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The Administrative Organization Structure of the Chicago Public Schools, 1837-1949

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THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE OF THE CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS: 1837-1949

by

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VITA

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FOREWORD

Few people have an understanding of the origin, development, and function of the administrative organization structure of the Chicago public school system. To develop this understanding, it is important that the history of the Chicago public school system, with its legal and technical components, be studied. The history of the system provides information as to how the administrative organization structure evolved and how it works.

It is also important to know about the systemic aspects of the structure because the Chicago schools do more than just educate people. The schools play a major role in society and, therefore, they have to be examined in the context of Chicago's society and society-at-large. The social invention of schools has enabled society to educate and to pass on a heritage that could not be done in any other way. In addition to this, however, Chicago public schools must provide more services and programs than any other school system in the state, services which are not strictly educational in nature.

The Chicago system has been criticized as having a bureaucratic structure that is non-responsive to its clients. This criticism comes about partly because there

are unresolved educational issues and the public is not aware of its problems and limitations.

The system has a line-staff organization which places strong emphasis on the delegation of authority and responsibility. This has resulted in a structure that is not of an impersonal, rigid character but has been mistakenly assumed to be that way. Much of the criticism directed toward the bureaucratic structure is unfounded and has its roots in problems that exist in society. People have developed feelings of powerlessness over controlling their own destinies; they have become alienated by the massiveness of government; they feel oppressed by the proliferation of rules and regulations; and they have come to distrust all large organizations. Yet, when given the opportunity to become knowledgeable and to become involved, few choose to do so.

This study shows that lay people had the opportunity to become involved in many differrent ways and to varying degrees over the years. In the beginning, the voters played a major role in the governance of schools by directly voting on educational issues. As the governance of schooling was transferred to city officials and then to the board of education, voters lost their direct control but retained a voice through representation. However,

there were still opportunities for lay people to become involved in their schools, even to the point of becoming board members.

The important consideration, however, is that there must be a well informed public. To be knowledgeable about the system leads to better understanding, especially when it comes to how well the system is performing. Consideration must be given to the special problems the Chicago schools have had to face. These problems have caused the system to be unique even among other large, urban systems. In addition to being faced with educating a diverse student population with a multitude of special needs, it has to contend with being a prime target for special interest groups because it is visible, newsworthy, and vulnerable. Advocacy groups, the media, and professional critics, among others, are more prone to test laws, investigate conditions, question policies, procedures, and decisions, and in general find fault because they can get more publicity and fame. Although some of this attention may be well intended, it does pose a major problem for the system in terms of time and manpower, which, in turn, affects the administrative organization structure.

It is hoped that the information in this study will provide the reader with a better understanding of how and

why the administrative organization structure came to be and how it performs a needed service.

Much has been written about the evolution of the common school, the board of education, and the superintendency. Some has been written about the evolution of supervisors. But very little has been written about the evolution of the administrative organization structure, per se. The literature covers the theory and practice of administration, organization, bureaucracy, and differentiation but does not address the administrative organization structure of the Chicago public school system directly. Some specifics are provided in board materials, but even there extrapolation is necessary in developing the history of the evolution of the administrative organization structure in the early and middle years. It is only in the last period covered by this study that board materials provided specific information regarding the administrative organization structure.

The materials which proved most helpful were the board's annual reports, but even they did not provide complete information because of the limitations of space due to the nature of the reports. Also, there were changes in the period covered by some of the reports. Some reports were written on a calendar year, fiscal year, or school-

year basis. Therefore, to supplement these sources the board proceedings, board directories, and the directories of the Chicago Principals Association were utilized. Materials were difficult to locate in the board proceedings because in many cases there was no index, or the listings in the index were limited. The directories were helpful, but caution had to be exercised because of discrepancies in whether they were based on the calendar or school-year. In cases of doubt, the board's annual reports were used to identify the type of year used.

An area that was not covered in the factual material mentioned above was the subjective aspect of the motives behind many of the changes. Aside from what was officially presented as being the basis for change, what was really the motivating force can only be conjectured; this study did not deal with this area.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Purpose and Direction of the Study

Large urban school systems have been criticized for having administrative organization structures that are too centralized--a feature that fosters authoritarian resistance to change. As a direct result, educational adaptability, community participation, and staff involvement tend to be restricted.[1]

While certain functions must be centralized in large urban public school systems, other functions could be decentralized. One solution is reorganization based on a philosophy that adopts administrative procedures which provide for the advantages of decentralization while retaining those of centralization.

The mission of public education has been fairly well expressed, but the tasks involved in carrying out the mission are not clearly defined. The factors to be considered in defining the tasks of the organization may be described as variables influenced by many forces. The typical public school system is a complex organization concerned with many educational purposes. A major element is society's opinion regarding the purpose of public education. For example, it

can be assumed where a community wants a classical education provided, it will place different pressures on the board of education than one which expects the schools to be more involved in providing for social change.[2]

The purpose of this study, then, is to view the administrative organization structure of the Chicago public schools as it relates to the influences and factors which have shaped its design. The period to be included is from approximately 1837 through 1949. The research will focus on the evolutionary historical trends and professional developments that perpetuated significant changes in this structure. The information will provide the basis for a better understanding of the powerful forces which act upon the design and direction of the Chicago public schools and also aid in the development of basic strategies for future change. This document could serve as a foundation for the development of strategic monitoring and issue identification processes, designed to improve the external assumptions upon which future Chicago public school system administrative organization structure changes can be based.

The administrative organization of the Chicago public school system has varied in response to the existing power structure at the time. Through the years, however, an administrative organization structure has emerged that is

multi-leveled with differentiation within these levels. It reflects both the current philosophy and the political forces that existed when additions were made.

In the early stages of schooling development, it was claimed that the influence of industry and military type of organizations influenced the line and staff model of organization used in public school systems, including the Chicago public schools.[3] Therefore, the organization levels examined in this study will be those line positions, starting with the board members through the sub-district superintendents, and including those central office staff positions that are heads of units.

Significant structural changes in the Chicago Public school system's administrative organization will be reviewed in terms of the factors which influenced the changes and the rationale for the changes. In conjunction with this, external and internal influences and other significant elements that acted on the school system to induce the change will be considered. Finally, an evaluation will be made regarding the effect of the "spirit of the times," major changes in the social values, major national events, influences of outside agencies and other vested interest groups, major trends in administrative theory, and other factors that influenced the administrative organization

structure's evolution.

To avoid creating a chronology of dates and events by listing every change that occurred, only significant changes will be considered. A clear presentation of this type, rather than a diffused account of many minor changes, will allow a focused, concentrated study. The more salient periods of change will be placed in a more concise form for future reference. As was suggested by Dr. Gerald Gutek, this is using the "posthole" approach, whereby significant changes are examined in depth.[4]

The Significance of Using an Historical Approach

Since this is an historical dissertation, the relationship of history to public educational development will be discussed. The past is important in order to view the present in proper perspective. History presents a retrospective view. It shows the connections between the past and present in such a way that it allows the individual to develop a better understanding of the present. As Diane Ravitch so aptly states, regarding studying the past in order to understand the present, "There is no other way to understand the origins of our present institutions, problems, and ideas.[5] This thinking is applicable in understanding the Chicago public school system's administrative organization structure. Public educational administration

in the United States bears little resemblance to that in other countries. How these organizational structures evolved to their present state can best be determined by examining the factors that influenced educational administrative organization policy.

History is an effective tool in formulating policy. It sets the parameters for issues and discussions that determine educational policy options; it provides strong justification for a particular course of action; and, through reinterpretation, historical analysis sheds new light on past policies, altering in the process perceptions of what can or cannot succeed. Selective segments of the past always emerge in the present. History is an act of reassembling, of remembering, the body of past experience in order to find cause or pattern.

In using historical analysis effectively, the past must be probed systematically. Tracing the evolution of the public school system's administrative organization structure in Chicago, requires the examination of how facts relate to issues, how issues relate to values, and how values relate to purpose and direction. There have been historical events which created critical junctures where influential choices were made available to educational policymakers. These choices have made a significant

difference in shaping the structure and functions of educational administration. Essential issues and values that affected the administrative organization structure can be uncovered in studying these critical decision moments.

From an historical point of view, it is impossible to study the administrative organization structure development without analyzing the trends that affected educational organizational development both nationally and locally.

Historical research can supply insights but its ultimate value lies in its application. It is helpful to be able to understand the present in light of the past, with its changing conditions and values of different time periods, but is is more important that this understanding provides the basis for enacting present and future structural changes. As L. Glenn Smith says, "Teachers need to know something about how we got the schools and educational practices we have. To put it another way, it is often easier to make choices about where you want to go if you know where you have already been."[6] This statement applies equally to educators in general and others who seek effective change in the schools.

Educational Trends

National Trends. As stated, historic events of the past have a way of repeating themselves. Factors which

influenced previous educational decision making include but are not limited to: (1) changing social conditions, such as, the influx of immigrants, civil rights movements, wars, changes in society's values, transfer of power, and notions of the times; (2) changing political scenes, such as, transfer of political control and "soto tavola" (under the table) political control; (3) changing demographic trends and developments; (4) changing economic conditions which caused more people to be in school at certain times, such as, the periods of depression and recession, periods of affluence and Post World War II conditions; (5) changing educational ideas, such as, the fall of socialistic concepts associate with progressive education prior to World War II, the adoption of business management practices, the scientific approach, the concept of educating the "whole child," changing views of schools and their purpose, and how schooling was actually used; (6) concern over the need to structure a child's development; and (7) concern over the mission of the organization as defined by external observers.[7] These factors, which influenced the direction of educational development, were in operation nationwide, but varied in their degree.

In the nineteenth century, educational ideals were based on the prevailing philosophy of a newly enfranchised

America. Having won the War of Independence, the new Americans, according to Bakalis,

> ...attempted, through the schools, to create a new unity and a common citizenship and culture. In their search for a new, ordered liberty, they gave birth to the paradox that still characterized our schools: the free American was to be the uniform American. Thus conformity became the price of liberty, and the schools would forge this conformity. The purpose of education was not to reach new heights; it was to keep that which had been achieved.
>
> For the colonial American, the religious purpose of schooling was paramount; for the American of the early nineteenth century, the primary mission of the schools was to instill an unswerving nationalism; for Americans of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the purpose was to advance a corporate America.
>
> Throughout U.S. history those in control of public education have explicitly argued that the purpose of schooling should be more moral than intellectual.
>
> ...for the American belief in mass education does not stem from a dedication to the development of the mind, but rather from the perceived political and economic benefits of education.
>
> American education, like American democracy, has also been a process and not a product.[8]

The American educational system is an organizational olio, but it works, according to Patricia Albjerg Graham. As she has pointed out, it was "not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that the United States could really be said to have an 'educational system' as such."[9]

By the end of the nineteenth century a critical shift

occurred in the public perception about what constituted schooling. The early forms progressed from home study with a parent or tutor to study in a nearby home or "dame school," to attendance at a "school" subsidized by the local community or church. The latter was often supplemented by reading of books, newspapers, and journals; by instructional messages presented in sermons; and by apprenticeship, both formal and informal. The major change in thinking was that schooling was something to be acquired at an educational institution. According to Graham, this acceptance of the schools as the primary source of education, was the start of the American system of schooling. Interestingly, the public, private, or parochial form of schooling made little difference in what pupils learned.[10] This remains typical today, with some minor exceptions.

Graham adds that "from Puritan times to the present, education has been asked to solve all kinds of religious, social, economic, and even intellectual problems." She goes on to say, "Undoubtedly, the most serious problem the American educational system has faced is the gap between public expectations of it and its performance." Although one of the major expectations for the educational system has been academic, another has been social. Thomas Jefferson expected education to provide the public with an

understanding of his ideas regarding the basis for a democratic republic. "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization," he wrote, "it expects what never was and never will be."[11] Noah Webster tried to ensure the teaching of patriotism by using his own materials which were designed to teach not only grammar and spelling, but also common sense, morals, and good citizenship.

Horace Mann also felt that the schools should teach moral values. Later schools were supposed to "Americanize" and socialize the immigrants who flocked to this country and to make everyone literate in American-English. Literacy became a critical issue when it became a requirement for employment. Finally, difficult social tasks which society was unable to deal with, became part of the expectations laid on the schools. Driver training to reduce the number of accidents, integration, nutrition through availability of breakfast and lunch programs, mental and physical health care, family services, and, finally, babysitting became the responsibilities of the schools. As Graham says, "too often the social problems the school is supposed to solve have overwhelmed it so that it is unable to resolve the academic."[12]

Commager feels that there is a widening rift between school and society, in that:

> Increasingly the schools are required to take on the function of a moral safety valve: the more virtuous the sentiments and standards of conduct they inculcate, the more effectively they perform the surrogate conscience permitting society to follow its own bent while consoling itself with the assurance that they are training up to a generation that will do better.[13]

Hansen perceives American schooling with a sort of hopelessness. He expresses his feelings in these words:

> Schools in the United States, compared to those in other countries, are quite different. They appear to present a hopeless confusion of types of organization, overlapping local, county, state, and federal authorities, and a mixture of kinds of administrative control so varied and perplexing that they are indescribable in any clear and concise fashion.[14]

However it may have been perceived or questioned, there was and is an American educational system. It is a decentralized one from the point of federal control, but it is, nevertheless, a recognizable system under state control with county and local subdivisions. Hansen feels that it appears to lack a definable structure because of two major factors: "first, the wholly unplanned historical development of education--from semi-private, short-term, low-cost schooling for a relatively small proportion of children to the gigantic enterprise it is today; and second, the persistant American belief that the best government is that which governs least, a laissez faire attitude that has encouraged local initiative and regional differences in educational planning, rather than any overall state or

national pattern."[15]

Bakalis points out that, "For the Founding Fathers, the only safeguard against the abuse of power was to limit and decentralize it."[16] Hansen considers this to be beneficial "because we are not commited to the inflexible plan or strict control of education that characterizes so many modern nations. We have been able to build a system that with all its faults is rich, varied, experimental, unfettered, and surprisingly successful."[17]

Unquestionably, the early public school systems in this country were strongly imaged by European sources and ranged from being displaced clones to being extremely different. Patterns for financing, control, and organization varied greatly and were directly related to the philosophy the people in control maintained. Education and schooling evolved along with an American culture and society. As schools spread to every territory and state, they also expanded to include nursery school, kindergarten, high schools, colleges, and universities. The schools also expanded their curriculum offerings, taking on more of the responsibilities of the home and church. Today the schools have also assumed the mandates of state and federal governments.

Chicago Trends. With its midwest location, Chicago

often was a leader in shaping educational directions, and ahead of the nation in terms of administrative theory.[18] In the period 1890-1920, Chicago tripled its population. It contained more of a mix of people than any other part of the country. Consequently, the city experimented and tried innovative approaches, unlike New York which was more conservative due to its European style of educational design. The Chicago public school system had the influence of the frontier strongly affecting it as well as that of the East and West coasts. The teacher union movement started in Chicago. Illinois was developing during the time that Horace Mann was active and therefore the same things that impacted on the rest of the country impacted on Chicago.

Chicago's public school system is important to study for trends and for its relationship to the rest of the nation's school systems. Such study provides an opportunity to look at a system that both influenced and was influenced by the rest of the nation. The Chicago public school system was on the cutting edge of the development of public education, and consequently, public education administration in the United States.[19] For example, a board of education was established in 1857, replacing earlier city-appointed school inspectors. But, in some parts of the country, city government continued to control the public

schools directly; whereas in others, school committees controlled each school. Chicago's consolidation of its schools under one city-wide board of education proved to be one of the greatest innovations of the 1800s.[20] This action was an earlier trend toward centralization and away from decentralization.

Administrative Organization Trends

National Trends. Historic concepts of school administration have been based on general philosophies of education and incorporate the prevailing public thought of the particular time period. In the beginning, schools were administered by town meetings, by trustees, by committees, by those paying tuition, or by the teacher(s). In some cases, local or religious officers and special committees of laymen, with power to visit and inspect, controlled the schools. "Early in the 19th century, the powers and duties of the committees were placed in such positions as acting visitors, school clerk, or superintendent of schools, depending on the local situation."[21]

An administrative organization structure did not appear until well after the significant increase in size and number of schools, and the clustering of the schools into districts. As the need arose for the coordination of activities, such as construction of school buildings,

hiring and firing of teachers, curriculum development, and so on, there emerged rudimentary forms of school administration. This varied, time-wise, over the nation, from the middle to the latter part of the nineteenth century. Similarly, the administrative organization structure did not develop in a uniform manner. As the number of administrators began to proliferate, the idea to organize the school systems with an administrative structure was conceived.[22]

Today, all the public education systems in the United States have administrative organization structures which are similar in many respects. In addition to the board members and superintendent of schools, there are a number of middle-managers, especially in middle sized to large urban districts, who constitute the line component of the administrative organization structure. In the central office there are directors, administrators, coordinators, consultants, department heads, bureau heads, and others who constitute the support and service components of the administrative organization structure.

