968-69 school year (do not include teaching, clerical, or secretarial). Your answer for each of the five categories below may be zero, a fraction, a whole number, or a mixed number. For example, if you are working full-time on the adult education program, the answer for "Director" would be "1". If you have one half-time administrative assistant, the answer to "Other Administrators" would be "1/2". If you have three half-time counsellors, the answer to "Counsellors" would be "1-1/2".

	Full-time Equivalents
A. Director	_____
B. Other Administrators	_____
C. Librarians	_____
D. Counsellors	_____

E. Other Specify _____ _____

TOTAL FULL-TIME EQUIVALENT STAFF _____

19. The course information requested, on Page 57, is for the 1968-69 school year. This is the most time-consuming part of this questionnaire. Most of the information, however, can be recorded by a secretary. We ask that you or some other knowledgeable person record the information in the first column from the left. In this column you will classify every course in your 1968 -69 adult education program into one of three categories according to the following criteria:

(1) Those courses which are primarily addressed to the economic needs of students. These courses would enable a student to get a job, get a better job, get promoted, or earn more money. They would include basic elementary skills such as reading or arithmetic, courses which are part of a program leading to a high school diploma, college credit courses, vocational courses, and others.

(2) Those courses which are addressed to both the economic and personal needs of students. A course in personal grooming might fall in such a category as might a course in furniture upholstering (some students might be interested in developing a hobby while others might want to acquire a vocational skill). This category is for courses which seem to fall more or less midway between Category (1) and Category (3).

(3) Those courses which are primarily addressed to the personal needs and interests of students--bridge playing, fly casting, gourmet cooking, and other courses which, for the vast majority of students, seem to have few if any implications for employment, promotion or earning capacity.

Category (1)(2)(3) according to criteria on pages 55 and 56	Name of course (Please remember to enclose brochure or catalogue of course offerings)	Total hours per term or semester	Number of terms or semesters offered during 1968-69 year	Teacher's Salary (hourly rate)	Tuition cost or student fee for one student for one term or semester	Total number of students enrolled in course (include all terms or semesters) for 1968-69 school year

20. Please provide information about federal revenues received for your adult education program during the 1968-69 school year. If the information for any of the next four questions is available in written form, please send us a copy rather than fill in the spaces provided for the questions. The following are Public Law classifications:

PL 87-27 Area Redevelopment Act	PL 89-750 Elementary and Secondary Education Act--TITLE IV
PL 85-531 Cooperative Research Act	
PL 88-452 Economic Opportunity Act--TITLE Ia	PL 81-920 Federal Civil Defense Act
	PL 79-586 George-Barden Act
PL 88-452 Economic Opportunity Act--TITLE IIa	PL 87-415 Manpower Development and Training Act
PL 88-452 Economic Opportunity Act--TITLE IIIb	PL 85-864 National Defense Education Act--TITLE VII
PL 88-452 Economic Opportunity Act--TITLE V	PL 64-347 Smith-Hughes Act
	PL 88-210 Vocational Education Act
PL 89-10 Elementary and Secondary Education Act--TITLE I	PL 89-333 Vocational Rehabilitation Act--Section 4
PL 89-750 Elementary and Secondary Education Act--TITLE III	Other Grants or Loans (Specify Public Law and Title or Section)

Federal Funds--Indicate Public Law and Title or Section	Amount
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
TOTAL	_____

21. Please provide information about State revenues received for your adult education program:

A. State aid provided directly to adult or continuing education (not provided for any specific adult education purpose and not provided through the general fund of the school district). Explain how the amount is computed (fixed rate per enrollee, ADA, etc.).

Explanation	Total Amount
_____	
_____	
_____	
	$ _____

B. Categorical State aid provided for a specific adult or continuing education purpose. List category (vocational training, adult literacy, etc.) and amount.

Category	Amount
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

22. Please provide information about Local revenues received for your adult education program (include State Aid to the general fund which is allocated to the adult and continuing education program).

	Amount
A. General Fund Revenues	_____
B. Special Local Tax to Support Education	_____
C. Student tuition or fees	_____
D. Other (Foundation grants, gifts, etc. Please specify)	
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
TOTAL	_____

23. Please provide the following expenditure information about your adult education program for the 1968-69 school year.

	Amount
A. Director's Salary	$ _____
B. Other Administrative Salaries (do not include clerical, librarians, or counsellors)	_____
C. Teachers' Salaries	_____
D. Clerical Salaries	_____
E. Counsellors' Salaries	_____
F. Librarians' Salaries	_____

		Amount
G.	Custodial Salaries	$ _____
H.	Personnel Expense Allowances	_____
I.	All other expeditures	_____
	TOTAL	$ _____

24. We are interested in how adult education decisions are made in your school district and who makes them. We are particularly interested in how these decisions relate to adult education programs or courses, personnel, students, revenues and expenditures. With this statement in mind, please answer the following questions with a few sentences or a paragraph:

A. Who decides what new courses will be added to the adult education program--the Director of Adult Education, the Board of Education, the Superintendent, people or agencies in the community--or some combination of these people or agencies. If the decision-makers are different for different kinds of courses, please explain the differences.

B. What is the basis for deciding what new courses will be added to the adult education program. (It might be helpful here to think of the last two or three courses which have been added to the program or the next two or three courses which may be added.) Are the courses added because of anticipated high enrollments, because of a community social need perceived by the Director of Adult Education or some other person or agency, because of the incentive of federal or state revenues, because of a request of a teacher, or some other reason. Again, if your answer shows variation on the reasons for offering courses or the people involved, please try to explain the variations.

C. Who decides what teachers will be hired to teach adult education courses? How are the teachers selected--by seniority in the day school program, by general ability, special skills or some other criteria?

D. Who sets the student fee or tuition rate for adult education? What factors are taken into account when the rate is set?

E. Who determines teachers' salary levels in the adult education program? What factors are taken into account in determining these levels?

F. Who determines what additional revenues (federal funds, foundation grants, etc.) will be sought for the adult education program? For what purpose are these revenues generally sought?

G. Who determines the program promotion strategy for adult education? Describe that strategy (what kinds of people are you trying to reach and for what purpose?). What determines the level of funds allocated for promotion of the adult education program?

H. Did you have a surplus in your adult education program last year? If so, what was the amount? How was it utilized or disposed of? Why?

I. What charges are assessed by the school district to the adult education program? Is there a fixed percentage charged for overhead? If so, what is that percentage and how is it determined?

DATA FORM II

CHARACTERISTICS OF COURSE PARTICIPANTS

Instructor's Information

Please find enclosed 25 five-minute questionnaires. We would like you to administer them to your class.

Background:

These questionnaires are part of a large educational finance study. We at the University of Chicago have undertaken the adult education part of the project and have selected 50 school districts for study. The basic question we are asking is, "What are the effects of different kinds of financing on enrollments in adult education programs?" The immediate purpose of the questionnaire is to find out what kinds of people enroll for various types of courses.

Directions:

1. Please explain the background.

2. Please hand out one questionnaire to each student.

3. Please mention that because of the information they are giving is private, it will be regarded as confidential.

4. Check to see that the directions are understood. (We have tried to keep the wording as simple and clear as possible.)

---

1. Please give us your opinion on the question: (check one)

   For whom was this course primarily intended?

   ___ a. for those people who would attend to get a job, to get a better job, or to make money.

   ___ b. for those people who would attend to get both better jobs, more money, and enjoyment too.

   ___ c. for those people who would attend to get enjoyment (not to make money).

2. Please indicate the names of:

   Your school district: _____

   Your city and state: _____

This course: _____

3. What is the tuition or student fee, if any? _____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

MINI-QUESTIONNAIRE

We are asking you to help us by providing a few facts about yourself for a finance study in adult education. Groups of people all across the country are taking part so that we may gather some badly needed information. We would appreciate your cooperation very much and it will take you only about five minutes to answer the ten questions below. Since your answers are confidential, please do not write down your name.

How to answer:

Here is a sample question:

2. When was your car made: [21]

1. 1970
2. 1969
3. between 1966 and 1968
4. before 1966

If your car was made in 1967, then you would choose answer number 3, and put that number in the box on the right: [21] 3

Don't worry about the 21; it is only to help us keep track of your answer.

Here are the questions:

1. What was your main reason for taking this course? [11]

1. to get a job, to get a better job, or to earn more money
2. both for money and for enjoyment
3. for enjoyment (not for money)

2. If the tuition cost or student fee for this course were twice as much, would you have enrolled for this course? (if the course is free, leave blank) [12]

1. Yes
2. No

3. What is your sex? [13]

1. Male
2. Female

4. What is your occupation? [14]

1. Keep house only
2. Professional or technical
3. Manager, officer, or proprietor
4. Clerical worker
5. Salesman
6. Foreman or craftsman
7. Machine operator
8. Service worker
9. Farmer or laborer
0. Other (Please fill in) _____

5. If you are married, what is your wife's or husband's occupation? (If unmarried, leave blank.) [15]

1. Keep house only
2. Professional or technical
3. Manager, officer, or proprietor
4. Clerical worker
5. Salesman
6. Foreman or craftsman
7. Machine operator
8. Service worker
9. Farmer or laborer

6. Are you now employed? [16]

1. Yes, full-time
2. Yes, part-time
3. No

7. What is your family's yearly income? [17]

1. under $1,000
2. between $1,000 and $1,999
3. between $2,000 and $2,999
4. between $3,000 and $4,999
5. between $5,000 and $6,999
6. between $7,000 and $8,999
7. between $9,000 and $10,999
8. between $11,000 and $12,999
9. over $12,999

8. What is your race? [18]

1. White American
2. Black American
3. American Indian
4. Mexican American
5. Oriental American
6. Other (Please fill in) _____

9. What is the last grade in school which you completed in the U.S.? [19]

1. never went to school
2. between grade 1 and grade 4
3. between grade 5 and grade 7
4. grade 8
5. between grade 9 and grade 11
6. grade 12
7. between 13 and 15 years
8. college graduate
9. post graduate

10. What is your age? [20]

1. under 20
2. between 20 and 29
3. between 30 and 39
4. between 40 and 49
5. between 50 and 59
6. between 60 and 64
7. over 64

DATA FORM III

STATE DEPARTMENT DATA FORM

Name of State _____

Director or Supervisor of
Adult and Continuing Education _____

Business Address _____

Telephone Number (Include Area Code) _____

1. Would you please enclose a copy of any sections of your State Constitution which refer to adult or continuing education.

2. Would you please enclose a copy of any sections of your State Constitution which deal with other kinds of education but have the effect of limiting the State's role in adult and continuing education.

3. Would you please enclose copies of State Legislation which is enabling or limiting for the State in the field of adult and continuing education. (You may wish to enclose a copy of the State School Code and indicate those sections which affect adult and continuing education.)

4. Would please enclose any important state level administrative provisions which are in writing and deal with adult and continuing education.

5. Would you please enclose any forms on which school districts report attendance, courses, or financing to the State for adult and continuing education.

6. If your office produces an annual report for adult and continuing education, would you please enclose a copy for the 1968-69 school year or (if the report is for the calendar year) for 1968.

7. Please enclose any financial statements or financial reports for adult and continuing education (not included in your annual report) for the 1968-69 school year or for calendar 1968.

8. Would you please explain, as clearly as possible, how state money for adult and continuing education is allocated to local school districts (do not include Federal funds in this answer). Is there a general state aid formula for adult education? If so, what is it? Are there categorical grants for adult education? What are they and how do local school districts qualify for them?

9. Please explain how Federal money (channeled through the state is allocated to local school districts for adult and continuing education. Please explain formulas and categories.

10. Does your State support programs designed to help adults complete high school? Yes ___ No ___. If the answer is "Yes," how does your State define "high school completion" or equivalent programs for the purposes of adult and continuing education?

11. Please enclose any other adult and continuing education materials for your State which you believe might be important or relevant.

CHAPTER IV

THE STATES AND ADULT EDUCATION

The Role of the States

Education, like health, welfare, and highways is the concern of all three levels of government. This federal system leads to a situation which makes educational finance complex and confusing. Each level provides services and funds; the funds are partly to be spent at the level of origin, but to a considerable degree are transferred for use at another level of government. Although a very large proportion of expenditures for public education are made by local agencies, there are many state and federal programs which involve transferring revenues to local government for specific (and in some cases general) purposes. The financing of adult and continuing education is even more involved than the manner in which money is provided and spent for education at the elementary-secondary level. A large number of proprietary agencies, many of which operate for a profit are engaged in the production and distribution of education for adults. Even within the public sector, adult and continuing education is provided by various organizations, including colleges and universities as well as school districts.

Our concern in this study is primarily with the provision of adult and continuing education through local school districts. While school districts are the agencies which provide the services, they do so in a legal context which stresses the responsibility of the state. Subject to federal and state constitutional limitations, state legislatures have full power with respect to matters of educational policy.[1]

In general, it seems clear that the ability of the legislature to provide education is not limited to certain age groups.

> Where a state constitution requires the legislature to provide educational opportunities for certain classes of children or for persons falling in a specified age group, the mandate will not, as a rule, be interpreted as an implied limitation on the power of the legislature. The legislature must do so much; it may do more . . . . in Wisconsin, the constitution made it the duty of the legislature to provide free education for those between the ages of four and twenty. The court could not see in this mandate any implied prohibition with respect to free education for those beyond the age of twenty.[2]

Hence, in the absence of an expressed constitutional prohibition, it

seems within the power of state legislatures to provide education for adults.

Basis for the State's Role

The legal right of state legislatures to provide programs of adult education seems clear. In actual practice, however, there are great interstate differences in the amount and manner of state participation in adult education activities. Several states have "foundation programs" of support for adult education. On the other hand, a large number of states have minimal involvement in the education of adults. Where the state does support adult and continuing education, its support may be directed through one of several agencies. In particular, some states stress the role of the public school system, while others place emphasis on the junior college.

The reluctance of states to enter this large and important field is understandable. In many cases, state governments are experiencing critical problems in the financing of public services. The costs of providing education at the elementary, secondary, and higher levels have been rising. Without a system of priorities which emphasizes adult education, the temptation to leave the latter to individuals and to other agencies, including the federal government as well as private organizations, is considerable.

However, there are strong arguments for state participation in the financing of adult and continuing education, at least to a limited degree. These arguments concern matters of (i) equity, and (ii) efficiency.

(i) From the equity standpoint, states have, in many cases, shown a concern for the welfare of all their citizens. Such a concern includes a recognition that some individuals are disadvantaged as a result of their possession of limited education. An adult educational system which brings the under-educated into the mainstream of social and economic life would, in the opinion of some state legislators, be desirable.

Disadvantage may be a function of other variables than limited education. The physically handicapped, for example, need additional training to permit them to lead useful lives. The elderly constitute another disadvantaged group, prevented from continuing their careers by retirement regulations and often doomed to spend the remainder of their lives in a state of boredom and intellectual stagnation. The state's role may also be conceptualized in terms of bringing these people into contact with useful and interesting activities through adult education.

(ii) From the standpoint of efficiency, it is in the states' interest to raise the educational level of their labor force, thus providing an attraction to industry, and a

larger total income. Moreover, states may conceptualize the importance of adult education in terms of reducing their welfare bills. Furthermore, adult and continuing education may increase the effectiveness of other levels of education, including in particular, the education of children from under-privileged families.

State Constitutional and Legislative Provisions for Adult Education

An examination of state legislation shows a wide divergence in attitudes and policies with respect to adult education. The range is from enthusiastic endorsement to neutrality and apparent opposition. Such variations at the state level clearly affect the programs which are offered by local school systems.

It is not difficult to identify some reasons for these differences among the states. First of all, there are differences in needs for programs which are related to the economies of the various states. In general, the urbanized, industrial states show a positive and favorable approach to programs of adult education. They have a need for a well educated labor force. Furthermore, concentrations of low-education citizens in urban areas have a potential for social unrest as well as economic hardship. On the other hand, the rural plain and mountain states have many fewer individuals with less than eight years of schooling and their needs for educated labor are much less. It is not therefore surprising that Florida and California have very favorable legislation, while Kansas, South Dakota, and North Dakota pay little attention, in their statutes, to adult education. (Table 14 illustrates the present distribution among states of individuals with less than eight and less than twelve years of education.)

There are probably also attitudinal differences among states. It seems that in general, states with a tradition of developing policies with respect to the alleviation of social problems tend to be more favorably disposed to programs of adult education. The more conservative states lack this motivation to action. This observation should not be construed as a judgment on these policies, but merely as an attempt to understand how they are developed.

An example of a very favorable attitude toward education for adults is found in the following legislation for the State of Florida:

> 130-6.12. . . . The organization and administration of local adult education programs shall be such as will assure that the kind and extent of general education services needed by adults in the community shall be identified and provided in an effective and economical manner. . . .
>
> 130-6.13. . . . The general adult education program in a county shall be developed and periodically adjusted on the basis of systematic and continuing study of the community and of its people. . . .

A somewhat briefer statement is contained in the Public School Laws of the State of Maryland:

> Article 77#52 -- Schools for Adults
>
> > The county board of education, in accordance with the rules and regulations of the State Department of Education,may establish and maintain day and evening schools for adults, the purpose of which shall be to provide a general program of continuing education in all its aspects for the improvement of the civic, vocational, and general intelligence of adults, and to enable them to make a wise use of their leisure time.

The laws of Utah are quite specific with respect to adult education:

> Section 9-2-4(B) Subjects
>
> > Every district school board of education in this state may raise and appropriate funds for adult education, determine fees to be levied if any, and through its superintendent may hire teachers, establish and maintain classes for adults in English, the fundamental principles of democratic government, citizenship, public affairs, workers' education, forums, arts and crafts, general cultural subjects, adult recreation and other subjects as the state board of education may agree upon. . . .

The school laws of Mississippi also authorize a wide variety of courses of adult education:

> #6240 -- Adult Education
>
> > . . . That the state board of education be authorized and directed to prescribe rules and regulations under which a program may be established, maintained, and supervised for the purpose of supplying educational advantages to adults. The aim and purpose of such a program shall be to reduce illiteracy and to provide a general plan of continuing education in the fundamental principles of a democratic society, citizenship, public affairs, forums, home and family life, arts and crafts, leisure time activities, general cultural subjects and such other subjects as the state board of education may prescribe for the social and economic advancement of adults.

At the other end of the continuum, some states have no legislation governing the provision of adult education.

The State, the Federal Government, and the Local School District

In elementary and secondary education, the relationships among the three levels of government have been quite clearly established. While

TABLE 14

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT *

	Age 18 and Over. Less Than Elementary School Education	Age 18 and Over. Less Than High School
50 States and D.C.	23,626,736	66,018,567
Alabama	683,141	1,325,055
Alaska	44,356	61,403
Arizona	197,567	———
Arkansas	365,012	762,698
California	1,354,923	4,794,893
Colorado	131,846	513,343
Connecticut	280,000	900,000
Delaware	106,000	155,966
Florida	713,081	1,719,733
Georgia	867,278	1,577,399
Hawaii	84,079	191,155
Idaho	38,565	197,072
Illinois	1,086,418	3,766,383
Indiana	784,064	2 767,360
Iowa	216,624	891,573
Kansas	163,913	686,809
Kentucky	575,481	1,317,446
Louisiana	729,754	1,262,356
Maine	88,539	542,800
Maryland	481,305	1,131,672
Massachusetts	542,559	1,731,427
Michigan	765,183	2,735,552
Minnesota	275,344	1,111,766
Mississippi	440,774	864,914
Missouri	553,235	1,714,704
Montana	49,213	206,389
Nebraska	96,312	413,786
Nevada	17,000	85,090
New Hampshire	56,133	168,000
New Jersey	765,496	2,307,982
New Mexico	116,722	287,583
New York	2,051,546	6,473,173
North Carolina	982,352	2,444,381
North Dakota	61,443	216,471
Ohio	993,167	3,437,438
Oklahoma	313,353	849,871

*Based on most recent estimates submitted to NAPCAE by State Department of Education.

TABLE 14 (Continued)

	Age 18 and Over. Less Than Elementary School Education	Age 18 and Over. Less Than High School
Oregon	123,819	559,145
Pennsylvania	1,465,002	4,403,159
Rhode Island	121,779	355,118
South Carolina	540,483	930,736
South Dakota	51,361	227,880
Tennessee	705,750	1,499,696
Texas	1,698,732	3,374,831
Utah	39,647	211,452
Vermont	2,020	3,649
Virginia	809,261	1,491,074
Washington	191,360	846,320
West Virginia	292,092	769,608
Wisconsin	395,344	1,368,150
Wyoming	20,203	94,000
District of Columbia	102,105	270,106

there is much overlap and considerable room for misunderstanding, the expectations at each level for behavior at other levels are relatively clear.

In the field of adult education, the situation is much more murky. From an examination of state laws, it would appear that there is no well-established pattern concerning the role of the state. In a number of instances, the state appears to be a passive partner--either an implementer of federal programs, or a legitimizer of local programs. One natural result of this situation is that state governments are, in many instances, without full knowledge of the magnitude and nature of local educational programs.

Our research tends to suggest that the field of adult education is healthiest when the state is an active participant in the process of defining needs and suggesting programs to deal with them. A state staff which is knowledgeable about the field, and which is able to provide advice and financial assistance in the development of local programs would appear to be a pre-requisite to the development of well-rounded curricula, which are related to social needs and to private demands.

In a number of states, however, federal involvement in adult education has grown much more quickly than a qualified, informed state local leadership. Hence, some states act as administrators of federally financed vocational and literacy programs, rather than as state planning

agencies. The variety and complexity of federal support for adult education, some of which is administered through state agencies,is illustrated in Table 15. Although Chapter I provides some background on one of the most important programs, namely, Adult Basic Education, a further brief description of this program is appropriate.

State Administration and Adult Basic Education Programs

All states participate in the Adult Basic Education Program as do many U.S. possessions--Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands, Guam and Samoa. Even Kansas, which has a state law against providing state funds for adult education, has the program, relying entirely on local school districts to provide the 10 per cent matching funds required for participation.

Federal support for Adult Basic Education is especially important at the state level because, as of 1968, twenty-three states of the fifty appropriated no funds for adult education purposes. The vast majority of these would not be involved in adult education in any meaningful way were it not for the funds provided under the Adult Basic Education Act. The act allows states to use a part of the federal funds for state administrative purposes. In many states, this administrative allowance provides funds to employ at least one person or a small staff to assume responsibility for adult education at the state level. Finally, by providing an administrative allowance for all participating states, it creates one or more "selling" positions at the state level. In many states, these are positions which did not exist before the legislation and would not exist except for the legislation. These positions, of course, are filled by people who attempt to increase the preference level of potential consumers through state level participation in adult education.

Following are those states which participate in adult education almost solely through the administration of the Adult Basic Education Act of 1964 and subsequent amendments.

1. Alabama
2. Alaska
3. Arizona
4. Colorado
5. Georgia
6. Idaho
7. Kansas
8. Kentucky
9. Louisiana
10. Massachusetts
11. Mississippi
12. Missouri
13. Montana
14. Nebraska
15. Nevada
16. New Hampshire
17. New Mexico
18. North Dakota
19. Oregon
20. South Dakota
21. Utah

An examination of these states shows that they are predominantly southern or sparsely populated states. Exceptions to this are Kansas, which has a state law against providing state funds for adult education, Massachusetts, Missouri and Oregon. One can only conjecture that for these southern states there exists a scarcity of public resources which precludes further state financial participation in adult education, while

FEDERAL LAWS WHICH AUTHORIZE ASSISTANCE, DIRECTED IN WHOLE OR IN PART TO CONTINUING EDUCATION FOR OUT-OF-SCHOOL YOUTH OR ADULTS

P.L. 64-347	Smith-Hughes Act of 1917
P.L. 78-410	Public Health Services Act of 1944
P.L. 79-586	Vocational Education Act of 1946 (George Barden)
P.L. 81-507	National Science Foundation Act of 1950
P.L. 81-920	Civil Defense Act of 1950
P.L. 83-565	Vocational Rehabilitation Act
P.L. 85-864	National Defense Education Act of 1958
P.L. 85-905	Captioned Films for the Deaf Act
P.L. 87-274	Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961
P.L. 87-415	Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962
P.L. 87-447	Educational Television Facilities Act of 1962
P.L. 87-749	Smith-Lever Act, Amended
P.L. 87-815	Loan of Captioned Films for the Deaf Act
P.L. 88-129	Health Professions Educational Assistance Act of 1963
P.L. 88-204	Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963
P.L. 88-210	Vocational Education Act of 1963
P.L. 88-269	Public Library Services and Construction Act
P.L. 88-352	Civil Rights Act of 1964
P.L. 88-452	Economic Opportunity Act of 1964
P.L. 88-579	National Arts and Cultural Development Act of 1964
P.L. 88-581	Nurse Training Act of 1964
P.L. 88-665	National Defense Education Act, Amended
P.L. 89-10	Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965
P.L. 89-15	Manpower Development and Training Act, Amended
P.L. 89-73	Older Americans Act of 1965
P.L. 89-79	Social Security Act, Amended
P.L. 89-115	Public Health Services Act, Amended
P.L. 89-117	Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965
P.L. 89-209	National Foundation for Arts and Humanities Act of 1965
P.L. 89-239	Public Health Services Act, Amended
P.L. 89-253	Economic Opportunity Act, Amended
P.L. 89-258	Loan Services for Captioned Films for the Deaf Act
P.L. 89-287	National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965
P.L. 89-290	Health Professions Educational Assistance Act, Amended
P.L. 89-329	Higher Education Act of 1965
P.L. 89-333	Vocational Rehabilitation Act, Amended
P.L. 89-750	Adult Education Act of 1966
P.L. 89-794	Economic Opportunity Act, Amended

in the sparsely populated states, problems resulting from the absence of state financial participation may not be as severe as they would be in the more urban oriented, highly populated and industrialized states of the nation.

States and Local School Districts

There are also important variations among states in their dealings with local school districts. Some states are quite prescriptive, at least to the point of suggesting how districts should develop their curricula. Others are permissive, with state-level policy makers appearing unconcerned about the manner in which local districts develop programs for adults.

One of the most common state-endorsed programs is that related to the completion by adults of a high school program. A number of states provide financial support for adult education at the secondary level for high school completion programs. Following are those states which support high school level courses with funds provided by state governments:

1. Arkansas
2. California
3. Delaware
4. Florida
5. Hawaii
6. Illinois
7. Indiana
8. Iowa
9. Maine
10. Maryland
11. Michigan
12. Minnesota
13. New Jersey
14. New York
15. Pennsylvania
16. Rhode Island
17. South Carolina
18. Tennessee
19. Virginia
20. Washington
21. Wisconsin

Almost all states now handle the administration of the national General Education Development (GED) test which determines whether an adult has reached an educational development level equal to that of a high school graduate. The student who passes this test receives a high school equivalency certificate, regardless of his formal educational history (see Table 16). Some states bear the cost of administering this test while others pass the cost (usually about $10.00) on to the student. Other states, most of those listed above, pay all or part of the costs of educational programs for students who either wish to take the G.E.D. test or take the courses which lead to a regular high school diploma.

The following states have provided data which show the actual level of state support for high school completion programs for 1968-69:

Arkansas	$ 75,000	Maryland	$ 58,727
Delaware	120,000	Minnesota	170,000
Illinois	535,000	New Jersey	643,000
Iowa	347,000	South Carolina	695,000
		Virginia	120,000

TABLE 16

WORK EXPERIENCE PATTERNS

State Codes permitting the granting of credit toward a high school diploma for work experience or by examination.

	Work Experience	Examination
Alabama	No	No
Alaska	Yes	Yes
Arizona	No	No
Arkansas	No	No
California	Yes	Yes
Colorado	Yes	Yes
Connecticut	Yes	Yes
Delaware	No	No
District of Columbia	No	No
Florida	Yes	Yes
Georgia	(No State Code for adult high school diploma at present.)	
Hawaii	No	Yes
Idaho	No	No
Illinois	Yes	Yes
Indiana	No	No
Iowa	Yes	Yes
Kansas	No	Yes
Kentucky	No	No
Louisiana	No	No
Maine	Yes	Yes
Maryland	Yes	Yes
Massachusetts	No	No
Michigan	Yes	Yes
Minnesota	Yes	Yes
Mississippi	No	Yes
Missouri	No	Yes
Montana	No	No
Nebraska	Yes	Yes
Nevada	Yes	No
New Hampshire	Yes	Yes
New Jersey	No	No
New Mexico	No	No
New York	No	Yes
North Carolina	No	Yes
North Dakota	N/A	N/A
Ohio	No	No
Oklahoma	Yes	Yes
Oregon	Yes	Yes

TABLE 16 (Continued)

	Work Experience	Examination
Pennsylvania	No	Yes
Rhode Island	No	No
South Carolina	Yes	Yes
South Dakota	No	No
Tennessee	Yes	Yes
Texas	No	No
Utah	Yes	Yes
Vermont	No	No
Virginia	No	No
Washington	Yes	Yes
West Virginia	No	Not Indicated
Wisconsin	Yes	Yes
Wyoming	No	Yes
Puerto Rico	No	Yes

Many states have financial support programs which make it difficult or impossible to determine the actual level of funds provided for high school completion courses.

Some state statutes provide quite comprehensive statements regarding the kinds of curricula which are appropriate for adult and continuing education. The relevant title in the Illinois State Code, for example, reads as follows:

> (a) Adult and Continuing Education: Organized, systematic instruction and related education services, for students enrolled in a program conducted by a publicly supported educational institution. Such students are beyond compulsory education age, not currently enrolled in a regular elementary or high school, and are not seeking junior college or college credit toward an associate degree or degree. The instruction may be full-time or part-time for the purpose of providing students or groups with opportunities for personal improvement and enrichment, preparation for effective participation as citizens (including English for foreign-speaking individuals), family life and parent education, elementary and high school education, for which credit may be granted toward diploma requirements, occupational and technical training and retraining.

The Florida code provides priorities, but also excludes so-called "recreational" kinds of courses:

> (1) Priority in the use of minimum foundation program funds shall be given to programs of literacy, elementary and secondary

> education, and to those courses of an academic nature which will contribute to the general educational needs and cultural development of post high school youths and adults. Only those courses which are clearly educational in nature shall be approved for use of adult education instructional units. No adult class or course which is primarily recreational in nature shall be approved for the use of minimum foundation program funds.