Parkinson's Law[23] notwithstanding, educational administration really needs "a team of specialists whose relatively independent responsibilities are coordinated by the superintendent of schools." There does exist, however, a

lack of consistency in role conception. A position title may be the same, but duties and reponsibilities may vary widely from school system to school system.[24]

Chicago Trends. Chicago's public school system has experienced many of the same pressures for change as other systems nationwide. However, its changes have been unique in many respects. What is of utmost importance is that the Chicago public school system can be organized administratively to provide the direction and support services needed to effectively meet the needs of a constantly changing clientele in an urban setting.

Chicago's administrative organization structure was influenced by national trends but varied, to some extent, based on local factors. This will be explored further in succeeding chapters which are described below.

Organization of the Study

The evolution of the administrative organization structure can be divided into three major periods. Each period is identified by significant national trends in educational policy and administrative organization structure.

The first period covered the years from 1837 through the 1889 school years and is characterized by rapid growth of urban areas. The concomitant growth in school enrollments and the rapid rate of increase made new and more

demands upon the organization and the administration of schools and school systems. "The value of a rationale of administration which supported centralized control increased," according to Callahan and Button. School system organization became a problem of major concern.[25]

By 1877 the skeleton of a city system had emerged in Chicago. The adopted format remained the same well into the next century, according to Button and Provenzo. A central board of education supplanted local school committees, and city government was excluded from controlling the system. The superintendent was delegated authority by the Board. Assistant superintendents were added and formed the beginning of a central office staff.[26] Howatt presents a partial list of positions which came into being in the late 1870s. Included are: clerk, school agent, secretary of the board, building and supply agent, business agent, auditor, chief engineer, attorney, architect, and superintendent of schools.[27] A directory of the Chicago Public Schools in 1890 showed additional positions, such as assistant superintendents, supervisors, a superintendent of supplies, and a superintendent of compulsory education.[28]

According to Callahan and Button, the latter part of this period was characterized as the "Administrator as Philosopher" period. Leading educators of the era were

numbered among the leading philosophers. For example, William T. Harris was a recognized authority on Idealism as well as the superintendent of schools in St. Louis. "For them, the first problem of the superintendent was to discover by philosophical or scholarly inquiry the appropriate purposes of and methods for education."[29]

The second period covered the years from 1890 to 1929. This period began with an extraordinary increase in the number of Chicago public schools. This resulted from the annexations of Hyde Park, Jefferson, Lake, and Lake View, which increased the number of schools by one hundred.

This period was partially characterized by the development of powerful social forces, such as industrialization and the economic philosophy of free enterprise. Callahan and Button refer to this period as "The Transition Period." Combined with these forces came the change in the notion of the administrator as philosopher-educator to that of business manager.[30] During this time the concept of bureaucracy emerged. The second time period ended just prior to the start of the Great Depression in October of 1929.

The third period covered the years from the start of the Great Depression, through World War II, and to the 1949-1950 school year. It was characterized by a change in thinking regarding the professional training of school

administrators. It was initially believed that professional training should provide the administrator with the specific skills necessary for executing the responsibilities of administrative work. As the period progressed, emphasis was placed on public education's purpose and as a force influencing school organization and administration. Also, there was less interest in supervision and teaching effectiveness. However, there was still concern regarding the management and operation of schooling.[31] The problems of society which were accented by the Great Depression, also began to influence administrative direction.

Internationally, the post World War II period experienced: (1) the emergence of the allies over Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Japan; (2) greater emphasis on the various human qualities, including: intellectual, emotional, motivational, and perceptual; and (3) an expansion of the previous period's emphasis on human relations, group dynamics, and permissivness.[32] Nationally, this period was a time of peace, prosperity, and material gain. It witnessed the "Cold War" with Russia; the rise in popularity of the automobile, which in turn paralleled the growth of the suburbs; the decline of large urban centers; and the "baby-boom."[33]

Organizational changes in the administrative struc-

ture of the Chicago schools for each of the above periods will be pursued in subsequent sections.

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CHAPTER II

RUDIMENTS OF AN ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE APPEAR: 1837-1889

Pre-City System Development

The development of the public school system of the city of Chicago started prior to Chicago's incorporation as a city. However, the early stages of development are important to review because there is a direct correlation with future developments. "As the seed is sown, so grows the tree," is a good point to keep in mind when analyzing the present status of the public school system of Chicago. The city of Chicago and its public school system share the same early developmental heritage. Separation of the two came later. Because the social, economic, and political forces affected both units, there were similarities in administrative structures of both units. Inasmuch as the public school system started out basically as a department of city government, there was a time when it was managed by city officials. Then city ordinances and later state legislation created a separation that eventually took the schools out of the hands of the local civil government.

It is interesting to note how this came about. When Illinois entered the Union in 1818, there was no immediate

move to form a system of common schooling. Approximately seven years later in 1825, legislation for governing the schools was passed, but inasmuch as the taxation clause was removed in 1829, it was not enforceable and the law was withdrawn. During this period, schools were chiefly sponsored by the state and were not a primary concern of local government.[1]

This was in part because the early settlers came primarily from the Eastern and Southern states.[2] A large portion from Virginia settled in southern Illinois. This is significant because they were accustomed to a county form of government for local administration. As schooling became a concern, there developed a need for a subdivision of state control.[3] State legislation in 1831 reorganized the county boundaries, and Cook County was created with Chicago as the county seat.[4] The same legislation also provided for a county system of schools, wherein the county commissioner's council became the commissioners of schools, and authorized the county commissioner to appoint a commissioner of school lands.[5]

The commissioner of school lands controlled the school funds. Through the sale or lease of school lands, money was raised and the interest was distributed to the emerging public schools. The commissioner of school lands,

along with the commissioner of schools, formed the first model of school governance.

In 1833 a state act created a legal basis for schooling by requiring that the commissioner of school lands distribute the interest from each township's school fund. The township, a geographical area determined in the Northwest Ordinances of 1785 and 1787, consisted of thirty-six square miles and became a subdivision of the county as well as the administrative unit for the schools.[6]

Legislation in 1835 authorized the first organization of independent schools in Illinois.[7] Through this act, the township in which Chicago was located was divided into four school districts, even though there were only three schools.[8] The town of Chicago was given legal authority to establish governance of the schools located within the township.[9] Control of the schools was now vested in a local civil governmental body. This shift of control of schooling from the county commissioners to the township became the second model of school governance and was a modified version of the Massachusetts district system.[10]

The distribution of duties and responsibilities of the early school managers prescribed in the legislation of 1835, provides a base from which may be traced organizational changes in the administrative structure. According

to Superintendent William Wells, the act of 1835 provided for the annual election of five or seven school inspectors who were to make recommendations to the county commissioners regarding the division of the township into school districts. The inspectors functioned as supervisors, in that they were to direct and inspect the performance of teachers, visit the schools, select textbooks, conduct teacher certification examinations, and do other supervisory tasks within the township.[11] The act also provided for the annual election of three trustees per district who could hire teachers and who could levy taxes for fuel, rent, and furniture. These functions could be considered as being administrative.[12]

A City System is Created but Not Activated

The incorporation of Chicago as a city by an act of the state legislature in 1837 superseded the Act of 1835, and the history of the public school system as a city system began.[13] The public school system of the township under control of the town of Chicago, then came under control of the city governmental body. This was the legal basis for the organization of the schools as part of a city system and it marked "an epoch in the history of the public schools, for the management thereof, excepting the control of the funds, was, by the provisions of the charter, vested

in the Common Council of the City."[14]

The authority to organize the schools into districts came under the jurisdiction of the common council who realized the need to appoint persons to carry out the duties and responsibilities inherent in the governance of the system. The common council, as commissioners of schools, appointed the first city public school system board of school inspectors on 12 May 1837. This was a change from the previous elected method of selection of school inspectors under the township model. The school trustees, however, continued to be elected annually by the voters.

Whereas, the previous legislation provided for a system of public schooling under the township model, the fact that the voters were in direct control through their voting franchise, did not create centralization of authority. The city charter of 1837, however, did centralize authority by centralizing municipal governance, including school governance, in the common council. The voters were still able to elect the trustees, but had only representative priveleges when it came to the selection of the school inspectors.

Chart 1 depicts the relationships among component groups and individuals within the school system structure.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION: 1837

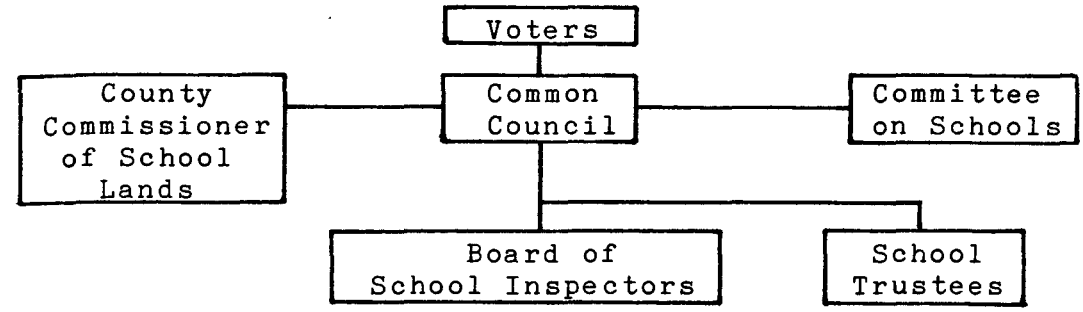

Chart 1

Thus the voters elected the members of the common council and the school trustees; the common council members, as ex officio commissioners of schools, appointed the school inspectors; and both the school inspectors and the trustees reported to the common council. The county was involved because the school funds were still controlled by the county commissioner of school lands. When the governance of the public school system was vested in the common council, this created the first of many organizational changes in the administrative structure, and for the purposes of this study it will become the basis for comparison of changes in the governance of schools.

During these transitional periods from a county, township, to a local civil government model, the transfer and centralization of governance of schooling also created changes in the roles and function of administrative posi-

tions. A change of major significance was the transfer of power, held by the voters to decide policy and to control the operation of schools, to the common council. Also, the power to divide the city into districts was transferred from the county commissioners to the common council. At some point the number of districts was increased from four to seven, but because of inadequate records, it is not known when this happened.[15] As noted previously, the voters lost control of the selection of school inspectors to the common council. The voters did, however, maintain some power in their right to elect the school trustees, but this also would eventually change. These shifts provided evidence that the governance of schooling was gradually changing, albeit, slowly. A major change that was yet to come was the transfer of control of the school fund from the county commissioner of school lands.[16]

The school inspectors had some duties and responsibilities that were uniquely theirs and some that were shared with the trustees. Those solely their own included: (1) visiting the schools monthly to check on the progress of students and the operation of the schools; (2) certify teachers; (3) removing teachers for cause; (4) apportioning school funds based on student attendance; and, (5) submitting reports to the common council for the financial

amounts due each district. On the other hand, the trustees hired the teachers, but only after the teachers had been examined and approved by the inspectors. The administration of the schools, however, was the responsibility of the trustees.[17] Other duties and responsibilities of the trustees included: (1) paying teachers; (2) scheduling meetings of taxpayers; (3) preparing a list of taxes; (4) preparing a tax collection list; (5) purchasing or leasing of school sites; (6) authority in the building, hiring, purchasing, keeping in repair, and furnishing school with fuel and supplies; and, (7) preparing quarterly attendance reports for the school inspectors to use in requesting school funds.

From these descriptions, it would appear that "everything in relation to the public instruction was referred to the inspectors, and the trustees were to do the business of the district." The school inspectors had jurisdiction over all the districts in the system, but the jurisdiction of the trustees was confined to their respective districts. In general, the role of the inspectors was, for the most part, supervisory, and that of the trustees was administrative.[18]

The years between 1837 and 1840 was a transition period due to the fact that the laws regarding the board of

school inspectors were present in 1837, but there was no action on the board's part to follow them until 1840. Also, this period was not a very active one in the development of the city administration because of the depression of 1837 which affected both the city and the schools. The appointment of the first board of school inspectors, "coming as it did in 1837, was co-incident with the great panic of that period. As a consequence, their activities were decidedly circumscribed."[19] The apparent lack of action could also be attributed to the fact that almost everyone was concentrating on the survival of the city. But as time passed, the organization and operation of the public school system developed, albeit on the coattails of the city administrative development. Eventually, the design of the public school system's administrative organization structure became more intertwined with that of the city. For example, the number of members on the board of school inspectors appointed was based on the number of wards in the city. In addition, from 1837 to 1857, legislative and judiciary school functions were performed by the common council in an ex officio capacity.

It is also interesting to note that during this time the schools remained part of the township organization, even though governed by the common council. It was not

until the next period covered that a major event occurred which directly affected the organization and administration of the public schools in the city of Chicago, thereby causing the system to become activated.

The System Is Activated

"In 1839, a special act of the legislature laid the foundation of our present school system," by authorizing the council to "levy a tax for school purposes to supply the inadequacy of the school fund for the payment of teachers."[20] In addition to increasing the council's school powers, the council could then raise sufficient funds through taxation to maintain and equip the schools, and they could set the salaries of teachers, and appoint the district trustees. Not only did this legislation take away the voters' power to elect trustees, it also excluded them from having a voice in organizing the districts.[21]

That public education was a function of municipal government was established by the Charter of 1837, but the act of 1839 went even further.[22] This special act gave substantive control of public schooling in the township to the local municipal government. Thus, the council gained not only complete jurisdiction over school lands and the power of taxation for school support in the township, but also the right to appoint the trustees as well as the

school inspectors. This, coupled with the right to prescribe duties of both groups, gave them more administrative power.[23] This legislation was accomplished through the efforts of city officials and businessmen who sought more local control.[24] Its effect was also felt by the administrative organization of the Chicago public school system, for it transferred the last vestige of external control (county control of the school fund) to the council.[25] The components of the governance of the public school system in 1839 appears in Chart 2.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION: 1839

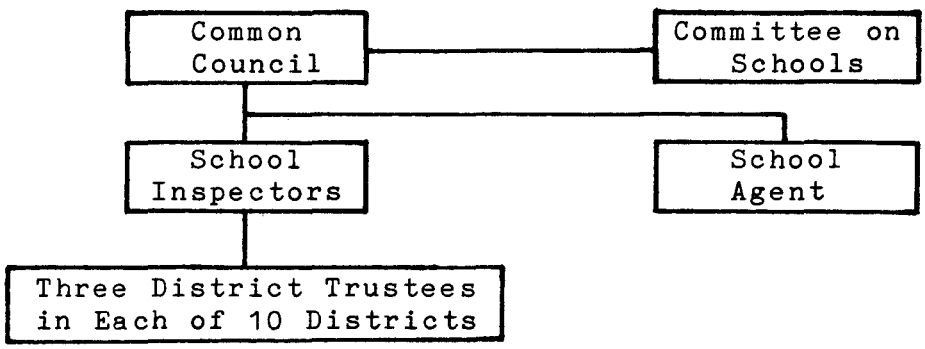

Chart 2

The transfer of control of the school fund did not occur without covenants, however. For example, there was a stipulation that any money derived from the sale or lease of school property was to be deposited in the school fund.

It was also specified that the principal was to be used solely for the schools.[26] The terms "City of Chicago" and "township" were used interchangeably, reinforcing the notion that all the schools in the township were under the control of the council.

With this transfer to the city, the position of school agent was created as part of the city's administrative organization. This was the only city official who did not have dual responsibilities; instead, his primary function was custodian of the school fund.[27] With this change, the administrative control was completely consolidated in the hands of the council, thereby creating the first attempt to unify the schools. With the council's control of both school revenue and taxing powers, the former division of financial authority and functions was resolved.[28] The legislative acts consolidated school governance, but there was not much done internally to systematically improve the administration and supervision of schools.[29]

It was not until 1840 that the school system was reorganized and a new board of school inspectors appointed.[30] With the activation of the new board and the position of school agent filled, the school system's administrative organization became viable.[31] Official records were then kept.[32] Proceedings of the scheduled board meet-

ings were recorded, and other administrative procedures were inaugurated as the board became more involved. Therefore, from this point on, the administrative organization began to flourish.