The New York statutes contain a similar proscription:

> (1) Expenditures will not be approved for social and physical recreation, sports, games, amusements, entertainment, or for courses which have limited educational objectives, except when conducted for adults 60 years of age and over.

Clearly, where state funds are used, the state feels an obligation to guide the manner in which these funds will be spent. For courses paid for in large part from tuition, state laws tend to be less restrictive. The New Jersey statutes, for example, provide that "The local Board of Education shall determine the courses which are to be offered with the approval of the State Department of Public Instruction." These statutes further provide that "Any district offering adult education courses may charge tuition for them to those residents in the districts, and to persons received from other districts; provided such tuition does not exceed the actual cost per student."

STATE AID FOR ADULT EDUCATION

The responsibility which states assume for the financing of adult and continuing education varies considerably across the United States. There are a number of states in which state responsibility is limited to the administration of federal programs, including those in the area of vocational education and adult basic education. In other states, there are state fiscal procedures by which costs are shared between the state and the local districts.

A variety of procedures are used as the basis of determining the state's share of the costs of providing adult and continuing education in a given community. The main categories of sharing procedures are the following:

1. Foundation Programs
2. Flat Grants
3. Cost Sharing
4. None. State Administers ABE programs

1. A foundation program is one in which the state shares costs up to a given sum of money. The method of sharing is typically based on an "equalization" formula which permits the poorer districts (defined in terms of some criterion of local taxpaying ability) to receive more state money than the richer districts.

A. California. The relevant statute reads as follows:

17951 The allowance for each unit of average daily attendance during the fiscal year for adults, as adults are defined in Section 5756, shall be as follows:

(a) For high school districts the allowance shall be three hundred and fifty dollars ($350) less the product of fifty cents ($0.50) multiplied by each one hundred dollars ($100) of the assessed valuation of the district per unit of average daily attendance exclusive of adults.

(b) For each unit of average daily attendance, attached to a junior college the allowance shall be five hundred and twenty dollars ($520) less the product of twenty-four cents ($0.24) multiplied by each one hundred dollars ($100) of assessed valuation of the district per unit of average daily attendance exclusive of adults.

The allowance provided by this section for each unit of average daily attendance of an adult, as adults are defined in Section 5756, not residing in the district and not residing in any district maintaining a junior college shall be limited to one hundred and twenty-five dollars ($125) as basic state aid and no allowance shall be made based on state equalization aid. The total of basic and equalization aid allowed each district shall not be less than one hundred and twenty-five dollars ($125) for each unit of average daily attendance during the fiscal year for resident adults, exclusive of average daily attendance in inmates of any city, county, or city and county jail, road camp or farm for adults.

If any computation made under any of the preceding paragraphs of this section produces an allowable amount not in excess of one hundred and twenty-five dollars ($125) per unit of average daily attendance of the adults in high schools and junior colleges such allowable amount computed shall be adjusted if, and to the extent necessary, shall not exceed one hundred and twenty-five dollars . . . per unit of average daily attendance of the adults during the preceding fiscal year.

B. Florida. State aid in Florida for adult education is included in the basic support program. The amount to be provided is determined on the basis of the number of instructional units, with the number of allowable units being calculated as followed:

> One instructional unit shall be allowed for each additional qualified teacher employed for a full-time load, or the equivalent, as prescribed by regulations of the state board, provided the minimum class size for a full instructional unit shall be not less than fifteen students in average daily attendance; a proportionate fraction of a unit shall be allowed in accordance with regulations prescribed by the state board. . . .

The amount to be paid by the state to the district is based on

the qualifications of instructional personnel, and a state support scale. A local contribution is determined on the basis of a stated local tax levy. Thus, this program, like that of California, contains an equalization feature.

C. Pennsylvania. Reimbursement for local school district expenditures for adult education in Pennsylvania is included in the state's Basic Instructional Subsidy, which reimburses school districts for their costs of Administration, Instruction, Attendance Services, Operation of Plant, Maintenance of Plant, Fixed Charges, Food Services, Student-Body Activities, and Community Services. The net total expenditure for all the above-mentioned categories are reimbursed by the Commonwealth according to an Aid Ratio figure established for each of the school districts. The expenditures made by a school district for Adult and Continuing Education are listed, under the appropriate categories, on the Annual Financial Report along with all of the expenditures made by the school district in each of the categories for their regular day school program. The category expenditures are totaled and then divided by a Weighted Daily Membership (Pupils) to determine an Actual Instructional Cost per pupil. The Commonwealth will reimburse, according to the Aid Ratio, up to a maximum Actual Instruction Cost per pupil of $550. . . .

The Aid Ratio figure is based upon Market Value and Pupil Population in the school district as compared to the Market Value and Pupil Population for the State. The Aid Ratio averages to 50 per cent for the entire State with some school districts receiving as much as 90 per cent reimbursement while others receive as little as 10 per cent. The reimbursable costs for Adult or Continuing Education include any and all expenditures made for these programs. The expenditure to be made for these programs is determined by the Local School Board.

As can be seen from the analysis of adult education programs in the following chapters of this report, and from a review of offerings in all states, those states which provide foundation level support ear marked for adult education tend to have superior programs.

2. A flat grant is based on some criterion such as attendance or membership. Reimbursement on a flat grant basis does not take into consideration the taxpaying ability of the local school district. The following states provide reimbursement to school districts for adult education programs on a flat grant basis:

State	Basis for Payment
Arkansas	$5.00 per hour of instruction
Connecticut	12 cents per pupil clock hour plus half the salary of the local director of adult education (state grant for the local director not to exceed $2,500)

Illinois	$3.50 per forty-minute period of instruction
Iowa	93 cents per equivalent contact hour
Maryland	Distributed on the basis of adult population, with no school system receiving less than $1,500.

3. Cost sharing implies that the state pays the local school system some portion of actual costs. The method of calculating costs, as well as the portion to be paid by the state, varies a great deal.

State	Basis for Payment
Connecticut	State pays half of the salary of the local director of adult education
Maine	State pays 70 per cent of cost of high school diploma courses
New Jersey	State pays two-third salary of full-time and half-time directors, and reimburses on a matching basis for Americanization courses
Rhode Island	Local communities are reimbursed at a minimum of 30 per cent of expenditures
Virginia	Reimbursement of instructor's salaries at the rate of 60 per cent up to $5 per hour of instruction within the appropriation available
Wisconsin	State aid to approximately 16.5 per cent of cost per full-time equivalent student is paid for part-time adult programs are aided.

The above tabulation is not intended to be exhaustive. It does, however, illustrate the diverse ways in which states support adult education programs. There are, in addition, a number of states which do not support such programs.

SUMMARY

This chapter has reviewed the legal and financial role of the states in the provision of adult education, with an emphasis on the concepts of equity and efficienty. The varieties of state constitutional and legislative provisions for adult education have been compared and contrasted, and state administration of adult basic education has been examined. Between-

and within-state variation in support of high school completion programs have been described, together with the main forms of cost sharing between states and local districts in the financing of adult and continuing education programs. The next three chapters deal primarily with adult and continuing education at the local district level.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See Newton Edwards, The Courts and the Public Schools (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955) (Revised Edition), p. 27.

[2] Ibid., p. 28.

CHAPTER V

THE DEMAND FOR ADULT EDUCATION

In this chapter several aspects of the demand for adult education, in this project's sample of districts, are analyzed. By "demand" we mean here revealed demand, as found in enrollment and expenditure figures, rather than latent or hypothesized demand. Because revealed demand can be found only where courses are supplied, there is naturally a problem in identifying whether changes in, say, enrollment are due to changes in demand or to changes in the supply of opportunities for enrollment. For simplicity, the relationships discussed in this chapter are treated as though they represented demand only.

Chapters II and III described how education may be viewed as a form of investment or of consumption. When education is undertaken with the goal of maintaining or improving one's marketable skills, an investment is made which is expected to pay returns in the form of increased earnings. At the other extreme, a course or program may be taken primarily for present or future satisfaction, without concern for money gains. In this case education is a form of consumption. Investment-type and consumption-type courses are referred to respectively as "Category I" and "Category III" courses in this report, with the intermediate case represented by "Category II."

The distinction between the investment and consumption aspects of education is maintained and carried forward in the present chapter in order to analyze components of the demand for adult education. First a comparison is made, by means of a cross-tabulation matrix, of instructor and student views of course purposes with respect to investment and consumption. Next, the participation of adults of each sex is analyzed by income, education and age level. This is followed by a discussion of tuition as an influence on demand, and of the income-elasticity of demand for adult education. Finally, a regression model with local revenue per capita as the dependent variable is used to identify factors influencing school district demand for adult education, and a similar model using state and federal government contributions to revenue is used in the analysis of public demand.

PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOL ADULT EDUCATION

Participation in public school adult education programs is influenced by the age, income, sex, educational level and employment status of individuals. The sample obtained for studying the characteristics of students enrolled in public school adult education programs does not permit any statement to be made regarding the influence of race on participation rate. But the influence of other factors will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Because individuals may have different reasons for taking a given course, an attempt was made to find out why students enrolled in a particular course. The instructors of courses sampled were also asked for whom the course they were teaching was primarily intended. Three choice categories were provided to the instructors as well as to the students. The first category (I) included the purposes of maintaining or improving one's marketable skills. The second category (II) covered mixed or ambiguous courses that people might attend to get better jobs or increased income but which might be attended for increased satisfaction and enjoyment. The third category (III) included courses people attend primarily to get satisfaction and enjoyment (not to make money). Asking similar questions to instructors and students made possible the study of the extent to which their perceptions coincided.

Table 17 presents the results obtained. Were there a perfect agreement between intentions of individuals and instructors' beliefs about the

TABLE 17

EXTENT OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN INSTRUCTORS' AND STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF COURSE PURPOSE

Instructor View of Course Purpose	Student Purpose for Taking Course		
	I	II	III
I	222	119	32
II	79	58	52
III	8	34	209

purpose of a course, all the responses would have fallen in the three cells on the main diagonal (upper left to lower right) of the matrix. There is some discrepancy between perceptions of students and those of the teachers, as seen in the matrix. The response categories provided were obviously not sharply distinguished from each other. However, if for the moment discrepancies as shown between adjoining categories are disregarded and the discrepancy revealed in connection with category I and category III courses is scrutinized, that is, the relationship between the upper right and lower left corners, the extent of agreement between students and instructors appears much stronger than the extent of disagreement.

In general, people with higher income participated more in adult education. Table 18 below also shows that people in the lower income categories tend to take courses that are job related (that is, Category I courses) whereas people in higher income categories prefer leisure related (Category III) courses. There are no sharp differences between men and women in this regard except for women with family yearly income below $5,000 enrolled in Category III courses. A possible explanation for this observation is that these women are taking courses in cooking or sewing or housekeeping and that they do not intend to sell the skills they acquire on the market but rather to use them in their homes. If this were true it would point out the roughness of our procedure of regarding the acquisition of skills that are useful in market production as investment and of those that are useful in domestic or home production as only consumption.

Table 19 shows the distribution of participants over educational categories. A curvilinear relationship between education level completed and participation in adult education is apparent. This does not contradict the findings of Johnstone and Rivera that there is a positive influence of formal education completed on participation in adult education programs.[1] The Johnstone study was concerned with adult participation in all types of institutions, whereas this study is limited to adult education programs offered in the public school system. Johnstone also found that people with less than high school formal education tend to prefer adult programs offered in high schools and thus within the purview of this study, whereas people with better than high school formal education lean towards participating in programs offered in colleges and universities, an area excluded from the present study.[2] Table 19 also shows that people with high school or less education participate relatively more in Category I and II courses rather than Category III. People with more than high school education, on the other hand, participate relatively more in Category III courses.

Public school adult education programs, on the basis of the sample selected for this study, generally seem to cater to young people. People over the age of fifty participate relatively less than people under fifty. Younger people tend to enroll more in Category I than the older people who seem to be inclined toward participation in Category III courses. This is in accord with the theoretical framework presented in chapter II: it is reasonable to expect younger persons to be more interested in job related education than the aged, since they would have a longer working life ahead of them over which to reap the benefits of investment in job related education. Category III courses would attract more older people interested in making better use of their leisure time.

In summary thus far, this study found that instructors' and students' views of the purpose of individual adult education courses show reasonable, though not perfect, agreement, when choosing along the investment-consumption continuum. Similarly, with the exception of lower-income level women, sample data on participation in adult education along age, income and education level dimensions conform well with expectations generated by the theoretical discussion in chapter II.

TABLE 18

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS ACCORDING TO FAMILY YEARLY INCOME AND COURSE CATEGORY

Income	Male			Female			Total			
	Category			Category			Category			
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	
Under $1,000	6	0	1	12	1	2	18	1	3	22
Between $1,000 $1,999	8	1	0	4	12	1	12	13	1	26
" $2,000-$2,999	4	3	0	12	5	9	16	8	9	33
" $3,000-$4,999	23	7	0	25	14	20	48	21	20	39
" $5,000-$6,999	41	6	5	18	23	30	59	29	35	123
" $7,000-$8,999	24	24	8	15	12	24	39	36	32	107
" $9,000-$10,999	22	14	17	24	20	35	46	34	52	132
" $11,000-$12,999	10	5	9	10	12	20	20	17	29	66
Over $12,999	17	18	36	22	19	47	39	37	83	159
Total	155	78	76	142	118	188	297	196	264	757

Rejects: 58

TABLE 19

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS ACCORDING TO EDUCATION AND COURSE CATEGORY

Course Category / Education Level	I Investment Courses	II "Mix" Courses	III Consumption Courses	All Courses
Less than Elementary Education	3.7% 14 (29.2%)	6.9% 14 (29.2%)	7.2% 18 (37.5%)	2.2% 46
Grade VIII-XI	49.9% 148 (53.0%)	34.5% 70 (25.1%)	21.1% 61 (21.9%)	35.4% 279
Grade XII (High School)	32.9% 95 (18.7%)	36.5% 74 (29.4%)	28.8% 83 (32.9%)	32.0% 252
College	13.4% 40 (19%)	22.2% 45 (21.3%)	43.7% 126 (59.7%)	26.8% 211
All Levels	297 (37.7%)	203 (25.8%)	288 36.5%)	100% 788 (100%)

Note: The column percentages are given in the upper-left corner of the cells and the row percentages are given in the lower-right corner of the cells.

Demand for Adult and Continuing Education

Some of the most important variables influencing demand for a commodity are its price, income of the consumers, prices of related commodities and the tastes and preferences of consumers. The focus of demand analysis, however, is not an individual but rather the aggregate behavior of many individuals, in this case with respect to adult and continuing education courses offered in the public school system.

The price of adult education courses to the purchaser is partially represented by tuition fee. The value of individuals' time in attending

the course constitutes an opportunity cost in addition to the tuition. Besides there are other monetary costs of transportation involved in attending classes. Tuition still remains an important variable because it can be much more easily adjusted by policy makers and program directors than can the opportunity cost of time. Table 20 shows differential pricing of adult education courses. It is clear that about 30 per cent of the students enrolled in investment-type or Category I courses paid a very low tuition fee,* indicating that courses are not priced according to the cost of producing them and that many of these courses were free of charge to students.

TABLE 20

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS ACCORDING TO COURSE FEE AND COURSE CATEGORY

Fee / Course Category	$0.00-0.01	$0.02-2.99	$3.00-5.99	$6.00-9.99	$10.00-15.99	$16.00-20.99	$21.00 +	Total
I (Investment Courses)	93 30.2%	0.0 0.0%	63 20.5%	44 14.3%	48 15.6%	21 6.8%	39 12.7%	308 100%
III (Consumption Courses)	19 6.5%	0.0 0.0%	108 36.9%	50 17.1%	77 26.3%	26 8.9%	13 4.4%	293 100%
All Courses	156 19.3%	0.0 0.0%	212 26.3%	111 13.8%	176 21.8%	58 7.2%	94 11.6%	807 100%

Since adequate longitudinal data for estimating the elasticity of demand for certain types of offerings in adult education are not available, in our survey of students in adult and continuing education the following question was asked: "If the tuition cost or student fee for this course

*The first tuition category in Table 20, showing a one-cent tuition fee, is the result of arithmetic averaging of mostly zero tuition courses. One course in our sample actually had a one-cent tuition.

were twice as much, would you have enrolled for this course? (If the course is free leave blank.)." The students' responses, cross-classified by household income, education level, age, reason for taking the course and employment status, are presented in Table.21, Parts 1-6.

Explanation of Table 21

The following table, Parts 1-6, present student responses to the question: If the tuition cost or student fee for this course were twice as much, would you have enrolled for this course? Responses are cross-tabulated by:

a) family yearly income;
b) level of schooling completed;
c) age;
d) student view of course purpose;
e) employment status of student;
f) course fee.

TABLE 21

STUDENT DEMAND FOR COURSES

Part I. Student Responses by Family's Yearly Income

	Less than $1000	$1000-1999	$2000-2999	$3000-4999	$5000-6999	$7000-8999	$ 9000-10999	$11000-12999	More than $12999
Yes	50%	88.9%	69.2%	70.5%	74.6%	60.8%	62.8%	67.2%	62.9%
No	50%	11.1%	30.8%	29.5%	25.4%	39.2%	37.2%	32.8%	37.1%
Total Number	8	9	13	44	67	74	113	58	151

TABLE 21 (Continued)

Part II. Student Responses by Level of Education (Schooling) Completed

	Never Went to School	Grade 1-4	Grade 5-7	Grade 8	Grade 9-11	Grade 12	13-15 Years	College Graduate	Post-Graduate
Yes	83.3%	100%	72.7%	52.2%	77.3%	58.2%	58.8%	64.6%	58.0%
No	16.7%		27.3%	47.8%	22.7%	41.8%	41.2%	35.4%	50.0%
Total Number	6	3	11	23	139	142	189	85	65

Part III. Student Responses by Age Level

	Under 20	Between 20-29	Between 30-39	Between 40-49	Between 50-59	Between 60-64	Over 64
Yes	67.1%	64.2%	65.2%	65.3%	50%	81.8%	66.7%
No	32.9%	35.8%	34.8%	34.7%	50%	18.2%	33.3%
Total Number	70	162	141	118	56	11	6

Part IV. Student Responses by Student View of Course Purpose

	Investment	Mixed	Consumption	Total	
Yes	76.6%	62.4%	54.3%	362	63.7%
No	23.4%	37.6%	45.7%	206	36.3%
Total Number	192	133	243	568	
	33.8%	23.4%	42.8%		100%

TABLE 21 (Continued)

Part V. Student Responses by Employment Status

	Employed Full-Time	Employed Part-Time	Not Employed	Total
Yes	67.7%	58.3%	58.6%	365
No	32.3%	41.7%	41.4%	204
Total Number	347	60	162	569

Part VI. Student Responses by Fee Category

	0.00-0.01	0.02-2.99	3.00-5.99	6.00-9.99	10.00-15.99	16.00-19.99	20.00 +	Total
Yes	81.8% 18	0.0% 0.0	75.0% 105	74.9% 75	52.9% 90	56.9% 33	54.9% 45	366 63.9%
No	18.2% 4	0.0% 0.0	25.0% 35	25.7% 26	47.1% 80	43.1% 25	45.1% 37	207 36.1%
Total	3.8% 22	0.0 0.0	140 24.4%	101 17.6%	170 29.7%	55 10.1%	87 14.3%	573 100%

Table 21, Part I, shows that persons with household income levels below $7,000 per annum have a slightly greater tendency to say that they would have enrolled in their particular course even if the fees were twice as much, than individuals from households with income above $7,000 per annum. Although many of the people with incomes less than $7,000 do not seem responsive to price, about 50 per cent of the individuals in the income bracket of $1,000-$6,999 are enrolled in Category I courses (Table 22). More than 50 per cent of individuals enrolled in such courses paid less than six dollars per course (Table 20). As fees charged per course rise, the frequency with which individuals enrolled are willing to pay twice the tuition declines (Table 21, Part VI). One reason, therefore, why about 77 per cent of students enrolled in Category I courses as compared with 54 per cent enrolled in Category III courses expressed willingness to pay twice the fee, may be that on the average people taking

Category I courses pay lower tuition fees than people enrolled in Category III courses.

Similarly, Table 21, Parts I and II show that generally it is people with less than high school education who are willing to pay twice the tuition, and that many of the people with high school or less education tend to enroll in the Category I courses where fees are low.

Table 21, Part V, shows that there is very small difference between the proportion of employed and unemployed willing to pay twice as much fee for the course in which they are enrolled. However, when we obtain breakdown of responses for each sex (Tables 23 and 24), we find that about 5 per cent of males saying "yes" are unemployed whereas 44 per cent of females so saying are employed. Many of these women presumably are housewives and hence not necessarily "unemployed" and short of funds.

Although we know from the situation in Michigan discussed in chapter II that the demand for high school completion program courses is price responsive, for an adult education program as a whole a straightforward statement regarding elasticity of demand is difficult to make since the program is made up of several sub-programs each with different clientele. In other words, an adult education program is not one commodity. If one were looking at a sub-program in adult education such as high school completion or vocational education then the situation would be more amenable to studying the price responsiveness of the particular sub-program.

Economists are generally interested in how individuals tend to allocate (distribute) increases or decreases in their income. The concept of income elasticity was presented in chapter II. Werner Hirsch[3] found the income elasticity of public education for 1900-1958 to be 1.09 or just above unity. This means that during the period 1900-1958, a 1 per cent increase in per capita personal income was on the average associated with a 1.09 per cent increase in current expenditure for public primary and secondary education per pupil in average daily attendance.

The cross-sectional data from the student survey are not appropriate for deriving income-elasticity because of the limitations of the sample. But the data obtained from school districts enables the estimation of income responsiveness of demand for adult and continuing education courses. The distribution of students in various course categories by annual family income shown in Table 22 does point to some interesting relationships. As income levels of individuals rise, more individuals tend to purchase adult education services. With the rise in income there is a shift from purchase of Category I courses to Category III courses.

Individual preferences and tastes also play an important part in the determination of the kind and quantities of various goods and services that are demanded. Individuals with varying amounts of yearly income and education could be expected to difrer in the kinds of courses they take and the frequency with which they enroll in Category I versus Category III courses. For example, it is reasonable to expect that those who are

TABLE 22

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS ACCORDING TO INCOME LEVEL AND COURSE CATEGORY

Student View of the Course

	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Courses
Less than $2,999	56.8% (46)	27.2% (22)	16.0% (13)	100% (81)
$3,000-$6,999	49.8% (107)	23.7% (51)	25.6% (55)	100% (215)
$7,000-$10,999	35.7% (85)	21.0% (70)	35.3% (84)	100% (238)
$11,000 and over	25.6% (59)	23.3% (54)	49.3% (112)	100% (227)
Rejects	(11)	(15)	(28)	(58)

TABLE 23

DISTRIBUTION OF MALE STUDENTS BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND WILLINGNESS TO PAY TWICE THE FEE

	Student Responses		
	Yes	No	Total
Full-Time Employed	(88.8%) 150 (69.4%)	(90.4%) 66 (30.6%)	216 (89.2%)
Part-Time Employed	(5.9%) 10 (83.8%)	(2.7%) 2 (16.7%)	12 (5.0%)
Unemployed	(5.3%) 9 (64.3%)	(6.8%) 5 (35.7%)	14 (5.8%)
Total	169 (69.8%)	73 (30.2%)	242 (100%)

Note: Column percentages given in upper-left corner of the cells and row percentages given in lower right corner of the cells.

poor would be more interested in educational programs that would enable them to increase their productivity and earning power. Those who are affluent, on the other hand, may be more interested in consumer-type programs, which enable them to make better use of their affluence and leisure. The distribution Tables 19 and 22 support these expectations.

It is well known that on the average those who have more education receive more job-related education than those who possess less education.[4] Much of the job-related education of high income, high education individuals can be expected to be purchased from outside the elementary-secondary school system. If they do purchase any services from public school adult education programs at all, these services would tend to be the consumer related education type, which is evidenced in Table 19. Individuals with less than high school education enroll more often in the investment-type courses where they learn general skills.

Our data also show more women enrolled in Category III courses than

TABLE 24

DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE STUDENTS BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND WILLINGNESS TO PAY TWICE THE FEES

	Student Responses		
	Yes	No	Total
Full-time Employed	(43.4%) 85 (64.9%)	(35.1%) 46 (35.1%)	131 (40.1%)
Part-time Employed	(12.8%) 25 (52.1%)	(17.6%) 23 (47.9%)	48 (14.7%)
Unemployed	(43.9%) 86 (58.1%)	(47.3%) 62 (41.9%)	148 (45.2%)
Total	196 (59.9%)	131 (40.1%)	327 (100%)

Note:
Column percentages given in upper-left corner of the cells and row percentages given in lower-right corner of the cells.

men. Of all the students in the sample who were enrolled in Category III courses 71 per cent were women whereas of all the students enrolled in the investment-type courses only 48 per cent were women.

DEMAND FOR ADULT AND CONTINUING EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOL DISTRICTS

The major problem in the analysis of demand for adult and continuing education is determining an appropriate measure of demand. The most accessible measure is the enrollment in an adult education program. One serious weakness of this figure is its unreliability owing to double counting (counting one individual enrolled in three courses as three separate enrollees). This figure would also be affected by the size of the population in the school district. Chicago may have larger absolute enrollment in its adult education program than Niagara Falls, New York, but that would not necessarily imply that demand for adult education is greater in Chicago than in Niagara Falls. In order to take into account the influence of the size of the population the ratio of total enrollment to the total adult population in a school district may be used as a measure of demand. Using this measure for these two cities the ratio for Chicago is 0.008 whereas that for Niagara Falls is 0.310. Such a ratio, converted to a percentage, produces an equal interval scale appropriate for a dependent variable in a parametric statistical treatment.

Another serious problem in the use of enrollment is that all adult education courses do not meet for a fixed number of hours in a term. Some courses meet for more hours than others, yet the enrollment figure would give equal weight to enrollment in longer as well as shorter courses. This defect could also affect the ratio of enrollment to total adult population.

An alternative measure of demand is to use local revenue per capita allocated to the adult education program. The local revenue per capita is derived by dividing the portion of revenue coming from local sources by the total population of the school district. The reason for using this alternate measure of demand is relatively straight-forward. The measure represents the amount of money people in a school district are willing to give up to obtain adult education courses. This measure does not suffer from double counting or lack of standardization, and consequently was selected as the measure to be used in this study.

Multiple regression analysis was used in an attempt to "explain" the demand for adult education in the school districts of the sample. Locally obtained revenue per capita, with local revenue defined as the sum of tuition and local tax support, was used as the dependent variable. Independent variables were a measure of income (average household income) and a proxy for preference (average level of education). The various states were included as dummy variables, in order to pick up the effect of state policy on demand.

It should be clearly understood that the sampling procedures preclude generalizing from these results. In particular, the use of states as dummy variables is questionable, since the five or fewer school systems selected in each state may not be representative of the state as a whole. The sample of districts in this project was not selected at random, but deliberately included districts with a great deal of diversity in both socio-economic and program characteristics.

Because there might be inter-state differences as well as variables such as average income and education level of school districts influencing demand, two separate runs were conducted, one with and one without the state "dummy" variables. Other variables, such as the presence or absence of a full-time director, which were used in the earlier analysis but whose contribution did not amount to very much were dropped in the final analysis.

The results of the regressions are presented in Table 25. An R^2 = 0.65 for the second equation indicates a good fit, and means that 65 per cent of the variation in demand (i.e., in local revenue per capita for adult education) in our sample is explained by variation in the average income, education level and state location of the districts.

The first equation shows that with just two variables, the average education level in the school district, and the average income in the school district, 31 per cent of variation in demand for adult and continuing education can be explained. Both variables are positively related to demand. Although the independent variables are not statistically significant individually, the F value is significant at .01 level.

When the state variables are added to the regression equation, the R^2 value increases from .31 to .65 indicating a substantial increase in the goodness of fit of the equation. Controlling for the state effects allows income to emerge as an important variable influencing demand. The state in which a school district is located does seem to have important influence on the school district's demand for adult and continuing education. The coefficient for income can be interpreted as follows. Were the average household income in a school district to increase by one thousand dollars, on the average local revenue for adult education per capita would rise by eleven cents.

Since the number of observations in the sample (38) is small relative to the number of independent variables (11), it was necessary to obtain a corrected R^2. Using one of the standard formulas[5] the corrected R^2 was computed which equalled 0.58. Even after this adjustment fifty-eight per cent of the variance in demand for adult education is still "explained."

Although so far the discussion has focused on the factors that influence private demand, substantial amounts of revenue for the adult education enterprise come from state and federal treasuries. The subsidies provided by the state and federal government can be conceptualized as expressions of public demand for adult and continuing education.

TABLE 25

PRIVATE DEMAND FOR ADULT AND CONTINUING EDUCATION

F	(1) 7.598[a]	(2) 4.224[b]
Dependent Variable: Local Revenue Per Capita		
Constant	-1.558527 (1.211665)	-0.175667 (1.177829)
Independent Variables:		
1. Av. Household Income	0.000085 (0.000059)	0.000114 (0.000055)
2. Av. Level of Education	0.194446 (0.141008)	-0.019279 (0.135509)
3. California		2.216620 (0.699536)
4. Florida		-0.223311 (0.782820)
5. Illinois		0.57625 (0.644099)
6. Maine		0.519081 (0.665021)
7. Michigan		1.564853 (0.669477)
8. Mississippi		0.164110 (0.710839)
9. New Jersey		0.329384 (0.65492)
10. New York		1.056110 (0.727471)
11. North Carolina		-0.288251 (0.657238)
R^2	0.308886	0.650162

[a].05 level.

[b].01 level

Public Demand for Adult and Continuing Education

Reasons for government subsidy to education are discussed in chapters II and VIII. In this section some of the determinants of government subsidy to adult and continuing education are analyzed. Particularly, the influence of government subsidy on enrollments in various categories and the prices of courses in the various categories are examined. Data in tabular form as well as the results of some regression analysis are presented and discussed. Public demand may be defined as the ratio of the federal and state contribution to the total revenue of the adult education program in a school district, i.e.

$$\text{Public Demand} = \frac{\text{Revenue from State and Federal Sources}}{\text{Total Revenue}}$$

It is reasonable to expect that government would aid school districts with generally low levels of education and those with low average family incomes. The state vairables would also be of importance as some of the money offered by the federal government reaches school districts through the state governments.

As the results presented in Table 26 show the average educational level of a school district is quite an important factor in predicting variation in the proportion of revenue coming from the state and federal governments. The negative sign of the education coefficient is in the direction expected. The receipt of federal and state funds is negatively related with average educational level of a school district. When the state "dummy" variables are added to the regression equation, the education variable loses some of its explanatory power, nevertheless remaining relatively strong and statistically significant.

The income variable is difficult to discuss as the coefficient is minute and the error associated with it very large. Education and income are highly correlated ($r = .74$) and so after the education variable has been entered, income cannot add much to the variance explained.

The importance of the state in which a school district is located is again apparent from the change in the R . Without states, education and income variables explained about 36 per cent of the variation in the proportion of revenue received from state and federal funds. Once the state "dummy" variables are added the variance explained jumps to 65 per cent. Obviously the differences between states do seem important but specific differences among states that account for such a result cannot be identified without further specification of the state variable. Some regional influence is important because the sign of the beta coefficients for all southern states are positive whereas for the rest of the states they are negative. No conclusive statement can be made from such a finding because the sample was selected with an aim to obtain differences between situations, within the country as well as within the states.

One way in which government subsidies influence demand for adult education is through changes effected in the price of courses. Government subsidy enables a director of adult education to lower the tuition

TABLE 26

PUBLIC DEMAND FOR ADULT AND CONTINUING EDUCATION

F	1 9.712	2 4.225
Dependent Variables State and Federal Revenue / Total Revenue		
Intercept	1.852483	1.526494
Independent Variables	(0.303052)	(0.306959)
1. Av. Household Income	0.000013	0.000015
	(0.000015)	(0.000014)
2. Av. Level of Education	-0.126527*	-0.081841*
	(0.035268)	(0.035316)
3. California		-0.215542
		(0.182309)
4. Michigan		-0.250112
		(0.174476)
5. New York		-0.273272
		(0.189590)
6. Illinois		-0.179587
		(0.167862)
7. Maine		-0.188753
		(0.173314)
8. New Jersey		-0.439278
		(0.170622)
9. Florida		0.148692
		(0.204014)
10. Mississippi		0.115847
		(0.185255)
11. North Carolina		0.118918
		(0.171286)
R^2	.36	.65

*.05 level.

fee and this reduction in price of courses may be followed by an increase in the demand for these courses. The data show quite strong negative zero-order correlation between public demand $\left(\frac{\text{State and Federal Revenue}}{\text{Total Revenue}}\right)$ for adult education and average course fee ($r = -0.4472$, significant at 0.01 level). Table 26 shows that generally as the proportion of revenue obtained from the state and federal government increases, the average fee per course in sampled school districts tends to fall. Here too, the relation is not exactly linear but generally obvious at the top and bottom ends of the table.

Public demand influences prices and private demand for various course categories differentially. Again referring to Table 26 the average fee for Category I courses is generally less than average course fee for Category III courses in school districts receiving substantial aid from the state and federal governments. A definite bias in favor of Category I courses is evident in the actions of state and federal governments. For the total sample the average tuition for Category III courses was $37.18 per course as compared to $9.31 for courses for Category I.

To study the relationship between government aid and course categories further, a separate analysis was undertaken. Public demand is positively correlated with the ratio of enrollment in Category I courses to total enrollment, ($r = 0.6874$, significant at the 0.01 level) but negatively correlated with the Category II enrollment ratio ($r = -.3988$, significant at 0.05 level). Considering the Category III enrollment ratio, the correlation remains negative but becomes quite strong ($r = -0.6618$, significant above the 0.01 level). A part of this relationship can be visually perceived by referring to Table 26.

School districts receiving a large proportion of their revenue from state and federal sources also tend to have a large proportion of their students enrolled in Category I type courses.

In summary it appears that average income in a school district has a strong influence on private demand. School districts with high average household income have a greater propensity to increase their per capita share of the total revenue of adult education program. The main thrust of federal and state aid is towards low education school districts. Government aid has a strong positive influence on the enrollments in Category I courses, whereas high local income levels are positively related to enrollments in Category III courses. The implication of these findings will be discussed in a later chapter.

TABLE 27

REVENUE SOURCE, PROPORTION OF COURSES IN CATEGORY III, AND AVERAGE TUITION

School District	Revenue fr State & Federal Gov't. As Per Cent of Total Revenue	Category I Courses As Per Cent of Total Courses	Total Program	Average Tuition Category I	Average Tuition Category III
Gadsden Co. -- Florida	100	100	0.00	0.00	0.00
E. St. Louis, Illinois	100	84	0.00	0.00	0.00
Carroll Co., Mississippi ...	100	100	0.00	0.00	0.00
S.W. Tech Inst., N. Carolina	100	84	5.96	6.61	0.00
Laredo, Texas	100	100	0.00	0.00	0.00
Lenoir Comm. College, North Carolina	100	58	0.00	0.00	0.00
Dade Co., Florida.....	96.97	74	2.46	2.62	2.00
Forsyth Inst., N. Carolina .	96.10	89	4.40	4.37	3.75
McCamey, Texas	95.22	100	0.00	0.00	0.00
Meridan Jr. College, Miss. .	93.85	47	14.55	13.55	15.47
Vineland, New Jersey	91.84	75	5.42	5.93	3.00
Newark, New Jersey	85.78	50	12.07	11.59	12.86
Houston, Mississippi	85.36				
White Plains, New York	82.64	67	11.24	10.20	13.94
Muskegon Heights, Michigan .	77.41	100	0.00	0.00	0.00
Biddeford, Maine	74.62	72	4.62	4.47	5.00
Chicago, Illinois	65.82	62	0.00	0.00	0.00
Van Buren, Maine	61.70	73	2.73	1.88	5.00
Sacramento, California	60.61	45	1.14	0.00	0.00
Stockton California	58.73	56	1.56	0.30	3.33
Rockford, Illinois	58.08	45	11.09	14.40	7.90
Fort Worth, Texas	57.62	100	7.50	7.50	0.00
Midland, Michigan	57.61	60	32.08	46.56	5.78
Presque Isle, Maine	55.96	65	4.46	4.17	5.00
Detroit, Michigan	53.95	52	15.33	15.11	13.14
Bloomington, Illinois	49.44	44	8.35	9.95	7.34

TABLE 27 (Continued)

School District	% Revenue fr State & Federal Gov't. / Total Revenue	% Category I Courses / Total Courses	Total Program	Average Tuition Category I	Average Tuition Category III
Portland, Maine	40.00	73	4.62	4.47	5.00
Palo Alto, California	39.19	49	2.08	1.46	2.81
Niagara Falls, New York ..	38.84	32	6.07	5.21	8.08
Newburgh, New York	38.16	67	5.12	5.56	2.78
Oakland, California	27.94	80	3.13	3.16	0.00
Fairlawn, New Jersey	19.70	29	16.53	21.59	14.70
Wayne, New Jersey	19.29	15	22.18	37.08	20.48
Maplewood, New Jersey	12.19	13	16.03	12.13	16.95
Manistique, Michigan	11.08	40	3.21	1.00	3.95
Maine Township, Illinois .	10.38	31	20.20	26.90	17.01

FOOTNOTES

[1] John W. C. Johnstone and Ramon J. Rivera, Volunteers for Learning (Chicago: Aldine, 1965), p. 20.

[2] Cf., Ibid., Table 16.8, p. 364.

[3] Werner Z. Hirsch, "The Income Elasticity of Public Education," in Price Theory in Action, edited by Donald E. Watson (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1969), pp. 55-57.

[4] Jacob Mincer, "On-the-Job Training: Costs, Returns and Some Implications," Journal of Political Economy, LXX (October, 1962), Part II, pp. 50-79.

[5] The formula below is given in T. Yamane, Statistics: An Introductory Analysis (New York: Harper and Row, 1967).

$$1 - \frac{\text{SS error}}{\text{SS total}} \cdot \frac{n - 1}{n - k - 1}$$

, where n = number of observations, k = number of independent variables.

CHAPTER VI

THE PRODUCTION OF EDUCATIONAL SERVICES FOR ADULTS

Adult education is an important sector of the vast industry which produces educational services. Adult education is characterized by the variety of services which it produces, and by the diversity of the agencies which supply these services. The production of these services is a huge and complex undertaking. This chapter deals with some dimensions of this enterprise; the analysis is limited to the production of services in public elementary and secondary educational systems.

The first section of the chapter deals with the decisions which must be made concerning which courses to provide. A theoretical rationale for these decisions is presented in this section. An analysis is made of reasons given for curricular decisions of adult education directors.

The chapter then turns to the actual process of producing services. This process involves obtaining and combining resources--the time of people, space and equipment. Since teachers are the most valuable and important inputs (apart from students), special attention is given to methods of selecting teachers, staffing ratios, and rates of pay.

The last section provides an examination of tuition fees charged for various courses in the districts. Tuition is a major part of the cost to enrollees, the other element of cost being foregone opportunities associated with the use of time. To a considerable extent, tuition can be regarded as being the "price" which individuals pay for courses in adult education. This price may in turn affect enrollments; hence it becomes an important instrument of social policy.

CURRICULAR DECISIONS

At the basis of the production of adult education lie decisions about what courses or programs (services) shall be offered. The curriculum or the total set of services constitutes the product of the adult education industry.

Again it is necessary to emphasize that this study has been concerned with only one aspect of adult education. The services which are provided by business, industry, the Armed Forces, and other governmental agencies are perhaps more important, in terms of their total clientele and the amount of money spent, than the elementary-secondary school systems' part

of adult and continuing education. Furthermore, junior colleges provide a variety of services, some of which are in direct competition with school systems.

Nevertheless, in many parts of the country, elementary and secondary school systems are almost the only agencies which provide adult education. The magnitude of enrollment in public school adult education in several program classifications, is indicated in Table 28. Furthermore, these school systems have been traditionally close to the people, and are therefore sensitive, in many cases, to the public interest. There are also certain economies involved in the night-time use of school buildings by adults. Not only the buildings themselves, but equipment and personnel can often be used by both adults and children.

As producers of educational services, elementary and secondary school systems are very diverse. On the one hand, the systems in Dade County, Florida provides some five hundred and fifty different courses. In contrast to this breath-taking array of offerings, only four different courses were identified in Quincy, Florida, and only one in McCamey, Texas.

How are decisions made about these courses? According to the theoretical analysis provided in chapter II, courses are offered in response to either public or private demand. Public demand is expressed by legislators who are concerned about the social benefits assumed to flow from certain kinds of courses or programs. It may, for example, be assumed that courses to provide basic education to the under-educated will result in increased economic productivity, and in better informed political participation of those exposed to the courses. The concept of "social need" is applied to such courses.

Throughout the entire educational enterprise, social need is associated with federally financed programs. Congress has taken upon itself the definition of certain social needs and has, over the years, provided money to deal with them. Examples of such legislation have been the Morrill Acts, which established Land Grant Colleges, the Smith-Hughes Act, dealing with vocational education, the extensive educational components of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps during the Depression, and the National Defense Education Act.

In the field of adult education, the best example of programs for which a federally perceived need has been established are the adult Basic Education programs. These programs (described in chapter IV) are the only programs which are in operation for adults in all fifty states. The programs attempt to deal with illiteracy and low educational achievement, and are financed largely from federal funds, with some state and local matching funds. Other programs for which a federally perceived need has provided the basis for financing include the various vocational manpower training programs for adults. Such programs are designed to prepare individuals for gainful employment, and hence to reduce welfare costs. Some states also provide courses with similar purposes. In all of these programs, a "need" has been defined outside the school system, money has been provided as an incentive to the system to provide appropriate services.

TABLE 28

ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM REVENUES BY DISTRICT

	Per Cent Federal Revenues		Per Cent Federal Revenues
Texas		Michigan	
Fort Worth	56.7	Midland	4.5
McCamey	86.4	Detroit	40.5
Laredo	99.0	Manestique	11.1
		Muskegon Heights	23.9
North Carolina			
Winston-Salem	60.4	Florida	
Kingston	32.2	Fort Lauderdale	9.1
Sylva	15.5	Miami	28.9
St. Paul	20.7	Quincy	90.0
Illinois		New Jersey	
Glenview	9.6	Maplewood	12.2
Bloomington	31.0	Wayne	.0
Rockford	20.3	Fair Lawn	9.0
Chicago	49.7	Newark	81.7
East St. Louis	80.6	Vineland	87.0
New York		California	
White Plains	82.6	Palo Alto	26.4
Niagara Falls	38.8	Los Angeles	33.8
Newburgh	10.0	Sacramento	19.2
		Oakland	9.3
Maine		Stockton	6.5
Presque Isle	28.7		
Portland	19.8	Mississippi	
Van Buren	47.4	Meridian	76.1
Biddeford	55.6	Houston	82.4
		North Carrolton	90.0

Where state or local tax revenues are available, directors of adult education, sometimes with the help of advisory committees or boards of education, may survey the "needs" of a community and provide courses to meet those needs. In a number of cases, according to the data collected in this study business and industry leaders participate in these surveys of needs, and provide advice regarding their employment requirements. In these cases, also, the effect is the establishment of a curriculum based on requirements which have been defined by others than the adult enrollee.

However, many adult education programs are responsive to the demands of individuals, as opposed to perceptions of "social needs." In these latter cases, programs are established when a given number of individuals signifies an interest in them. This interest may be self-initiated, and presented in the form of a petition, or it may come about as a result of a survey made by the adult educator and his staff.

Being on the mailing list of other adult education programs is another common way in which directors obtain ideas for curriculum offerings. By examining the courses offered elsewhere, a director may be led to perceive a social need (or a source of funds) for new courses in his community, or he may find new or unusual offerings for which he believes individual demand would be expressed were he to make them available in his program.

Three statements may be made about the distinction between social need and private demand. These statements are based on data gathered during the study.

(1) As mentioned above, the distinction may be based on source of revenue. By and large, when money comes predominantly from the federal government, the emphasis is on programs which are designed to meet a social need defined by Congress (see Table 28).

(2) There is not a one-to-one relationship between the concept of private (as opposed to social) demand and concept of consumption (as opposed to investment). However, there is a tendency for communities which emphasize giving courses in response to private demand to provide a larger proportion of consumption type than investment type courses, as shown in Table 29. (The consumption/investment course typology was introduced in chapter III.)

TABLE 29

COMMUNITIES EMPHASIZING PRIVATE DEMAND

Community	Per Cent Revenue Local	Per Cent Revenue Federal	Per Cent Courses of Consumption Type
Manistique, Michigan	88.9	11.1	44.2
Maplewood, New Jersey	87.8	11.2	66.7
Wayne, New Jersey	80.7	0.0	61.5
Fair Lawn, New Jersey	80.3	9.0	46.6
Glenview, Illinois	89.6	9.6	50.9
Laredo, Texas	.0	N/A	.0
East St. Louis, Illinois	.0	80.6	.0
White Plains, New York	17.4	82.6	21.6
Quincy, Florida	5.0	90.0	.0
Newark, New Jersey	14.2	81.7	25.9
Vineland, New Jersey	8.2	87.0	13.9
North Carrollton, Mississippi	5.0	90.0	.0

(3) There is a relationship between educational level of the community and the emphasis on social as compared to private demand for education. Communities with a higher educational level have a high expressed private demand for adult education services. Communities with a low educational level have a low expressed private demand; these communities may be characterized as having a relatively high social need. That is, programs at the federal level tend to be directed toward these kinds of communities. These relationships are implied by the data in Table 30.

TABLE 30

REVENUE SOURCE AND PROPORTION OF CONSUMPTION-TYPE COURSE IN RELATIVELY HIGH AND LOW EDUCATION LEVEL DISTRICTS

Community	Median Years School Completed	Per Cent Local Revenue	Per Cent Federal Revenue	Per Cent Courses of Consumption Type
Maplewood, New Jersey	13.7	87.8	12.2	66.7
Palo Alto, California	13.3	60.8	16.9	39.0
Wayne, New Jersey	13.0	80.7	.0	61.5
Midland, Michigan	12.7	42.4	4.5	21.1
Glenview, Illinois	13.0	89.6	9.6	50.9
Quincy, Florida	9.7	22.6	90.0	.0
Laredo, Texas	6.4	.0	N/A	.0
S. W. Tech., North Carolina	7.9	.0	15.5	5.6
St. Paul's, North Carolina	7.9	.0	20.7	13.1
North Carrollton, Miss.	8.0	5.0	90.0	.0

Directors of adult education programs were asked to state the basis upon which they made decisions about the addition of courses. The majority of directors cited both social need and private demand as the basis for the decision. Typical of this kind of balanced criterion is the following statement:

(1) New high school diploma courses were added this year because the State will now subsidize these up to 75 per cent instead of 50 per cent as was the case last year.

(2) Some new courses were added because groups of people requested them.

(3) Others were added because the Director and the Superintendent felt there was a need for the courses.

(4) Occasionally, courses are added because we become aware of a teacher who can teach a course not previously offered.

And in another district:

> In the one-campus program it has been the policy of the Adult Education Department to work closely with regular school personnel, including division chairmen and instructors, in identifying course needs particularly in the occupational areas.
>
> The Adult Education Department also attempts to maintain contact with local industry and trade or professional groups to identify community training needs. The opinions of students currently enrolled in courses is also solicited in identifying course needs.

Several high education communities placed an almost exclusive emphasis on private demand as the basis for deciding to provide courses. The following statement is typical of this approach.

> Our most recent additions were to broaden the curriculum for those in our credit program. Also, we poll those enrolled to see what new courses we should consider offering. The local citizenry is asked to call the local director and suggest courses of their choice.

At the other extreme, some communities (typically of lower educational attainment) placed exclusive emphasis on social need as the basis for adding a new course:

> An effort is made by the Director to ascertain what courses shall be offered. A number of courses are repeated periodically which have been previously requested by outsiders. Federal monies may prompt a program, i.e., Adult Basic Education could have such a program already recognized by the Director but it had not been offered because of lack of local funds. The evidence of this is the fact that a closely related program, the G.E.D. program was already in operation at the time of the initiation of Adult Basic Education. Occasionally programs may be initiated upon the recommendation of State agencies. An example of this is the series of management programs that were begun at the suggestion of the Distributive Education Division of the State Department of Education.

As for the decision on whether to retain or increase the number of sections of a course in the program, a general procedure used by many directors involves what might be termed a "warm seat index." Courses which consistently attract enrollees will be retained and perhaps be offered in more sections or variations. But classes in which few of the seats are warmed are likely to be dropped from the next program schedule. This kind of rapid response to "feedback" from clientele is unique to adult schools among public educational institutions. The "warm seat index" also influences the retention of teachers, as will be seen in the next section of this chapter.

THE PRODUCTION OF ADULT EDUCATION SERVICES

Almost any evening of the week in most communities the doors will be open and the lights will be on in one or more of the public school buildings, with the desks occupied by parents or neighbors of the day school pupils and with some of the regular day school teachers at the front of the classroom. Such is the most common form in which public school adult education takes place in the United States, but by no means is it the only form. In some communities, such as White Plains, New York, adult education is housed in a separate building used exclusively for that purpose and a full daytime as well as evening schedule is offered. Elsewhere, decentralized locations, such as community centers or store fronts, may be emphasized, with the aim of making adult education more convenient and also perhaps less like "school." Junior colleges, rather than elementary and secondary schools, are the main locus of public adult education in some communities and states.*

Such bringing together of teachers, equipment and classroom space at advertized times and places constitutes the production of adult education services. Of course some students and perhaps some perspiration would have to be added in order to be confident that adult education was being produced, but as far as the production of services is concerned, the students are actually secondary.

The production of educational services per se is a primary concern of most adult educators, as it is perhaps of most educators in general. Evidence for this is seen in the fact that in practically all districts in our sample there is a certain minimum number of registrations which must be paid for before the first or additional sections of a given course may be opened. This requirement is easily justified by the necessity for most courses to be self-supporting with respect to the cost of the instructor and a share of the overhead. Once a course has sufficient registrations and has begun meeting, however, it will continue to meet even if actual attendance falls far below the minimum required to get it going, that is, in the short run, the service is produced to a considerable extent independently of any education which may result.

In the long run, that is, over time periods long enough to allow course offerings and instructors to be changed, adult education may well be more sensitive than other areas of public education to the effectiveness of the services it offers, because attendance in adult classes is almost always voluntary. As Burton Clark says in his noted study[1] of adult education in California:

Adult schools must create clienteles. To survive and prosper they

---

*Although Junior Colleges are the subject of another satellite study in the National Educational Finance Project, some examples of adult education in the Junior College setting were surveyed for the present study because state policy had resulted in the transfer of sponsorship of public school adult education programs to junior college auspices.

> must so adapt to the environment that they are reasonably guaranteed an aggregate of students at any one time. The problem is threefold: out of the general population students must be pulled to the adult schools; the organization must then hold them in attendance; or, where students fall away, the schools must replace them. The possibility of losing large blocs of voluntary students is always a threat. The survival of individual positions and the strength of the entire organization depends entirely upon success in recruiting and holding student bodies.

Consequently, the level of satisfaction with services expressed by clients of adult education tends to be high, both because those dissatisfied can leave at any time and because program directors and teachers make continuous efforts to prevent them from deciding to do so. In this case, of course, "effectiveness of services" is judged less by student performance than by the "warm seat index."

There is considerable variation in the extent to which such production of adult education services is contained within the physical and human resources of the public schools, but the overwhelming tendency is for classes to be held in the regular day school buildings of the local systems, and, to a somewhat less extent, for teachers of adults to be drawn from the certified teachers of children. Kempfer and Wright, in their study of one hundred public evening schools for adults found the following distribution of school locations by building types (see Table 31).

The main reason for the use of school system buildings is clear: money is thought to be saved by doing so. Schools are relatively specialized structures which might otherwise have little alternative use in the evening, and which consequently are both well-suited to the purpose of adult education and available at low opportunity cost. In addition it may be noted that compared to the daytime variety, evening school students cause little in the way of wear and tear to buildings and equipment. Finally, school boards already have control over the use of school premises, so the cost of locating and contracting for space and equipment elsewhere is eliminated, as is of course the rent which would have to be paid for them.

The production of adult education services in most communities depends heavily on "in-kind" support of this nature from the local school board. Courses are thus made available at a lower level of expenditure than would be required if the program had to exist independently of the school system. Carl W. Simmons, Director of Adult Education in Vineland, New Jersey, emphasized this point in a letter to this project:

> Although your survey is primarily concerned with cash revenues, paramount to the success of adult education locally has been in-kind contributions for the implementation of adult programs.

And in South Orange-Maplewood, New Jersey:

> The adult school pays no rental to the Board of Education. The Board of Education's contribution (free) to the adult school is facilities, use of equipment, janitor's services, heat, light and power.

TABLE 31

NUMBER OF EVENING SCHOOLS HOUSED IN BUILDINGS OF SPECIFIED TYPES*

Enrollment of School	Type of Building				
	High School	Junior High School	Elementary School	Separate Building For Education	Other
1	2	3	4	5	6
Total	87	16	17	6	26
1,000 or more	30	7	10	4	18
400-999	32	7	6	2	8
Fewer than 400	25	2	1	-	-

Source: Homer Kempfer and Grace S. Wright, 100 Evening Schools, Bulletin 1949, No. 4, Office of Education, Federal Security Agency (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1949), p. 43.

*Number in table refer to number of schools and not to number of buildings.

And Presque Isle, Maine:

> The program is operated out of the general fund. No separate charges to the adult program.

Similar responses were given by many other directors in our sample.

In some districts, however, charges for use of space, equipment, utilities and maintenance are assessed to the adult program. In Van Buren, Maine:

> There is no fixed percentage. This year it comes up to 1.2 per cent of the entire(adult education) budget.

While in Detroit, Mihcigan:

> The charges assessed by the school district for the Adult Education Program varies for each specific phase of the program and averages about five per cent of the instructional and administrative costs. There is no fixed percentage charged for overhead, it also varies with program needs.

The following table shows the number of districts reporting to this study in each category according to the method of assessment of charges.

TABLE 32

METHOD OF OVERHEAD CHARGE ASSESSMENT

	No Charges Assessed	Fixed Percentage	Variable Percentage or Estimate of Actual Cost	Other Or No Response
Number of Districts	19	4	7	7

Similarly, Olds found in his survey of the financing of adult and continuing education that of four hundred and seventy-six schools which reported financial data, about half did not report "indirect or overhead costs."[2]

To a lesser but not negligible extent, adult education programs also use the teachers who are certified for the day program. Kempfer and Wright found that of 3,481 teachers reported to their study, 51.2 per cent were day school teachers,[3] and many who are not currently teaching are former teachers who are retired or temporarily withdrawn from day teaching.[4]

In the simplest case, day program teachers are the first to be informed about adult school openings and they are given priority in hiring. This tends especially to be the case where the range of offerings is narrow and the number of positions available relative to the number of day teachers is small. A narrow range of offerings nearly always includes basic skill courses such as Adult Basic Education and high school completion courses. The content of such courses closely parallels that of some regular elementary and secondary courses, and hence the day school teachers are often employed for teaching the night (i.e., the adult) offerings. An obvious danger is that evening classes taught by day school teachers may not be other than warmed over day school programs.

The relative scarcity of teaching positions in adult programs with few offerings means that some rationing or selection process must be used. The building principal sometimes plays a decisive role in this procedure by virtue of the discretion he often has over which teachers shall be recommended to the director of the adult program.

In many systems in our sample, a list of more or less objective criteria was indicated as the basis of the teacher selection process. Typical of such criteria are these:

Knowledge of Subject
Interest in Teaching Adults
Certification Credentials
Background and Experience
Character

Broward County (Fort Lauderdale) Florida, elaborates on these criteria as follows:

> Teachers are selected strictly on their qualifications for the course to be taught. They must meet state and local certification requirements. They are identified by application, by observation, by referral,by recruitment, by publicity. They are recommended to the Director by the appropriate program supervisor or coordinator. They are also approved by, and placed on the payroll by, the school board action. There is no seniority or other system involving preference or precedence. we try to get the best possible teacher available for each position.

South Orange-Maplewood, New Jersey abreviates the list in this straightforward fashion:

> The only criteria are:
>
> 1. Do they know, and
> 2. Can they teach.

The criterion of certification is open to most of the same arguments directed toward teacher certification in general, and will not be analyzed here. Certification can be either a state or local requirement, or both, but in either case the requirement can usually be circumvented when desired through the device of temporary certification for periods up to a year, or by a variety of other expedients. A certification requirement becomes increasingly problematic as the range of program offerings is increased. As the courses become less like those of regular elementary and secondary school, and as the number of "consumption" courses in particular inreases, the likelihood decreases that the best teacher by other criteria will also be certified.

Teachers who are to be selected by any criteria,however, must first be attracted, and this raises the important question of wage and salary policies. Detailed information on salary policies was not elicited by this study, however, for reasons similar to those which complicate the assessment of space and equipment costs in adult education. Just as the majority of adult programs make use of a physical plant developed primarily for other purposes, with no attempt made to separate out shares of the cost, so too are prevailing wages for teachers determined largely by forces outside of the adult programs which also wish to use some of those same teachers. In some cases these "outside forces" may be master contracts negotiated by the local teacher's organization, which spell out the wages for teaching various adult classes. Or, the influence of uniform salary schedules may be shown in a single flat hourly rate or a two or three step schedule for adult classes, regardless of the relative scarcity or abundance of teachers for

a given course. A third influence noted in several states, may be the presence of state department of education "guidelines" for adult class wages.

With respect to general wage policy and the type of program offered, however, some tentative evidence is found. A content analysis was made of replies to open-ended questions concerning wage policies for adult courses, according to indications of relative flexibility or inflexibility of the wage and salary policies by which directors determined the wages paid for given courses. These ratings were paired with the percentage of consumption-type courses offered in the district's program. Junior College and college course offering districts were omitted, except in North Carolina, where junior colleges are the main locus of adult education. The following table resulted:

TABLE 33

PER CENT CONSUMPTION-TYPE COURSES IN DISTRICTS OF RELATIVELY HIGH AND LOW WAGE FLEXIBILITY

Indication of Relative Flexibility in Setting Wage	Per Cent of Consumption Courses in District Program	Indication of Relative Inflexibility in Setting Wage	Per Cent of Consumption Courses in District Program
District Code No.		District Code No.	
62	67	61	47
65	62	43	44
24	51	83	29
21	40	63	26
03	39	22	23
		04	23
Mean percentage = 48.8		31	22
		73.	22
		75	22
		42	17
		05	17
		34	14
		64	14
		85	13
		11	11
		72	11
		35	9
		82	6
		33	4
		84	3

TABLE 33 (Continued)

Indication of Relative Flexibility in Setting Wage	Per Cent of Consumption Courses in District Program	Indication of Relative Inflexibility in Setting Wage	Per Cent of Consumption Courses in District Program
District Code No.		District Code No.	
		51	0
		91	0
		93	0
		94	0
		45	0
		13	0
		Mean percentage = 14.5	

Thus, in the districts reporting to this study, program director autonomy in setting the wage to be paid to a particular teacher for a particular course appears to be strongly related to the presence of a high proportion of category three ("consumption") courses in the program offerings. The private demand for consumption courses is positively related to the level of education and income characterizing a community. Hence a director who wants to provide these courses to a clientele which desires and is able to pay for them is evidently better able to do so when he has some flexibility in bidding for teaching talent.

TUITION

The tuition (enrollment fee, etc.) represents the price of a course from the point of view of the client, but of course not the total cost of taking a course, which includes in addition to tuition and fees the opportunity cost of the time of the student while in class, while doing any homework entailed, and while traveling to and from class, as well as possible expenditures on materials, transportation, or even baby-sitters.

The direct and indirect costs of money and time were cited with the greatest frequency as obstacles to taking adult classes by both persons identified as having "high participation readiness" and the total sample in Johnstone and Rivera's study of adult education, as shown in Table 34.

Table 34 refers to persons not enrolled in any adult classes. How would their responses compare to those of persons who were actually participating in a class? A sample of tuition-paying students enrolled in courses surveyed by the present study were asked if they would be willing to

pay twice the tuition they had paid, and a majority indicated they would be willing to do so (Table 35).