An action by the council in October 1840, strengthened the relationship between the administrative organization structures of the city and the school system. The council decided to base the number of school districts on the number of city wards.[33] This action caused a reduction in the number of districts from seven to four, reducing the number of trustees from twenty-one for seven districts to twelve for four districts, based on three trustees per district. The structure of this 1840 administrative organization can be seen in Chart 3.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION: 1840

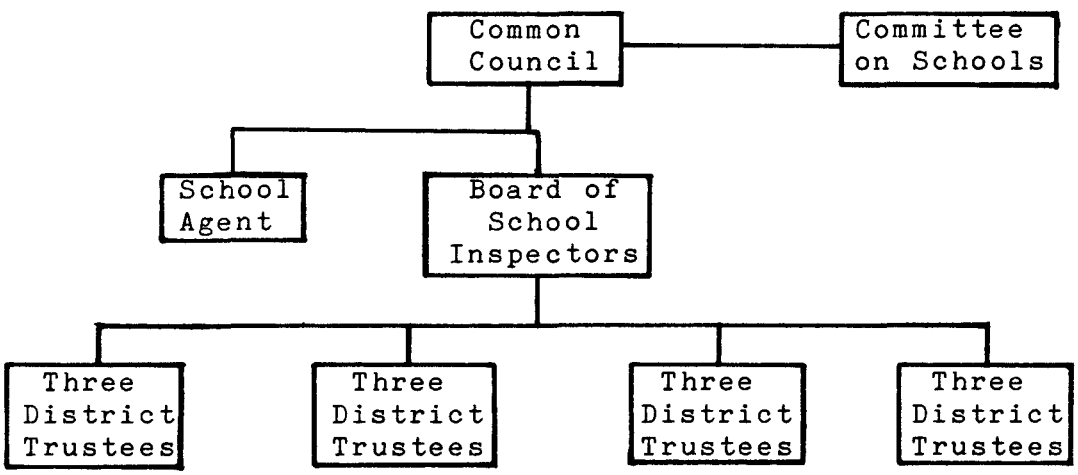

Chart 3

The reorganization of the system in 1840 was the last major change experienced until 1854, when a superintendent of schools was appointed.[34] However, there were some minor changes and activities which took place in the interim. One action was the creation of a city ordinance that would specify the roles and functions of the common council, the school inspectors, and the trustees. The Committee on Schools, a committee of the common council, was charged with the responsibility of studying the operation of the schools and making recommendations as needed.

As one of its tasks, the committee was to review a proposed ordinance which was intended to create school legislation at the city level. In order to verify the appropriateness of the proposal, the committee then proceeded to gather information from other school systems throughout the country. They checked ordinances and laws of other states and cities, and they reviewed the existing laws in Illinois. In addition, the committee reviewed the history of the common schools for the same reason, apparently, that the history has been reviewed for this study. They found, in comparing the provisions of the proposed ordinance to the school provisions of the city charter of 1839, that the two were in agreement.[35]

The report of the committee was significant because

it verified that developments in Chicago were similar to nationwide trends. The first indicators of a move toward greater centralization appeared. Also provided was a rationale for this move (which will be presented later), and a clearer division of duties and responsibilities among the common council, inspectors, and trustees. This later action also solidified the rudimentary administrative organization structure that existed, and it paved the way for future changes.[36]

The Committee on Schools concluded that it was appropriate for the inspectors and trustees to have the authority to manage the schools efficiently. Some of the interesting points they addressed reflected the theoretical trends of this period. For example, they favored facilitating and reducing to a system the establishment and management of the schools. They wanted this to become the primary responsibility of an expert, so that the common council might be able to concentrate its efforts solely on its civil government responsibilities. The committe wanted the inspectors to be able to supervise the schools without interference from any other bodies.[37]

An attempt was made to divide authority and responsibility between the inspectors and the trustees, thus setting the stage for greater future differentiation. In

addition, a strong emphasis was placed on structuring, standardizing, and regulating the system for greater efficiency and effectiveness. For example, the report of the committees stated that schooling should be managed by those who had the background and expertise to do so. This notion laid the groundwork for the eventual hiring of a superintendent of schools, assistants, and other specialists. Also, the centralization theme appeared in the statements related to the management of the schools by an individual or a group for the expressed purpose of developing a standard system of operation. There was an expressed need for communication which, along with regularization and systematization would pave the way for greater centralization. Administration by more than one individual, however, necessitated a distribution of authority and responsibility. The committee addressed this issue by saying that the trustees were the business managers and the inspectors were to handle the rest.[38]

No further changes occurred until 1846, when the common council amended the previous ordinance related to the duties and responsibilities of the inspectors and trustees. The amendment provided a more comprehensive, detailed description of the duties and responsibilities of the two groups. This was needed because as the system grew, cer-

tain responsibilities expanded in scope and others were added. This ordinance provided evidence that the system was becoming more complex and that it continued to rapidly outgrow its administrative organization.

The trustees were to be given the maintenance and repair responsibilities for school property, and they were to recommend purchases of fuel, equipment, and so on. However, authority to contract and pay for other items, excluding fuel and water, was taken away from them by the council. This was probably an effort to curtail the expenditure of funds that were not fixed. They could, however, recommend alterations to school property. The major provision was that of limiting the trustees to making recommendations instead of initiating financial dealings.[39]

State legislation, in 1847, limited the power of the common council when that part of township thirty-nine, lying south of the city limits, was organized as a separate school district. This was due to the increase in the number of schools in that area, which warranted them having their own administrative unit. With that action, Chicago no longer had control of schools outside its corporate boundaries.[40] However, it still retained the following characteristic of the town system: all the schools of the geographical area were organized under one administrative

organization.[41] The system also had the characteristic of a district system: there were four schools districts, each of which employed teachers, levied taxes, and built buildings.[42] Moreover, inasmuch as the districts were based on city wards from the beginning, the plan in operation was also considered by Cubberley to be a ward system.[43]

The Committee on Schools became more active administratively as the council directed it to undertake various administrative tasks. As an illustration, the committee was directed to purchase slates and supervise the installation of primary desks. A few months later, the committee was also authorized to receive proposals for erecting a school building and awarding contracts.[44] The city ordinance passed in 1851, assured at least one public school in each district, which caused an increase in workload and responsibility, with a need for greater centralization of authority. This brought about the creation of the position of superintendent of schools in 1853.[45]

The Emergence of the Superintendency

Although the superintendent of schools position was authorized in 1853, it took some time to identify a person for the position. In May 1854, John Dore arrived from Boston to assume the duties of superintendent. Chicago was a leader in having taken this action, being one of the

first to employ a city superintendent of schools. The superintendent's responsibilities, of course, were not as they are today. In the beginning, his duties were more like those of a clerk or secretary to the board and, in addition, he inherited those functions of the board of school inspectors in matters related to visiting the schools and supervising staff and curriculum, as well as those matters related to buildings and equipment.[46] Basically, the latter responsibilities were related to the superintendence of schools or to the supervision of the educational components of the system.

Dore's first annual report to the board as superintendent in 1854, included those sections of the city ordinance which created the office and defined its duties, along with an explanation of the school setting. He stated that there was no unified, coordinated school system, and as a result, student achievement was deficient, pupils were not grouped, and there were no regular procedures.[48] Dore deplored the fact that each school was independently governed, that some schools were disorganized, that no records were kept, and that no attendance was taken.[49] He reported that his testing of the students made it possible to determine which schools were doing a good job. He concluded his report by recommending the establishment of a

high school to stimulate the elementary schools to improve and to train teachers.[50]

In his second annual report in 1855, Dore lauded as a historical event, the ordinance that established a high school.[51] The high school was designed to accommodate three departments: English, Normal, and Classical. With this act, Chicago established one of the first high schools west of the Alleghenies.[52] The enrollment of both boys and girls was an innovative feature. Also the normal department was designed to train girls to become teachers, and they were to be given preference in being hired for positions in the primary and grammar schools.[53] With the advent of the high school, the course of study in the grammar schools was restricted to the normal range of subjects in schools of the same grade whereas, previously, some students had been allowed to do advanced work.[54]

Dore was pleased with the ordinance because he felt it supported what he wanted to do. Part of his responsibilities, as Dore saw it, was to organize the schools, the course of study, attendance procedures, behavior policies, and so on, so that there would be uniformity. He introduced the use of record books in which daily records of attendance, acts of misconduct, and school work were recorded. He also adopted a system of student classifica-

tion by grade, based on the monthly performance of students.

The above activities added to the responsibilities of the superintendent, but they were also important in that they set the stage for future expansion of the superintendent's role. These changes came about slowly, but as the needs of the city and community changed, so did those of the school system which, in turn, brought about changes in the administrative organization. At first, relatively few responsibilities of an administrative nature were transferred from the board of inspectors and district trustees to the superintendent. The board of school inspectors continued to function as it had, and it found difficulty in delegating some of its responsibilities to the superintendent. Little by little, however, they did begin to delegate more administrative functions to him in addition to his supervisory ones.

Major Changes and Events

The Emergence of the Board of Education. The main control of the schools remained vested in the inspectors, trustees, and city council until 1857, when the provisions of a new city charter redesignated the board of school inspectors as the board of education. Their membership increased from seven to fifteen to conform to an increase

in the number of wards.[55] This amended city charter also abolished the office of district trustee and transferred the functions to the new board.[56] Another important change was the term of office of the new board members. Whereas the school inspectors and district trustees were appointed annually as a group, the new board members were to be divided into three groups and appointed for three years on a staggered basis, for continuity purposes. With these changes, the district system in the city was abolished[57] and the schools were consolidated into one city system.[58]

Although the functions of the school inspectors and the district trustees were consolidated under the new board, authority between the board and the common council remained divided. For example, the board was authorized to select sites for new school buildings, but the council purchased the sites using school funds.[59] In addition, the fund remained under the jurisdiction of the school agent who was still a city official. The major difference was that the board then had complete administrative authority over the schools. A scheme depicting the structure of this new 1857 administrative organization appears in Chart 4.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION: 1857

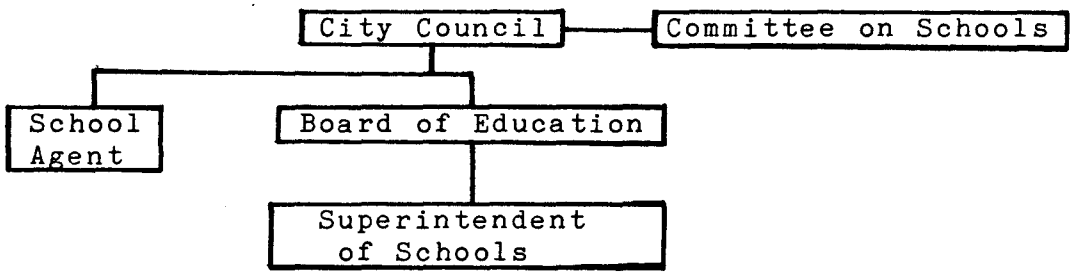

Chart 4

In some cities the councils continued to control the public schools directly, while in other cities each school had a school committee. Therefore, Chicago's new board of education was considered to be one of the great innovations of that time.[60]

Because the public school system was then separated from the local civil government, it became a quasi-governmental unit which functioned as an agent of the state. The common council lost its direct control over the city's public school system, while retaining control over some financial matters.

This change also centralized the management of the schools, a move which had started when the first city charter had placed control of the schools into the hands of the common council. By eliminating the common council and the school trustees, control was then centralized in one body,

the board of education. The council's control of financial matters and the appointment of board members did not detract from the board's control of the governance of the school system. Further, the power of the board in gaining complete control was gradually strengthened by subsequent legislation.

Isolated Events Affect the System

With curricular changes came further modifications in the administrative organization. Vocal music was introduced in January 1842, removed in January 1843, and reinstated in January 1848. A free evening school was opened in January 1845.[61] Industrial schools were doing well in 1859, and physical education was being recommended as an adjunct to the moral and intellectual development of children. The addition of these areas created the need for special subject teachers and special subject supervisors.[62] These additions also contributed to an administrative organization expansion. The latter was expanded in 1859 with the addition of the position of clerk in the office of the superintendent. Also, the position of school agent was assumed by the city comptroller in an ex-officio capacity.[63]

The primary and grammar schools were combined into primary and grammar departments of one graded district

school in 1860. Also, the number of standing committees of the board was shown as ten, plus one committee for each of the schools.[64] Chicago annexed South Chicago, Bridgeport, and Holstein in 1863, and the school system gained three schools and 397 pupils. Another position was added to the administrative organization in 1863, when the office of building and supply agent was created.[65] In February 1865, the number of board members was increased to sixteen, so that one member could be selected from each of the city's sixteen wards. This change organized the board members into groups of four, with each group serving four years on a staggered basis. Finally, the board's position improved through this same legislation which also gave the board some financial control by transferring the position of school agent from the city to the school system.[66]

During the Civil War period, in the 1860s, the financial situation for the school system became critical. Once again, the public's concept of the value of schooling was reflected in the underfinancing that was provided. Yet, despite the cumulative effects of the financial problems generated by the depression in the late 1850s and the Civil War period, the school system continued to grow. In 1854, the year of the first annual report, it was estimated that there were 3,000 pupils, thirty-five teachers, and seven

school buildings. In 1867, there were 29,954 pupils, 401 teachers, and forty-nine school buildings.[67] The larger the system became, the more complex the administrative organization became, and the board had to do its best to budget for necessities.

According to Dore in 1861, one reason the school system was increasing in size was because the public schools of Chicago were now considered to be of high quality. He reasoned that, as a consequence, the former negative prejudice no longer existed, and more people were enrolling their children, including both the native born and the foreign born. In Dore's mind in the Midwest and West, Chicago was becoming as influential educationally as Boston had been twenty years earlier.[68] Dore's prediction that the school system would continue to grow with the city was accurate, as shown by the figures cited earlier and those that will be cited later.

The number of board committees had expanded to thirty-six by 1867. Of these, fifteen were standing committees and twenty-one were district school committees. The committees functioned in an administrative capacity. For example, the committee on examination of teachers actually tested teacher candidates, and the committee on evening schools took general charge and supervision of evening

schools: appointing teachers, establishing salary schedules, and reporting on the condition and needs of these schools. The building and supply agent came under the general direction of the superintendent and the following committees: Buildings and Grounds, Apparatus and Furniture, and Janitors and Supplies.[69]

In 1868, Lorenz Brentano, the president of the board, recommended that the powers of the board be expanded to include those the board had unofficially assumed from the common council. He wanted the common council to bring this recommendation to the state legislature.[70] The superintendent requested the appointment of an assistant superintendent who would take over the examination of classes with a view to improving instruction. He based his request on the fact that the quantity of work had increased due to the need to hire more teachers, to visit new and temporary teachers, to meet with visitors, and to process a greater volume of correspondence. He reported that he was unable to do some projects he had planned to do: he lacked the time to visit the schools as often as he felt he should, and to immplement the examination of students.[71]

The growth of the city continued and in 1869, twenty city wards were in place and the number of board members was increased to twenty, also. In this year, the special

service position was created for a teacher of vocal culture, and it was recommended that summer schools be provided.