TABLE 34

REASON FOR NOT ATTENDING ADULT EDUCATION AMONG PERSONS WITH HIGH PARTICIPATION READINESS AND TOTAL SAMPLE (PER CENT WHO SAID THAT REASON WOULD APPLY TO THEM)

Reasons	Persons with High Participation Readiness	Total Sample	Percentage Difference
Couldn't afford it	43 (4,140)*	48 (9,640)	-5
Too busy	39 (4,187)	48 (9,693)	-9
Too tired at night	37 (4,150)	45 (9,693)	-8
Hard to get out of house at night	31 (4,204)	35 (9,755)	-4
Don't know of available courses	30 (4,162)	35 (9,518)	-5
Not the "studying type"	20 (4,164)	34 (9,611)	-14
Courses don't sound interesting	11 (4,066)	18 (9,136)	-7
Feel too old to learn	8 (4,190)	23 (9,772)	-15
Would feel childish	4 (4,195)	12 (9,644)	-8
Don't need classes	4 (4,205)	12 (9,666)	-8

*All bases are weighted.

Source: John W. C. Johnstone and Ramon J. Rivera, Volunteers for Learning (Chicago: Aldine, 1965), p. 215.

TABLE 35

STUDENT WILLINGNESS TO PAY DOUBLE FEES

If the tuition cost or student fee for this course were twice as much, would you have enrolled for this course?		
No	207	(36%)
Yes	365	(64%)

This apparent difference between those enrolled and not enrolled in willingness to pay requires closer analysis. The clientele presently enrolled and surveyed by this study included, in addition to the above tuition-paying segment, two hundred and forty-eight students enrolled in free courses. Since it is not meaningful to ask persons paying nothing if they would pay twice that amount, could it be that the students enrolled in free courses are similar to those in the Johnstone and Rivera study who found cost an obstacle to attendance? In other words, does tuition (as a part of total cost) have its greatest impact in low income groups?

Olds in his 1952 study, did find in Michigan that proportionally more low family income persons attended free than tuition adult schools, as shown in Table 36.

TABLE 36

ATTENDANCE AT "FREE" AND TUITION ADULT SCHOOLS, BY INCOME GROUP

	Free Schools		Tuition Schools	
Annual Family Income	Per Cent of Population	Per Cent of Students	Per Cent of Population	Per Cent of Students
Under $1000	18.2	4.2	11.5	0.8
$1000 to $2000	18.1	7.9	9.3	4.1
$2000 to $3000	17.7	9.8	16.6	7.6
$3000 to $4000	18.9	20.0	23.8	14.5
$4000 to $5000	10.1	21.9	15.3	18.7
$5000 to $7000	10.6	23.9	15.0	30.2
Over $7000	6.4	12.3	8.5	24.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Edward B. Olds, Financing Adult Education (Washington: National Commission on Adult Education Finance, 1954), p. 51.

On the other hand, some low-income persons did attend tuition schools. Furthermore, why do not more low-income persons attend the free schools? This question is posed with respect to two specific opportunities by recent data on the nation as a whole:

TABLE 37

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION AND HIGH SCHOOL LEVEL PARTICIPATION RATES

Age 18 and Over with Less than Elementary Education	Enrolled in ABE	Participation Rate
23,626,736	550,364	2.3%
Age 18 and Over with Elementary but Less than High School Education	**Enrolled in High School Completion/Equivalency**	**Participation Rate**
42,391,831	1,073,147	2.5%

Source: Association for Public and Continuing Education, 1970 Almanac (Washington: National Association for Public Continuing and Adult Education, 1970), pp. 37, 41.

The importance of this data derives from the fact that Adult Basic Education (ABE) is virtually everywhere subsidized, but high school completion is seldom subsidized. Thus ABE is tuition free to all who might take it, while high school diploma or equivalency courses are some places free and in others not free, so that on the average there is a positive tuition for high school completion. Yet, despite the tuition differential the participation rate is slightly higher among those seeking to finish high school than among those in ABE. Why is this so?

In the first place, the courses are not identical, nor are their respective clienteles identical, hence there is no reason to expect people to behave as if they were. Setting aside this point without development, however, let us pursue the question why, even so, the participation rate is not higher in the tuition-free ABE program. It is helpful here to introduce a further breakdown of the response shown in Table 32, this time by age and socio-economic status, males only.

Here, indeed, the factor of monetary cost receives most mention by men of low socio-economic status in both age groups. Mentioned by almost half the same men, however, is sheer lack of knowledge of available courses.

TABLE 38

REASONS POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS DO NOT ATTEND ADULT EDUCATION CLASSES, BY AGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (PER CENT WHO SAID EACH REASON WOULD APPLY)--MALES ONLY

Reasons	Men Under 45		
	Low SES	Medium SES	High SES
Couldn't afford it	79 (249)*	45 (418)	23 (478)
Too busy	30 (248)	47 (420)	42 (491)
Too tired at night	37 (234)	34 (426)	27 (486)
Hard to get out at night	21 (249)	11 (425)	10 (488)
Don't know of available courses	48 (233)	28 (427)	20 (488)
Not the "studying type"	23 (249)	21 (424)	9 (476)
Courses don't sound interesting	16 (227)	15 (420)	8 (475)
Feel too old to learn	4 (249)	5 (426)	1 (488)
Would feel childish	2 (244)	1 (428)	+ (488)
Don't need classes	3 (238)	5 (428)	3 (488)
	Men 45 and Over		
Couldn't afford it	63 (184)	19 (127)	11 (161)
Too busy	37 (184)	44 (143)	38 (162)
Too tired at night	34 (194)	33 (138)	31 (156)

Note:

*All bases are weighted.
+less than 1 per cent.

Source: John W. C. Johnstone and Ramon J. Rivera, Volunteers for Learning, (Chicago: Aldine, 1965), p. 215.

TABLE 38 (Continued)

Reasons	Men 45 and Over		
	Low SES	Medium SES	High SES
Hard to get out of house at night	17 (190)	23 (144)	16 (162)
Don't know of available courses	48 (185)	45 (139)	22 (162)
Not the "studying type"	30 (184)	48 (143)	11 (161)
Courses don't sound interesting	23 (190)	8 (118)	16 (162)
Feel too old to learn	38 (190)	13 (134)	14 (161)
Would feel childish	23 (190)	4 (140)	4 (162)
Don't need classes	8 (190)	4 (145)	14 (161)

Since men of low SES according to the three indicators of occupation, education and income are more likely to have less than elementary education than are medium or high SES men, it is more likely that they will fail to participate merely due to lack of information, other reasons apart. This constitutes a partial explanation why ABE participation rates are not higher than observed.

Additional information is obtained from the third most frequently mentioned reason by men of low SES age 45 and over. The reason "feel too old to learn" is named by 38 per cent of such men, and insofar as it represents a judgment that general learning at such ages is of little benefit it may reflect sound reasoning. A person completing eighth grade at 45 or older has little to offer in terms of skills in a nation where high school completion has become the norm. Furthermore, persons with less than eighth grade education are disproportionately likely to be age 45 or over, as can be seen from Table 38. Thus, on the average, an individual who is eligible for the ABE program, and who knows about it, may calculate that he stands to gain very little from it in terms of enhancing his own earning power, even at a zero tuition rate. By comparison, on the other hand, we can make the plausible hypothesis that high school completion is perceived as worth undertaking, even at a positive tuition rate. The policy implications of this analysis of basic skills program tuition in relation to other variables are developed in the last chapter.

TABLE 39

HISTORICAL COMPARISONS OF THE CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE 18 to 64 YEARS OLD, BY SEX AND YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED, SELECTED YEARS, 1940-1967

Year and Sex	Total 18 to 64 Years (Thousands)	Percent Distribution by Years of School Completed							Median School Completed
		Total	Elementary		High School		College		
			Less than 5 Years	5 to 8 Years	1 to 3 Years	4 Years	1 to 3 Years	4 Years or More	
Male									
March 1967	44,581	100.0	3.3	18.7	19.0	33.7	12.0	13.3	12.3
March 1966	44,337	100.0	3.6	19.7	19.6	33.3	10.8	12.9	12.2
March 1965	44,111	100.0	4.0	20.3	19.7	32.8	10.6	12.6	12.2
March 1964	43,496	100.0	4.0	21.5	19.7	31.9	10.7	12.1	12.2
March 1962	42,693	100.0	4.8	23.2	20.0	29.6	10.5	11.9	12.1
March 1959	41,324	100.0	5.5	26.0	20.7	28.1	9.2	10.5	11.7
March 1957	40,687	100.0	6.3	28.2	20.1	27.2	8.5	9.6	11.3
October 1952 ..	38,658	100.0	7.6	31.7	19.4	24.6	8.3	8.3	10.6
April 1940	37,660	100.0	10.2	43.7	18.3	16.6	5.7	5.4	7.7

Source: Harvey R. Hamel, "Educational Attainment of Worker," Monthly Labor Review, February, 1968, p. A-6.

The highest incidence of tuition-free courses are among basic skill and vocational programs subsidized by the federal and state governments. Courses which meet individual consumption purposes rather than pressing social needs tend to be tuition courses. In addition, there are courses offered in many districts which meet individual investment purposes, and these tend to be tuition courses. The following tables developed from data obtained in this study illustrate these relationships.

TABLE 40

TEN HIGHEST AND TEN LOWEST RANKING DISTRICTS * BY TUITION AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL EXPENDITURE

District No.	Tuition as Percentage of Total Expenditure	Percentage of Program Courses of Consumption Type
24	85	51
61	82	47
62	79	67
65	73	62
44	35	21
25	33	34
72	21	11
37	17	14
43	16	44
73	16	22
75	05	29
65	05	14
63	05	26
35	05	9
04	04	23
22	03	23
02	03	0
51	0	0
45	0	0
23	0	0
94	0	0

Note:
*Exclusive of Junior Colleges.

Table 39 shows some but not an overwhelming tendency--except at the extremes--for consumption courses to be associated with high proportions of tuition to total expenditures in a district. There are few districts in which courses of all kinds are free, and some in which only Adult Basic

Education is free. The range in between reflects the variety of philosophies and ad hoc practices which co-exist concerning the extent to which adult education should be supported with public money.

Table 40 can be interpreted as follows: Districts which offer mainly investment courses typically have a narrow range of total program offerings, chief of which are the subsidized basic skills courses. Hence tuition in such courses is low, on the average. Districts which, on the other hand, offer a lower percentage of investment courses do so because the total range of offerings tends to be wider, including a number of non-subsidized investment courses for which full tuition is charged, thus raising the average investment course tuition in that district.

TABLE 41

PERCENTAGE OF CURRICULUM DEVOTED TO INVESTMENT COURSES AND AVERAGE INVESTMENT COURSE TUITION

50 Per Cent or More Courses Investment		Less than 50 Per Cent Courses Investment	
District No.	Average Tuition Investment Courses	District No.	Average Tuition Investment Courses
02	$ 3.16	03	$ 1.46
05	.30	04	0
11	2.62	21	9.95
13	0	24	26.90
22	0	25	14.40
23	0	43	1.00
31	4.23	55	13.55
33	4.47	61	21.59
34	4.17	62	12.13
35	1.88	65	37.08
42	15.11	73	5.21
45	0		
51	0		
63	11.59		
64	5.93		
72	0		
75	10.20		
82	6.61		
83	0		
84	4.37		
85	10.32		
91	7.50		
93	0		
94	0		
	Mean = $ 4.08		Mean = $15.02

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

This chapter has dealt with several aspects of decisions which must be made in the production of adult education services. After a comparison of four city public school adult education programs in chapter VII, a formal framework for the analysis of decision-making at all three levels of government is presented in chapter VIII.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Burton R. Clark, Adult Education in Transition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), p. 62.

[2]Edward B. Olds, Financing Adult Education (Washington: National Commission on adult Education Finance, 1954), p. 61.

[3]Homer Kempfer and Grace S. Wright, 100 Evening Schools, Bulletin 1949, No. 4, Office of Education, Federal Security Agency (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1949), p. 32.

[4]Homer Kempfer, Adult Education (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955), p. 322.

CHAPTER VII

PUBLIC SCHOOL ADULT EDUCATION IN CHICAGO, DETROIT, LOS ANGELES AND NEW YORK

Chapter VI dealt with the data on adult education programs in thirty-eight cities of various sizes in an effort to identify relationships among sources and level of funding of programs, tuition policies, participation, balance between consumption and investment courses, staffing, and decision making. The purpose of this chapter is to examine four school districts, the largest in their respective states, in some detail as a way of illustrating the range of differences among them regarding different approaches to adult education and their possible consequences. The additional depth of inquiry of this chapter may illuminate relationships of some consequence which may not be apparent from an examination of the quantitative data of the three preceding chapters.

In selecting the cities several factors were considered by the investigators. First, it was considered desirable that they be large cities with many of the contemporary urban problems. Second, it was decided that these cities should reflect regional differences. Third, it was felt that the states in which these cities were located should be urbanized and have a sizeable population. Fourth, it was decided that since states differed appreciably in their approach to providing financial support for adult education, no more than one city should be included from a single state. With these four considerations in mind the following cities were chosen: Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, and New York.

This examination of the adult education programs in the four cities is organized in six sections. Section One deals with the adult education provisions of the four state constitutions and school codes. In addition basic demographic data are presented to indicate the educational and financial situations. Section Two consists of demographic and historical data on the school districts and their programs. Section Three describes the revenue sources for the programs in each of the cities and the importance of the total adult program in the total school district budget. Section Four shows how the school districts vary in the emphasis placed on various aspects of the adult program as reflected in the number of adults served. Section Five deals with the administrative organization for providing and coordinating adult education services as shown by budgetary control exerted by the titular head of the adult education program over the full range of adult education services conducted by the school districts. Finally, Section Six is an

analysis of the differences and similarities among the programs and a synthesis of generalizations which appear to flow logically from the examination of the four programs.

I. STATE RESOURCES AND ADULT EDUCATION COMMITMENT

Adult education programs in each city reflect federal, state and local influences. Before examining the financial situation in the four cities we will turn to state characteristics and policies which might reasonably be expected to be reflected in local programming.

Constitutional Provisions for Adult Education

The basic philosophy of state responsibility for all levels of education is reflected in the following sections of the state constitutions.

California

Article IX, Section 1. A general diffusion of knowledge and intelligence being essential to the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people, the Legislature shall encourage by all suitable means the promotion of intellectual, scientific, moral, and agricultural improvement.

Section 6. The Public School System shall include all kindergarten schools, elementary schools, secondary schools, technical schools, and State colleges established in accordance with law, and, in addition, the school districts and the other agencies authorized to maintain them.

Illinois

Article VIII, Section 1. The General Assembly shall provide a thorough and efficient system of free schools whereby all children of this State may receive a good common school education.

Michigan

Article VIII, Section 3. Leadership and general supervision over all public education including adult education and instructional programs in state institutions, except as to institutions of higher education granting baccalaureate degrees, is vested in a state board of education. It shall serve as the general planning and coordinating body for all public education, including higher education, and shall advise the legislature as to the financial requirements in connection therewith.

New York

Article XI, Section 1. Common Schools. The legislature shall provide for the maintenance and support of a system of free common schools, wherein all the children of this State may be educated.

Constitutional Contrasts

The constitutions of California and Michigan do not restrict the educational responsibilities of the states to the children and youth. In the case of Michigan the former limitation of the responsibility to the pre-adult level was eliminated in the recent constitutional revision. At the time this report is being written the delegates to the Illinois Constitutional Convention have proposed a new education article which does not restrict educational responsibilities to children and youth. In New York State, however, the constitutional emphasis on children persists. As was pointed out in Chapter IV, unless the state constitution expressly forbids the state legislature to provide adult education it is unlikely that the courts would forbid such actions [1] On this basis it seems that the state legislatures in all four states are free to provide such programs and financial support as they wish.

LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENTS

Each of the four states has taken legislative action regarding adult education and such actions are presumably consistent with the legislators' perceptions of the constitutional intentions.

California

The California State Department of Education publishes a handbook periodically to bring together California policies and regulations governing adult education.[2] Nine categories of programs to be conducted in the public schools are listed:

1. Education leading to an elementary education certificate, a high school diploma, or a junior college degree.

2. Greater skill in reading, writing, spelling and speaking and an increased knowledge of arithmetic.

3. Knowledge of the English language or preparation for citizenship.

4. Vocational training in the service occupations and in the fields of agriculture, business education, and industrial arts.

5. Trade extension and apprenticeship training.

6. Greater competency in present employment or necessary preparation for a new occupation.

7. Homemaking and parent education.

8. Instruction in areas of special community interest, such as personal and family survival, safety and health, and driver education.

9. Education and cultural enrichment through offerings in classes for senior citizens, classes for handicapped adults, and the like.[3]

Because certain courses are seen as being of special benefit to the state, regulations have been set up to assure that these programs are available without tuition charges to the student:

> No tuition fee may be charged adults enrolled in English and citizenship for foreigners, in elementary subjects, or in high school credit classes if the adult does not have a high school diploma. No tuition fee may be charged adults enrolled in apprenticeship classes, and at no time may tuition fees be charged minors who attend classes for adults. . . . Tuition may be charged adults enrolled in all other classes, but at no time may the total income from tuition fees, apportionments from the State School Fund, and other funds received from maintaining the classes exceed the estimated cost of maintaining the classes.[4]

The education code permits each local school district to offer courses in "civic, vocational, literacy, health, homemaking, technical and general education, including, but not limited to, classes in the fields of music, drama, art, handicraft, science, literature, nature study, nature contacting, aquatic sports and athletics" without authorization, approval or reimbursement from the State Department of Education.[5]

In California a special definition has been developed for the "defined adult" to be used in claiming apportionment of state school funds. A "defined adult" is any pupil who:

> (1) has attained his twenty-first birthday on or before September 1 or February 1 of the semester for which he is enrolled and (2) is enrolled in less than 10 periods of not less than 40 minutes each per week. . . .[6]

Adults who attend adult education classes for more than ten hours per week are not classified or reported as adults. A higher rate of state reimbursement is provided for adults taking more than ten hours of work per week.

Supervision is required by law at specific levels based on the number of units of average daily attendance of "defined adults." The number of units of average daily attendance is computed by taking the total hours of attendance by all adults, dividing by three and then dividing that quotient by one hundred and seventy-five, the number of days in the regular school year.[7]

The mandated time assignments for administrative, supervisory and guidance services for each school district program are as follows:[8]

Units of Average Daily Attendance for "Defined Adults"	Administrative, Supervisory and Guidance Personnel Time Assignments
100-199	0.5 full time
200-299	1.0 full time
300-399	1.25 full time
400-599	1.5 full time

600-799	2.0 full time
800-999	2.5 full time
1000-1199	3.0 full time
1200-1399	3.5 full time
1400-1599	4.0 full time

The most important state provision for the support of local adult education programs is a school district tax of up to ten cents per each one hundred dollars of the assessed value of property within the district. The funds raised in this way may only be spent for adult education and must be spent within the following school year so that no surplus is accumulated. The provision of earmarked funds has important implications for the organization and administration of adult programs as will be discussed subsequently.

State support for high school districts for each unit of adult average daily attendance beginning in 1964-65 and continuing until Autumn 1969, was calculated as follows:

> For those high school districts not eligible for supplement support the allowance shall be three hundred and twenty dollars less the product of fifty cents multiplied by each one hundred dollars of the assessed valuation of the district per unit of average daily attendance exclusive of adults.
>
> For those high school districts eligible for supplemental support the allowance shall be four hundred dollars less the product of eighty-five cents multiplied by each one hundred dollars of the assessed valuation of the district per unit of average daily attendance exclusive of adults.[9]

California is widely acclaimed as having the most liberal support policy for adult education programs of any state.

Illinois

The State of Illinois provides categorical financial support for adult education programs serving adults working for a high school diploma and for Americanization classes, which have been approved by the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, at the rate of $3.50 per forty minute class period. This flat rate approach was described in Chapter IV.

In Illinois local school boards are authorized to pay expenses including those for (1) student transportation, (2) child care facilities where parents attend classes,and (3) other special student needs directly related to instruction. The cost of instruction for recipients of public aid is to be paid from funds appropriated to the Superintendent of Public Instruction, to be reimbursed by the State Department of Public Aid.[10] The program for public aid recipients is 75 per cent federally funded and 25 per cent state funded.[11]

In 1967 the Legislature enacted the Illinois Adult Education Act in which adult education was defined. The definition treated adult education and continuing education as synonyms, providing a single definition for both terms.[12] Illinois provides no general support for adult education; if local school districts provide such programs they must do so either by taking funds from the general school tax revenue or by assessing the students the cost of the courses.

Michigan

The purposes of adult education in Michigan have been enumerated by the Michigan State Department of Education:

1. To provide effective family and parent education
2. To provide adult education tailored to the needs of the community
3. To realistically meet social, educational, and recreational needs
4. To develop better understanding between school and community
5. To serve as a catalytic agent identifying community problems
6. To provide leadership assisting the community to mobilize resources to solve identified problems
7. To improve student attitudes, as a result of changing parental attitudes
8. To cultivate new interests and develop increased proficiency
9. To improve basic skills necessary to advance occupationally in our technological society
10. To help adults lead more useful and satisfying lives.[13]

Financial support for adult education has been provided erratically by the state legislature. In 1948 the legislature appropriate $300,000 for general adult education to be divided among the school districts on the basis of the number of students over age twenty-one in each district. No restrictions on content or level of instruction were imposed. For the 1958-59 academic year the appropriation was reduced to $200,000 and from 1960 through 1964 no state aid for general adult education was provided.[14] One might question how sincere a statement of purposes is if the financial support is limited to just a few of the stated goals.

In 1964 the legislature removed the age distinction as a factor in distributing financial assistance to programs providing high school completion classes. School districts are now reimbursed by the State for the costs of high school completion courses without regard to the age of the students enrolled. The effect of this change in policy has been discussed previously.[15] Michigan now provides no support for general adult education, leaving the provision of such programs entirely up to the initiative and ingenuity of the local school district interest.

New York

State policy on the support of adult education in New York State has not been stable and the programs conducted apparently reflect the changes.

Rules have been promulgated by state level agencies regarding standards which must be met by any program for out of school youth and adults which is to be approved by the Commissioner of Education. To qualify for approval such programs must:

(a) be operated under the authority and responsibility of a board of education;

(b) be conducted by teachers who hold a valid New York State teaching certificate, an adult education certificate, or an evening vocational certificate;

(c) be administered and supervised by a person holding a valid teaching certificate, other than an adult education or evening vocational certificate . . .

(d) be organized to accomplish important educational purposes;

(e) be designed to serve persons beyond the compulsory school age and not enrolled in a public or private secondary school

(f) maintain a level of adult attendance consistent with good instruction and sound economy.[16]

In 1945 the State Legislature enacted a law providing $2.50 reimbursement to local school districts for each forty minutes of adult classes. In 1957-58 the special payment for adult education was halted and all state support to the local school districts was incorporated into a state equalization formula which contained no special provisions for adult education. The New York concern for the misuse of state funds in adult education programs has been referred to previously.[17] In the six-year period following the termination of the special aid to adult education, one hundred and fifty-six school districts dropped their adult education programs.[18]

> State aid has dropped from a peak of $4.45 million or 63.2 per cent of adult education expenditures in 1956-57 to $1.38 million or 28.2 per cent of adult education expenditures in 1960-61. Student fees have increased from $.66 million or 9.4 per cent of adult education expenditures to $1.23 million or 25.1 per cent of adult education expenditures for the same period. The estimated local district contribution for the same period increased from $1.93 million or 27.4 per cent of adult education expenditures to $3.80 million or 54.3 per cent of expenditures in 1956-57 and then decreased to $2.29 million or 46.7 per cent of expenditures in 1960-61.[19]

When state support was placed entirely on an equalization formula and no special allowance was made for the support of adult education, the local school districts which were apparently not in strong financial condition elected to forego the optional programs. Since the adult education program was not mandatory, the option of dropping the adult education program presented an opportunity to cut costs without reducing income. Accordingly it is not surprising that adult programs were dropped in many districts.

New York state provides the cleanest illustration of the influence of state support levels for adult education programs in the public schools on the number of classes held and the number of adults served. Between 1956-57 and 1962-63 public school adult education classes throughout New York State declined 36 per cent[20] and the number of registrations dropped from 860,751 to 494,000.[21] State level support, either categorical or general, evidently serves to increase the preference level for adult education of some school superintendents and their boards.

STATE CHARACTERISTICS

In the preceding sections the constitutional provisions for adult education and the state laws dealing with it in the four states have been discussed. Different approaches have been identified in the funding patterns of the states and an indication has been given of the local adult education participation changes which may result from a change in state support policy. Before turning to examine the four school districts it may be useful to review selected characteristics of the states in which they are located. Table 41 presents selected demographic data on the states.

The figures for median years of schooling of the adult population indicate the highest average level in California with the figures for the other three states showing little variation. New York shows a considerably higher expenditure per unit of average daily attendance and markedly higher numbers of adults lacking an elementary and a high school education despite the fact that the estimated total population in California is one million persons larger. It should be remembered that the analyses of demand in Chapter V showed that average income level and educational level were the two best predictors of demand for adult education among school districts.[22] On this basis alone the prediction could be made that California would have a high rate of participation because of its high average level of educational attainment. Despite the higher per capita income for New York shown in Table 41, the smaller level of per capita state expenditures for all education there suggests that New Yorkers may have a smaller demand for adult education than do Californians. Illinois, a state with a relatively high per capita income, shows the lowest median level of education attained by adults eighteen years of age and over and the lowest level of per capita expenditures for all education of the four states.

These state characteristics have some influence on the kinds of adult education programs each state supports and the level of assistance which is provided. Local school districts also have charactersitics which influence both the supply of and the demand for adult education. In addition they have had experience in conducting programs in the past and these experiences may be expected to have influenced the current state of affairs. Section II deals with these demographic and historical factors.

TABLE 42

BASIC DEMOGRAPHIC DATA ON STATES IN WHICH CASE STUDY CITIES ARE LOCATED

Characteristic	States			
	California	Illinois	Michigan	New York
Population (1969 Est.)	19,443,000	11,047,000	8,766,000	18,321,000
Median Schooling (1960) 18 Yrs and Older	12.1 Yrs	10.5 Yrs	10.8 Yrs	10.7 Yrs
Adults Lacking:				
Elementary Education	1,354,923	1,086,418	765,183	2,051,546
High School Education	4,794,893	3,766,383	2,735,552	6,473,173
Education:				
No. Basic Administrative Units	1,095	1,273	644	743
Average Daily Attendance (A.D.A.)	4,330,000	2,088,704	1,989,040	3,189,000
F.T.E. Instructional Staff	205,614	113,167	100,909	213,539
Average Instructional Salary	$10,746	$9,950	$10,125	$10,200
Per Capita Income	$3,968	$3,981	$3,675	$4,151
Per Capita State Expenditures for all Education	$245.62	$192.12	$253.42	$238.01
Expenditures Per Unit A.D.A.	$757.00	$743.00	$757.00	$1,159

Source: National Education Association, Ranking of the States, 1970, Washington: National Education Association, 1970.

II. SCHOOL DISTRICT DEMOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

Each of the four cities has its own characteristics and history which might reasonably be assumed to have influenced their adult education programs. Even if the cities were now comparable in size of population, average level of education of the adult population, income levels, and ethnic composition, their adult education programs would likely be different. The addition of variation from these sources as well as others leads to marked differences among the programs. Table 43 is a listing of selected characteristics of the four school districts.

Detroit has a total population approximately one-half the size of the populations of Los Angeles and Chicago, which in turn are each approximately one-half the size of the population of New York City. Other factors being equal, then, for each adult enrolled in an educational program in Detroit there should be two enrolled in Chicago, two in Los Angeles and four in New York.

Ethnic diversity is apparent among the four school districts.

Aside from the differences in total population and in the percentages of residents of the four states living in each of the school districts, the most striking difference in characerristics commonly assumed to be related to adult education participation is in the mean years of schooling completed by the adult population. Los Angeles shows nearly as large an edge over the other three school districts as California showed over the other three states.

The special characteristics of each school district will now be reviewed before general statements are presented on the school district influences. Each of the school districts has had an adult education component within the public school system for decades. Some of the more striking characteristics and historical facts are related in the following four sections.

The Chicago School District

The Chicago public school adult education program may be examined in the light of program aims and performance. The purposes of the Chicago Public Schools Adult Education program have been reviewed by individuals internal and external to the organization. The goals of adult education as seen by a study committee from within the system were outlined as follows:

Adult education should:

-- serve the whole community by providing opportunities for participation in a comprehansive program geared to the academic, vocational, and cultural needs and interests of the adults of the community.

-- continue and supplement the interrupted schooling of its students and provide knowledge and skills for living more efficiently in a dynamic society.

TABLE 43

SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC DATA ON THE CHICAGO, DETROIT, LOS ANGELES AND NEW YORK SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Characteristic	School Districts			
	Chicago	Detroit	Los Angeles	New York
Population	3,600,000	1,670,000	3,433,004	7,781,984
Percentage of State Population	32.6%	19.1%	17.7%	42.5%
Adult Population	2,700,000	1,100,000	2,868,000	5,607,622
Ethnicity				
Black	35%	52%	26%	14%
Mexican-American	1%	4%	20%	--
Puerto Rican	2%	2%	--	20%
Oriental	--	--	4%	--
Average Household Income	$6,738	$6,069	$6,896	$6,091
Area-Square Miles	222	140	711	300
Median Schooling of Adults	10.0 years	10.0 years	12.1 years	10.1 years

-- provide training for the wholesome use of leisure time which technical advances have produced.

-- promote the democratic ideals of respect for the dignity and worth of every person.

-- through cooperation with civic and other community organizations, provide opportunities for understanding the problems of government and train adults for participation and leadership in the life of the community.[23]

The Study committee also listed the ways in which the schools attain their objectives:

(1) comprehensive evening elementary and secondary schools,
(2) trade and vocational programs,
(3) Americanization and urbanization classes,
(4) a cooperative program of literacy education,
(5) television courses,
(6) classes for special interests or leadership,
(7) the Chicago City Junior College and Chicago Teachers College.[24]

An external study committee also examined the purposes and the operation of the adult education program of the Chicago schools. That committee stated its conviction that:

Adult education is the most effective means

1. for overcoming the inequities which race, economic status, and luck often impose.

2. for helping the society as a whole to adjust to the impact on employment of constant technological change.

3. for the school system to offset the home environment and thus create a more supportive atmosphere for children's formal schooling.

4. for increasing the quality and quantity of citizen participation at all levels of government in community life.[25]

Despite affirmations of lofty purposes the Chicago School System appears to be doing less in adult education than it has in the past. In studying the history of the program in Chicago, Wilson noted that it began in 1863 and by 1894 had expanded to fifty-two locations serving nearly 20,000 adults.[26] At that time elementary education was provided for both the foreign born and native Americans. The peak enrollment of 70,000 was reached in 1931.[27] Because of financial difficulties the Chicago Board of Education reduced the number of adult schools to six[28] and a corresponding drop in enrollment took place. By 1948 the number of evening schools had increased to twelve, a day elementary school for adults had been established, and Americanization classes were being held in one hundred and

fifteen centers.[29] Enrollment in 1948 was approximately 45,000,[30] a figure that is 64 per cent of the pre-depression zenith.

Representatives of the Institute of Educational Research at Columbia University surveyed the Chicago Public Schools adult education program in 1932 and offered the following comments concerning its importance in the system in contrast to the situation in other locations:

> Viewed in relation to the usual city program, Chicago has given evidence in the past of a considerable interest in the problem of adult education. In 1930-1931 over half a million dollars was appropriated for such work. In 1931-1932 the requested was made for $738,500. Owing to the scarcity of funds, the latter request was reduced to $300,000 of which $219,300 was allotted to instruction. The original figures indicate the importance assigned to adult education by the public school authorities. In the preliminary budget for the present year adult education activities were assigned about 7 per cent of the total. When the budget was reduced in response to the emergency situation, adult education was reduced relatively so that it now represents a little over 3-1/3 per cent of the total.[31]

It may be noted that adult education in the Chicago Public Schools has never regained the relative importance it has in 1930-31. Although enrollment and number of staff members continued to increase, going from six hundred and twenty-seven teachers and 22,151 enrollments in 1954 to nine hundred and ninety-three teachers and 31,729 enrollments in 1964, these increases still were insufficient to restore the program to its earlier magnitude.[32]

The adult education program in the Chicago Public Schools has had to compete with the elementary and secondary programs for a share of the general school tax revenue and for state aid. Although the state legislature provides categorical aid for adult basic education, Americanization, high school completion work and vocational education, the amounts are quite limited in terms of the size of the population to be served. It is the operating policy of the State of Illinois that local school districts may offer adult education programs in addition to those funded by the State if the local district is willing to divert part of its general income, to seek direct federal aid, or to charge fees to the participants. The fiscal pressures on the system have effectively restrained the development of the Chicago public school adult education program.

The Detroit School District

Adult education programs have been conducted by the public schools of Detroit for nearly a century. State and city influences have evidently not acted to enable the program to reach all of its goals and serve all of its purposes. Although general state aid for adult education had been provided to a limited extent in the past, the state now provides categorical support for adult high school completion and vocational education and matching support for federal programs. Even so, it appears that additional federal assistance would be provided if the state would increase its level of support.

Six major purposes served by the Detroit public school adult education program are listed in the brochure mailed to prospective students: (1) earning an equivalency certificate or a high school diploma; (2) learning more to earn more; (3) reviewing basic English, mathematics, or science prior to entering Wayne County Community College; (4) learning the "know-how" of bookkeeping, operating business machines, making fur pieces, repairing furniture, fixing radio and TV sets, using the latest business and industrial machinery and equipment, working with your children, becoming a more active citizen, taking civil service examinations; (5) learning a new language, keeping up with current ideas, learning to appreciate good music, mastering a musical instrument, learning interior decorating, sewing, photography or jewelry-making, and (6) making your life more exciting, more challenging, more rewarding, and more effective.[33]

Although six categories of reasons for participating in adult education are listed as though they were considered to be of equal importance to the school district and to the individual student, the tuition policy expresses an ordering of social importance. Courses in basic reading, writing, and arithmetic are offered without charge as are courses leading to a high school diploma. Those students who enroll in other courses will be charged a nominal fee "to pay the teacher."

In may, 1965, the Detroit Public Schools received a federal grant to initiate Project R.E.A.D. (Remedial Education for Adults). This grant provided 90 per cent of the cost of operating the adult remedial program. The Detroit school system provided the matching 10 per cent of the cost in the form of a part of the salaries of several school-community agents and by provision of housing for the classes. This federal support enabled the school system to expand and improve services which had been in existence on a much more modest scale for almost a century.[34] The program served seven hundred adult students in its first term, one thousand and four hundred in the six-week summer session, and two thousand and eight hundred in the fall term. In the intervening five years this special emphasis program has nearly doubled in size.[35]

Should the financial picture improve and additional federal, state, or local funds become available, it is likely that the adult education program of the Detroit Public Schools would be expanded, for Superintendent Drachler has said: "The Detroit Public Schools are deeply concerned about the continuing education of all adults and have established over one hundred learning centers devoted to their special requirements. These centers have a variety of courses designed to increase effectiveness and satisfaction of employees, parents, and citizens."[36] These centers were established as the way of implementing the federally funded Project R.E.A.D. It seems reasonable to assume that a similar response might be expected on the part of the Detroit school system if additional funds were provided. There is, however, apparently no aggressive fund seeking activity being taken for adult education programs by the Detroit School System staff.

Aggressive program development in adult education in Detroit is carried out by the University Center for Adult Education, a joint venture of Wayne State University and the University of Michigan. This organization develops adult education program ideas and then seeks funds to support them. Because of the existence of this unique institution in Detroit, the public school

system need not provide some services which it might otherwise be expected to offer.

The Los Angeles School District

The situation of the adult education program of Los Angeles differs markedly from that of the other three cities. Not only does Los Angeles receive state support on the basis of attendance in classes which have been approved by the California Bureau of Adult Education, but also the local school district has been delegated the power to express a local property tax for the sole purpose of supporting adult education programs. Although all three of the other cities receive some state aid for adult vocational education or basic adult education, Los Angeles receives state support for courses in these categories as well as for courses carrying credit toward the requirements for a high school diploma and for approved non-credit courses as well. In addition, the school districts in California may levy a tax of as much as ten cents per one hundred dollars of assessed property valuation specifically to support adult education programs. Although not all California school boards have exercised this prerogative, the Los Angeles school board has.

In its announcement of learning opportunities for 1969-1970, the Los Angeles City Schools Division of Instructional Planning and Services reported that "an important responsibility of the Los Angeles City Schools is to provide a program of adult education in response to demands made by the public.[37] This statement of purpose appears to be passive in that the school district acknowledges a responsibility to respond to demands. In fact, the adult education principals make a point of anticipating demands and of stimulating them.

The Division of Adult Education conducts programs which enable adults to:

1. earn an eighth grade diploma
2. earn a high school diploma
3. prepare themselves for citizenship
4. review and improve former skills and knowledge
5. qualify for promotions in business, industry and government
6. prepare for new and emerging occupations
7. develop better home-making skills
8. improve mental and physical health
9. contribute to their own cultural growth
10. develop new avocational interests.[38]

The purposes are mainly vocationally oriented, but it seems that the number of courses to be offered in the vocationally related and non-vocationally oriented categories is a function of the interest expressed by the adult students rather than a pre-determined number chosen by the funding agency.

Adults who have not completed their formal high school education may take the general educational development (G.E.D.) tests to assess their intellectual competence in using major generalizations, concepts, and ideas and their ability

to comprehend and evaluate critically. The performance on these tests may be used to satisfy employment prerequisites or may be applied to the credit requirements of high school graduation. Provisions are made for adult students to earn an eighth grade diploma and a high school diploma by registering for appropriate programs.

Citizenship classes are provided for adults who wish to become naturalized citizens. Also classes in English as a second language (E.S.L.) are offered to allow non-English speakers to learn to read, write and speak English. One particular problem of the Los Angeles adult program is that college students from other countries enroll for E.S.L. classes in sizeable numbers and these individuals, who are essentially temporary visitors to the United States, place an appreciable financial strain on the fiscal resources of the district.

Guidance and counseling services are provided at the community schools and adult education centers for all adults who wish to take advantage of these services.[39]

A weekly lecture series is provided at various community adult schools during the school year covering topics of civic and community interest. Within the lecture series contemporary social problems are presented and discussed. This aspect of the Los Angeles program more than any other offers adults the opportunity to increase their understanding of current problems and possible solutions. While most of the program is directed toward earning diplomas or certificates and improving their employment qualifications, adults in Los Angeles may turn to the lecture programs for liberal education.

On the whole it may be seen that the State of California, through the provision of state aid to adult education and through legislation which enables each local district to level a tax specifically for the support of adult education, has enabled the Los Angeles school district to offer a broader range of services than would be possible in an equally progressive school district located in a state with a less supportive legislative framework.

The New York School District

Adult education programs have been conducted by the New York City School district since 1833.[40] In that year the Board established an evening school and announced that the regular day teachers would be required to teach in the evening school when directed and that such teaching would be considered part of the day's work and no additional salary would be paid.[41] The City of New York defined the duty of the Board of Education:

> . . . to provide evening schools for those whose ages or avocations are such as to prevent their attending the day school established by law, in such of the ward schoolhouses or other buildings used for school purposes, and in such other places in said city as they may from time to time deem expedient.[42]

The program of adult education was not confined to classes. Free public lectures were provided and attracted large crowds. In the 1902-1903 school

year, for example, 4,221 free lectures were given at one hundred and twenty-eight centers attended by 1,204,126 adults.[43]

Leipzeiger, the director of the free lecture program, spoke with the modesty which has come to be associated with the public pronouncements of public school adult education directors when he described the results of the free lectures:

> First--that adult education is established as a permanent part of our educational scheme.
>
> Second--that reading and study have been encouraged, a deeper interest in school life developed, and a refining influence spread.
>
> Third--that cooperation has been brought about between lecture, the library, and the museum.
>
> Fourth--that the best teachers in our universities have come in contact with the people.
>
> Fifth--that the school is becoming the social centre of the community.
>
> Sixth--that the school of the future must be constructed with a view to its use for various educative influences, so that it may become not alone a nursery for children but a place of intelligent resort for men.[44]

Unfortunately the successful lecture series which enjoyed its hey-day at the turn of the century met the same fate as the university extension lecture series and later the tent Chautauquas. Accordingly no reference is made to a lecture series in the current publications of the Bureau of Community Education of the New York City Board of Education.

Throughout the last century, however, New York City has consistently provided high school completion programs for all adults regardless of the existence of level of state support for such programs. In addition, a commitment to the provision of general adult education and recreation programs has persisted despite waning enthusiasm at the state level for such programs.

School District Influences

All four of the school districts have developed an approach to adult education in the public schools which is consonant with their history and characteristics. In each case state influences have been pronounced but it is probably the case that the influence of the state on the program in a city is inversely proportional to the percentage of the total state population residing in the school district. On this basis New York City and Chicago would appear to be less affected by state programs than are Detroit and Los Angeles.

New York City as a port of entry for immigrants from Europe has developed a somewhat more cosmopolitan approach to adult education services than have the other three cities. Yet there is little evidence that the adult

education program is presently making major adaptive moves to deal with its large Puerto Rican immigration. However, through federal funding, the New York State Education Department and the State Department of Public Welfare initiated a special program known as the Welfare Education Plan. This educational program was designed to serve welfare recipients but presented special problems to the school personnel. In the past they had taught basic education courses to immigrants who were eager to learn, but as the schools attempted to provide instruction to the adults receiving public assistance it became obvious that these new students lacked the motivation to learn which characterized those who had voluntarily sought out the program in the past.[45] It seems that, although the large city systems have a capacity to maintain existing programs through continuing funding procedures, when new programs are to be developed the existence of special state or federal aid is a powerful facilitating factor.

Federal support for public school adult education has invariably been categorical, that is, funds were provided to enable the local school districts to conduct programs which the Congress of the United States had defined as socially valuable. Further, through matching provisions the federal government has channeled state funds into those programs having the highest national priority rather than permitting each state legislature to place its own independent assessment on the relative value of specific programs or to decide whether general support or categorical support is in the best interest of the citizens of the state.

Each of the school districts has a sizeable minority population with concomitant problems of low levels of literacy. Although the students who voluntarily sought out Americanization and basic education classes in the past were typically highly motivated and accepting of teaching methods and instructional materials used in the programs, the new federally stimulated basic education programs are intended to serve those who would not normally show up in adult education classes of their own accord. The difficulties inherent in attempting to teach those who are minimally motivated to pursue education include a low tolerance level for inept teaching and apparently irrelevant materials, and a willingness to drop out of classes at the slightest inconvenience. And so, while federal and state support together have succeeded in focusing the attention of the public school systems on the culturally deprived, an unforeseen consequence of efforts designed to teach this group has led to a national awareness of problems of teacher preparation and inappropriate materials as reflected in high drop-out rates from ABE programs. Federal efforts have served to redefine the clientele of adult education programs in the major cities. This new focus has led to the emergence of a new set of problems and a need to invest in teacher training efforts and curriculum revision. The minority groups are being served in greater numbers in all four cities, but this redirection of efforts required federal stimulation and may end if this stimulation is removed.

The programs conducted by each school district depend upon the financial resources available to support various kinds of programs and the educational priorities of local school districts. In the next section the income received by each of the four city school districts is listed and discussed.

III. ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM INCOME

The four school districts have common and unique income sources. Programs supported by federal funds or federal and state funds according to federal guidelines are equally accessible to the four districts. Since project proposals may be required for a district which wishes to become eligible for a given program and districts differ in their willingness and ability to prepare proposals, the funds which legally are equally accessible are differentially available. Unique sources of funds are the result of state and local school district policies. Within a state the level of financing and the nature of the financing varies among districts.

Any effort to determine the total income of the adult education programs of a school district is likely to be a frustrating experience for not only are adult programs distributed among administrative units in an idiosyncratic fashion which essentially ignores the formal designation "adult education," but also the financial records are similarly maintained, often combining income for adult education with secondary education revenue. Such a system of record keeping may be quite functional for the administration of the local school district programs, but it does constitute a formidable obstacle to anyone who seeks to unearth the total school district adult education income. Table 44 is the result of concerted efforts to assemble comparable income data from the four school districts. Although the cooperation of the the school district administrations were excellent, the record keeping systems did not readily yield adult education income information except in the case of Los Angeles. The data from the other three school districts were assembled using the best records available and estimates where hard data were lacking.

The relative importance of each source of income to the total adult education income and the percentage the adult education program income is of the total school district income is shown in Table 45.

The Detroit school district, which conducts the smallest adult education program is most heavily dependent upon the federal government for financial support. Program participants in Detroit provide 11.5 per cent of the adult education program income through their tuition and fees. The data reported by the Detroit school district adult education director indicate that no local school district funds were used to support the adult programs.

The Chicago, Detroit, and New York school districts secure approximately half of their adult education program income from federal sources and Los Angeles, in contrast, gets about one-fourth of its income from federal programs. Despite the nearly equal population bases of Los Angeles and Chicago, it can be seen in Tables 44 and 45 that although Los Angeles secured approximately $2,800,000 more in federal funds, these federal funds accounted for 28.7 per cent of the Los Angeles income, or 14.7 percentage points less than the percentage of federal funds in the Chicago program.

In comparing the Chicago and Los Angeles income sources it can be seen that in all three categories, federal, state, and local, the Los Angeles income ranged from between two and four times as much as that for Chicago. The special local tax rate in Los Angeles as well as the special state support for

TABLE 44

SCHOOL DISTRICT ADULT EDUCATION INCOME BY SOURCE, 1968-1969

Revenue Source	Income by School District			
	Chicago	Detroit	Los Angeles	New York
Federal - Total	$3,471,765	$3,782,361	$6,243,864	$8,696,465
P.L. 87-415	1,690,987	3,379,361	4,632,305	5,000,000
P.L. 87-543	901,806	-0-	-0-	235,804
P.L. 88-210	192,000	50,000	255,968	600,000
P.L. 89-10	-0-	-0-	660,097	-0-
P.L. 89-750	686,972	233,000	350,000	1,034,208
P.L. 90-248	-0-	-0-	345,494	1,791,400
Other Federal	-0-	120,000	-0-	35,053
State - Total	1,047,095	1,041,676	3,978,771	652,762
General Support	-0-	-0-	3,662,239	-0-
Matching 89-750	80,700	141,676	162,492	114,912
Matching Other	300,902	-0-	44,392	437,850
Categorical Aid	665,493	900,000	109,648	-0-
Local - Total	3,569,190	623,000	11,909,012	6,561,800
District General Funds	3,441,690	-0-	137,821	6,211,800
Adult Education Tax	-0-	-0-	11,160,360	-0-
Tuition Fees	127,500	623,000	421,307	350,000
Other	-0-	-0-	189,524	-0-
Grand Total	$8,088,050	$5,447,037	$22,130,647	$15,911,027

TABLE 45

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF EACH SOURCE OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO THE TOTAL ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM AND IMPORTANCE OF THE ADULT EDUCATION INCOME TO SCHOOL DISTRICT INCOME 1968-1969

Basis of Computation	School District			
	Chicago	Detroit	Los Angeles	New York
Percentage Total Adult Education Income is of District Income	1.5%	2.2%	3.9%	1.1%
Percentage of Total Adult Education Income by Source				
Federal	49.9%	69.4%	28.2%	54.7%
State	12.9%	19.1%	18.0%	4.1%
Local	44.1%	11.5%	53.8%	41.2%
Tuition, Fees	1.6%	11.5%	1.9%	2.2%
Other Local	42.5%	0	51.9%	39.0%

adult education assures that the adult education administrative staff need not compete with administrators of elementary and secondary education programs for either district funds raised through the general district school tax or district general funds provided by the state.

The Los Angeles financial support system has distinct advantages in that the state support is based on average daily attendance of "defined adults" and the local school district adult education tax is based on the assessed valuation of property in the school district without regard to the level of average daily attendance. This combination of support schemes appears to be superior to those of the other three states and school districts in that it provides an incentive for program expansion because the state support level is based on average daily attendance and the calculation of local support level is independent of pressures to expand enrollments through the offering of courses simply to be attracting adult students.

Federal assistance from the Manpower Development and Training Act (P.L. 87-415) has been utilized by the Los Angeles and New York school districts to a greater extent than it has by Chicago and Detroit. The Detroit system used twice as much federal support as did Chicago for manpower training. Further, with regard to the expenditure of federal funds to support local programs it might be useful to keep in mind that such categorical aid tends to develop a program which is overbalanced with regard to adult elementary education. The adult programs in Detroit, Chicago, and New York depend to a much greater degree on the categorical federal aid than does Los Angeles with consequent program imbalance.

Chicago has conducted the largest adult education programs for welfare recipients (P.L. 87-543) of the four school systems studied. Programs designed to serve this population were begun by the former superintendent of schools largely as a result of prodding by the director of the Cook County Department of the Public Aid. Director Hilliard persuaded Superintendent Willis to open classes for welfare recipients prior to the establishment of the federal program. Subsequent federal aid served to expand the program.

The data in Table 44 suggests that local support of whatever origin tends to favor the development of a broadly based program. Accordingly the nearly twelve million dollars of local adult education support in Los Angeles and the six and a half million dollars of local support in adult education programming in adult education in New York appear to be particularly conducive to the development of non-credit programs. In courses which have tuition charges, New York adults are given the opportunity to accept a share of the cost of the program for those courses they wish to support. In Chicago, however, there was no indication in the survey responses that an effort is made to offer a variety of courses of a non-credit nature. Accordingly the Chicago program may be seen as providing essentially only those programs which are mandated by the State and for which funds are provided readily.

In conclusion, it may be stated that just as was the case in the sixth chapter, the smaller and less imaginative programs offer essentially only those classes for which reimbursement is readily available. If additional programs are provided under these circumstances an effort is made generally

to serve only expressed demands. The generalization appears to be as follows: as one moves from the local to the state to the federal level for a major source of program income the less likely it is that a program will be developed that is fully responsive to local interests and needs. On the other hand, it can be observed that aggressive directors of local programs not only do an above average job of securing local support but also they appear to be fully alert to the possibility of securing additional income from both the State and federal levels. Thus, it can be seen that while a local program may be conducted very largely on the basis of national financial support with minimal local support it seems unlikely that a local program might utilize local support fully and fail to take advantage of the federal support.

With nearly 54 per cent of its revenue coming from the local adult education tax, it seems that the Los Angeles adult program is in a very desirable situation with a state reimbursement scheme built to respond to the number of adult enrollments and a flat local tax rate designed to meet expenses independent of enrollment levels.

Most remarkable of the findings shown in Tables 44 and 45, however, is the fact that the Los Angeles school district which has local adult education revenue over three times larger than the Chicago system nevertheless manages to secure nearly twice as much federal support and nearly four times as much state level support. Even if one makes allowance for appreciable errors of estimation it seems quite clear that the additional dollars which a local school district invests in adult education programs may serve as a means of increasing the capacity of the local system to attract state and federal support rather than serving as a replacement for funds which might originate at other levels. There is, however, no clear trend exhibited by the data regarding the relationship between amount of income raised from tuition and fees and the ability of the school system to secure additional financial assistance.

The most important concern of an educational program is not, however, with merely the number of dollars being spent in each phase, but also with the number of adults whose educational needs are being served through such programs and the extent to which those needs (as perceived by the individuals and by society) are being met. Section IV deals with the number of adults being served in each program aspect in each of the four city school districts.

IV. PROGRAMS AND CLIENTELE

In each of the cities the programs which can be offered and the clientele who are served is a function of the amount of funds provided from the federal, state and local district levels, the restrictions placed on the use of those funds, the needs perceived by the local adult education administrator, the demands expressed by adults in the district and the adult education administrative structure of the school system.

Income sources and restrictions have been discussed in the preceding section and the adult education administrative apparatus will be treated in

the following section. The focus of this section is on the number of persons served in each of the district programs.

Table 46 is a listing of the major program categories and the estimated number of persons served through each category. Estimates must be used because of the great variety of ways of recording enrollment, attendance, and registrations. In several cases no data are reported because even though the programs are known to exist, the information on the number of persons served did not appear to be sufficiently valid to warrant its inclusion.

Greater numbers of adults are being served through the elementary education programs in Los Angeles than in any of the other three cities. The bulk of the enrollments for both Los Angeles and New York, however, are in programs conducted through local financing. In stark contrast Chicago and Detroit make only a small local effort to provide for elementary education depending instead on federal programs to serve this purpose Public Law 87-543 provides funds to support elementary education programs for adults who are on the welfare rolls. Public Law 89-750 provides federal support for elementary education to any adult lacking an eighth grade diploma. Public Law 90-248, the Work Incentive program, was in its early development in 1968-1968 and so few persons could be served through it even though it has the special appeal of providing extra income for persons preparing for gainful employment.

Secondary education enrollments follow the same order as the total population of the four cities with one exception, the high school equivalency figures for Detroit. According to a representative of the Detroit program the General Educational Development (G.E.D.) test is administered to approximately three thousand adults annually. No classes are provided in G.E.D. preparation there. In Chicago there has been a long standing concern that if the G.E.D. test were made widely available and promoted vigorously it would have a deleterious effect on high school completion. The high school equivalency approach has not met with widespread acceptance despite the logic of certifying competence on the basis of performance on an examination. Instead, emphasis continues to be placed on the high school diploma approach. For example, a total of five thousand four hundred and ninety-eight adults in Los Angeles took the G.E.D. test in 1968-69. There were two thousand eight hundred and seventy of them who used the test scores to qualify for employment and two thousand six hundred and twenty-eight who took the test in order to get credit which could be applied toward a part of the requirements for a high school diploma. Similarly in New York State there is a marked difference in the perception of the relative value of a G.E.D. Certificate and a Regents' Diploma. Whether or not the widely accepted superiority of the Regents' Diploma works to the advantage of the adult student is not clear, but it appears that tradition rather than logic is being used with regard to arriving at a qualitative judgment between the two kinds of certification. Further, one may question whether a high school diploma is the most satisfactory evidence of the ability of a mature adult to qualify for employment. Nevertheless the qualifications for employment, however arbitrarily established, exert their influence on the demand for adult education programs.

The New York and Los Angeles school districts are conducting adult vocational education programs of nearly the same size while Chicago is reaching only about one-third as many people. Few adults are served through the Detroit vocational programs conducted under public school auspices. Table 46 indicates

TABLE 46

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF ADULTS SERVED IN ALL ASPECTS OF THE ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS OF FOUR MAJOR CITIES, 1968-1969

Program Aspect	Enrollment by Cities			
	Chicago	Detroit	Los Angeles	New York
Elementary (Total)	18,167	5,172	52,348	39,674
P.L. 87-543	6,024	-0-	-0-	3,276
P.L. 89-750	11,898	5,112	7,156	3,754
P.L. 90-248	-0-	-0-	2,197	1,834
Local Programs	245	60	43,000	31,810
Secondary Academic (Total)	19,200	8,835	40,050	59,876
Diploma	18,850	5,835	34,552	57,376
Equivalency	350	3,000	5,498	2,500
Vocational (Total)	14,913	9,300	41,702	39,891
M.D.T.A.	2,080	3,576	2,030	9,626
Other Federal	-0-	-0-	-0-	200
Local and State	12,833	5,724	39,672	30,065
General Adult Education (Total)	421	4,211	57,300	96,076
Non-Credit Courses	421	4,211	28,111	79,890
Lectures	-0-	-0-	29,189	-0-
Guidance	N.A.*	N.A.*	N.A.*	2,210
Literacy Tests	-0-	-0-	-0-	13,862
Other	-0-	-0-	-0-	114
Total Adults Served	52,701	27,518	191,400	235,517

*N.A. = Not Available.

that the local school district is providing adult vocational education primarily in programs outside of the Manpower Development and Training Act. The local and state sponsored adult education programs include federal support which is distributed by the state board of education.

General adult education in non-credit courses is the program aspect which serves the largest number of adult students in the New York system possibly because of the emphasis which the school district has placed on community recreation and education centers and partly because of the interest which has been shown traditionally by the adult students in such pursuits. Adult students support such activities partly through their tuition and fees. Detroit, which depends heavily on student tuition for the support of such programs, serves nearly ten times as many adults as does Chicago. Inasmuch as classes which are paid for entirely from tuition charges to the adult students do not represent a cost to the school district the relative absence of such programs in Chicago may be viewed as the result of a lack of administrative concern for their development. Los Angeles, with strong financial support for general adult education, serves twenty-eight thousand one hundred and eleven adults in non-credit courses at minimal registration costs.

The prevailing philosophy of the adult education personnel of the Los Angeles school system is that adult education should be free, or, if fees are used at all, they should be minimal. Accordingly, although it would probably be possible to operate many more classes if the students were required to pay the full cost, the present administrative approach is to conduct just the number of classes which can be supported from federal, state, and local tax revenues. Because of this prevailing philosophy, which seems to place restrictions on the total number of classes which are offered, it appears likely that under a free market system which permitted adult students to pay for the cost of any courses which were not being financed by tax subsidies there would be a marked increase in adult enrollment in the school district. The net effect, however, might not be desirable if tax support were to be frozen or even reduced just because some adults were willing and able to pay their proportionate share of the program cost.

The New York City schools offered a popular lecture series at the beginning of this century but has since dropped this aspect of its adult education program. Of the four adult programs only Los Angeles maintains a broadly based lecture series. Through these lectures, short learning experiences dealing with contemporary interests are provided to over twenty-nine thousand adults annually.

All of the adult programs make some provision for guidance and counseling as part of their regular programs. A more formal, specialized and centralized approach to providing this function is taken in New York City. There the guidance and counseling work is provided through specialized counseling centers. Accordingly, special statistics maintained in New York shows that two thousand-two hundred and ten adults availed themselves of these services in 1968-1969. No data were available on the amount of counseling activity or the number of adults served through such activity in the other three cities though it is known that counseling services are usually provided at all adult schools on a full-time or a part-time basis.

All four of the cities conduct adult basic education classes and are engaged in literacy testing. In addition to conducting testing as a part of the basic education program, the New York school district has made special provisions for prospective voters who are not enrolled in a literacy program to take a literacy test. This special aspect of the work of the adult education staff served thirteen thousand eight hundred and sixty two adult New Yorkers in 1968-69.

On the whole it can be seen that the Los Angeles adult program, which is supported more generously from tax funds than is any other of the other three programs, has approximately 81 per cent of the enrollment of the New York City program despite the fact that it has only 44 per cent of the population base. The comparison between Los Angeles and Chicago is even more striking. With 95 per cent of the population of Chicago, the Los Angeles program serves 275 per cent as many adult students. A part of this difference can be explained on the basis of the difference in the levels of financial support. Other factors are also of importance and these have to do with the structure, function and staffing of the programs, characteristics to be dealt with in the following section.

V. STRUCTURE, FUNCTION AND STAFFING OF THE ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM

Adult education programs are often found dispersed among a variety of administrative units within a large city school system. Coordination of the adult programs may be overlooked in the administrative structure or it may not have been considered when the organizational structure was developed. In this section the structure, function and staffing of the adult education administrative unit will be considered as it relates to other parts of the school system. Attention will be given to the efforts of the four systems to make adult education services available to their communities and special aspects of the two larger programs will be presented.

Adult Program Administrative Coordination

In each of the four major cities the programs of adult education have evolved over a long period. In many cases as the superintendent of schools attempted to integrate a new function into the existing framework, he found resistance. Accordingly, since new programs come into existence only if special funds are provided to operate them, when funds for a new program are provided by the state or national government the superintendent may find it easier to create a new administrative unit to conduct the new program than to attempt to redirect part of the energies of an existing unit. Categorical funding which tends to build up segments of a system as essentially independent entities is conducive to poor coordination within the system. To the extent that the director of adult education for the school system is denied authority and responsibility over special federally or state funded adult education projects, the efforts of the system become fragmented and unsatisfactorily coordinated, if at all.

It is not correct to assume, that just because the school district organization chart shows there is an assistant superintendent of schools for adult education that the programs are being coordinated. Table 47 is designed to show the relative power of the highest ranking adult education officer in each district on the total program. In this table an effort has been made to show the extent of the adult education budget which clearly falls under the direction of the chief adult education officer and the extent of the budget for adult education programs conducted by units which are virtually independent.