The superintendent's request for the appointment of sub-masters in the large grammar schools was not acted upon for financial reasons, but the position of assistant to the superintendent was established.[72] The duties of the assistant included assigning substitute teachers and supervising their work, visiting the classrooms of regular teachers, and supervising the primary schools.[73]

The positions as of June 1872, appear in Chart 5.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION: 1872

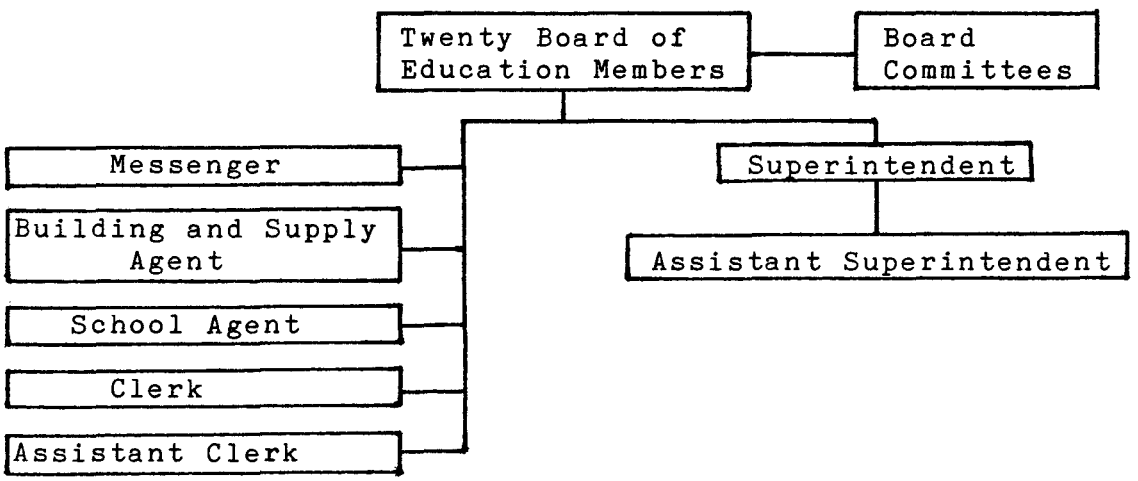

Chart 5

In July 1872, the ward system was abolished and a new city system was inaugurated. This was probably an attempt

to depoliticize the system. The entire board, which had consisted of one member from each of the twenty city wards, was replaced by a new board consisting of fifteen members appointed at-large. The new legislation also changed the manner by which board members were appointed. Where previously they had been appointed by the common council, they were now to be appointed by the mayor and affirmed by the council. The board president expressed the opinion that men who functioned in an official capacity should be selected on the basis of qualifications and ability.[74] The board members had been selected on a ward basis from 1865 to 1872, but now they were to be selected at-large again, as they had been prior to 1865.[75]

The administrative organization remained basically the same as it appears in Chart 5, but the Act of 1872 centralized authority to a greater degree in the new board by transferring more of the authority previously held by the council.[76] Although the number of board members was reduced, the duties, powers, and responsibilities of the new board were materially increased and enlarged.[77] According to Superintendent Josiah Pickard, "the Board of Education of the City of Chicago has power, with the concurrence of the City Council," to: (1) erect or purchase and maintain schools; (2) buy or lease school sites; and

(3) issue bonds and borrow money. The board could also: (1) furnish schools; (2) use school taxes to supplement the school fund for teacher salaries; (3) rent rooms for board and/or school use; (4) hire teachers and establish salary schedules; and, (5) organize the city into districts.[78] Finally,the board was given the authority to select a president from its own membership, a vice-president, secretary, clerk, assistant clerk, school agent, and messenger. They could appoint the superintendent and his staff, (the latter without the superintendent's involvement), and a building and supply agent.

Although the board was given more authority in the governance of schooling, they still had to obtain the approval of the council in other matters of importance. For example, one of the limitations was of a financial nature: the school property could not be in the board's name; therefore, only the city council could buy or sell the property. Also, the board could not spend more than the amount of income it received annually, and they could not levy or collect taxes.[79] The city treasurer still retained custody of the school fund, which was a real problem. The board was also required to report to the council on a regular basis, to make recommendations for approval for the council and to prepare and official annual

report. On the other hand, the council could not usurp any of the powers given to the board. A comparison of the powers which the legislative act conferred on the board and the council reveals that the board had assumed a superior position to the council in respect to school matters. The board could exercise its powers exclusive of the council with the exceptions listed above, and was given all the rights, powers, and authority needed to operate the school system.[80]

The Administrative Organization Grows: 1873-1876

Committees As An Administrative Arm of the Board. As the public school system continued to grow in size and complexity, the new board increased its number of committees from thirty-six in 1867 to fifty-four.[81] Consequently, the board actually managed the schools through its standing and school committees, which continued to proliferate in number as the number of schools increased. Action could be taken by the committees without involving the whole board.[82] These committees were performing the functions that future staff members would be doing, as will be shown later and, in effect, were part of the administrative structure, for all intents and purposes. For example, the standing committees listed in the 1869-70 directory were: buildings and grounds, finance and auditing, textbooks and course of

instruction, rules and regulations, apparatus and furniture, examination of teachers, appointment of teachers, janitors and supplies, medals and rewards, German, salaries, publications, music, evening schools, judiciary, school fund property, and high school. In addition, there was a committee for each district and primary school, respectively.[83] By 1875 a committee was added for normal school, and division high schools and the name of the Medals and Rewards Committee was changed to the Special Funds and Prizes Committee. The Committee on Division High Schools was added when, in 1875, a high school was opened in each of the three divisions of the city.

Additional Needs Created Additional Staff Positions. The introduction of vocal music, evening schools, industrial schools, and physical education, as noted previously, proved successful. Drawing and German instruction were also added and, in 1873, the superintendent reported that using specialists to teach music and drawing to teachers was highly effective. However, the original intent to use these teachers to actually teach children had not been effective. The special teachers were itinerant, and their work load was heavy. They could not get around often enough, so they taught the classroom teachers what to do. Thus, their work became mostly supervisory. The teaching

of German was more recent and less popular; therefore, the teachers of German were able to do the actual teaching up to this point.[84] This differentiation in curriculum produced special teachers and then supervisors-- a new component of the administrative organization structure that now began to take on the characteristic of a line-staff organization.

Differentiation was also occurring in the organization of schools which consisted of one high school, one normal school, twenty-one district schools, three grammar schools, and thirteen independent primary schools. The system originally was divided into ten grades: five primary and five grammar, with the tenth grade being the lowest and the first grade the highest. The independent primary schools featured oral instruction and contained the five lowest grades; the grammar schools contained the five highest grades; and the district schools covered all grades. High schools were departmentalized.[85] This was changed in the fall of 1875, when the number of grades was reduced to eight: four primary and four grammar.

Another position was added to the administrative organization in 1875, when that of attorney was established. The board experienced difficulties in collecting rents from tenants and in establishing appropriate rental fees. The

attorney was hired to handle these and other problems that were of a legal nature. Next, the expansion of the German language programs created the need for a new position which was called Superintendent of German.[86] This additional superintendent position added to the line-staff configuration of the administrative organization structure. Finally, the superintendent of schools laid the foundation for additional line personnel when Pickard wrote in 1875, that he and his assistant were spending most of their time working with new teachers. With the increase in the number of schools, the two found it difficult to supervise all the teachers. Pickard also stated that he missed the assistance of members of the board in visiting schools. The board members had become tied up with financial matters and could not visit the schools as much as needed.[87]

With the addition of the attorney, the three major divisions under the board were identifiable: (1) Education Department; (2) Business Department; and (3) Law Department, although not officially classified as such until 1917. The administrative organization as of 1875, appears in Chart 6.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION: 1875

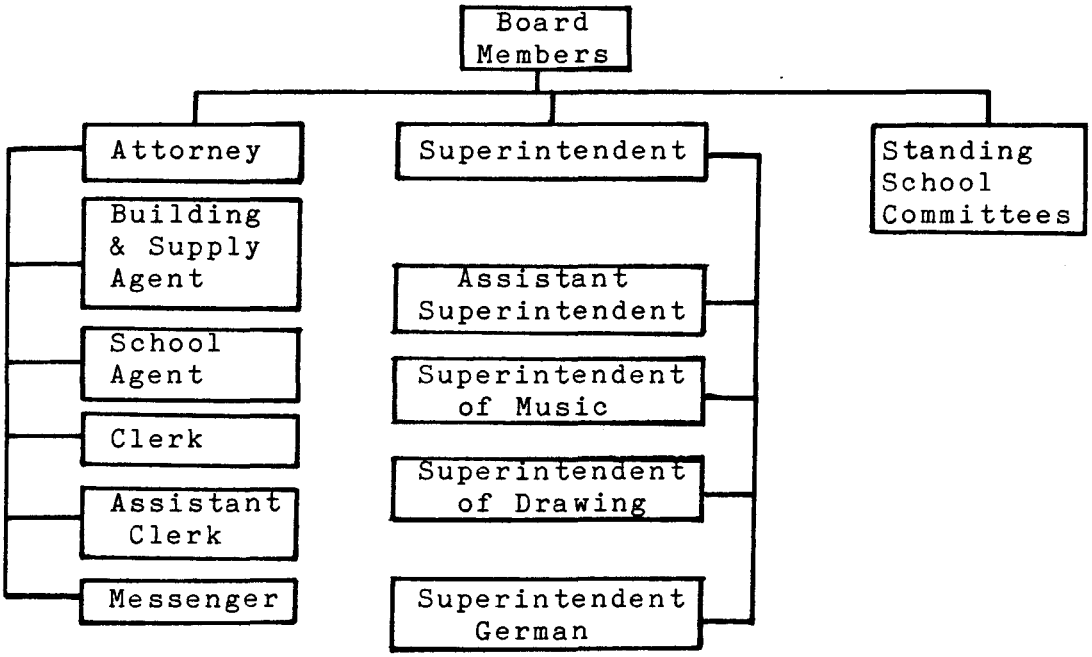

Chart 6

The growth of the schools is shown in Table I.

CITY AND SCHOOL GROWTH: 1840-1876[88]

Year	City Population	Total Enrollment	Daily Attendance	Teachers
1840	4,479	317		5
1845	12,088	1,051		9
1850	29,963	1,991	1,224	21
1855	80,000	6,826	2,400	42
1860	109,206	10,547	6,851	139
1865	178,492	29,080	12,268	240
1870	306,605	38,939	24,839	537
1875	395,408	49,121	32,999	700
1876	407,661	51,128	35,970	762

Table I

A Decade of Minor Administrative Changes: 1877-1887

A recommendation to separate the business and educational functions was proposed in 1878 by the board president, but it was not acted upon. The rationale given was that the superintendent, as the education expert, should not have to deal with the business matters which were of a different nature, and a separate business department would promote efficiency.[89] In 1880 the superintendent recom-

mended that the position contain two or three more assistants who would give the students promotional examinations. He also recommended that the superintendent not be required to handle business matters, but that a business manager, who would also be the secretary, should be appointed to handle these affairs. He supported the recommendations with the following arguments: no business man would operate as did the board; that the board was an administrative body and not a legislative one; that the board was too large and had too many committees, that based on need and function were improperly organized; and, that the affairs of the board fell under two distinct functions, school and business.[90]

In the same annual report, the superintendent offered a design for committee operation in which the number of committees would be reduced for better efficiency. All financial matters, it was suggested, should be handled by one committee. Committees on reading, arithmetic, and writing were needed instead of committees on music, drawing, and German which should be covered by one committee on Textbooks and Course of Study. With this new design the Education Department would have two committees: (1) teachers; and (2) textbooks and course of study. Under the Business Department, there would be three committees: (1)

finance, (2) school property, and (3) school fund property.[91] However, the recommendations were not implemented. This may have been due to the fact that the board did not want to relinquish control. The following year, the rules and regulations of the board listed an increased number of committees: six business committees, nine school, and four miscellaneous.[92]

No additional assistant superintendents were added, nor were a separate secretary and a business manager hired at that time. Eventually these changes and additions would be made, but conditions in 1880 were not conducive. A few changes did occur in other areas. By the end of the 1880-81 school year, there were three special teachers, or superintendents, of German, music, and drawing; the division high schools, which were only two-year high schools, were converted to four-year schools; and manual training was being discussed.[93] The functions of the office of secretary were listed under Section 12 of the board rules. Sanitary affairs, district boundaries, and deaf mute schools committees were added; the two committees on teachers were combined; finance was added to the Salary Committee; and drawing was added to the Music Committee. A position entitled architect and superintendent, was added to the administrative organization; the position of

building and supply agent was listed as business agent; and the duties of the bookkeeper were specified. The city was listed as having three high schools--one for each division of the city; numerous grammar and primary schools, along with deaf mute schools.[94]

Emerging concepts of specialization were reflected in the statements made in the 1883 annual report. For example, the teaching of German was reported to be a success in the primary and grammar schools because certain teachers taught only German, and there was a superintendent of German who assisted them. However, with music and drawing, the regular teachers taught these subjects with varying degrees of success, based on their individual qualifications; there was only one special teacher to assist several hundred regular teachers. In this same section of the report, industrial education also emerged as an immportant component of general education. In another part of this report, a recommendation was made to divide the office of architect and superintendent of construction into its respective components and create two new positions. It was inferred that these two positions were not compatible because of the diverse expertise needed in each one.[95]

A second assistant superintendent of schools was added in 1884, and the new list showed a first and second

assistant superintendent.[96] The following year the business agent title was changed back to the previous designation of building and supply agent, but no explanation was provided. This was probably a title change, but not a change of function. An assistant was added to the office of building and supply agent in the same year; and a chief engineer position was also added. Other changes included: the opening of an assistant special teacher of drawing position and a position for an assistant to the special teacher of vocal music.[97]

The board president presented a rationale for the creation of the above positions and recommended three more openings in addition to some changes regarding the superintendency. He indicated that the rapidly growing system required changes to the administrative organization structure and that it should be a top priority. He argued that in order to operate to the best advantage, the administrative structure had to be systematically reorganized. He proposed that all educational acivities be consolidated under the superintendent of schools and two more assistants be added to his staff. Of significance is the change in thinking from the "superintendents as supervisors" to the "superintendents as educational administrators." This is exemplified in the president's statement to the effect that

visiting school rooms took up too much of the superintendents' time and interfered with the performance of duties related to discipline and administration.[98]

Unfortunately, the board did not accept the president's recommendations regarding the superintendency at this time. The only changes that did occur were the opening of positions for special teachers for drawing and physical culture, to be filled the following year. The positions of supervisor of evening schools, assistant clerk and messenger, and assistant in supply department were also added.[99]

The organization prior to the close of the 1886-1887 school year appears in Chart 7.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION: 1886-1887

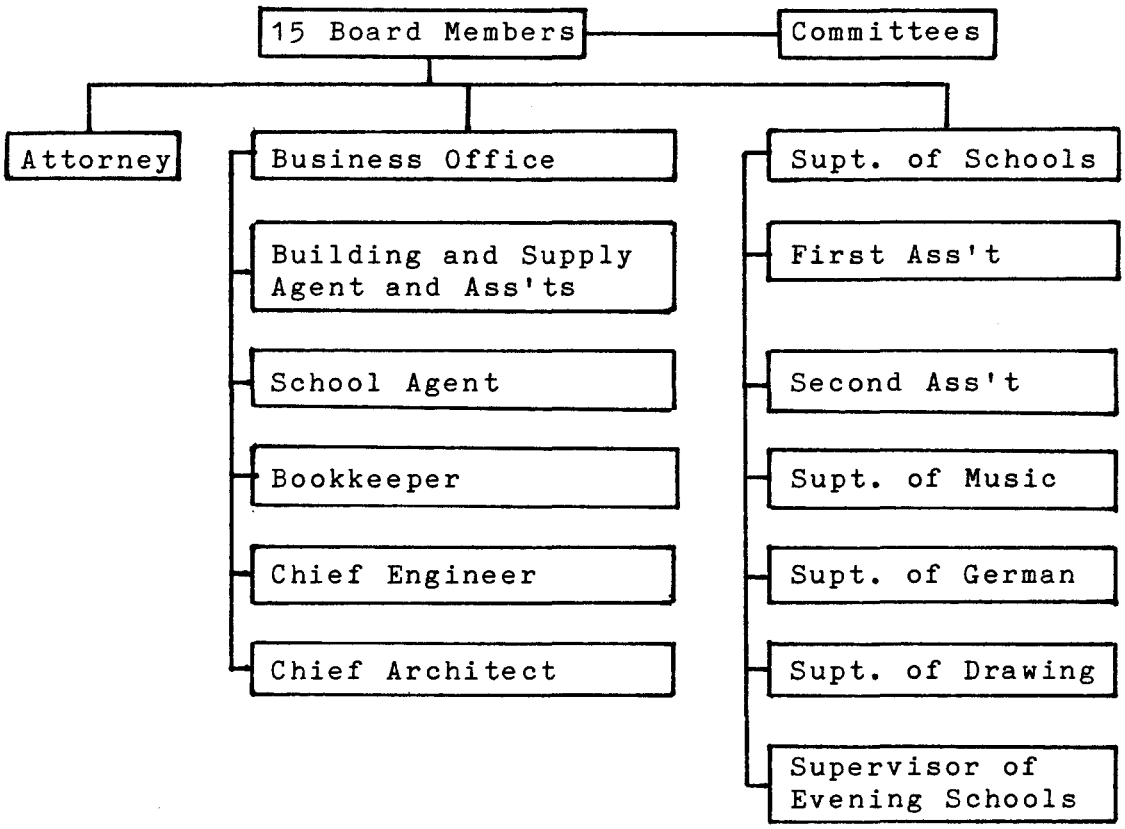

Chart 7

Major Annexations Double the Size of the System

The First Phase. A major factor of great magnitude that affected the administrative organization structure, was that of annexation. As a result of the annexation described only as Section 36, Township 40, Range 14, the system after the close of the 1886-87 school year, found itself with: one superintendent of schools, five assistant

superintendents of schools, eighty-four principals, 1,400 teachers, and 84,902 day school students plus one supervisor; and twenty-one principals, 118 teachers, and 5,861 students in evening schools.[100] The city gained ten thousand people and a square mile of new territory.