TABLE 47

ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM BUDGETS OF THE ADULT EDUCATION SECTION AND OF ALL OTHER SECTIONS CONDUCTING ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS

	Cities			
	Chicago	Detroit	Los Angeles	New York
Adult Education Section				
Budget	$4,498,373	$3,067,676	$22,130,647	$6,099,214
Enrollment	35,100	18,218	191,400	132,592
All Other Sections Conducting Adult Education				
Budget	$3,589,677	$2,379,361	--	$9,811,813
Enrollment	17,601	9,300	--	102,925

The data in Table 47 reflect several situations. The Los Angeles school district which has the largest budget and which maintains the most comprehensive records of adult programs has all of its adult education coordinated by the chief adult education administrator of the school district, an assistant superintendent for adult education. Chicago, a city of comparable size, reports serving a total of forty-two thousand five hundred and seventy-one, a figure less than one-fourth the size of the 185,902 enrollments for Los Angeles. Although the director of adult education in Chicago is also an assistant superintendent of the school district, he spends only about 40 per cent of his time on adult education and spends the majority of his time directing playground programs, supervising summer school programs, directing community services, library services, a speech clinic, and serving as an assistant to the superintendent of schools in solving various problems.

The fiscal data for all parts of the New York school system adult programs are not readily accessible to the chief adult education administrator of the school system. The data which were available reflected that nearly half of the adults engaging in educational programs of the New York City

School District did so in programs which were not directly sponsored, controlled, or coordinated by the adult education department.

The Detroit school system appears to resemble more the New York and Chicago systems with regard to the adult education structure than it does Los Angeles.

The most glaring examples of the lack of school district level coordination of adult programs are found in Chicago and New York where the MDTA programs are administered almost in isolation from the other adult education efforts. In both systems the MDTA efforts are carried out by administrative units which are not accountable to the school district officer who is ostensibly in charge of adult education.

It is difficult to see how the educational needs of adults living in these school districts can best be served by this fragmented administration of the adult programs. Apparently the administrative structure is a consequence of decisions made by the superintendents of schools on the basis of expedience rather than as a part of an integrated system of assigning functions to existing units with related responsibilities. No other problem in the administration of adult education programs is of greater magnitude than this glaring lack of coordination within the administrative hierarchy.

Estimates were obtained from the chief adult education official in each of the four districts on the number of supervisory personnel associated with adult education program. Table 48 shows the number of administrative personnel at the central office and the number of supervisory personnel in the field who spend at least a part of their time in adult education in the four school districts.

TABLE 48

ADULT EDUCATION ADMINISTRATIVE AND SUPERVISORY PERSONNEL IN FOUR CITY SCHOOL DISTRICTS, 1968-1969

Location of Supervisory and Administrative Staff	School Districts			
	Chicago	Detroit	Los Angeles	New York
Central Office	8	3	15	7
Field	45	41	84	N.A.*
Total	53	44	99	N.A.*

*N.A. = Not Available

Unfortunately the number of persons who were reported as being involved in adult education is not all the same as the number of persons who are engaged full-time in adult education administration and supervision. In the case of Chicago, for example, the director, in completing the questionnaire, reported a total of nineteen full-time equivalent supervisory and administrative positions, but these included only those who were directly related to the non-vocational aspects of the program. Subsequent conversations with other administrators in the school system revealed an additional thirty-four persons who were working in adult education under some other designation. Considering both the vocational and non-vocational aspects of the program it appears that approximately fifty-three persons are involved in some degree. For New York City the director of adult education in the public schools is unable to estimate the number of administrators and supervisors involved in vocational education and manpower training programs. Accordingly no estimate has been reported even though it seems likely that the new York system, because of its large number of community education centers would have a field administrator and supervisory staff several times the size of the field staff of Los Angeles.

In Section IV of this chapter the number of persons being served through the various programs of adult education were presented. At this point the provisions for making adult education available to prospective students will be considered. Adult education classes in the four cities are conducted in every imaginable facility ranging from single classes held in the living rooms of private homes to entire school buildings used exclusively for adults.

Adult Program Facilities

The number of locations at which various kinds of programs were conducted in each of the four school systems in 1968-1969 are shown in Table 49.

In each city there are adult education centers which offer comprehensive programs and provide facilities for a number of classes. These comprehensive centers apparently are adequate to attract many students for a variety of learning programs but they are inadequate to attract the adult basic education students who are frequently poorly motivated to seek out educational programs. Accordingly outposts often consisting of a single class have been developed in Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles. In New York the basic education classes are offered in schools and community centers. This emphasis on community centers is an outstanding characteristic of the New York system. These community centers for youth and adults are operated on various schedules, some are open all year round, others are open only during the school year, some are open only in the evening, others are open all day.

The greatest number of program locations are found in citizenship, adult basic education and general education programs. Detroit conducts adult basic education programs at approximately one hundred locations with one class being held at each location. To serve the educationally disadvantaged population it has been found to be useful to offer programs as near as is practical to the students' homes.

TABLE 49

NUMBER OF ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM LOCATIONS IN FOUR SCHOOL DISTRICTS BY PROGRAM, 1968-1969

Type of Program	Number of Locations, by School District			
	Chicago	Detroit	Los Angeles	New York
Elementary Education				
A.B.E. (Title III)	29	100	500	78
A.B.E. (Welfare)	29	0	0	90
W.I.N.	5	0	0	21
Local Programs	0	0	500	148
Citizenship	150	1	20	N.A.*
Secondary Education				
High School Diploma	24	20	30	16
G.E.D. Preparation	17	0	30	16
Vocational Education				
M.D.T.A. Skill Centers	1	1	5	5
Outposts	2	2	0	20
Trade Schools or Locations with Vocational Curricula	6	15	33	20
Non-Credit--General	20	20	30	548
Total Unduplicated Locations	150	120	535	575

*Not Available

The largest number of locations at which adult education classes are held is shown for the community education centers in New York which offer recreational and educational programs to youth and adults.

The Board of Education of the City of New York publishes an annual directory of adult education and guidance services[46] which lists facilities used in the program:

1. Evening Guidance Centers--provide educational, vocational and personal guidance to young adults over 17 years of age.

2. Evening Academic High Schools--offer free courses of instruction in high school subjects to all qualified adults residing in New York City.

3. Evening Trade Schools--provide related and supplemental instruction for employed out-of-school youth and adults to supplement the work experience of the individual by increasing his skills, technical knowledge, and general occupational competence.

4. Manpower Development and Training Program--occupational training programs and related services for out-of-school youth and adults that are funded under federal and state legislative acts and New York City tax levy monies.

5. Special Programs in Day High Schools for Youth and Adults--pre-employment trade training for high school graduates and for non-graduates.

6. Community Education--day and evening centers operated during the school year or on a twelve month basis provide fundamental and general adult education and educationally oriented activities for children, teenagers, out-of-school youth and adults.

In addition to its adult education activities, it should be pointed out that the Bureau of Community Education is also responsible for the operation of part-time after school centers for children where educationally oriented recreational activities are provided. While it cannot be denied that the operation of such centers seems to fall logically under a Bureau of Community Education, this organizational arrangement is further evidence of the way in which adult education functions are parceled out to administrative units which are not engaged solely in adult education work and which therefore seem to be particularly difficult to coordinate. Nevertheless, if the superintendent of schools wishes to have the total adult program administered by a single assistant superintendent it is possible to develop such an organizational structure.

In 1964 a massive survey was conducted of all of the programs conducted under the auspices of the City of Chicago Board of Education. A special committee examined the adult education program and made several comparisons among Chicago, Los Angeles and New York. Some of the findings of that

committee are now presented because there is little evidence that the situation has changed appreciably in the intervening six years.

The Chicago Survey

The advisory committee on adult education which participated in the 1964 survey of the Chicago public schools reported several deficiencies of the system and contrasted the Chicago program to those of New York and Los Angeles. Three of the Major conclusions of the committee are as follows:

> Chicago is hampered by a lack of tradition and of respect for and commitment to adult education on the part of supervisory personnel, so that in quality and quantity she lags behind comparable cities.
>
> Chicago's adult educational program, taken as a whole, is static and isolated from the community. Its administrators do not have time or training to build a program which is responsive to the needs of the community it serves, which utilizes community and human resources to enrich its programs, and which serves as a bridge to other institutions and leadership forces in the community.
>
> The disparity between Chicago and other cities is explained only in part by school finance problems. It is largely attributable to centralization of authority and isolation from other major community institutions. This is inevitable when adult education is in the hands of part-time personnel with other major jobs in the school system.[47]

The committee did not concern itself with the developments in adult education which occurred more than three decades previously and hence missed the earlier commitment which has been referred to in this chapter. The second and third criticisms listed here are developed further through the presentation of comparable data from New York and Los Angeles. Table 50 shows the situation as the advisory committee reported it in 1964.

The committee accounted for the poor showing of the Chicago program in the comparisons on three factors:

> (1) the unusual concentration of power in the central office, suppressing local initiative;
>
> (2) the isolation of the schools from other major community institutions;
>
> (3) the distribution of funds through part-time administrators whose main interests lie elsewhere.[48]

Despite a change of superintendent of schools for the City of Chicago and a change in the personnel of the adult education leadership staff, no

evidence was found to indicate that the problems identified by the advisory committee had been alleviated.

Because the Los Angeles adult education program has been shown to be more effectively coordinated and controlled both in this 1964 study and in the current investigation, it seems appropriate to examine several of the features which appear to account for the apparent superiority.

Features of the Los Angeles Program

A public school adult education program with a unified control structure may produce a coordinated program, but unless provisions are made to modify the program systematically the changing social, economic, and technological environment will render the program obsolete. The Los Angeles school system has provided for such a regularized program review process and the apparent results may be noted.

Although the assistant superintendent for adult education has the administrative authority and responsibility to modify the program in anticipation of or in response to environmental changes, the initiation of suggestions for modification may be handled more effectively if that function is assigned to a special committee. Just such a group, the Adult Education Curriculum Council, was established in 1960 for the purpose of studying and making recommendations on problems of curriculum including:

1. Cooperative planning for a rapidly changing curriculum
2. Securing instructional materials
3. Coordinating the planning of services
4. Developing and maintaining communications between schools
5. Implementing the Board's Comprehensive Curriculum Policy.[49]

This forty-one member council which includes only employees of the school district meets monthly, October through June. There are a number of members of the council who have responsibilities in relating to various community groups.

Eight functions have been identified for the Council:

1. To recommend criteria for the offering and naming of new courses.

2. To recommend policy for procedures to be followed in adopting new classes.

3. To recommend procedures for developing course descriptions and outlines.

4. To recommend procedures for the constant appraisal and evaluation of the instructional program.

5. To recommend policies and procedures for the evaluation and selection of instructional materials.

6. To recommend policies and procedures for the review and evaluation of graduation standards and requirements.

7. To serve as liaison between adult education and other segments of the educational program, relating to curricular and instructional problems.

8. To review and study other curriculum problems as directed.[50]

The Council has met regularly since it was established and reportedly plays an active role in the self-renewal process for the adult program.

A second special feature of the Los Angeles program is that three members of the seven-man Board of Education are designated as the adult education committee of the Board. This committee, which has no counterpart for elementary or secondary education, serves as an advisory group and a sounding board for new ideas. The existence of this committee and the review work it does tends to increase the likelihood that when an adult education problem or proposal is brought before the entire board the decision of the board will be based on the well informed thinking of the members of the committee.

Several additional features tend to distinguish the Los Angeles adult education program and some other California adult education programs from those of the three other cities. A state adult education advisory committee has been created to recommend which institutions ought to be permitted and assisted to run what kinds of programs and this committee has the responsibility of attempting to provide guidance to the schools and colleges conducting adult programs in the Los Angeles area. Cooperating businesses assign executives to work on adult education under the direction of the school system personnel. A bilingual adult school has been established for the Spanish-speaking community in which all employees are bilingual and a large part of the vocational education is conducted in Spanish. Training contracts are executed between the school system and private companies and corporations. Classes are provided for deaf adults. Driver education classes are conducted for court referred violators in which the curriculum is designed to change the drivers' attitudes. A professionally trained staff of full-time principals, vice-principals and head counselors are employed in the twenty-eight community adult schools, five regional occupation centers, four M.D.T.A. skill training centers and two family life centers. Classes on nutrition are held for the elderly followed by a hot meal with the cost paid in part by the adult student and in part by a federal project grant. In addition the adult program includes a symphony orchestra.[51]

Although it is not possible to identify which of these programs may have been begun because of the existence of the Council because those who are empowered to make changes and initiate programs are represented on the Council, nevertheless it seems reasonable to assume that the meetings may have stimulated more sustained study of problems and proposals than would otherwise have occurred.

SUMMARY OF ORGANIZATIONAL COMPARISONS OF STRUCTURE, FUNCTION, AND STAFFING

In summary, it may be seen that even though the directors of adult education in Chicago, Los Angeles and New York are each designated assistant superintendent, only in the case of Los Angeles does the director have administrative and fiscal control over all adult education programs. In New York, Detroit, and Chicago very large parts of the total adult education programs of the school district are not being controlled by the highest ranking adult educator in the administrative hierarchy.

Although accurate data are not available on which to base firm conclusions the estimated number of administrative and supervisory personnel who are involved in the adult education program on a full-time or a part-time basis suggests that only Los Angeles has succeeded in developing a sizeable cadre of full-time professionals whose entire responsibilities lie within adult education. In the other cities the adult education function is typically only one of a number of responsibilities carried by an individual who may have only a marginal relationship to the entire adult education field.

All four school systems have not restricted their adult programs to school buildings. Instead they have utilized community centers and private homes to serve as classrooms for specific target audiences.

Each of the school districts is faced with the need to review its programs in adult education regularly and to develop new programs to meet changing individual and social demands. Although the adult education administrators in all four cities undoubtedly make a conscientious effort to offer a curriculum that is relevant to the educational needs of its community, the Los Angeles school district has developed an Adult Education Curriculum Advisory Council which has this specific responsibility. And even though it may not be possible to determine what program features would have developed without this Council, it seems reasonable to believe that institutionalizing the curriculum review and revision responsibility leads to more disciplined, systematic and sustained curriculum improvement activity than would occur in the absence of such a Council.

In this section the difference in the structure function and staffing among the four school districts have been discussed. At this point it is appropriate to consider the ideas which have been presented in all five sections and to suggest generalizations which may apply to urban public school adult education in other locations.

VI. ANALYSIS OF ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM RELATIONSHIPS

In examining and presenting the data on the four school districts an effort was made to perceive relationships among each of the variables which were measured. In some cases the effort was successful. These limited case studies were undertaken both as a way to add depth to the analysis of the quantitative data on all of the school districts which responded to the

questionnaire and as a way of coping with the unusual situations which were anticipated in the public school adult education programs in the nation's largest cities.

The following generalizations have been formulated based upon the analysis of the data presented in this chapter. In this analysis the findings previously presented on state differences and on the supply of and demand for adult education were considered.

1. Each of the four states has developed global statements of adult education program purposes and objectives yet only California has developed state legislation to provide the financial base required to develop and conduct programs to attain the objectives or serve the purposes.

2. The number of adults in a state or in a school district lacking a high school education may be interpreted by educators as an indicator of the level of need for adult education programs. It is not, however a reliable indicator of the level of interest of state legislatures in providing financial support for adult high school completion programs.

3. Per capita income is not as good a predictor of level of state or school district support for public school adult education programs as is the average level of educational atainment of the adult population.

4. Federally funded programs of adult education appear to be attractive to local school districts regardless of the existing level of adult education programming in the district.

5. The provision of state or federal categorical support for adult education may not increase the capability of the school district to respond to local needs unless the local district interprets program guidelines broadly and uses the additional resources provided as instruments for building a comprehensive program.

6. Although the provision of state aid based on average daily attendance in adult classes provides an incentive to local directors to develop courses which will appeal to a sizeable private demand, the provision of a local tax levy specifically for public school adult education permits the director to offer courses which may have a limited private demand but which are seen as serving a socially useful purpose. Such earmarked funds are also desirable from the adult education director's viewpoint since they reduce his need to compete with the administrators of elementary and secondary programs for the general school district revenue.

7. The influence of state support on the nature of the adult education program offered by a school district is inversely related to the percentage of the state population living in that school district.

8. Those school districts which secure the largest percentage of their income from federal programs are most likely to have the administration of adult education programs distributed among separate and uncoordinated administrative units.

9. Local financial support for adult education programs other than that coming from student tuition and fees tends to encourage the development of general adult education programs with a wide appeal.

10. In general, the closer to the local school district that the adult education program income is generated the more likely it is that the program will be responsive to local needs.

11. Programs supported entirely by federal or by federal-state funding may be established in school districts having extremely limited adult programs. On the other hand, the provision of some minimal level of local support is evidently required before a school district is prepared to take maximum advantage of state and federal sources of funds.

12. The provision of low fee or no fee non-credit adult education courses is associated with high levels of participation; however, when such courses are financed almost exclusively from student tuition and fees the enrollment tends to be relatively low.

13. The provision of adult education programs to the "culturally deprived" or educationally disadvantaged is apparently facilitated when such courses are conducted outside of school buildings and as near as possible to the homes of the intended participants.

14. The appointment of an adult education committee by the local board of education composed of members of the board increases the visibility of the program in the school district and facilitates the orderly development of all aspects of the adult program.

15. The appointment of a formally designated curriculum committee with regular meetings and specific responsibilities in reviewing the adult curriculum and recommending modifications is an effective instrument for keeping the program geared to the present and anticipated public and private adult education demands of its community.

16. Finally, the development and execution of a broadly based and coordinated program of adult education is dependent upon an unambiguous chain of command within the school system, the appointment of an adult education director for the system who is in fact, as well as in name, in charge of all the adult education programs conducted by the school system, and the appointment of full-time adult education personnel whose primary professional identification is with that field.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Supra, Chapter IV, pp. 70-71.

[2] California Bureau of Adult Education, Handbook on Adult Education in California (Rev. ed.; Sacramento: California State Department of Education, 1966).

[3] Ibid., pp. 2-3.

[4] Ibid., p. 49.

[5] Ibid., p. 23

[6] Attendance Accounting in California Public Schools, 1967 edition. School Business Administration Publication No. 5 (Sacramento: California State Department of Education, 1967), p. 57.

[7] Ibid., p. 56.

[8] California Bureau of Adult Education, Handbook of Adult Education in California, p. 36

[9] Ibid., p. 63.

[10] Education for the Future of Illinois, Report of a Study by the Task Force on Education (Springfield: State of Illinois, 1966), pp. 52-53.

[11] Illinois School Problems, Report of the School Problems Commission No. 9 (Springfield: State of Illinois, 1967), p. 18.

[12] Supra, Chapter IV, p. 80.

[13] "The Community Education Concept," Adult Education and Community Services Program, Bureau of Educational Services, Michigan Department of Education (n.d.) (mimeographed).

[14] James R. Dorland, George F. Aker, Cyril O. Houle, Robert A. Luke and Wilson B. Thiede, "Evaluation of Adult and Continuing Education in the State of Michigan," December, 1969 (multilithed), p. 15.

[15] Supra, Chapter II, p. 43.

[16] Rules of the Board of Regents and Regulations of the Commissioner of Education (Albany: The State Education Department, The University of the State of New York, 1970), Section 161.1.

[17] Supra., Chapter IV, p. 81.

[18] Bureau of Educational Finance Research and Bureau of Adult Education, Adult Education: The Relationship of Program Development to State Fiscal Policy (Albany: The State Education Department, The University of the State of New York, 1964), p. 11.

[19]Ibid., pp. 12-13.

[20]Ronald Szczypkowski, "The Effects of New York State's Fiscal Policy on the Public School Adult Education System, June, 1968 (mimeographed), p. 13 (unpublished).

[21]Ibid., p. 16.

[22]Supra, Chapter V, p. 100.

[23]Adult Education, Study Report Number Eleven, 1964 Series (Chicago: Chicago Public Schools, 1964), p. 3.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Advisory Committee on Adult Education, "Adult Education," The Public Schools of Chicago, Robert J. Havighurst (Chicago: The Board of Education of the City of Chicago, 1964), pp. 438-439.

[26]William Paterson Wilson, "The History and Development of the Public Adult Education Program in Chicago," unpublished Ed.D. Dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1948, p. 240.

[27]Ibid., p. 246.

[28]Ibid., p. 244.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Ibid., p. 246.

[31]Report of the Survey of the Schools of Chicago, Illinois Volume III (New York: Division of Field Studies, Institute of Educational Research, Teachers College, Columbia University, Bureau of Publications, 1932), p. 82.

[32]Adult Education, Study Report Number Eleven, p. 6.

[33]Department of Adult Education, This is Your Invitation (Detroit: Detroit Public Schools, January, 1970), p. 2.

[34]D. Ray Ferrier, "A Status Report on Project R.E.A.D. (Remedial Education for Adults)," (Detroit: Department of Continuing Education, Division for Improvement of Instruction, Detroit Public Schools, 1965), p. 1 (mimeographed).

[35]See Table 46, p. 155.

[36]Department of Adult Education, This is Your Invitation (Detroit: Detroit Public Schools, January, 1970), p. 1.

[37]Day and Evening Adult Education Classes, 1969-1970 (Los Angeles: Division of Instructional Planning and Services, Los Angeles City Schools, [illegible], p. 1.

[38]Ibid., p. 2.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Thomas Boese, Public Education in the City of New York, Its History, Condition, and Statistics, an official report to the Board of Education (New York: Harper and Bros., 1869), p. 226.

[41] Ibid.

[42]Ibid., p. 173.

[43]A. Emerson Palmer, The New York Public School (New York: Macmillan, 1905), p. 310.

[44]Ibid., pp. 311-312.

[45]Adult Basic Education, New York State: A Two-Year Study 1965-67 (Albany: Bureau of Basic Continuing Education, New York State Education Department, 1968), p. 1.

[46]Adult Education and Guidance Services in New York City 1968-1969 (New York: Board of Education, City of New York,1968).

[47]Chicago Advisory Committee on Adult Education, "Adult Education," p. 439.

[48]Ibid., p. 450.

[49]Adult Education Curriculum Council Organization Manual (Los Angeles: Board of Education, August 1969), p. 3. Revised Edition.

[50]Ibid.

[51] Address by William J. Johnston, Assistant Superintendent, Los Angeles Public Schools, at the May 18, 1970 meeting of the Adult Education Council of Greater Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

CHAPTER VIII

DECISION MAKING FOR ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS

The school districts used in this study provide a cross-sectional picture of programs of adult and continuing education offered by public school systems in the United States. The main impression is one of quantitative and qualitative diversity. Quantitatively, some programs involve a large section of the population of the community while others involve only a small proportion of the population. Qualitative diversity is evidenced in the wide range of program offerings from one community to another. Some communities have programs which stress preparation for employment. Other communities stress programs which appear designed to help the participants live a richer and fuller life. In a few situations, there is a wide menu of programs among which potential students may choose. In other cases, the offering is extremely limited, with several communities providing nothing more than the federally financed Adult Basic Education programs.

This chapter has two aspects. The first deals with the procedures by which decisions are or might be made with respect to the selection of programs in a given community. The second applies a normative framework, namely the formal cost-benefit model of the economist, to an examination of several programs. The assumption underlying this second aspect of the chapter is that adult educators are influenced by considerations of benefit and cost, although they may not perform the kind of formal analysis which is described below.

All decisions involve a consideration of costs and benefits. A choice of programs in adult education is no exception. Such programs will not be provided by school districts, or, if they are provided, will not be attended, unless school districts and enrollees perceive the programs' benefits to be at least equal to their costs. However, the perceptions of the school district officials and those of the enrollees arise from different viewpoints. It does not make sense for a potential enrollee to spend his time and money, unless the benefits he anticipates are at least equal in value to his costs. School board members, state legislators, or congressmen will see the problem from a different perspective, since they may perceive benefits to the entire community. These "public benefits" may be so substantial as to justify providing subsidies, thus reducing private costs to the point where enrollment and attendance are justified in the mind of the individual for whom the program is intended.

SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Courses for which there is a strong public demand can have benefits at

several levels. In the case of functionally illiterate adults who complete an Adult Basic Education sequence, a local community may receive benefits in the form of the improved competence of some of its citizens, in improved neighborhoods, and perhaps in reduced costs for such public services as police or public health. State level benefits may be in reduced unemployment insurance payments, increased tax revenues, and perhaps in an improved labor force attractive to new industry. At the federal level benefits may take the form of increased tax revenues, and the improvement of the nation's social, defense, and economic welfare through the upgrading of human resources.

Since benefits are received at all three levels of government, all three levels have a demand for ABE programs. It would be natural to expect the costs of ABE and other programs to be shared by the various levels of government in proportion to benefits received. Of course, this ideal is seldom achieved, because some benefits, such as improved citizenship, may be shared to a greater or less extent by all three levels, and such benefits cannot be separated or measured. In addition, the mobility of population hinders attempts to assign benefits to any particular governmental unit below the federal level.

Furthermore, it is not always easy to assess what should be regarded as a benefit. One small town in the sample, located in an economically poor state, has a program of adult education that is completely free of tuition or materials fees to clients. All expenses are paid by the state and the community, each paying about half the costs. Clients who finish a high school completion sequence tend to move from the town to more prosperous areas of the state. Their places in the program are taken by new English illiterates who move in from another country across the nearby border, and the cycle repeats. It may, therefore, be thought that the town is subsidizing the rest of the state, for it does not retain the products of its program. Yet the town apparently does so willingly. Perhaps satisfaction in helping the poor is benefit enough for the local population.

The problems of assigning the benefits of adult education programs to particular locales, and even of deciding what are the benefits, will be given a more technical consideration in the next section. But at this point we can see that the concept of a "public demand" based on expected public benefits is not as simple or clear-cut as it may appear at first mention.

On the other hand, the local adult education director will find that many cost-benefit decisions have already been made for him, in the sense that categorical state and federal funds are available for the support of certain programs. For example, the federal Manpower Development and Training Act of 1963 (P.L. 87-415) paid 100 per cent of the expenditures (through June 30, 1966; 90 per cent thereafter) of programs providing basic educational skills and occupational training to unemployed persons. In such cases the local adult educator need only maximize resources, and enrollment. While these are not simple tasks, he does not have the additional burden of performing cost-benefit analyses of the programs. It is then the responsibility of state and federal officials to see that such evaluations are carried out. The local educator does have the responsibility to aid state and federal evaluations by providing accurate data.

There is another perspective from which cost-benefit analysis should be applied, if it is to be used most effectively by the adult educator. This perspective is from the client's point of view. The client will in any case make some calculation of the costs and benefits to him of enrolling. If the educator can try to see things from the client's point of view, he may uncover new ways to increase participation and reduce attrition in attendance.

Consider, for example, a subsidized program in which all registration, tuition, books, and even transportation costs are paid on behalf of the student. There is still at least one other cost to the student, namely the time he must spend in the program. Even if the student, or client, is unemployed he could be doing other things with his time than going to class. One alternative use of his time could be looking for work. Other uses of his time may be quite valuable to him, whether the educator agrees with his valuation or not. Since adult education programs are voluntary, the client must believe that the time he spends in the program is more valuable than any alternative use of his time (or he would choose the higher valued alternative). This end is usually brought about by promising benefits, such as increased earnings, and by reducing the out-of-pocket costs to the client by subsidizing part or all of his tuition and expenses. In order to make attending classes more valuable than alternative uses of time, it is sometimes necessary to actually pay clients for going to class, as in certain welfare-related programs.

However, benefits and costs may not consist solely of money. The student's time is one example of a non-monetary cost. Another is given by the following consideration: "School" may be a painful experience for some, or it may be recalled as such by some who are therefore reluctant to try again. To overcome such fears or pains, which are a cost to the student, some projects have been located in store fronts, churches, factories, and other "non-school" places in the hope of reducing the psychic costs of, say, completing high school.

Non-monetary benefits may also be found. A worker who completes the requirements for a high school diploma or certificate may experience some gains in income, but he may benefit also through improved self-regard and feelings of competence. Although money values cannot be directly attributed to such benefits, they may nevertheless be influential in the decisions of clients to participate, and of agencies to provide programs.

Ultimately, money values often are attached to "non-monetary" costs and benefits, if only intuitively, by a judgement that an activity either is or is not "worth" the expenditures it entails. Because this is so, and because it is often necessary or helpful to make careful estimates of relative costs and benefits in money terms, a summary of accepted methods and measures for this purpose is presented in the next section.

ESSENTIALS OF COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS

Cost-benefit analysis can be described as an approach which uses conceptually meaningful criteria, mostly derived from economic theory, to assess

benefits and costs associated with investment projects in order to determine worthwhileness of a given project or a set of projects. At first sight the approach seems quite straightforward and conceptually it is indeed so. But as soon as the actual activity of assessing costs and benefits starts, the problems become more complex.

In economic theory, cost refers to foregone opportunity. In a situation involving choices among a number of alternatives, the cost of the selected alternative would be measured by the value of the next best alternative. When an individual enrolls in a course, one of the costs incurred by him can be represented by the value of time that he devotes to the course. To assess costs of a program of instruction it is necessary to sum the value of foregone opportunities of all the parties concerned.

When a program or a project is subsidized by the government, the relevant cost to consider is the social opportunity cost of the resources devoted to the project. Economists disagree about the most appropriate way of measuring this cost. What happens in practice is that the market value of resources devoted to the project or program is used as an estimate of cost. Political decision makers must then decide among alternate uses of scarce resources.

The measurement of benefits is at least as complicated as the measurement of cost. Benefits can be pecuniary as well as non-pecuniary. Because non-pecuniary benefits are generally more difficult to measure than pecuniary benefits, analysts frequently concentrate on measurement of pecuniary benefits only. The weighing of non-pecuniary benefits (as with costs) is left to the judgement or political wisdom of the decision maker.

Benefits do not occur simultaneously in one period; rather, they accrue over a period of time. In order to obtain an estimate of benefits at the time of decision, the expected benefits over time have to be discounted and then aggregated to derive present value of the benefit stream. A major problem in this situation is the selection of an appropriate discount rate. Economists have discussed at great length the theoretical issues regarding this matter but so far no generally accepted method for deriving an appropriate discount rate has been formulated. Currently, analysts use two or more discount rates (such as 5 per cent and 10 per cent) to obtain the present value of the benefit stream. Since the benefits accrue over a period of time, there is some element of risk as well as uncertainty involved, and some adjustment in the analysis has to be made to take account of these phenomena.

In some situations there are outcomes other than those intended by program organizers. These externalities or "spillovers" can be seen as side-effects of the program. They may be of positive or of negative value. The occurrence of such outcomes further complicates the assessment of benefits.

Where the costs of a program are borne by some levels of the government (state, local or federal) as well as private individuals and where benefits accrue to individuals as well as government the problem of identifying costs and benefits for various participants becomes quite complex. This difficulty is especially true of educational cost-benefit analysis.