Faced with starting a new school year, the board members and superintendent reviewed the administrative organization structure with an eye toward reorganizing. They had to plan not only for the present, but for future annexations. One problem was that even with redesignating the use of some school buildings and readjusting attendance areas, the system was still short some four thousand seats. Also, the board found that it could no longer reasonably discount the need for additional assistant superintendents of schools. However, they found that by redesigning job responsibilities, they were able to consolidate some functions and reduce the number of administrative and supervisory staff. For example, by placing the responsibility for supervising the teaching of music, drawing, and German in the hands of the assistant superintendents, they were able to eliminate the supervisors, while retaining the special teachers. In addition, they had to require the regular classroom teachers to become competent to teach those subjects in conjuction with the regular subjects.[101]

Additional positions in the form of three more assistant superintendents, a supervisor of evening schools, an assistant clerk, an assistant to the building and supply agent, and an assistant clerk/messenger were created.[102] As a result of these reorganizations the 1887-1888 school year began with a drastically different administrative organization structure. The reorganization was designed to enhance efficiency.[103] Interestingly, the board president referred to one of the board's responsibilities as the general management of the schools which reaffirmed the fact that the board functioned in both legislative and executive roles. The board members also found their roles had expanded along these lines because in addition to the general increase in volume of work, they each were in charge of three more schools.[104]

In the Fall of 1887, an attempt was made to annex additional territory to Chicago, and the school system proceeded to prepare for this event. The Illiois Supreme Court, however, declared this action to be improper. Thus the board found itself in the midst of a maze of legal and financial problems. However, with the realization that the annexation would eventually take place, the board proceeded to plan for expansion. New schools were opened, additional professional staff were hired, and a reduction in the

pupil-teacher ratio was considered.[105]

In 1888 the president of the board, Allen Story, recommended that the five assistant superintendents form a board of superintendents, with each being assigned to a department, evenly distributed and clearly defined duties. The superintendent of schools was to be the presiding officer of this board and the head of the system. Under this arrangement, the superintendent would devote his time to coordinating the work of his assistants. It was assumed that this would ultimately increase school effectiveness. In addition, it was recommended that the superintendent be relieved of the tasks related to evening schools and that those tasks should be assumed by the supervisor of evening schools.[106] The need for an auditor was also presented, but there was no action taken.

In 1888 Superintendent of Schools George Howland commented on the new assignment of duties to the assistant superintendents. Whereas the assistants were formerly assigned supervisory responsibilities based on grade levels across the system, the new assignment of duties would allow assistants to supervise all grades in a certain section of the city. In effect, this changed the supervisory design from a horizontal plan to a vertical plan. It was felt that this design would provide better articulation between

grades and levels. In fact, the superintendent claimed that the additional assistant superintendents made it possible for supervision to become more effective.[107]

The Second Phase. The first wave of annexation in May 1889, added certain portions of the towns of Cicero and Jefferson to Chicago and brought with it four schools, twenty-eight teachers, and 1,082 students, in addition to other staff. The second wave, which occurred in July 1889, added thirty-three entire school districts and parts of eight others to the Chicago public school system. The effect was to bring over one hundred school buildings, eight hundred teachers, 230 school officials, and over one hundred engineers and janitors into the Chicago system. It is no wonder that at the end of the school year, the board president said, "The work of the past year, 1889-1890, is noteworthy by reason of the great increase in the territory of the city, the consequent increase in the school system, and the embarassments which this increase has occasioned."[108] Not only was there a physical growth problem, but there was also the problem of assimilating the variety of curricula, philosophies, and administrative structures. There was also the matter of the legal controversy for ten months surrounding Chicago's right to annex under an Act of the General Assembly in 1887. This was eventually

resolved, but not without some trauma.[109]

Superintendent Howland viewed the 1889-1890 school year in a more positive manner. From his perspective, there was a smooth transition on the part of the incoming schools from their previous jurisdictions to the new one. With the increase in size and with the introduction of a compulsory education law, the following positions were added: three assistant superintendents and one superintendent of compulsory education. The three new assistant superintendents were the former superintendents of three of the annexed school systems.[110] The superintendent, in his report, provided the statistics that appear in Tables II-VI.[111]

SCHOOL BUILDINGS: 1883-1889

	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889
City Owned	75	75	91	94	98	102	203
City Rented	7	5	2	4	8	12	35

Table II

PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS:1887-1890

	1887-88	1888-89	1889-90
Principals			
High Schools	3	3	10
Elementary	79	85	170
Teachers			
High Schools	52	55	110
Elementary	1,510	1,632	2,369
Special	14	26	51

Table III

SCHOOL CENSUS: 1837-1890

	1837	1884	1886	1888	1890
Total City Population	4,170	629,985	703,817	802,651	1,208,669
Under 21		263,181	288,202	322,454	473,234
6 to 21		169,384	181,243	199,631	289,433
6 to 16		129,936	129,227	142,293	-------
6 to 14		-------	-------	-------	165,621
Under 6		93,727	106,929	122,823	183,801

Table IV

PUPILS: 1884-1889

School Year	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889
Total	79,276	83,022	84,902	89,578	93,737	135,541
Increase	3,232	3,746	1,880	4,676	4,150	41,804

Table V

PUPIL-TEACHER RATIOS: 1884-1889

School Year	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889
High Schools	38	44	43	44	45	41
Elementary Schools	54	55	53	48	52	48

Table VI

In a summary statement, the superintendent provided facts and figures as follows: (1) there were now eleven high schools, four within the former city limits and seven in recently annexed districts; and (2) there were 156 grammar and primary school buildings and forty primary school buldings.[112]

The Schedule of Salaries for the Fiscal Year 1889-90 showed positions as follows:[113]

Superintendent and Office Employees
Superintendent of Schools
Assistant Superintendents, Old City
Assistant Superintendents, Annexed Territory
Clerk of Board of Education
Attorney
School Agent
Supply Agent
Chief Engineer
Auditor
Foreman of Repairs
Assistant Clerk in Office of Clerk
Stenographer and Typewriter in Office of Clerk
Messenger in Office of Supply Agent
Assistants in Office of Auditor
Superintendent of Supply Department and Assistants
Clerk, Lake View
Librarian, South Chicago

Secretary, Englewood
Superintendent of Buildings, Lake
Superintending Engineer, Lake
Superintendent of Repairs, Hyde Park
Superintendent of Compulsory Education Department
Clerks in Compulsory Education Department
Attendance Agents

A Need for Legislation. As the Chicago public school system expanded, additional legislation was needed to improve the administration of the school system. The school law in existence applied equally across the state of Illinois, but the board president in 1889-1890 felt that there should be some changes in the section that applied to the Chicago. He had submitted some amendments for consideration in the legislature. However, no action was taken because they were delayed in committee sessions and released too late for action. The hope was expressed that the next session of the legislature would approve at least two of the amendments related to: the procurement of school sites through condemnation proceedings, and elimination of the annual report of receipts and expenditures in each school.[114] This recognition of the need for legislative changes regarding the administration of the public schools of Chicago would eventually lead to the formation of the Educational Commission of the City of Chicago with William R. Harper serving as chairman. This committee would be charged with investigating the business and educational

conduct of the school system.[115]

Summary

The pattern of school legislation passed from 1831 to the late 1880s, indicates that the emerging administrative organization structure lacked clear purpose and direction. The administrative pattern that emerged was in response to solving a series of problems as they arose. The gradual development of the governance of schooling by the local, civil governmental unit was not planned, but it resulted as a consequence of changes in national attitudes regarding schooling. The emphasis on schooling importance influenced the way it was organized and governed. Also, the reluctance to allow any form of centralized governmental control at the federal or state level kept the control at the local level. There was little deliberation for shaping schooling in a particular manner; there was no long term plan being followed; and the needs of a developing nation dictated what happened on an ongoing basis. When conditions were such that all elements, needs, and solutions came together, then changes occurred.

The administrative organiztion grew in size and began to assume a structure, albeit slowly, during this period, except at the very end when the size of the system doubled. The governance of schooling started out with divided

authority between the county commissioners and the school inspectors and district trustees of independnt districts within the county. With the advent of the township, the town, and then the city districts, changes in governance occurred. The control of schooling shifted slowly but surely, as detailed in this chapter. The district voters were the first to control the affairs of the schools, in that they elected the school inspectors and the trustees, and they decided policy and procedures at voters' meetings. When Chicago was incorporated as a city in 1837, the common council became the commissioners of schools and displaced the voters in the governance of the schools.

The council first directed the activities of the inspectors and then later, the activities of the trustees. The council started out with authority to appoint the inspectors, but not the trustees who were still elected by the voters in their respective districts; it gained the power to appoint them in 1839. The council continued to receive more control over the schools through legislation until, finally, the last element of the county's control--the school fund--was transferred to the council. The council then became, in effect, the sole governing body, responsible for legislative, judiciary, and administrative functions. It delelgated much of its administrative and

supervisory authority to the school inspectors and district trustees. It also established the Committee on Schools to review and make recommendations for the operation of the school system and, eventually, it gave the committee some administrative responsibilities.

The system, under the umbrella control of the council, consisted of independent districts. However, the rapidly growing school system created administrative and supervisory problems. Because each school functioned independently, there was a need for coordination of curriculum and school organization. The position of superintendent of schools was created to meet this need and to relieve the board of school inspectors of some of their supervisory functions and clerical work. The board of education was created following legislation which changed the title of the board of school inspectors and also some of its authority and responsibilities. The board of education also assumed the responsibilities of the trustees--a result of later legislation. The transfer of control, to this point, was from the voters-school inspectors-district trustees pattern, to the common council-school inspectors-district trustees pattern and finally, to the common council-board of education pattern. The independent school district plan was replaced by a city district plan with this last change.

The role of the superintendent of schools, in the meantime, changed from that of a secretary to the board and supervisor of schools, to that of administrator and supervisor. Gradually, the common council lost more of its control to the board, and the board transferred more of its administrative functions to the superintendent of schools. As seen from the text of this chapter, it was a rather complex change progressing over a period of years with no long term plan as a guide. The changes evolved as conditions warranted, but not necessarily at the time needed.

The board eventually assumed control of the most important element of school governance, the school fund, but did not completely gain control of all financial matters. The board still had to go to the common council for approval of expenditures. When the board gained control of the system, it became quasi-governmental as an agent of the state. The board, in assuming almost full authority and responsibility for the governance of the schools, found they could not effectively handle the magnitude of the job if they were to act as a committee-of-the-whole. It established standing and school committees, to which were delegated specific administrative and advisory functions. This process proved unwieldy as the total number of committees rose to one hundred by 1889. There were fifteen standing

and eighty-five school committees by then, and the total number went well over one hundred before being reduced. Examples of standing committees are: school management, finance, and judiciary. School committees were based on the number of schools with a committee assigned to each school.

The board also began to delegate more administrative functions to the superintendent who, as head of the education department, had supervisory responsibilities as his primary duty. An expanding school system also created the need for addtional personnel. As the appointments were made, they were designed to report directly to the board, but later as the direction was shifted to giving the superintendent more administrative authority, they were placed in a subordinate position to him. Exceptions to this were the positions of attorney and business manager who, as executive officers, continued to report directly to the board. This arrangement differentiated the executive functions, and three departments were in operation: law, business, and education. The introduction of special subjects such as music, drawing, and art, created the need for special teachers and, eventually, superintendents or supervisors of special subjects. Evening schools and compulsory education also created the need for special staff, and

again, superintendents for these functions were created. All of these positions, including the board of education with its working committees, became the rudiments of an administrative organization that grew to the point where the structure developed a life of its own. This will appear evident in the next period examined by this study.

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CHAPTER III

THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION COMES INTO BEING: 1890-1929

During this forty year period the structure of the administrative organization of the public school system of Chicago evolved as a result of the conditions existing in each phase of development of the city. Its significant emergence will be the focus of this section. Industrialization, urbanization, and immigration induced major changes in all components of society, including schooling. The increased demand for formal education by a growing city population created a need for more schools. As the number of schools increased, the need for coordination and effective operation was imperative. This caused the administrative organization to expand and its units to undergo changes in their roles and functions. A gain in efficiency was largely achieved by differentiation which created additional units and/or subunits responsible for specific functions. The coordination of these units required grouping by functions and supervision at a higher level. There was also a greater need to develop general rules, regulations, and standing operating procedures.

Differentiation was also the result of curricular expansions and, most importantly, the need to coordinate,

regulate, and systemize teaching methods and content being taught. For example, in the evening school program, course content and methods were determined by the individual principals and teachers. Thus, the same subjects were taught differently depending upon the personality, training, and experience of each teacher. As a result, the Board of Education of the City of Chicago established the position of supervisor of evening schools and assigned to it the function of systematizing instruction.[1]

The need to align the interests, actions, and direction of individuals within the system in order to more effectively achieve the system-wide goals and objectives was also an ongoing problem. For example, given the diversity of personalities and interests of administrative staff, there was a need for more thorough and effective supervision of them. To resolve this problem, the board appointed additional assistant superintendents.[2] This action was significant because it indicated a willingness on the part of the board to provide the necessary staff to do the job properly. It was a radical departure in thinking on the part of the board who had previously been conservative in their actions to increase the number of administrative and supervisory staff.

Bureaucratic Characteristics Exhibited

With the previous expansion of the administrative organization, as shown in Chapter II, the structure had become more complex, thereby exhibiting the beginnings of a collection of interlocking units, the placement and flow of authority, and a continuity in administering service. The organization became centralized in that authority was vested in one quasi-governmental body, but it became decentralized internally as it: (1) added component parts and operations; (2) created a division of labor; and (3) began to delegate authority. Thus as seen in Chapter II, the administrative organization of the Chicago Public School system had acquired rudiments of a bureaucracy and an organizational structure.

The developing structure becomes visible when organization charts are constructed. Unfortunately, with the annexation of surrounding towns and villages in 1889, the structure achieved such proportions as to make it unfeasible to chart. The effects of the annexations carried over into succeeding years can be seen in the superintendents and special teachers listing in the Schedule of Salaries for the fiscal year, which coincided with the calendar year, 1890. The listing showed:[3]

Superintendents
A Superintendent of Schools
Eight Assistant Superintendents
Special Teachers
Special Teacher of German
Special Teacher of Singing in High Schools
Special Teacher of Singing in Grammar Department
Special Teacher of Singing in Primary Department
Assistant Special Teacher of Singing in Primary Department
Assistant Special Teacher of Drawing in High Schools and in Charge of Manual Training Department
Assistant Special Teacher of Drawing in High Schools and in Manual Training Department
Special Teacher of Drawing in Primary and Grammar Schools
Two Assistant Special Teachers of Drawing
Special Teacher of Physical Culture
Assistant Special Teacher of Physical Culture
Assistant Special Teacher of Physical Culture in High Schools
Eight Assistant Special Teachers of Physical Culture in Grammar Schools
Five Assistant Special Teachers of Physical Culture in Primary Schools
One Assistant Special Teacher of Physical Culture in Primary Schools (half-day)

The 1890-91 school year annual report shows additional positions, as follows:[4]

Supervisor of Evening Schools
Assistant Supervisor of Evening Schools
Superintendent of Compulsory Education
Supervisor of Singing, High Schools
Supervisor of Singing, Grammar Grades
Supervisor of Singing, Primary Grades
Supervisor of German
Supervisor of Drawing, High Schools
Superintendent of Drawing, Grammar and Primary Schools
Supervisor of Physical Culture
Attorney
School Agent
Clerk of the Board
Business Manager
Chief Engineer
Auditor
Superintendent of Supplies

Forces Affecting the Organization Structure

Annexation and Natural Growth. The annexations described in the previous chapter were followed with additional ones during the period 1890-1929. Washington Heights was annexed in November 1890 and additional students, staff, and buildings were brought into the system. The cumulative effects of the annexations plus the anticipated annexations expected to occur in the future caused the system to hire more staff. As an example, the evening school program was expanded and an assistant supervisor of evening schools was hired. The manual training schools, which operated in conjunction with the high schools, were not adequate in meeting the needs of the increased demand for enrollment; therefore, a separate school was established.[5] With these and other changes, the new list of administrators and supervisors for fiscal year 1891, included:[6]

Superintendents
- Superintendent of Schools
- Eight Assistant Superintendents

Supervisors and Teachers of Special Studies
- German
  - Supervisor*
  - Assistant Supervisor*

Drawing
- Supervisor - High Schools*
- Supervisor - Grammar and Primary Grades*
- Assistant Supervisor - Grammar and Primary Grades*

Seven Assistant Teachers**
One Assistant Teacher (part-time)*

Singing
Supervisor - High Schools*
Two Assistant Teachers - High Schools**
Supervisor - Grammar Grades*
Supervisor - Primary Grades*
Five Assistant Teachers - Grammar Grades**
Seven Assistant teachers - Primary Grades**

Physical Culture
Supervisor*
Two Assistant Teachers - High Schools**
Nine Assistant Teachers - Grammar Grades**
Twelve Assistant Teachers - Primary Grades**

Evening Schools
Supervisor

Office and other employees also increased in number as shown below:

Clerk
Attorney
School Agent
Business Manager
Three Assistant Business Managers**
Chief Engineer
Auditor
Assistant Auditor**
Superintendent of Supplies
Two Clerks to Business Manager**
Messenger
Assistant Clerk**
Two Assistants to Chief Engineer**
Superintendent of Compulsory Education Department
Seventeen Attendance Agents*

* New Positions
** Increases in Number of Positions

Another increase in personnel occurred when the number of board members rose from fiften to twenty-one. This

was brought about by the increased work attributed to the annexations. The mayor appointed the additional board members from the annexed areas.[7]

In some cases, annexation affected the administrative organization to a large degree and in others to a slight degree or not at all. The latter was the case with the annexation of Rogers Park in April 1893. There were two schools, sixty-four pupils, and nine teachers added to the system. Fortunately, the curriculum was similar and required only slight modification.[8] In November 1893, Norwood Park was annexed which added two schools, 146 pupils and five teachers. Again, no changes were needed because the curriculum was similar to Chicago's.[9] An area adjacent to West Pullman was annexed in the 1894-95 school year. The pupils attended a school in West Pullman and therefore, accommodations now had to be provided for them. Luckily, this only involved the erection of one school and there were no problems with the curriculum.