Even after obtaining satisfactory measures of costs and benefits associated with a program, the worthwhileness of the program must still be determined and a decision must be made to adopt, maintain or reject the program. The present-value and internal-rate-of-return are commonly calculated to help with decision-making. The present value of an investment is obtained by discounting to the base period all the net benefits accruing during the period of analysis, as shown in equation (1) below:

$$(1) \quad \text{Present Value} = \sum_{j=0}^{n} \frac{B_j - C_j}{(i+1)j}$$

Where B = Benefits
C = Costs
i = the chosen rate of discount
j = the period

When there is no financial constraint, the correct course would be to undertake all projects which have a positive net present value. Since the chosen rate of discount would be such as to compare favorably with interest rates existing in the market, profitable investments would be made by undertaking all such projects.

The present-value analysis is not very helpful for decision-making when there is a budget constraint and one has to select from competing and mutually exclusive projects. In such cases the internal-rate-of-return analysis is more appropriate. The internal-rate-of-return on an investment is that rate of interest which makes the present value of the net benefit stream equal to zero as shown in equation (2).

$$(2) \quad 0 = \sum_{j=0}^{n} \frac{\left(B_j - C_j\right)}{(1+r)^j}$$

Where r = rate of return

The project with higher rate of return would be, by definition, the more profitable alternative.

There are some technical complexities associated with the use of rate-of-return analysis for decision-making in the public sector. Hence, analysts, especially those assessing costs and benefits associated with manpower programs, rely heavily on the present-value rule.

The purpose of the next section of this chapter is to examine the manner in which cost-benefit analysis may be applied to decision-making in adult and continuing education. Such decisions are made at several levels; the characteristics of decisions at each level are noted. Furthermore, interactions among levels are important, and are examined in this section.

Concern here is with a general analysis of costs and benefits of programs

in adult and continuing education, rather than with the analysis of specific and unique programs. The latter kind of study has been made by competent researchers; the appendix to this chapter lists some of the best known of these studies. These studies tend to be confined to programs designed to prepare individuals for employment. This report is directed to a wider kind of problem. The problem is encompassed in the question: What kinds of cost-benefit analyses are made by government, program directors and students, in the broad field of adult and continuing education?

The basic assumption is that decisions are made by a number of individuals and groups, each attempting to arrive at either an individual or a social level of optimality. Specifically, the loci of decisions are the following:

(a) The potential student
(b) The director of adult education, together with his staff and advisory board
(c) State governments
(d) The national government

None of these decision-making centers can be considered in isolation; there is a flow of influence in both directions. State governments, for example, are affected by decisions made at the national level. Chapter IV of this report pointed out that many of the states are staffed to administer Adult Basic Education programs, and that such programs are, in a number of cases, almost the only adult and continuing education programs administered by the state. Local directors (together with school superintendents and boards of education) operate within the framework of state law. Their programs are constrained by such laws and also by the level of financial support provided by the state and federal governments. Finally, students must make their decisions within the framework of the "supply" of courses offered by the school district, and financed by local, state, or federal funds. (Potential students may also look outside the public school framework for such courses, where alternatives are available.)

To a considerable degree, influence also flows "upward." Directors of adult and continuing education are affected by the demand for programs, as expressed by potential students. Individual and local demand may also influence legislation at the state and federal level. Cost-benefit analysis at any level is, therefore, affected by decisions made at other levels.

COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL

The nation as a whole has a distinct interest in programs of adult education. In the first place, population mobility results in the benefits of education being distributed throughout the country; the harmful effects of under-education are similarly distributed. In the second place, the economic interdependencies among the states and regions makes education a matter of national concern. This concern is for more than the economic benefits of schooling; political stability, social inter-relationships, and even a national concern for the cultural aspects of educational benefits are involved.

It therefore seems appropriate that both formal and informal cost-benefit analysis of adult and continuing education be conducted by the legislative and executive branches of the federal government. Such analyses would then affect both legislation and administrative policy. The following analysis suggests that there are strong advantages to be gained through federal support of programs of basic education. However, the existence of a sizeable ratio of benefits to costs is not a sufficient justification in itself; the ratio must be greater than that for other programs, including elementary and secondary education, for the analysis to justify additional investment in adult and continuing education.

This analysis is taken from a study which was undertaken by Management Technology, Incorporated, through a contract with the Office of Education.[1]

The report summarizes the problem of the under-educated as follows: The inability of the "functionally illiterate" to enter into the economic and civic life of the community to the fullest extent not only damages the lives of the individual, but also the economic, civic and social affairs of the nation.

The solution proposed goes beyond planning for immediate remedial measures:

> A great step toward a solution to this problem can be taken through the development of a national program to provide these individuals with an effective education. To attain the greatest benefit to both the individuals and the Nation, the program should be broad enough to develop these individuals to their fullest potential. The magnitude of such an effort is huge; however a plan can be developed and implemented for a minimum effort that will mark the first step in achieving the ultimate goal. The experience and information resulting from implementation of such a plan in a national program will provide the basis for the development of future plans and programs for achievement of the maximum benefits.

The plan suggests program benefits that emphasize social and economic priorities of the nation:

> The anti-social behavior of the educationally disadvantaged population and the assistance programs required for them are a drain on this country's financial resources, to say nothing of the subtle impact on the public's emotional resources.
>
> In purely economic terms, if the educationally disadvantaged population were educated sufficiently, it seems highly likely that the drain on financial resources would be drastically reduced. In fact, these resources would probably be increased by additional tax collection.
>
> The basic plan which was developed seems feasible, and at the same time it includes a very high percentage of the potential participants. The plan for the eighteen to sixty-four Age Group provides for an orderly growth in participants from about

0.9 million to a maximum of about 2.7 million in 1975. The annual cost would increase with participation from about $75 million to $235 million and then decline to about $55 million in the twentieth year of the plan, having reached 13 million people.

Although there are obviously many other benefits to this program, one of the benefits which can be measured is the increased income for graduates. Using this measure alone, the 18-64 program would probably increase the annual income of its graduates by more than $16 billion. This program could increase the lifetime incomes of its graduates by more than $400 billion.

Using the single criteria of income increase, the potential benefits of the ABE Program are about four times the annual costs. The potential benefits are truly exciting when any sort of estimate is made of the huge pay-offs to the community from the other factors which have not been quantified or considered in this estimate of benefits.

It is important, however, to examine the method by which the above analysis was conducted. The analysis appears, for example, to ignore indirect costs, including students' foregone opportunities. Another problem is that the income estimates may be over-stated. Even if these problems are eliminated, the task of providing a comprehensive set of cost-benefit statistics for various proposed expenditures, to be used as the basis for public policy, is a formidable, if not impossible one. The conclusion then is that governmental decisions must be based on judgments, using the type of analysis described above as guides, but not as definitive bases for action.

STATE LEVEL COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS

Many of the important decisions concerning adult and continuing education are made by the federal and local governments. The role of the state is often that of administrator of federally defined and financed programs, such as adult basic education and various vocational programs. In other cases, state law is interpreted as permitting the operation of local programs.

This limited state role is not without some justification. Most states are faced with critical situations in the financing of elementary, secondary and higher education, and understandably resist expansion into the potentially large arena of adult education. State laws are at best only permissive in this sphere. Finally, adult education does not have, in general, the organized lobbies which work for the financing of elementary-secondary and higher education.*

*One outstanding exception is the well organized and effective California Association of Adult Education Administrators.

There are two reasons for state participation in the financing of adult and continuing education. These reasons may be classified as being connected with: (a) efficiency; and (b) equity.

The efficiency criterion is related to the role of adult education in improving the productivity of citizens of a given state. Adult education, according to this criterion, is an investment, the results of which consist of increased income for the citizens of the state. This increased income may come about in several ways.

(1) Adult education, consisting of improving the formal education level of citizens of a state, may result in an improvement in per capita income. In particular, to the degree that graduates of high school completion courses earn equivalent salaries to graduates of regular secondary day schools, total income in the state will be raised. From the point of view of state government, this additional education may be instrumental in helping attract industries, and in aiding existing industries to find suitably qualified employees. Individuals with increased incomes will pay higher state taxes. Relief rolls may be diminished, and resources freed for productive use.

(2) Specific programs, such as vocational education and adult literacy courses, may have similar results with specific groups of adults.

(3) The total welfare of citizens of the state may be increased in an indirect way, as a result of the effect of adult education in making other government expenditures more productive. For example, the education of some mothers may increase the effect of money spent for pre-school or kindergarten education. As noted above, welfare programs may be more productive, and may be aimed at assisting people obtain gainful employment, if these programs are related to adult education. Expenditures for public health may produce a greater result, if they are accompanied by educational programs for adults.

Equity considerations also enter, especially where states are concerned with reducing income differentials among their citizens. More generally, adult education is a means for reducing differentials in social welfare, including income-related and other benefits. Thus, some adult education programs are directed toward the poor and those who are deprived of the social, political and legal advantages associated with membership in the society. Courses designed for the aged, for example, provide a way of bringing psychic income to this group; courses for the physically or mentally ill may make it possible for these people to become useful and happy citizens. Courses for the unemployed, the illiterate, and the indigent have similar effects.

Consequently, it seems to be a matter of high priority for state and regional economic development and human resource agencies to apply known techniques of cost-benefit analysis to the following types of programs:

- Vocational Education
- Adult Basic Education
- High School Completion
- Programs complementary to those of other agencies

Such analyses would show that increased expenditure for adult education con-

stitutes a worthwhile investment in most states. This is particularly the case because the cost to the state for many programs is reduced by virtue of federal subsidies, local tax support, and tuition support. Furthermore, costs are reduced still further by the availability of publicly owned buildings and equipment.

There are, however, no state-level estimates of the value of the benefits to be derived from adult and continuing education. There are merely cost data. The amount of money spent (per capita) for adult and continuing education by state governments in the sample is quite small. Table 50 presents these data.

The application by states of cost-benefit analysis to "consumer-type" programs provided by local school systems is, of course, much more difficult. It is doubtful whether such analysis can or should be carried out by states, except in a very general manner. Furthermore, since such programs are attended, to a considerable degree, by high-income enrollees, public support of them would constitute a regressive distribution of public services.

LOCAL LEVEL DECISION MAKING

Educational policy at the school district level is in the hands of the local school board. The members of the board are, in most cases, elected, and may be assumed to reflect the aspirations of the community. However, their policy-making role tends to be quite general; in most cases, they delegate the implementation of policy to their appointed officers including the superintendent of schools and his staff.

One of the most important decisions which boards of education make is the selection and appointment of the superintendent of schools. Another important decision, whether it is made at the instigation of the superintendent or whether it is initiated by the board, is the selection of the Director of Adult Education. Because of the wide latitude which is given to the director, in terms of developing and implementing a program, his role, is, in many respects, critical to its success.

The Director of Adult Education will typically involve others in his decision-making. The Board of Education, one or more advisory boards, the superintendent, and the Director's staff are involved, presumably, in certain aspects of policy formulation. However, the initiation of policy proposals probably rests with the Director to a considerable degree. Furthermore, conceptual clarity is served by examining the role of the Director, and regarding him as the key decision maker.

THE DIRECTOR AS DECISION MAKER

The following discussion is based on a generalized concept the Director of Adult Education as a maximizer. A number of statements are made which

TABLE 50

PER CAPITA ADULT EDUCATION EXPENDITURES

State	Population 18+ (1,000)	Total State Appropriations on Adult and Continuing Education ($1,000)	State Expenditure Per Head of Adult Population (2 ÷ 1)	ABE Federal Grant ($1,000)	ABE Federal Grant Per Head of Adult Popul. (4 ÷ 1)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
California	12,536	9,192	.733	1,591	.127
Florida	4,058	5,208	1.283	841	.207
Illinois	7,131	2,573	.361	1,221	.171
Maine	629	164	.261	162	.258
Michigan	5,479	3,976	.726	835	.152
Mississippi	1,423	39	.027	658	.462
New Jersey	4,713	377	.080	868	.183
New York	12,134	1,900	.157	2,446	.202
North Carolina	3,277	2,793	.852	1,251	.382
Texas	6,879	0	.000	2,056	.299

follow from this basic assumption. This formulation is then tested against available data.[2]

> Assumption 1. The Director of Adult Education makes decisions on an examination of costs and benefits. Unlike the typical educational administrator, he tends to be a maximizer, rather than an implementer of externally developed programs.
>
> > Corollary A. Entrepreneurial types are attracted to the Directorship.
>
> Assumption 2. The Director has at his disposal appropriate kinds of information which enable him to make decisions based on costs and benefits.

The statement that the Director of Adult Education makes decisions on the basis of an examination of costs and benefits is a truism which demands further explication. A third assumption will help clear up this difficulty.

> Assumption 3. In most cases, the Director must work within the confines of a balanced budget. One possibility is that the Director works to maximize the total amount of the budget (since he is not permitted to make a profit). The purpose of cost-benefit analysis (for the Director) is not, therefore, to maximize the benefit-cost ratio, but rather to study benefits and attempt to provide them within a cost framework dictated by budgetary constraints. Most communities in our sample had no school district expenditures, since they obtained their money from the federal or state government or from tuition fees. Hence, the district emphasis is on benefits rather than on costs.

The Director's decisions are contingent on his ability to "sell" the program to prospective students. Unlike the Director, students are likely to attempt to maximize the difference between costs and benefits. Their calculations must be taken into consideration by the Director; since he can only maximize the total budget (or total enrollment) by attracting students to the programs he provides.

Within this context, the Director recognizes two types of benefits. One or the other type may be predominant in a given community. However, in many communities, both types of benefits are apparent. Furthermore, while the benefits are conceptually distinct, they may be regarded differently by clients than by the Director.

(a) Public Benefits. Some programs may be identified as having important public benefits. They are provided because the outcomes of the programs are beneficial to the entire community or to the nation. These benefits are recognized by society to a sufficient extent that there is a readiness on the part of legislators at the national, state, or local level to support them through taxation.

(b) Private Benefits. At the opposite end of the continuum are programs which would not normally be supported by government, since their

benefits are primarily obtained by the individual student. Programs of this type are typically sold in the market place, either by private agencies or by governmental bodies, at a price which at least pays the costs of providing the programs.

This framework leads to the following description of behavior of the director, whose goal is to maximize total budget (and enrollment). First, he will survey the community, in order to identify social needs and private demands for adult and continuing education. Where social needs are perceived, he will attempt to obtain financial assistance from the federal government, or from the local school board. Where he perceives a private demand for certain kinds of programs, he will identify the nature of the demand (through community surveys), and will attempt to determine the willingness of potential clients to purchase services. He will then proceed to develop a set of courses which satisfy both social need and private demand.

From a social point of view, this complex type of decision making appears to provide the possibility of leading to an optimal solution to the problem of providing education for adults. Governments invest in programs where there are significant social or "third party" effects, that is, programs where benefits accrue to others than the person who is educated. Private individuals purchase education whose benefits accrue to themselves.

Two caveats are noted:

(a) This process of maximization depends on the presence of an alert Director, who assumes the role which is defined above, and who has access to adequate information about social need, private demand, and sources of revenue.

(b) We have ignored the use of local taxes which is heavily dependent on state laws.

It is hypothesized that a key variable in the Director's analysis of the community is the level of education possessed by his potential clients. The higher the level of education, the greater (it is hypothesized) will be the private demand for adult education services. Two reasons are presented for this hypothesis. In the first place, people of high education can generally afford to pay for increased education; in the second place, those who have achieved a higher level of education are assumed to have more positive preferences for education. There is one contervailing factor--individuals with more education may find the opportunity costs of attending courses to be higher.

Following from this hypothesis, it may also be assumed that high income communities provide a larger proportion of courses which are in the nature of consumption rather than investment. Individuals with lower income are more concerned with improving their economic status, and have a smaller amount of discretionary resources which they can spend on what may be defined by them as luxury rather than as a necessary item of expenditure.

Finally, it may be assumed that high education, high income communities

will provide a larger proportion of the costs of adult and continuing education from local (tax plus tuition) sources.

The analysis, by the director, of anticipated benefits, must be conducted on a community basis. The demographic characteristics of each community help to determine the nature and magnitude of the benefits to be anticipated.

Consider a community, n of whose residents will receive adult education, bringing benefits b_i to each individual. The total benefits received by individuals taking courses is equal to

$$\sum_{i=1}^{i=n} b_i$$

For each individual in the community, the benefits from adult education programs are equal to: b(p) + b(o) where b(p) = the benefits received from courses taken by self. b(o) = the benefits received from courses taken by others.

The total benefits received by individuals in the community (including the n persons taking courses, but also the additional r persons not taking courses) is equal to:

$$B = \sum_{i=1}^{i=n+r} b_i \quad \text{, where } b_i = b_i\,(p) + b_i\,(o)$$

In addition to these benefits, some third-party benefits are received by individuals outside the given community.

The individuals in the community will differ a great deal in the mixture of private and third-person (social) benefits they receive from adult education. Some enrollees will receive benefits which are almost purely private. Other enrollees and some non-enrollees will receive little in the way of private benefit but a considerable third party benefit. The mixture of private and social benefits may be seen to be broken down among sub-populations. Suppose in this community of n + r residents there are s sub-groups, classified according to the benefits they receive from adult and continuing education, according to the following continuum.

Sub-group 1	benefits mostly private
Sub groups 2, 3, . . . s-1	benefits mixed
Sub group s	benefits mostly social

While rule is not a rigid one, it can be asserted that, in general, the above scale corresponds to income gradations. Individuals in the higher income brackets tend to keep most of the benefits they receive from their own adult education (while they may also receive third-party benefits from the

education of others). Individuals in the lower income brackets benefit others in the community by preparing for employment, increasing their income, and becoming taxpayers instead of tax receivers.

Individuals in other communities also receive some of the benefits when low income people in a given community receive adult and continuing education. The benefits may, in fact, be nationwide, while the benefits from people who receive private rewards from their education are more localized.

If these assumptions are tenable, it seems reasonable that the director will charge those who receive mainly private benefits a price equal to most if not all the cost of the course. He may, in fact, take from them any "consumer surplus" they would otherwise receive by charging more than the cost of the course. In the case of courses for which the benefits are primarily public, on the other hand, the potential enrollees may not wish to invest in the full cost of the course. (Their own share of the benefits may be less than their perception of the cost.) In the case of these individuals, the director will subsidize fees. He may provide courses free, or he may even pay students to attend (thus compensating them for the indirect costs of attendance) in order that the public benefits of the courses may be garnered for the community.

Throughout the analysis at the school district level, the emphasis is on benefits, and costs are virtually ignored. The reasons for these procedures are as follows:

(a) Some costs can be shifted to other levels of government. In particular, some federal funds are available for ABE and job-related programs. Some states also provide funds for either a wide spectrum of courses (as in California) or for specific programs such as high school completion (for example, Michigan). Where state funds are not available, even for matching federal ABE money, the task of the local community is a more difficult one.

(b) Some costs are borne by the student. In particular, individuals in high income communities appear to be willing to pay the full costs of programs in which they are interested.

(c) Some costs can be shifted to the day school program. In particular, the overhead costs associated with the provision of buildings, equipment, and administrative personnel are usually attributed to the day program. Adult programs are therefore charged with the additional (or marginal) costs of their programs rather than with full costs.

(d) Costs may be re-allocated among programs by the director. It is quite possible for the director to make a profit on some courses, while running other courses at a loss. This is known among adult educators as the "Robin Hood" method of finance.

In summary, to a considerable extent, the local school district may shift costs. The director's concern is with (a) providing courses where there are perceived social benefits or private demand and (b) obtaining state

or federal funds, or charging fees to permit offering of these courses. Where state and/or federal funds are not available, school district money may be provided for adult and continuing education. Since many school districts are presently having difficulty financing their K-12 program, the opportunity costs associated with diverting resources to adult and continuing education may be quite high.

The foregoing discussion suggests the following conclusions:

(a) The adult education director will attempt to maximize total (public plus private) benefits.

(b) He operates within resource constraints. However, he will attempt to obtain resources from public or private sources for all programs in which anticipated benefits are equal or greater than the cost of providing the course.

(c) In surveying the community, he will assume that public benefits are a function of a number of variables, including the following:

Total number of illiterate individuals
Number unemployed
Number with incomes below the poverty level.

This is not to suggest that there are not public benefits associated with providing programs for the total community, including the literate, the employed, and the well-to-do. However, individuals with higher social and economic status will receive substantial private benefits, which tend to equal or exceed the costs to them of paying for instruction.

The sample of school districts included a number of communities in which the above indicators suggested a high level of public demand (see Table 51).

(d) The adult educator will also estimate private demand. He will examine such variables as:

Level of education
Median income
Per cent of population with incomes over $10,000

as indicators of private ability to pay for education.

At the other end of the continuum are school districts where public benefits are quite small, compared to private benefits. As a consequence, programs are "demanded" by individuals in the community who are, by and large, prepared to pay for the courses an amount which is at least equal to the cost of providing them.

Even in this case, the public benefits may be sufficient to warrant the school district's paying the salary of an individual who would identify demand, provide courses to meet the demand, and advertise the courses.

TABLE 51

DISTRICTS CLASSIFIED AS HAVING A HIGH LEVEL OF PUBLIC DEMAND

School District	Median Level of Education	Per Cent of Population 25 Years and Older Who have Less Than 5 Years School	Family Median Income $	Per Cent Of Families With Income Under $3000	Per Cent Non-White
Meridian, Mississippi	10.6	12.7	3,991	37.3	34.0
Laredo, Texas	6.4	38.4	2,935	51.0	0.4*
Vineland, New Jersey	8.9	13.2	5,644	18.3	4.2
Newark, New Jersey	9.0	12.4	5,454	18.9	34.4
Newburgh, New York	9.4	9.9	5,363	19.7	16.6
East St. Louis, Illinois	8.7	13.6	4,842	30.0	44.6
Biddeford, Maine	8.4	5.3	4,706	21.9	0.2
Van Buren, Maine	8.6	9.3	4,000	32.4	1.2
Houston, Mississippi	10.9	13.4	3,827	37.1	38.5
Quincy, Florida	9.6	31.0	3,604	44.0	59.4
Muskegon Heights, Michigan	9.6	4.4	5,568	18.0	8.4
St. Pauls, North Carolina (County Data)	7.9	25.3	2,247	60.1	29.5
McCamey, Texas	10.5	7.7	5,036	19.3	4.4
Lenior CC, North Carolina (Kinston)	9.7	18.4	4,003	38.8	46.9
Sylva, North Carolina (County Data)	7.9	15.9	2,608	56.2	1.9

*90 per cent Mexican-American.

The following are examples of communities where private benefits appear to predominate:

TABLE 52

DISTRICTS CLASSIFIED AS HAVING HIGH LEVEL OF PRIVATE DEMAND

School District.	Median Level of Education	Per Cent of Population 25 Years and Older Who have Less than 5 Years School	Median Income $	Per Cent With Income Under $3,000	Per Cent Non-White
Midland, Michigan	12.7	1.3	7,690	9.9	0.2
Fair Lawn, New Jersey	12.1	3.3	8,346	3.3	0.3
Wayne, New Jersey	12.1	9.6	8,363	4.0	6.6
White Plains, New York	12.2	5.1	8,012	9.1	11.9
South Orange	12.6	0.1	11,689	6.8	0.1
Maplewood, New Jersey	12.4	8.1	8,957	8.0	19.6
Presque Isle, Maine	12.1	9.3	4,949	21.4	1.2
Palo Alto, California	13.3	2.1	9,132	7.2	4.6

Note:

In those communities where benefits are largely private, a large share of total costs are paid locally, more courses are of the Category III (consumption) type, and a large proportion of local costs is met through tuition payments: See Table 53.

TABLE 53

REVENUE SOURCE AND PROPORTION OF CATEGORY III COURSES, IN SELECTED DISTRICTS

District	Per Cent Adult Education Revenue from Federal Government	Per Cent Revenue From Local Sources	Category III Courses as Per Cent of Total Courses	Tuition As Per Cent of Total Revenue
Midland, Michigan	4.5	42.4	21	27.4
Fairlawn, New Jersey	9.0	80.3	47	74.9
Wayne, New Jersey	0.0	80.7	62	77.9
White Plains, New York	82.6	17.4	22	28.9
Maplewood, New Jersey	12.2	87.8	67	75.5
Presque Isle, Maine	28.7	44.0	14	17.2
Palo Alto, California	26.4	60.8	39	4.6
Meridian, Mississippi	76.1	6.2	48	4.0
Laredo, Texas	N/A	N/A	0	0.0
Vineland, New Jersey	87.0	8.2	14	3.7
Newark, New Jersey	81.7	14.2	26	4.1
Newburgh, New York	10.0	63.2	11	13.4
East St. Louis, Illinois	80.6	0.0	0	0.0
Biddeford, Maine	55.6	25.4	22	6.3
Van Buren, Maine	47.4	24.0	9	4.3
Houston, Mississippi	82.4	14.6	0	5.5
Quincy, Florida	90.0	5.0	0	0.0
Muskegon Heights, Michigan	23.9	22.6	0	0.0
McCamey, Texas	N/A	N/A	0	0.0
St. Pauls, North Carolina (County Data)	20.7	0.0	13	0.0
Lenoir CC, North Carolina (Kinston)	32.2	0.0	29	0.0
Sylva, North Carolina	15.5	0.0	6	0.0

FOOTNOTES

[1]A Comprehensive Plan for Solution of the Functionally Illiterate Problem: A Report on the Present--A Plan for the Future. Prepared by Management Technology, Inc., Washington, D.C., for the Adult Education Branch, 1968.

[2]This explanation does not pretend to provide an exact fit to reality. It is a basis for helping explain the phenomena under examination.

APPENDIX

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CHAPTER IX

FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter deals with the implications of the study for fiscal policy. Adult and continuing education more than any other level of education in the United States is a many-faceted set of activities, provided in numerous contexts and paid for in many ways. Furthermore, there is no single set of "best" solutions to problems of providing adult education. Rather, there are many possible trade-offs, between public and private institutions, among governmental agencies, among governmental levels, and even between adult education and education at the elementary-secondary level.* In this context, simple cost projections are seemingly inappropriate.

More useful than a set of solutions is an attitude toward making education available for adults. A commitment to the concept of lifelong learning, shared by governments, private institutions, and individuals, is essential for the survival of our economic and political institutions, as well as for the well-being of individuals. Such a commitment has been obtained in the case of elementary and secondary education; it is being reached at the pre-school and junior college levels; its extension to the education of adults is a logical next step.

In the United States education is provided at the pre-school and junior college levels in addition to, rather than in place of, elementary and secondary education because the third party benefits are believed to be great enough to justify tax support. Adult education programs of some kinds similarly yield third party benefits of sufficient magnitude to warrant public support. If financial resources for the support of education cannot be increased, then the merits of possible trade-offs between adult education and education at other levels should be considered and the resource allocation be made on the basis of the analysis.

This study has examined adult education provisions in about 40 school systems, in ten states. The picture which emerged is one of great diversity. Opportunities for adults to pursue their education are differentially available, according to the state in which they live, their community of residence, and their ability to pay.

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*In some countries, the education of adults might be a better investment than the education of children. Some thought has been given in the United States to the possible advantages of teaching low income mothers to teach their children.

This diversity is important in itself. It also permits inferences to be drawn about the supply and demand of courses for adults. These inferences are, in turn, useful in considering questions of public policy.

DEMAND BY ADULTS FOR EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

Demand for such services may take two forms. First, there is the demand which people express for services for themselves known as private demand. There is, second, a demand for services for others. The latter constitutes public demand. Present trends in appropriations and enrollments in certain federal programs suggest that public demand for adult education (as interpreted and implemented by Congress) is increasing.

TABLE 54

ENROLLMENT IN ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS IN SELECTED YEARS

1965	37,991
1966 (fiscal)	377,660
1967	388,935
1968	455,730
1969	532,000

Similar evidences of increasing public demand for adult education may be found in the field of federal job-related programs.

In general, the findings concerning private demand for adult education courses have conformed to the predictions based on previous adult education research. First, such demand is elastic with respect to income; in general, individuals with higher income (and high income communities) exhibit a greater demand for adult education than do individuals (or communities) with lower income. Such findings are congruent with previous research.

Second, there is an inverse relationship between price (as indexed by tuition costs) and enrollment. This relationship cannot be studied apart from other factors. On a cross sectional basis, the effect of income and other socio-economic variables clouds the relationships, since high tuition communities are also high income communities, in many cases. Some longitudinal data are available, suggesting that when tuition fees are eliminated (for high school completion courses), enrollments immediately increase.

Third, variables associated with "preference" also seem to affect demand. In particular, individuals who have a higher level of education tend to demand more adult education services. Adults with higher levels of education and income are likely to seek their job-related education in institutions

other than the public schools, they also tend to be overrepresented as a group among the participants in public school adult education. With due respect to the possibilities of the "ecological fallacy" manifesting itself, evidence of this relationship also appears in this study of educational systems. Communities with higher levels of education tend, on the average, to show a greater demand for adult education.

Although there is generally an inverse relationship between price of a course and number enrolled, even when courses are offered at a low or negative cost, there are many persons within the educationally disadvantaged population who exhibit no interest in participating. Evidently they do not perceive education as either a desirable end in itself or as a means of attaining some other desirable end. On the average, an individual who is eligible for the adult basic education program and who knows about it, may calculate that he stands to gain very little from it in terms of enhancing his own earning power even at a zero tuition rate. Conversely participation in a program leading to a general educational development certificate generally promises a positive change in earning power and hence is more attractive than a basic education program even at an appreciably higher tuition rate.

These relationships become more complex in view of the fact that adult education is not a homogeneous set of services. For some people, such programs constitute an investment in increased income and better job opportunities. Other programs provide a set of gratifications which are more immediate for those who enroll in them; such programs are related to consumption rather than investment.

In general, it is quite clear that courses for which a public demand is manifested are an investment in people. Some states, including, for example, California, prohibit granting state aid for courses which are largely social or recreational. Federal programs are largely directed to job training and literacy education. The benefits of these programs fall, for the most part, into the investment category.

In the area of private demand, some clear trends may be seen. (1) When low income people enroll in adult education courses, their major motivation appears to be investment. High income people show a greater preference for consumption--at least in courses taken in public school systems.

(2) Younger people emphasize investment. Older people tend, in general, to place more emphasis on consumption.