Some annexations were legally troublesome, as in the case of the annexation of Austin. A lawsuit was filed questioning the legality of the annexation, but in the meantime, the board passed a resolution on 19 April 1899, extending its jurisdiction to include the annexed district. Teachers' salaries were to continue to come from the Austin

district with an endorsement by the Chicago board that if the annexation were valid, the board would pay the amount.[10] The legal proceedings took a year, but the annexation was finally upheld by the Illinois Supreme Court, thereby completing the process in 1900. The board assumed control of the school property and issued certificates to teachers and principals.[11]

In 1901, Superintendent Cooley was still discussing some of the problems attributed to annexation as they related to school facilities. For example, facilities of the annexed districts were inadequate at the time of annexation--a condition which increased as the area grew in population. The Chicago system also had to absorb the indebtedness of the annexed districts as well as the lack of accommodations. The latter required that the system increase and adopt school facilities in sections of the city where there was faster growth.[12]

Finances. The economic recessions and depressions which occurred periodically had devastating effects on the system in general and the administrative organization specifically. A reduction of $2,000,000 from a budget of approximately $9,000,000 for the school year 1896-97, for example, elicited a strong reaction from the board president. He called it an irresponsible act, considering the

almost unprecedented growth of the system. The board was forced to impose rigid economies and to retrench, which caused a concern that the board would not be able to meet its legal requirements, especially in the area of providing educational facilities and educational programs.

Other financial problems came with the establishment of programs without the financial resources. This was the case when school districts were empowered to open kindergartens when authorized through local elections. This was true even though the article of the act approved 21 May 1889 clearly stated that the cost was to be met at the local level from taxes and other local revenue and not from the state school tax fund.[13]

The 1889-90 school year had other fiscal problems, too. The annexations mentioned earlier caused major financial problems. For example, the districts absorbed in July 1889 had budgeted through 30 June 1890, the point at which the district would be dissolved. For the most part, the appropriations were not sufficient to meet the financial needs up to that point because no one wanted to put any more money into a district that was terminated. In addition, there was no money appropriated to cover the rest of the Chicago system's fiscal year which extended to 31 December 1890. As a consequence, the schools were operated

on funds appropriated to the Chicago system for the remainder of the fiscal year. As shown in Chapter II, the number of schools had doubled, and the $2,000,000.00 available to the board was not enough to cover the additional $500,000.00 needed for the annexed schools. The board was faced with two choices: (1) issuing script to pay staff and other financial obligations; or (2) closing the schools. Fortunately, the city provided the needed funds and the system was temporarily reprieved.[14]

The financial problems were exacerbated by the ongoing immigration and annexation explosion in student numbers. Although there was an increase of three or four thousand student enrollments in the years prior to the 1889-90 school year, there was an increase of almost forty-two thousand students created by the annexations. However, the school year which followed also experienced a huge growth of approximately eleven thousand students. The continuing increase in the number of students meant that more money was needed to build schools and hire staff. At the end of the 1889-90 school year, there were eleven high schools, 167 grammar and primary schools, and fifty-three primary schools. Some of these schools had branches, but there was still a need for more schools and the money to build them.[15]

The new fiscal year, 1 January 1891 to 31 December 1891 started out with the board being overextended by $172,710.86. The amount of money needed to operate the system was, of course, double the amount needed prior to the annexation. The board instituted economies that involved school construction, school improvements, supplies, equipment, furniture, and so on.[16]

An illustration of how the board dealt with financial crises can be seen in the actions taken in 1902. Due to changes in the revenue law, the system suffered a loss of $1,500,000 in revenue over the previous year. Consequently, the board made reductions across the system with no area sacrosanct. This was done thoroughly and impartially in order to avoid reducing the school year. Staff and salaries were reduced: eight of the fourteen district superintendents were dropped; eleven special teachers of music, eight teachers of drawing, fifteen manual training teachers, and ten household arts positions were deleted; superintendents, principals, and high school teachers, at maximum salary in their groups, and office employees receiving one thousand dollars or more, were given salary cuts of five percent. Others, not at the maximum salary, were not advanced on the schedule. Pupil-teacher ratios were increased as the number of teachers was reduced. This

was the first time in the history of the system that a decrease in the number of teachers occurred.[17] Additional cuts reported the following year included a deletion of the position of supervisor of modern language and a reorganization of the kindergarten program to provide two half-day sessions instead of just the one scheduled previously.[18]

These financial problems not only forced reductions in staff but they also forced changes in staff functions, roles, and responsibilities. For example, the superintendent was forced to spend more time on affairs previously handled by staff. Also, the 1902 financial retrenchment led to a reduction in the number of district superintendents, as will be discussed later in this chapter.[19] Structurally, this meant that the local school became the administrative focal point. Superintendent Cooley justified this change by noting that the districts had subsumed the role of the local school as the school unit and the districts reflected the views of the district superintendents in charge, thereby creating diversity among districts.

Pressure to reorganize the school system and/or the administrative organization structure invariably surfaced when the financial problems of the system were due to recessions or depressions. The call to eliminate subjects

and activities was second only to the call to reduce the number of administrative and supervisory positions. In the school year 1914-15, for example, a great deal of attention was centered on the educational and business departments. This action was precipitated by the prospect of not being able to meet the December 1915 payroll, which was the last one of the fiscal year. The board members investigated, through public and private discussions, how the two departments were organized. The superintendent responded to the criticism of the board members by providing a detailed explanation of the organization of the education department and the problems it faced such as: the issue of titles, district organization, district committees of the board, overcrowding, special classes, supervision and supervisors, and others.[20]

Business Practices. The business affairs of the board kept growing with every expansion of the system until finally it became one of the largest businesses in the city. As can be expected, the components of the business end of the operations grew sporadically and occasionally achieved a degree of chaos that made reorganization necessary.[21] Louis Nettlehorst, the board president in 1892, compared the business practices of the board to that of business and found that there was much lacking on the

board's side. The business affairs of the board had been assigned to a number of departments, but there was no overall coordination of their efforts. The president felt that in order for the board to operate on a solid business basis, there should be one person to coordinate all the business affairs. He compared his position to that of the head of a business and found some major deficiencies. He also compared it to that of the president of the county board and found a big difference in that the county board president was in charge of the business affairs of the county board. His conclusion was that the board president should be the actual head of all business departments and that all department chiefs should report to the president.[22]

The following year, the next board president, John McLaren, also questioned whether or not the business affairs were being conducted in the best manner possible. He went a step beyond the previous board president and recommended that one person be hired solely for the purpose of devoting full time to business operations. He viewed the proposed position as comparable to that of a president of a large corporation with: full authority over all business employees; all heads of business departments reporting directly to him; and full authority over business matters.

The president also expressed the prevailing notion of the times that the business of schooling should be conducted in the same manner as the business of a profit-making corporation.[23]

Daniel R. Cameron, president of the board in 1896, not only agreed with Nettlehorst and McClaren, his predessors from 1892 and 1893, but he advocated a radical change in policy for managing the board's business affairs. Cameron's rationale rested on the premise fiscal accountability needed to be established in the system which at that time lacked it. He advocated that the board emulate businesses, banks, and railroads in their business methods. If there were to be a division of functions, then subordinate component units had to be coordinated by a superordinate unit to develop a more organized system of procedures.[24]

In 1909, Otto S. Schneider, the board president, pointed to another poor practice. He lamented the fact that board members were not actively involved in all business matters. For instance, they did not attend the council of district superintendents meetings. He felt that the board members should be there when the business of the system was discussed, new policies were being developed, and other discussions were held. He did not think that board members could do a good job if they relied solely on

staff to provide information instead of being personally involved. Schneider claimed that no succcessful businessman would take someone else's word without having some first-hand knowledge of what was occurring.[25] As a result, the business department was reorganized in 1910. In 1911, President Urion alluded to the achievement of the efficient and economical operation of the business department since being reorganized, and strongly recommended that progressive business methods be adopted in all departments. By doing this, the administration would be equal to any business organization in Chicago.[26]

These recommendations continued until finally, the board members took action. In the 1910-11 school year, the rules were amended so that the secretary of the board was placed in charge of all business matters. The secretary's role was radically changed by this move. The board felt that by appointing a secretary who was experienced, knowledgeable, and competent, another department would not have to be added to the administrative organization structure. Although no new position or department was created, there was a realignment of existing units under the heading of Department of Administration. As a result of this change, improvements in the efficiency of the various units were achieved. This was seen as good business practice.[27]

As the business affairs of the board expanded, the transactions became more complex. In 1914, Superintendent Ella Flagg Young commented that the scope and magnitude of the board's financial operations required "a high order of ability in general and in departmental management."[28] As William McAndrew, superintendent of schools in 1924 would later state, the system was a business operated by tax money to provide a thorough and efficient education. He would also stress accountability as a factor in performance and achievement of system goals and objectives.[29] In fact, the move toward the adoption of business practices was system-wide, not just peculiar to the business units.

Curriculum and Programs. Expansion of the Chicago public school system was enhanced by the expansion of curricular offerings and programs. The increase in number of subjects offered had a direct relationship to the increase in number of staff at all levels. The introduction of additional programs also had a direct relationship to the number of staff. Significant events were the assimilation of ten privately operated kindergartens into the Chicago public school system in October 1892, plus ten more the following year; and the enactment of a state law, 1 July 1896, authorizing the opening of kindergartens.[30]

The expansion of the normal program, from a depart-

ment of the high schools to a separate normal school, when the board accepted as a gift, the Cook County Normal School, on 1 January 1896, created more courses and a more thorough program staffing.[31] The establishment of vacation schools in 1896 and the organization of the manual training and English high school as an independent school in 1891, created new staff needs. The appearance of commercial training and domestic science, cooking and sewing for seventh and eighth grade girls also required teacher specialists positions.[32] Special schools related to these changes were opened: a parental school (a residential school for students with behavior problems), a crippled children's school, a high school of commerce, apprentice schools, a continuation school, a girls' technical school, schools for the deaf, schools for the blind, vocational schools, junior high achools, girls' vocational schools, pre-vocational schools, technical high schools, Chicago and Cook County School for Boys, a school of commerce and administration, a trade school for girls, and a high school farm.[33] Finally, there were additional programs established, such as training for motherhood, vocational guidance, industrial courses, speech remediation, lunch programs, agriculture courses, military training, and playgrounds.[34]

Additional Changes. A number of other forces that originated from 1890-1929 affected the development of the administrative organization structure to varying degrees. One of these was the enforcement of federal child labor laws in 1893. This action took children out of the labor market and put them into the schools. The child labor legislation enacted by Illinois in 1903, and the revised compulsory school law of that same year resulted in over seven thousand pupils, between the ages of nine and fifteen, enrolling in Chicago public schools. There was growth in certain districts and a decline in others at varying rates due to the continual shifting population from one location to another. There were educational movements that related to the social welfare of the community, such as vacation schools, special evening schools, and social centers. Finally, there was a reduction of class sizes due to the demands of educational authorities.[35]

Changes in building ordinances that required remodeling, rehabilitation, and additional safety equipment affected the structure because the board had to hire specialists to handle these needs. In 1908, compulsory education, requirements were extended to private and parochial schools but were monitored by the public school system. This put an additional burden on the organizational structure.

Finally, the system's adaptation to World War I needs created some adjustments: time was taken from the curriculum so that students could participate in campaigns for the Red Cross, the sale of thrift stamps and liberty bonds, and for liberty loan parades. Planning for the shared use of school facilities for military training, the introduction of new courses in high schools, (for example, telegraphy and the telegraphic code), and the use of the schools as auxiliaries in the line of military preparations did not alter the administrative organization structure but did require adjustment in the use of time.[36]

Administrative Organization Developments: 1890-1898

By 1890, the position of superintendent of schools still did not have executive functions, despite the fact that the superintendent's staff had grown in number to the point that the beginning of a central office appeared. The 1890s was a period of rapid expansion with little planning, so that an awareness of the need for a structural model became a recurring theme. In the school year 1890-91, the listing of board members and staff included fifteen board members, one superintendent of schools, eight assistant superintendents, a supervisor and assistant supervisor of evening schools, a superintendent of compulsory education, supervisors of singing for high schools, grammar, and pri-

mary schools, German, physical culture, and high school drawing, and a superintendent of drawing for grammar and primary schools. The business and office employees consisted of an attorney, a school agent, a clerk of the board, a business manager, a chief engineer, an auditor, and a superintendent of supplies.[37]

The number of board members increased the following year to twenty-one as a result of the natural growth of the city and the annexations which required more representation. The increase in the number of high schools to eleven moved the board to place the high schools under the supervision of an assistant superintendent in 1892. In that year, there were 230 schools, 3,300 teachers, and 157,743 pupils.[38]

As the work load expanded for the superintendent and the board, additional staff were needed. The system kept outgrowing its administrative organization structure during these periods of rapid growth. Administrative additions were continuously being made to fill a variety of needs. Despite the reductions that occurred during periods of depression, recession, or other financial problems, the structure continued to develop and grow. Consequently, it began to lose its configuration and direction and eventually its effectiveness. In order to restore and improve upon

these features, a major reorganization was indicated. Functions, duties, and responsibilities had to be realigned, redefined, and in some cases consolidated or eliminated; and departments and bureaus had to be regrouped by related functions.

Rapid growth and immediate responsive action without an overall plan or design caused a loss of cohesion and ideology. The goals and objectives constantly shifted away from supporting the system's mission. The organization was not flexible enough and its framework was not expandable under the existing constraints. This situation was created by limited attitudes and knowledge regarding administrative expansion. The organization grew too fast, and the unplanned manner of creating new positions did not take into consideration financial limitaions and the problem of moving incumbents. The Chicago system was incapable of operating within its own independent structural order. An illustration of this can be seen in the architectural department. Up to 1893, the board had been contracting out for the services of an architect; then it was decided that it would be more effective and economical to hire its own architect. In addition to the architect, the board had to hire support staff, such as draftsmen, superintendents of buildings, and others to do the work required. Thus,

another department was created which added to the business components of the board under the Commmittee on Buildings and Grounds. The board president felt that there were too many separate departments conducting the board's business affairs and he originally opposed the idea. Later, he agreed that the idea was good.[39]

Daniel Cameron, the board president, in 1895 expressed a similar opinion regarding the management of the system. He felt there should be a well defined plan with an appropriate distribution of personnel and other resources, a division into units, and coordination of efforts so that the mission of the organization could be successfully achieved. One requirement for effective coordination was having a chief officer with subordinates such as were found in military and para-military units, as well as governmental and business. Without this type of organization, there would be chaos. The board had an executive officer, the superintendent, who was the head of the education department, and subordinates who had duties and responsibilities; therefore, there should have been efficient management of the schools.[40] Unfortunately, the system was drifting further and further from this goal because the educational staff did not have the appropriate authority commensurate with their responsibilities.