(3) The effect of sex on preference patterns is mixed. Females earning less than $9,000 tend to place a much greater emphasis on consumption courses than do males in the same income brackets. However, the definition of consumption and investment becomes blurred in the case of women who see their career as home-making.

(4) Apparently low income people with a positive inclination toward participation in adult education are very sensitive to price. The hard core of non-participants appear to be unresponsive to price changes at least in terms

of the kinds of learning opportunities which are offered. One possible explanation for this phenomenon is that they do not perceive these programs as enhancing their earning capacity. However, a fairly large proportion of participants at all income levels in this sample said they would still enroll in their course if the tuition level were doubled.

In the field of adult education, supply and demand are closely interrelated. To a considerable degree, the supply of appropriate courses is responsive to demand. Many adult educators conduct "market surveys" to determine what courses are "demanded" in their communities; such courses are then supplied. On the other hand, demand is affected by supply. When Adult Basic Education courses are provided, a large demand, previously latent, becomes manifest. The provision of federal funds to underwrite the costs of such courses is a mechanism for increasing local demand irrespective of state and local commitment to such efforts. There are, however, many imperfections in this supply-demand relationships.

(a) Imperfect information. Many adults do not enroll in courses because they do not know about them. The efforts of adult education councils in various cities to publicize all of the adult education opportunities in their communities illustrate an awareness of the need, but in most communities the financial backing has not been found for the work of collecting and disseminating the information. Accordingly adult educators, however competent, lack complete information about both supply and demand in their community, state, and nation.

(b) Effect of price. The cost of attending adult education courses affects enrollment. Even where a public need is being met, and where tuition is at a low level, the costs of transportation and of foregone income may prevent individuals from attending.

(c) Personnel shortages. Some courses which are in demand are not offered because appropriate teachers are not available. Teacher shortages are related to teacher salaries. State constraints on the salaries which may be paid to adult education teachers may help produce this shortage.

COSTS OF PROVIDING ADULT EDUCATION

One of the major objectives of the National Educational Finance Project is to identify cost differentials among various kinds of programs. While this objective has some merit in terms of the traditional day school program, it is less relevant in the case of adult education.

Adult education comprises a wide variety of activities. These activities cover the entire range of courses offered by elementary and secondary schools, as well as many college level courses. In addition, they include many vocational courses and numerous offerings of a more esoteric nature, related in some way to the interests and aspirations of adults.

Costs vary widely among these offerings. Some courses may be "warmed

over" high school programs, offered by high school teachers to adults. In these cases, an hourly salary rate of, say, $5.00 to $6.00 may comprise the major cost element. Costs per student hour will be quite different in a lecture on foreign affairs delivered by a professor from a nearby university to a group of, say, one hundred and fifty adults. Quite different, again, will be the cost of a course in judo provided by an authority in that subject to ten housewives.

In spite of these problems, it is possible to venture some statements about costs in the area of adult education. The discussion is organized around the following topics:

(1) Definitional problems

(2) Cost differences related to methods of producing adult education

(3) Cost differences related to the nature of a course or program

Definitional Problems

It is much more important in adult education than in elementary-secondary schooling to distinguish between public and private costs. Adults incure sizeable private costs when they enroll in an educational program. These costs include transportation, and often child care expenses. They may be of sufficient magnitude as to make attendance impossible, even when no tuition is charged.

More subtle, but very important, are the opportunity costs associated with the time an individual spends attending classes. In much of the adult education literature little or no effort has been made to calculate this aspect of costs. These opportunity costs may be measured in terms of the most attractive alternate use of the time. A professional person, who would otherwise spend his evenings keeping up with the literature in his field, brushing up on a legal case, or visiting patients, may find the opportunity costs so high as to preclude attendance at an adult educational program. A blue-collar worker who "moonlights" in order to make ends meet may find attendance too expensive, even when it might have long term economic advantages to him. If the opportunity costs are omitted from the calculation of program costs the value of investment courses is unrealistically high.

Another factor is the manner in which overhead costs are charged by school districts to adult education programs. It is common practice, as noted above, for a school system to attribute only incremental costs (above those incurred in the day school program) to programs in adult education. The overhead costs of building, equipment, and general administration may be charged to the day school program; the costs charged to the adult program become mainly salary and the additional heat, light, and janitorial services which are required. The use of incremental costs as the charges assessed by the school district to the adult education programs may be defensible. The utilization of facilities owned by the school district and essential to the operation of the secondary program for the provision of adult education adds to the efficiency of utilization if those facilities would otherwise stand idle.

A final, critical factor is the quality and effectiveness of the services which are purchased. This is a matter of central importance to the entire Project. To take an example outside the field of adult education, it is quite a different thing to say that the cost of providing education to handicapped children is 25 per cent higher than the cost of educating "normal" children, than to say that this cost differential reflects an optional use of resources. To take another example, it appears irrelevant that the costs of educating inner city children are greater than the costs of educating suburban children if the urban educational systems are unsuccessful in preparing their graduates to compete in our society.

It is virtually impossible to conceive of an input-output analysis of the entire range of adult education courses. Some aspects of the enterprise can, of course, be subjected to this kind of study; several analyses have, for example, been made of the costs and benefits associated with Adult Basic Education. Local adult education directors also attempt to evaluate the courses which they provide. In addition, enrollees and potential enrollees conduct their own cost-benefit analysis. Courses which have the reputation of being of high quality will attract students. Courses which are perceived as having overly high costs or inadequate benefits will be shunned. Even after students enroll in a course, they will tend to drop out, if they find the offering to be unattractive. The director will tend, over time, to drop the courses which are not demanded and to continue and even expand those which attract students and hold them throughout the term.

Such decentralized decision-making processes will also affect costs. If tuition fees exceed the students'perception of benefits, they will not enroll. Therefore, in those courses which are financed from fees, there is an incentive to set tuitions at levels which will maximize enrollment over a range of courses. Since perceptions of benefits will differ from course to course and from student to student, some courses may be priced at much higher levels than others. The result is that the most popular courses help provide revenue to support other courses which would not attract sufficient enrollment at a tuition rate high enough to cover their costs. Further, under conditions of decentralized decision making the director should be free to offer some courses which involve high cost inputs (such as courses taught by authorities in a field) if students demand these courses and are willing to pay for them.

For courses offered in response to public demand, a continuous scrutiny of costs is essential. At the same time, analysis of course effectiveness is also important. The purpose of the adult education director should be to provide courses which result in a desired level of effectiveness at the lowest cost. One institutional arrangement which has evidently proved effective in maintaining vitality in the Los Angeles public school adult education program while at the same time exerting a monitoring influence on cost control is the establishment of an adult education committee of the Board of Education. This arrangement which has reportedly yielded results in terms of improving the range, quality and cost effectiveness of educational services for adults might well be emulated by other school boards.

Costs and the Production Process

The fact that the market place will help provide controls on costs does not relieve the adult educator from a responsibility for examining the costs of his programs. In particular, the opportunities provided by technological change should be kept in mind. Some kinds of educational programs may take place in the home rather than the school. Correspondence courses and educational television provide important opportunities for cost reduction, especially when the private costs of transportation and child care are taken into consideration. Audio-tape, and, more recently, videotape provide opportunities to deliver high quality instruction to the home or the office.

In the main, of course, costs are related to two factors--class size and teachers' salaries. Class size is in part related to the nature of the educational experience. Large classes are appropriate for lectures; even larger "classes" are possible with the use of television; smaller classes are necessary when interaction between students and teacher (and among students) is desired, or when complicated or dangerous machinery is used.

Teachers' salaries are affected by the market place. High school teachers are often willing to work for additional salary; they constitute a dependable supply of instructors in certain subject areas. Yet, if the teacher of an adult class has already given a full day's work in the elementary or secondary school program, he may not have the vitality and patience which may be required in teaching adults who have also put in a day's work. Also, if the part-time teacher in the adult program is giving his evening assignment his primary attention, there is the possibility that his daytime teaching performance in the school district will suffer. Accordingly in considering the staffing of an adult program both the hourly wage and the merits of full-time versus part-time teachers deserve attention.

In the case of instructors in certain trades higher salaries may be required to attract competent teachers. Some districts respond to consumer demand for particular courses by employing highly qualified instructors who command high rates of pay.

When a state or school district places a ceiling on salaries, it will, in effect, be limiting the supply of teachers who may be obtained, and will therefore be limiting the kinds of course offerings which are possible. Consumption-type courses, in particular, are vulnerable to such controls. Controls on teacher salaries may, in effect, prevent the free market principle from operating in the field of adult education.

Program Costs

One of the most difficult aspects of this study has been the attempt to develop an analysis of unit costs. Some of the problems have been described above. Others are related to the nature of the data.

(1) The returns include hundreds of different courses. There are large cost differentials among these courses. It is almost impossible to provide a picture which deals adequately with the costs of providing courses in high school French, skiing, bulldozer operating, and gourmet cooking.

(2) In view of the difficulty, described above, of attributing overhead costs to programs, it is desirable to analyze the major ingredient of cost, namely teachers' salaries. However, salaries also showed wide variation in our sample. These variations were mainly due to regional differences, rather than to differences in programs. Thus, in our North Carolina districts, teachers' salaries ranged from $4.00 to $5.00 per hour, with the exception of courses in bulldozing and surveying. In New Jersey, on the other hand, salaries varied from $7.00 to $10.00 per hour, with salaries paid to teachers of some "consumption" courses being much higher. While averages do not reveal the great spread which exists, the following tabulation, based on one sample of school systems, provides some notion of the existing situation.

	Adult Basic Education	Course Area High School Completion	Vocational	"Consumption"
Median	$6.00	$6.80	$6.80	$7.20
Mode (Using Intervals of $1.00 p/hr.	$5.50	$6.50	$6.50	$6.50

(3) The problem of analyzing the cost implications of class size is even more difficult. Some courses have many sections, which differ widely in enrollments. Enrollments depend on the minimum cut-off point. Where enrollments were very small (less than five in a large number of cases), costs were magnified. Apart from the fact that high school completion courses tend to have larger classes than other courses, our data provide no meaningful picture of class size.

(4) Inter program variation

Adult Basic Education. In twenty-three out of thirty-four districts offering ABE programs, teachers' salaries ranged from $5.00 to $7.50 per hour. Assuming that class size ranges from ten to fourteen, this provides a cost range of from thirty-three to seventy-five cents per student hour. The data in this study show great variation in the number of hours required for the course. For a class of twelve students, where teachers are paid $6.00 per hour, and where the course requires 250 hours, the cost of teachers' services will be $125 per student for the year. Overhead costs are in addition, of course.

High School Completion Courses. Salaries were between $5.00 and $8.00 in twenty of the thirty districts under examination. Classes tended to be larger than in the other categories of courses. Assuming a class size of fifteen to twenty, public costs for teachers' salaries run from twenty-five cents to fifty-three cents per student hour. The number of hours spent per year varies according to the number of courses in which a student enrolls. Where total enrollment is 200 hours, teacher salary costs $6.00 per hour, and class size fifteen students, the total yearly cost for teachers' salaries is about $80 per student.

Vocational and Consumption-type Courses. In these cases, costs varied greatly from course to course. In the case of vocational and consumption courses, there was greater spread in teachers' salaries than in the other courses. There was also a great variation in class size and in number of hours in the course-year. These variations preclude the development of any useful generalizations about costs.

THE PLANNING FUNCTION

Improved planning is essential if scarce public and private resources are to be used effectively. Educational planning depends upon an adequate supply of reliable information. Governments and corporations need such information in order that each may produce and distribute appropriate educational services. Individuals need such information to permit them to conduct individual cost-benefit analyses of the various opportunities, and to choose those educational activities which provide the greatest benefits for the least cost.

In the case of adult education, it seems incontrovertible that individuals do not have complete information about the availability of employment opportunities,or about the various kinds of leisure time activities which would be opened up by further education. Further, few people have full information about the kinds of adult education programs which are available, especially in the major metropolitan areas. Finally, people often have insufficient information about the relationship between the possession of certain kinds and amounts of education and the availability of specific employment opportunities.

The study of adult education is greatly hampered by the lack of baseline data. While the monumental study of Johnstone and Rivera provides a great deal of information about participation in adult education programs, basic financial and enrollment data are severely lacking. The exercise of responsible decision making requires that state reporting requirements be strengthened in the future.

In spite of extensive surveys of education and the job market, it appears that most state governments possess only very superficial information about human resources, and needs for such resources. In particular, data gathering with respect to adult education is quite incomplete. Such data are collected in few states. Present information is most unreliable; in some states, it is almost non-existent.

Accordingly, a State Office of Human Resource Development should be created in each state for the purpose of collecting and disseminating information about human resource needs and about the present educational level of members of the labor force. In a number of states, such agencies already exist. Their activities should be extended to include the study of adult education needs and activities. One of their responsibilities should be to survey the present educational attainments of the population. These agencies should collect information about adult education programs. They should make such information available to individuals, corporations, and other governmental agencies. The complexities of institutional arrangements for the pro-

vision of adult education vary so greatly from community to community that the Office of Human Resource Development should have a central office and outposts in each town in the state. The central office is needed to collect and organize the information about educational opportunities and the community outposts are needed to make the information readily available to those who lack the inclination or the competence to search out such information unaided.

These agencies should also be in a position to identify unmet needs and demands in adult and continuing education, and to explore ways in which these needs may be met. In this context, needs include: (a) a desire on the part of individuals for programs which are not now provided; and (b) areas in which there are important potential social benefits.

Since individuals possess an increasing supply of leisure time, and since there are important individual and social benefits to be gained through a productive use of leisure time, these agencies should also gather information about leisure-oriented adult education activities. This is not to say that government should impose a set of values concerning the use of leisure, merely that information should be gathered and available.

In this section the states' role in planning has been stressed. However, the federal and local levels of government also have important functions in the financing and provision of education for adults. The responsibilities of the three governmental levels are considered in the following section.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND ADULT EDUCATION

A number of federal agencies are actively engaged in providing programs for the education of adults. This involvement has made a significant impact. The rationale which underlies these programs has been examined as well as the manner in which it is implemented.

The activities of the federal government in the field of education are so widespread that it would be difficult to examine them in full detail. Two major aspects of the federal concern have been emphasized, namely, vocation-related programs, and programs for developing literacy among adults. The first of these areas is covered in another satellite project. This study has emphasized programs designed to produce literacy among adults.

Federal programs have a significant impact in communities which have sizeable numbers of poor and illiterate people. In communities populated largely by the under-privileged, federal programs constitute the only major adult education effort. In more heterogeneous communities, federally-financed programs for low income people tend to be supplemented by programs for other segments of the community financed from tuition, state funds, and local taxes. In school districts where the federal government is the major source of funds, the uncoordinated nature of the separate national programs tend to be reflected in the organizational structure of the local administrative staff. On the other hand where the administrative arrangements have been developed to handle state and locally supported adult education efforts,

it is possible to expand these arrangements to allow for the management of federally supported programs without building up separate self-contained and exclusively federally financed organizational units. In view of this situation it appears that the responsibility of coordinating the disparate federal programs in the local community devolves upon the local director or other school district administrators.

Federal investment in adult literacy programs should be continued and expanded. Continuous attempts should be made to assess the results of the programs, so that the merits of expanding the level of investment can be explored and so that the most effective methods of providing such programs should be determined. Also, particular attention should be given to the use of non-educational as well as educational means of reaching employment goals for the educationally disadvantaged. In some cases it would be more rational to eliminate unrealistically high educational prerequisites to employment than to develop educational programs to enable adult students to satisfy them. The process of evaluating the outcomes of adult education programs is incomplete if it does not consider the use of alternative and sometimes non-educational means of reaching the goals.

STATE SUPPORT OF ADULT EDUCATION

School districts and junior colleges operate under the laws of the state. Hence, state law is a critical factor in determining what programs shall be offered, how they shall be provided, and how they may be financed. In short, state constitutions and state legislation provide the context within which educational programs for adults are provided.

Even a casual examination reveals wide differences in the approach of states to adult education. The state of Florida, with an estimated 1965 population of about 5,900,000 spent over five million dollars for adult education programs (from state revenues) in 1968-69. This amounts to over eighty cents per person. In contrast, several states allocated no money to adult education, and others spent only token amounts.

Of probably equal importance is the intent of state law and state administrative arrangements. In a state which emphasizes the importance of adult education, and which encourages local communities to provide suitable programs using a mix of private and public funds, it is likely that a valuable set of activities will be developed. In a state which ignores or discourages such activities, and which imposes constraints on local actions, the result will be much less impressive.

Three major methods of providing state fiscal support for programs of adult education have been examined in this study namely, the foundation program, cost sharing, and flat grants. Each of these alternatives has some merits.

(1) The foundation program recognizes the presence of differences in local fiscal ability, and therefore tends to make it possible for all communities to provide educational programs for adults. The two states in our sample which use this method of providing funds for local school systems are both

characterized by the presence of outstanding educational programs for adults. This is probably the best method of financing programs for which important social benefits are anticipated. Care must be taken to ensure that this method of financing does not subsidize private investment in the education of those who can afford to pay the full cost and who will reap sufficient personal benefits to offset these costs.

Whether or not the use of the foundation program concept leads to the development of viable adult education programs in local school districts seems to be related to level of support and the school code. If the provision of adult education programs in all school districts is not mandatory and if no part of the foundation program grant is earmarked for adult education, school districts which are hard pressed financially will generally not use their scarce resources in adult education.

(2) Cost sharing procedures take into consideration the fact that costs vary considerably from community to community within a state. These procedures encourage fiscal prudence on the part of the local educational agency since part of the costs will be paid from local revenues--either taxes or tuition. The main disadvantage of this procedure is that those communities which contain large numbers of low income, low education residents are least able to pay their share of the costs. Cost sharing is likely to help the middle and high income communities, to the disadvantage of low income communities. Since the state collects taxes from all its residents, the result may be that individuals in the lower income ranges pay taxes to help support the education of the more affluent.

One type of cost sharing which merits some consideration is the payment by the state of a portion of the salary of the director. This procedure is not biased in favor of either the wealthy or the poor. If the director performs his central function, namely, to meet the demands of the well-to-do while aggressively providing both programs and information about programs for the poor and the illiterate, he becomes a central figure in the entire process. In states that do not include adult education in the foundation program at least part of the salary of the local director of adult education should be paid by the state.

(3) Flat grants consist of the payment by the state of a given amount on a student-hour or a full-time equivalent basis to the local community. This is a type of cost sharing which does not recognize inter-community differences in costs. Since the amount provided is the same for all communities (on a per capita basis), this procedure is more nearly equalizing than cost-sharing. If the amount of the state grant is adequate, the local district is able to provide the appropriate courses without excessive financial strain. Again, careful studies are required to ensure that this process does not result in subsidizing those who are able to pay for their own education.

It seems unwise to make a single proposal concerning state support for adult education. This research clearly indicates that there is a positive relationship between income and enrollment, even though tuition fees increase with income. Furthermore, a sizeable number of students would be willing to pay a higher fee than they are now paying. Where adult education can be considered as investment, tuition is justifiable (for those who can afford it) of the additional income which is received. Where adult education

consists of immediate consumption (for example, in the case of instruction in tennis or ballroom dancing) adult education is a consumer's good which should compete with other such goods for the individual's resources. On the other hand, some courses have benefits for others in addition to the person who enrolls in them. Therefore, government support of such courses seems justified and the use of a zero or even a negative tuition rate is indicated.

One of the major responsibilities of the director is to survey the demands for adult education in a given community and the needs as suggested by potential social benefits. This requires a sophisticated community survey, one which requires considerable expertise. In surveying the needs and wants of his community the director must also be alert in identifying potential resources such as other educational institutions and organizations which may cosponsor programs.

Stimulating local programs, ensuring adequate resources and assessing the programs requires well trained personnel at the local and state levels. Because few communities have well developed public school adult education programs and because few teachers or administrators have had academic training in this area, the local school systems lack both a program and personnel suited to develop one. Since the number of institutions offering graduate study in adult education is still small, it is unrealistic to suggest that each school district should employ a trained director. Instead, it seems most likely that the historical precedent of appointing an adult education director from within the system will continue to be followed with the result that he must both define his job and perform it. If academically prepared and experienced adult educators are employed by the states' departments of education, these men can provide the assistance and sense of direction for the untrained local director. Federal funds for adult basic education and for strengthening the office of the chief state school officers have provided the financial base to employ one or more adult education specialists in each state. Because of their strategic position in giving advice to the local school systems regarding the employment of directors and the development of programs, these state level positions can only be filled adequately by well trained men who have a clear conception of a broadly based adult education program which they can convey to others.

The role of the state is to ensure the provision of adequate resources, to stimulate local programs, and to assess them. More money will be required, per adult in the population, in poorer communities than in wealthier areas. This suggests that "equalizing formulas" are preferable to flat amounts per student or per adult in the population. It is particularly important that states encourage the development of local leadership if programs are to be developed to meet both investment and consumption demands.

State laws regarding the provision of courses exert a marked influence on the kinds of programs conducted. Some safeguards are needed, in order to protect the consumer of adult education courses. These safeguards may take the form of quality control with respect to instructors, limitation on class size, and ensuring that courses are not offered in cases where personnel, equipment, and space are inadequate. On the other hand, such safeguards, if over-rigid, may seriously constrain the program. The following suggestions appear to be justified:

(a) The requirements for teacher certification should not rule out the use of well-qualified people who do not possess regular certification.

As the courses and other learning formats used in the adult education program become less and less like those of the regular elementary and secondary schools, and as the number of consumption courses increases, the likelihood decreases that the best teacher as determined by other criteria will also satisfy the criteria for elementary or secondary teacher certification. Insofar as is possible, a teacher's ability to teach adults should be assessed in terms of his performance during a trial period with a group of adult learners rather than in terms of the number of courses he may have taken in any area.

(b) Limitations on salaries can be exceedingly constraining. Except in the case of courses which are the same as those offered in the day schools, there is no reason why teachers for adult education courses should be paid according to the regular schedule. In cases where the cost of the courses is paid through tuition, there should be no state mandated ceiling on salaries.

(c) In the case of courses where there are clear investment or consumption benefit for students, state-mandated ceilings on tuition fees are undesirable. There should, however, be careful fiscal guarantees, including the requirement that books be kept, that these books be audited, and that financial reports be made to the state.

State-level efforts to improve adult education programs must be based on the data which local school districts submit to state agencies. The present paucity of information at the states level is apparently a major impediment to improvements in this field. Increased attention should be paid to the manner in which data concerning adult education are reported. An inter-state agreement on format should be developed through either the U.S. Office of Education or the Education Commission of the States. Information concerning courses offered, enrollments by courses and by student hours, revenues and expenditures, and tuition charge should be reported. State Planning Agencies should supplement this information by more detailed studies including follow-up studies of graduates of the various programs. This total body of knowledge will contribute to the extension of opportunities for adults to continue their education by providing reliable data on the extent, limits and effectiveness of existing programs.

Adult education and community service programs associated with community junior colleges have not been covered in this report; these were defined as lying within the province of a separate satellite project. In some cases the community programs offered by junior colleges are quite similar to those provided by school districts. This similarity of programs found in the public schools and junior colleges is due largely to two factors. First, in a number of instances the large, urban junior colleges were formerly an integral part of a unified school district extending from kindergarten through grade 14. In these cases it was not always clear whether the adult education programs were an extension of the secondary education program or of the junior college program. This confusion remained following the legal separation of the high school and junior college districts. Second, the rapidly developing junior

colleges recruited their adult education directors from the public schools to a large extent and these men brought their old notions about adult education with them to their new positions. In some cases junior colleges and school districts provide identical programs in the same community. In other cases state laws favor either the junior college or the school district in the distribution of funds. Data are presently inadequate to warrant taking a position on this problem, except to say that where state law favors the one or the other institution it should be by conscious design based on certain objectives, rather than by inadvertance. Opinions expressed by state and local level adult educators suggest that the effects of various methods of funding programs which may be offered by either public schools or community junior colleges are the subject of serious controversy and will require careful analysis before the relative merits can be identified.

The key to the provision of a successful program of adult education activities lies in the selection of the director of the program. By definition in this study the competent director is one who will maximize his total budget. His success is therefore measured in part by the amount of resources he is able to obtain. The other criterion of success is his ability to provide courses meeting the needs and desires of the various parts of his total community.

Since the director operates within the framework of state law, constraints established at the state level will have an important influence on his program. However, he often has, within these constraints, a great deal of freedom. Adult education programs, more than any other aspects of the total educational enterprise therefore reflect the personality, the aspirations, and the education of the director. Finding competent people for this position, and providing them with resources and encouragement is evidently the most important single way to extend and improve adult education as provided by school districts. As has been emphasized previously, the public school adult education director is a maximizer rather than simply an implementer of externally developed programs. In this capacity he has greater freedom to devise an educational program uniquely suited to the needs of his district than most of the other administrators of the district who must follow detailed requirements to a much greater degree.

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

This section summarizes the conclusions with respect to future resource needs for adult and continuing education. Unlike the other satellite studies of the National Education Finance Project this one does not culminate in a set of projected costs. The reason for the special treatment of this aspect of education is discussed below.

It should be emphasized again that the widespread diffusion of knowledge is essential in our society. Education is necessary for the welfare of our social systems, and for the fulfillment of the aspirations of individuals. In these times, when the total stock of knowledge is increasing exponentially, it is necessary to regard the educational activities of adults as equal in importance to the education of the young. Life-long education for everyone has become a necessity rather than a luxury.

This does not necessarily imply that the nation's school systems must equip themselves to provide education to the entire adult population. Many educational services are now provided by private organizations. Because large corporations depend upon their own educational systems to ensure a competent labor force they will continue and expand their on-the-job training programs. Corporations are now engaged in "selling" educational services and will continue to do so. In fact, the provision of educational services through private agencies may become more typical in the future than it has been in the past. Within the public sector, adult education will continue to be provided in many contexts. Such is the complexity of adult education activities that this kind of pluralism is essential. The challenge to the public school adult educator is to develop a program in concert with the other institutions of his community to prevent unnecessary duplication and to assure that the educational needs of adults will be met.

Nor can we assume that the traditional classroom setting will be the typical method of "delivering" adult education services. Newer technologies may revolutionize the field of adult education just as they may revolutionize other aspects of the educational enterprise. As the skills of the advertising industry are applied to adult education, "Sesame Street"--like programs for adults may be developed. (The implications of this possible development in terms of a new potential for indoctrination are frightening.) Used for beneficial purposes, such programs might provide a variety of courses, including literacy education at a fraction of present costs per learner. Video and audio tapes can be used for many educational purposes, including the continuing education of professionals. Adult educators have just begun to take advantage of these newer technologies and they may be expected to do more in the future.

Some judgments may be made about fiscal requirements for two programs. Let us consider, first, programs for developing adult literacy. The size of the target population is problematic. Consider the following data from the 1960 Census:

3.0 million illiterates (no school attended) age 14 and above

8.3 million functional illiterates (less than five years of schooling) age 25 and above

24.0 million (less than eight years of schooling) age 25 and above

58.6 million (less than 12 years of schooling) age 25 and above

Even if the "functionally illiterate" definition is used as a basis for determining needs, the present programs are clearly inadequate. About a half million adults were enrolled in adult basic education courses in 1969. Approximately one-third of these enrollees dropped out before completing the courses. Some of the courses were of short duration and possibly were only minimally effective. The proposed appropriation of one hundred and sixty million dollars is three times the amount expended in the most recent fiscal year. If it is spent as effectively as previous appropriations have been it will reach about

one and one-half million adults or approximately 20 per cent of the functionally illiterate population. The state matching requirements which in some cases are passed on to the local school districts should be eliminated because they appear to penalize most those communities where needs are greatest and resources are most limited. Quality control measures should be established and a minimum term (of perhaps 200 hours per year) should be enforced. A standardized evaluation procedure should be followed to permit comparisons among programs and the identification of communities with special problems.

In a recent year, approximately one million students were enrolled in courses designed to permit them to complete high school. This rate of enrollment is not sufficient to permit the nation to reduce the educational deficit represented by almost sixty million adults who possess less than twelve years of schooling. It seems appropriate that states establish as a matter of high priority the financing of local programs designed to permit adults to complete high school. (This would give adults educational opportunities equivalent to those now offered students.) Support should be provided through the same basic foundation programs by which elementary-secondary school students are supported. Such foundation programs must include the provision that some portion of the state support is to be used exclusively for adult education. Otherwise, in times of financial stress the local district might elect to discontinue its adult program as an economy measure. Such termination of the adult program in time of financial difficulty has been demonstrated fairly consistently by school districts which had no legal obligation to continue supporting adult programs with funds from a basic foundation program.

The basis for calculating support for the adult education program is by no means self-evident. Although the use of full-time equivalent units appears to be equitable within primary and secondary education the use of the full-time equivalent unit for adult education may be questionable. Since the supportive services such as recruitment and counseling are proportional to the number of adults served rather than to the number of hours they are in classes it seems that a realistic basis for supporting adult education programs would require a larger allocation per unit of adult full-time equivalent than per unit of primary and secondary school full-time equivalent.

Finally it seems imperative that states and local school districts move as quickly as possible toward the appointment of directors of adult education in local communities if programs are to be devised to serve both public and private educational needs. In many cases the directors will be employed by school districts and will provide most of the publicly supported adult education programs. In other communities they will work with their counterparts in community junior colleges. Their roles will be to determine the nature of public and private demand for adult education in their community and to provide educational programs to meet this demand. They must be aware of other institutions and organizations which either offer or could be persuaded to offer programs to satisfy educational needs of the adults of the community. Further, the directors have the responsibility of seeking out sources of financial support at the local, state, and national levels from public and private sources. In some cases they will charge tuition; in other cases they may pay adults to participate. In every case they have the responsibility of assisting adults to find the educational resources to meet their learning needs.

The expression of a commitment to the concept of lifelong learning does not call for the adoption of any single financial plan. Instead, because of the inter-community and inter-state differences in the institutions supplying educational services and the variety of private and public demands the best way of providing adequate support must be determined on a local basis. Adult education is primarily a state function and in each state a foundation program is essential to serve the public demand. Federal support is required to provide resources where the third party benefits are of national, more than state, importance and where the ability of the state to provide programs is inadequate. Local support is appropriate in meeting private demand. One over-riding principle should prevail--no adult should be prevented from improving his competence as a citizen, parent, or worker because of his lack of financial resources.