In 1896, Cameron again urged the improvement of effectiveness of the system to deliver services. Refuting criticism that the system was at fault, he rather claimed that inefficiency was due to the operation itself. While the design was appropriate, the units in their actual operation did not follow the design, and created conflicts which led to ineffectiveness. For example, although both the business and the eductional functions were directed toward a common goal, they were different in function and, consequently, should be separately operated, but coordinated. Instead, they operated together. Also, he felt that the educational component, especially, must be free to function unencumbered by outside forces. Cameron argued that the superintendent of schools and his staff, as educational experts, should have more direct control over educational matters. He questioned hiring experts if they were not going to be given the power and the freedom to do the job.[41]

Business Management Survey. The concern for reorganization of the system spread to lay and political circles. Early in 1897, Mayor Harrison appointed a special committee of aldermen to review and make recommendations regarding the business management of the public school system. The committee solicited public comments and then

investigated them. They also reviewed board fiscal procedures, and on 18 October 1897, the Committee of Aldermen submitted their report. First, they recommended that legislation be enacted to allow the mayor to appoint the business manager, auditor, secretary, and school agent. Next, they suggested that board members be selected from their respective districts and be empowered to condemn property for school purposes. Finally, they recommended that the board build and move into its own offices. The investigation ended on a positive note with no evidence of impropriety being uncovered.[42]

The Harper Report. Next, an Educational Commission was appointed by Mayor Harrison in December 1897 to survey the educational system of Chicago and other large cities and to submit a report with recommendations for Chicago. A member of the board and President of the University of Chicago, Dr. William R. Harper, was appointed chairperson. The commission held conferences throughout the city and country, meeting with a cross section of people from all walks of life and in all positions. The commission developed preliminary recommendations related to changes in the school law, the course of study, and in the administration of the system. One controversial issue was centered around the powers and duties of the superintendent and his assis-

tants.[43]

In 1898, Superintendent Lane announced that the report of the commission, which became known as The Harper Report, was well received in prominent quarters. According to Lane, it was acclaimed to be a hallmark document whose benefits would apply to other large city public school systems as well as to Chicago. It became a most valuable authoritative contribution and an indispensible reference on urban administration. Unfortunately, while the conclusion and recommendations were considered to be unassailable by many experts, the state legislature did not approve the bill to which the report was appended. According to Superintendent E. Benjamin Andrews, there were a lot of misunderstandings regarding the real purpose of the report, especially in the matter of teachers' tenure.[44]

This 248 page Harper report contained twenty specific recommendations, including rationales, supportive data, and suggestions for implementation. The commission felt that the board, the superintendent and his staff, and the teachers were all competent and honest; the business affairs were well managed; and the maintenance of facilities was good. However, they saw something negative in the machinery of the school system: the administrative plan was poor; the joint authority of the city council and the board

to purchase sites and build schools was suspect; and, the committee form of administration was unsatisfactory.[45] However, they did soften their criticism somewhat by attributing the defects in the board's methods of operation, organization, policies, and procedures to the fact that the city kept rapidly outgrowing its plan of administration. The rapid growth through the annexations mentioned earlier was a major contributor to the uneven growth of the organizational structure. Due to the desire for new areas of the city to be represented, the board had become too large. This led to management by committees of the board, resulting in confusion in legislative and executive functions. Thus, committee management had hampered the board members in overseeing petty details.[46]

Specific recommendations directed toward the board included: (1) reducing the number of board members from twenty-one to eleven; (2) setting the term of office for board members at four instead of three years; (3) restricting the board's function to policy-making; (4) empowering the board to purchase sites and build schools; (5) reducing the number of committees from seventy-nine to three; (6) removing the power of independent operation from the committees; and (7) empowering the board to select its own president, superintendent of schools, secretary, business

manager, and auditor.[47] In addressing the important issue of administrative organization, the report recommended that the role of the superintendent be an executive one with greater administrative power and responsibility for the educational functions. The commission report regarded the superintendent of schools as the educational expert who should be given more power to initiate and determine all educational matters, subject to review by the board. This role in relation to the board would have to be more clearly defined and the term of office should be six years instead of one. They wanted the superintendent to have the power to appoint assistants, and the business manager to have the power to appoint business department employees, with the latter conducting all business affairs. The report classified the superintendent as: (1) the executive officer of the board in all its educational functions; (2) a cabinet member who should formulate and put into operation the educational policy of the board; and (3) an assistant to the board in its efforts to educate, interpret, and implement the desires of the people in regard to their schools.[48]

The report also recommended that there be decentralization and more involvement of community members. Reflecting the spirit of the times, it supported the demand

for increased professional training, professional standards, and professional administration. The support for professionalism was probably what blocked the legislation when it was introduced in 1899, because of opposition from teachers' groups. Plainly speaking, teachers were concerned with the way these recomendations would affect their professional lives. Although not acted on by the city council in 1899, it did provide the basis for state legislation in 1917. In the interim, the system continued to grow and to function as in the past. That is to say, changes were made without regard to a general philosophy or design.

Interim Changes: 1898-1917

Positions and Functions. A number of changes occurred prior to the reorganization of the system by legislation in 1917. However, the manner in which they occurred continued to exhibit no central philosophy or plan. The changes that occurred varied from simple to comprehensive. They ranged from alterations of functions, duties, and/or responsibilities to title redesignations. The number of positions and/or functions also fluctuated. Periods of major economic depression and recovery can be identified by the massive reductions and restorations of positions, but periods of lesser economic problems are

correspondingly less easy to detect. Contradictory actions are observable during some periods of economic regression, in that, while some positions were eliminated, others were added.

When a position was upgraded, downgraded, or adjusted to reflect its new function, titles were changed accordingly. In 1898, assistant superintendent positions were increased from eight to nine, and eight of those were redesignated as district superintendent. Responsibilities remained the same, however, which indicates that the title was changed to reflect the actual function of the position. The duties of the district superintendent were expanded in 1898 to include supervision of the evening schools situated in the district.[49] The title of superintendent was used to designate supervisors of special subjects, as the superintendent of German and music, or in other areas, such as superintendent of supplies. Later, these were changed to supervisor and director, respectively. The position of clerk of the compulsory education department was upgraded to supervisor of the compulsory education department, while the position of supervisor of singing was downgraded to teacher of singing. Other changes included: supervisor to superintendent of compulsory education, supervisor to supervising principal of the schools for the deaf, director

of school grounds to chief gardener, director to supervisor of commercial work[50]

In 1900, the newly created position of secretary of the board subsumed the positions of clerk and school agent, and the position of director of scientific pedagogy and child study was also established. A change in function that same year saw the district superintendents placed in charge of all educational activities in their respective districts. In 1901, the number of district superintendents was increased from eight to fourteen, while the number of board committees was reduced . In addition, the position of supervisor of the blind was opened along with the appointment of superintendents of compulsory education and parental school. Finally in 1902, the number of assistant superintendent positions was increased from one to two.[51]

With the financial crisis of 1902, reductions in the number of positions occurred across the system. In the school year 1902-03, the number of district superintendent positions was drastically cut from fourteen to six, and the positions of supervisors of modern language, drawing, and music were dropped. An assistant secretary and assistant auditor were added in 1903-04. The position of supervising principal of the school for the deaf was eliminated in the 1905-06 school year. Further reductions occurred in the

number of district superintendent positions from six to five in 1906, and from five to three in 1907, but an assistant business manager was added in 1906 and an assistant attorney in 1907.[52]

As the system recovered from the 1902 financial setback, top administrative positions were gradually restored. The number of district superintendent positions increased from three to six in the 1908-09 school year, and in the following year from six to ten. The title first assistant superintendent was an innovation created in the 1909-10 school year. Further additions included a superintendent of repairs in 1911, a general counsel position, a superintendent of special schools, and a supervisor of German, and one for technical works in high schools in 1912. In 1913, a district superintendent in charge of evening and vocational schools and a district superintendent in charge of special divisions were established for newly created special districts encompassing those areas. The director of school grounds position was also added that year. By 1914, supervisors of art and music were were reemployed. There was a decrease in the number of assistant superintendents from three to two in 1912, and to one in 1913. In 1915, the number of assistant superintendents was increased to two, and the assistant secretary and general counsel positions

were dropped. The title of first assistant superintendent, created in 1910, was eliminated in 1916.[53]

Assistant and District Superintendent Positions. Some of the changes which contributed to an unbalanced structure were those which occurred in the higher echelons. In 1891 the number of assistant superintendents was increased from five to eight; in 1895 the number was increased by one; another was added in 1898, and then the titles of the elementary assistant superintendents were changed to district superintendents, leaving one assistant superintendent in charge of high schools; in 1900, six district superintendent positions were added, bringing the total to fourteen, while one assistant superintendent position was added, bringing that total to two; in 1902, the number of district superintendents was reduced from fourteen to six; in 1906, from six to five; and in 1907 from five to three.

In 1908, the number of district superintendents was increased from three to six, and in 1910 from six to ten; the number of assistant superintendents was increased from two to three in that same year and reduced to two again in 1913, while two district superintendents were added: one in charge of evening and vocational schools and the other in charge of special divisions. In 1914, one assistant

superintendent was dropped and in 1915, one assistant superintendent position was added, bringing the total back to two, and finally in 1917, just before the Otis Law came into effect, two more assistant superintendents were added, bringing the total to four. The degree of confusion and disorder these increases and decreases created was immeasureable. The number of assistant superintendents fluctuated from a minimum of one to a maximum of four, and the number of district superintendents fluctuated from a minimum of three to a maximum of fourteen.[54]

In general, the administrative organization went through two transformations during this time period. Up until 1899, it was divided into four major categories: (1) board of education, (2) superintendents, (3) supervisors, and (4) office employees. As of 1899, the fourth subdivision was renamed business officials. The listing for the attorney was always separate and continued to remain so until 1901, when it was included with the business officials.[55]

Programs and Units. Changes also occurred in programs and administrative units. Programs were placed under the jurisdiction of different supervisors as functions were realigned. For example, the jurisdiction over the evening schools was transferred from the supervisor to the district

superintendents in the school year 1898-99. Some programs were expanded and the titles were changed to reflect the broader nature, such as, in 1989-99 when singing was changed to music. Related programs were sometimes combined; this was the case in 1902-03, when household arts was added to manual training, but they were separated again in 1910. In 1913, elementary manual training was expanded to include instruction in construction work activities and in 1914, household science was combined with household arts.[56]

Changes to administrative units, departments, bureaus, and/or divisions, during this period included the following: in 1889, the designation of office employees was changed to business officials and the name of combined grammar and primary schools became elementary schools. The next year, scientific pedogogy and child study was renamed child study and pedogological investigations. In 1907, the supply department was eliminated from the listing for business officials. In 1908 the addition of a department of examinations and separation of the repair department from the architectural department were accomplished. In 1910 the business department was reorganized, and physical culture was retitled physical education. Events of 1911 included the return of the division of supplies to the

business department and the title change of the department of child study and pedogological investigations to child study and educational research. In the 1912-13 school year, the title of director of school grounds was changed to chief gardener, and in 1916, the district offices were moved from the central office to their respective districts.[57]

District and Administrative Organization. The unit district form of organization refers to situations where elementary and high schools are combined in a single district. The dual form of organization is found where the elementary and high schools are in separate districts. Both of these forms existed in the Chicago public school system at various times. The fluctuations between the two models indicates of a lack of a firm philosophy and a master plan for the long term organization of the schools and districts. The unit form of organization existed first. When high schools were introduced to the system in 1856, they became part of the unit form. Because they were few in number, starting with one in 1856 and increasing to five by 1889, they were placed under the supervision of the assistant superintendent, along with the elementary schools, in the district where they were geographically located.

With the major annexation of 1889, the number of high schools increased from five to eleven. Because the high schools were so different, having come from different systems, there was a need to unify and coordinate them. This was accomplished by placing them solely under the supervision of one person. This function was assigned to the newly created position of assistant to the superintendent in charge of high schools. With this separation of the high schools from the elementary schools, a dual district structure was created within the system. This arrangement was more firmly established in 1892, when the title of the person in charge was changed to assistant superintendent in charge of high schools.[58]

The dual district model continued in operation until 1901, when the revenue laws were changed and the system suffered financial crisis. The number of district superintendents was reduced from fourteen to six in 1902, and the administrative organization had to be restructured. Districts were consolidated, and in the process the high schools were again combined with elementary schools in the same geographical area. The six districts that emerged from this restructuring were now unit districts.[59]

In 1916, change in philosophy regarding the function of central office staff resulted in the movement of the

district offices from the central office site to their respective districts, believing that this move toward decentralization would better serve the public. Superintendent Shoop said that the Chicago school system had outgrown the former organization by the steady expansion of the city and consequently was no longer successful. The superintendent reaffirmed the position that the school should be the primary unit of focus and that all other units should support the local school.[60]

As seen from the above discussion, the lack of a long term plan or master design for the development of an expanded administrative organization was evident in the piecemeal manner in which changes had been made from 1890 through 1929. Positions and programs were added and deleted, and titles were changed to reflect changes in functions. Responsibilities were shifted under minor reorganizations of departments or other units, civil service was introduced for business and office employees, and curricular changes were ongoing. Discussions were presented by board presidents and superintendents of schools related to the management of the schools and the role of the superintendent. Finally, conditions were bad enough to warrant the attention of city hall.[61]

As the administrative organization structure devel-

oped a life of its own, it became easier to respond to the needs of expansion, contraction, and specialization. With a basic core of positions, the system could accommodate the need for change. However, there were so many periods of constant or extreme change during these years that state legislation was eventually required to restore some semblance of order and balance.

The Otis Law and Subsequent Changes: 1917-1929

The changes that continued to occur after the Harper Report contributed to instability which led to imbalance and to the need for reorganization. The problem became so acute that city officials were forced to move to restore stability to the public school system. The city council voted on 7 December 1916 to recommend the preparation of new state legislation for the organization of the administrative structure and other facets of the school system.[62] Ralph Otis, a board member, had the board attorney work on a draft which included many of the recommendations of the Harper Report of 1898. The Principals' Club and Senator Baldwin of Oak Park also drew up bills. The Principals' Club's bill addressed a number of issues, whereas Baldwin's bill merely called for reducing the number of board members from twenty-one to nine.[63]

Although the content of the various proposed bills

was not identical, the problems addressed were similar in that they related to the administrative organization structure and administration of the schools. For example, they recognized that the board was too large, had too many standing committees, and did not have the power of eminent domain. Also, there was no clear-cut separation of authority between the board and the city council or between the board and the superintendent, and there were no clear-cut job descriptions for other employees. The legislative proposals were presented to the state legislature, but because the Baldwin Bill had passed the Senate already and because there were several other Chicago bills, the chairman of the Education Committee of the House told supporters of the various proposed bills to get together and submit a unified package. They did get together and later met with the State Superintendent, at which time they finally put together a package, which came to be known as the Otis Bill.[64] In the meantime, the Baldwin Bill was before the House, so a proposal was made to attach the package to it as an amendment and thus avoid having to go through the Senate. The plan worked, and the bill was approved on 20 April 1917.[65] It became law when it was signed by the governor in May 1917.

Senate Bill 56, or the Otis Law, as it was called,

brought about many important changes in the Chicago public school system's administrative organization. First of all, the number of board members was reduced from twenty-one to eleven, with the term of office raised from three to five years. Second, the board was given the responsibility of organizing, maintaining, and administering the schools, together with the right of eminent domain. In addition to the position of superintendent of schools, the law also provided for the positions of business manager and attorney, each being independent and reporting directly to the board. Also, the Board of Examiners was created. The superintendent was given a four year term and his role was modified to be that of an administrator rather than an administrative agent. The law also created a single district for the city of Chicago which, in effect, converted the previous districts into sub-districts.[66] Prior to this legislation, the Board of Education of the City of Chicago was a department of the city. It was a quasi-public corporation, created by legislation as an agent of the state, whose function was to maintain public schools within the subdivision of the state known as the City of Chicago. The intention of the law was to vest complete responsibility for the organization and the maintenance of a complete system of public education in the hands of the board of

education.

Based on the superintendent's 8 January 1917 recommendations to the Committee on Survey, the education department was organized into four departments, effective September 1917. They were the following: (1) a department of assignments and transfer of teachers; (2) a department for selection of supplies and equipment, (3) a department of special education; and, (4) a department of evening schools, including continuation, pre-vocational, industrial, and vocational. Assistant superintendents were placed in charge of each department. In addition to the above, ten district superintendents were appointed, and the department of school extension was added to the group of special departments. A newly created bureau of educational standards, measurement, and statistics was formed to collect, classify, and publish educational data.[67]

Changes in roles also occurred with this reorganization. The assistant superintendents, whose areas of responsibility covered the whole system, were also advisors to the superintendent of schools and functioned as a cabinet. The districts became the unit of supervision, and the district offices were relocated from the central office to their respective districts. This removed the details of supervision from the downtown offices. The new role of the

district superintendent became that of an advisor and director in assisting principals and teachers to improve school effectiveness. This forced the district superintendent to become familiar with the characteristics and conditions of schools in his/her community and district. The role of the subject supervisors changed also in that as part of the district office staff, they were now in closer proximity to those they served. The basic objective was to provide the parents, teachers, and principals with greater access to the district superintendent and his staff and to convert district offices to units of management as well as supervision. This action to decentralize was of major significance.[68]

The role of the superintendent was also changing. Whereas, in the beginning he was able to personally supervise schools and staff, with the growth of the system it became necessary to add assistant superintendents to do that, and then, eventually, district superintendents. As succeeding layers were added, the superintendents' role became more differentiated, with the superintendent of schools assuming executive officer status. In effect, he/she administered the policies and procedures established by the board and otherwise carried out their directives. He/she was in charge of all educational functions and was

ultimately responsible for the overall results, even though authority for specific functions was delegated to assistant and district superintendents.

Otis Changes. The creation of the Board of Examiners expanded the number of units reporting directly to the board and also expanded the role of the superintendent, who was designated as the head of the unit. The units reporting directly to the board appear in Chart 8.[69]

UNITS REPORTING DIRECTLY TO THE BOARD

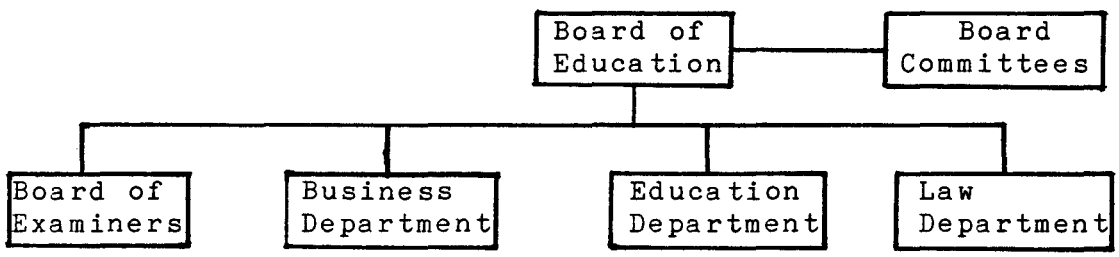

Chart 8

Another outgrowth of the Otis Law was the reorganization of the business department during the 1918-19 school year into bureaus, which was a move toward differentiation of functions. For the first time, the superintendent of schools was allowed to formulate administrative policies for the management of the schools and was assured of their adoption based on the provisions of the Otis Law. The

superintendent was assisted by a staff of technically trained advisors which paralleled the direction taken by progressive education advocates. With this action, the board became more legislative and judiciary in functions, thereby attained national recognition for its innovative functioning.[70]

Post Otis Law. World War I created the need to add another unit to the organization which, in turn, created another administrative organization position--that of military training. Except for diverting time from regular tasks to accommodate the war effort's need for use of school equipment and facilities and to make adjustments and changes as needed, there were no other changes made in the administrative organization. Expansion of programs that would eventually create the need for more administrative positions included the high school, physical education programs, special schools, double shifts, and teaching English to foreigners. The proliferation of special schools and special divisions was also a major contributor to the development of the need for more administrative positions. As of the school year ending 30 June 1918, these schools and divisions included:[71]

Schools for the Deaf
Schools for Crippled Children
The Juvenile Detention Home School
The Chicago Home for Girls

The Frances Juvenile Home School
The Cook County Hospital School
Classes for the Blind
Classes for Backward or Subnormal Children
Special Divisions for Boys (Truants and Incorrigibles)
Divisions for Anemic and Tubercular Children
The Work in the Correction of Speech Defects
The Work in Oral Hygiene
Prevocational Classes in the High Schools
Penny Lunches in the Elementary Schools

In 1919, the administrative organization structure was shown as: (1) board of education, (2) business officials, (3) education department, (4) district superintendents, (5) board of examiners, and (6) supervisors. In 1921 the board moved the education department to a separate building, but the rest remained where they were. After 1926, the title business officials was changed to business department.[72]

In the next few years, a bureau of vocational guidance and the appointment of a director were added. Also, the teaching of foreign languages was stopped, and the position of Supervisor of German was closed. By 1921-22, an efficiency engineer position was established, only to be closed the following school year. The acquisition and staffing of city playgrounds situated on school grounds was added next,[73] while the position of first assistant superintendent was abolished in June 1923.[74] In 1924 three district and two assistant superintendent positions were added, and the assistant superintendent became a division

superintendent with other responsibilities. Over all of this was added the final structure. The system was divided into five divisions with responsibilities that included district supervision and other areas.[75] This meant that supervisory duties were no longer in the hands of heads of units or district superintendents. This division organization is shown below.

DIVISION ORGANIZATION

DIVISION A--WILLIAM J. BOGAN, Superintendent
Districts 1, 2, and 3, and Athletics (High School and College), Board of Control, Chicago Schools Journal, Commercial Studies, Coferences (High School and College), Continuation Schools and Classes, Councils (High School and College), Curriculums (High School and College), Fund Books (High School and College), Junior Colleges, Junior High Schools, High Schools, Leaves of Absence (Advise Superintendent, Division B), Libraries (H.S. and Col.), Listing Books (H.S. and Col.), Manual Training (H.S. and Col.), Military Training (H.S. and Col.), Permits for attendance in H.S. Prevocational Schools, Physical Training (H.S. and Col.), Pharmacy, Print Shops (J.S. and Col.), Requisitions for Division except buildings, equipment (Advise Supt. of Division E.) Summer High Schools, Training Schools and Classes for Teachers, Vocational Bureau, and in committee with Mr. DeButts, or Mr. Wight all matters of Division B and E relating to High School, College, and Junior High School. In this division are District Supts., Principals, and Teachers of Districts 1, 2, and 3; Supervisor of Technical Work in High Schools; Supervisor of Military and Physical Education Work in High Schools; Assistant Supervisor in charge of Athletics in High Schools; Director of Continuation Schools; Supervisor of Commercial Work in High Schools and Director of Bureau of Vocational Guidance.

DIVISION B--CLARENCE E. DeBUTTS, Superintendent
Districts 7, 8, and 9, and Assignment of Teachers

and Principals, Bulletins, Circulars, Complaints vs. Teachers, Principals, etc., Complaints, Debts of Teachers, Information, General Listing Books and Supplies, Leaves of Absence, Nomination of Teachers, Pension System, Printing, Official, Quarantine of Teachers, Retirement, Rules, Salaries, School Laws, Sick Leave, Study Course of Curriculum, (Except H.S. and Col.) Substitute Teachers, Supplies, Transfers, Trials, Unassigned List. In this division are District Superintendents, Principals and Teachers of Districts 7, 8, and 9. All directors and supervisors are in this division in all matters relating to the assignment and transfer of teachers and the adjustment of teachers' salaries.

DIVISION C--MORGAN G. HOGGE, Superintendent

Districts 12 and 13, and Adult Education, Americanization Classes, Athletics (Not H.S. and Col.), Baths, Community Centers, Community Use of Buildings, etc., Co-operation with Societies, Councils, Elementary, Evening Schools, Extension Activities, Extra Celebrations, Weeks, Etc., Factory Classes, Lectures, Libraries, (Not H.S. or Col.), Manual Training (Not H.S. or Col.) Physical Training (Not H.S. or Col) Playgrounds (Not H.S. or Col.), Print Shops (Not H.S. or Col), Recreation Centers, Relief Teachers Society, School Banks, Summer Schools, Elementary, Thrift Instruction, Vacation Schools--Elementary, Visual Education. In this division are District Superintendents, Principals, and Teachers of Districts 12 and 13. Director of Visual Instruction; Director of Elementary Manual Training and Construction; Supervisor of Recreation; Supervisor of Physical Education, Elem.

DIVISION D--MISS ELIZABETH W. MURPHY, Superintendent

Districts 4, 5, and 6, and Arts Anaemic, Bedside Blind, Bus Service, Child Study, Compulsory, Contagious Diseases, Cooking Classes, Crippled Children Classes, Deaf, Dental Clinic, Domestic Studies, Drawing, Epileptics, Girls' Refuge, Handicapped Children Classes, Health, Homes, Juvenile, Household Arts and Sciences, Hospitals, Kindergartens, Luncheon Service--Elementary Schools, Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium, Music, Nurseries, Open Air Classes, Oral Hygiene, Parental Schools, Penny Lunches, Probationary Schools, Sewing, Subnormal Children, Truancy. In this division are District Superintendents, Principals, and Teachers of Districts 4, 5, and 6. Superintendent of Compulsory Education Attendance Office; Director of Special Schools, Supervisor of

Blind, Supervisor of Music, Supervisor of Art, Director of Child Study, Supervisor of Household Arts and Science, Superintendent of Parental School, Superintendent of Chicago and Cook County School for Boys.

DIVISION E--AMBROSE B WIGHT, Superintendent
Districts 10 and 11, and Annual Reports, Approval of Bids, Budget, Building Repairs, Clerks, Directory, Finance, Furniture, Grounds, Kelley Building, Library in Kelley Building, Payrolls, Permanent Improvements, Research Requisitions, Reports of Expenditures (all), Sites, Statistics, Telephone Service, Tests. In this division are District Superintendents, Principals and Teachers of Districts 10 and 11. Teacher in Charge of Library in Kelley Building, etc.

Superintendent William McAndrew supported this division of labor by saying that he was responsible for the overall operation of the education department and his staff was responsible for handling the details. He further explained that this organization of staff and responsibilities enhanced the supervision process by holding individuals accountable for specific areas. The flow was: from the board with power of veto and approval; to a superintendent with the authority provided by law; to a group of staff officers in charge of specialities; to division superintendents who supervised district superintendents who supervised principals who, in turn, supervised teachers. He defined supervision as meaning overseeing, directing, and controlling.[76]

A board of superintendents was organized consisting of the five assistant/division superintendents, the exam-

iners, and the president of the normal college. This body met with the superintendent weekly to discuss city-wide issues as well as issues related to each individual's area of jurisdiction. Superintendent McAndrew felt that the value in having such a board was to avoid the abuses of the one-person system. This was indicative of the trend toward decentralization.

A statement was made by Superintendent McAndrew in his 1924-25 annual report, that the application of business principles to the operation of the education department had enhanced the department's performance. This was seen as a culmination of efforts of earlier advocates of this approach. Some of the applications cited were: the implementation of the board of superintendents plan and the attendance of assistant superintendents at board committee meetings; the elimination of the practice of frequent replacement of key staff; the publication of a list of business practices for the guidance of staff; the recognition of the functional areas of the line and staff officers; the definition of the duties of district superintendents; and the development of an understanding of the proper person(s) to contact for direct response to questions and/or problems. He also added that accepted principles of organization included: the delegation of authority,

the assignment of responsibility, the designation of personnel responsible to specific superordinates, and the orderly graduation of duties and responsibilities.[77] It was also expressed that follow-up was essential in order to ensure that the desired results were achieved.[78]

In 1925 the bureau of building survey was established along with the position of supervisory architect. The latter position was responsible for supervising the bureaus of engineering, architecture, and repairs. The position was closed in 1926.[79] An additional district superintendent position was opened in the school year 1925-26,[80] raising the number from thirteen to fourteen. Positions for directors of administration, educational expenditures and economy, and a secretary of finance were also established. The following year these positions were added: director of commercial work in high schools, special counsel attorney, and a bureau of labor and inspection along with a division of safety.[81] The 1927-28 school year produced a special assistant to the superintendent, an increase in the number of district superintendents from fourteen to eighteen, a director of curriculum, and the employment of an assistant director, three supervisors, and one assistant supervisor in the bureau of music.[82] These and other positions of minor significance that were added or deleted from the

administrative organization serve to illustrate the principle of specialization and the resulting differentiation that affected the size and configuration of the administrative organization structure.

A pre-depression event that compounded the financial problems of the system and eventually affected the administrative organization structure was the controversy over the quadrennial property evaluation of 1927. This resulted in a two year delay in sending tax bills to homeowners and businessmen which, in turn, created a cash flow crisis for the public school system. The financial problems caused by this situation were escalated to crisis proportions with the advent of the Great Depression commencing on 29 October 1929. So, although the administrative organization structure had reached a high degree of differentiation which manifested itself in the structure's size and configuration, the reorganization that was unavoidable was soon to reduce it to a fraction of its size at the end of this period, 1890-1929.

ENDNOTES

[1]Chicago Board of Education, Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending 30 June 1887, (Chicago: Jameson & Morse, 1888), 85, 86.

[2]_____, Thirty-Fourth Annual Report, 1888, 17, 71.

[3]_____, Thirty-Sixth Annual Report, 1890, 142, 143.

[4]_____, Thirty-Seventh Annual Report, 1891, 3.

[5]Ibid., 32-34.

[6]Ibid., Appendix, xxiv.

[7]_____, Thirty-Eighth Annual Report, 1892, 13.

[8]_____, Thirty-Ninth Annual Report, 1893, 40.

[9]_____, Fortieth Annual Report, 1894, 26.

[10]_____, Forty-Fifth Annual Report, 1899, 19.

[11]_____, Forty-Sixth Annual Report, 1900, 30.

[12]_____, Forty-Seventh Annual Report, 1901, 61.

[13]_____, Forty-Fourth Annual Report, 1898, 52, 53.

[14]_____, Thirty-Seventh Annual Report, 1891, 12, 13.

[15]Ibid., 30, 32.

[16]Ibid., 13, 14, 15.

[17]_____, Forty-Eighth Annual Report, 1902, 11, 12, 47, 49, 50, 53.

[18]_____, Forty-Ninth Annual Report, 1903, 51.

[19]Ibid.

[20] _____, Sixty-First Annual Report, 1915, 3-19.

[21] _____, Thirty-Eighth Annual Report, 1892, 2.

[22] Ibid., 20, 21.

[23] _____, Thirty-Ninth Annual Report, 1893, 16, 17.

[24] _____, Forty-Second Annual Report, 1896, 18, 20.

[25] _____, Fifty-Fifth Annual Report, 1909, 11.

[26] _____, Fifty-Sixth Annual Report, 1910, 22.

[27] _____, Fifty-Seventh Annual Report, 1911, 19.

[28] _____, Sixtieth Annual Report, 1914, 11.

[29] _____, Annual Report of the Superintendent, 1923-24, 14. After 1922, the title of the report was changed from Annual Report of the Board of Education to Annual Report of the Superintendent, and the reports were no longered numbered.

[30] _____, Fortieth Annual Report, 1894, 54, 55; Fourth Annual Report, 1901, 47, 52.

[31] _____, Forty-Second Annual Report, 1896, 21, 22, 68, 71.

[32] _____, Forty-Fourth Annual Report, 1898, 22, 56, 120, 121.

[33] _____, Forth-Sixth Annual Report, 1890, 14, 30, 31; Subsequent numbered annual reports, Forty-Seventh, 1891, through Sixty-Sixth, 1922, were also examined to identify curriculum and program changes.

[34] _____, Fifty-Eighth Annual Report, 1912, 17, 22; Subsequent numbered annual reports, Fifty-Ninth, 1913, through Sixty-Sixth, 1922, were also examined to identify new programs.

[35] _____, Fortieth Annual Report, 1894, 26; Fiftieth Annual Report, 1904, 43, 45; and, Forty-Seventh Annual Report, 1901, 55, 58, 112, 115.

[36]_____, Fiftieth Annual Report, 1904, 11; Fifty-Fourth Annual Report, 1908, 17; and, Sixty-Fourth Annual Report, 1918, 34-36.

[37]_____, Thirty-Seventh Annual Report, 1891, 3.

[38]_____, Thirty-Eighth Annual Report, 1892, 13, 65, 78.

[39]_____, Thirty-Ninth Annual Report, 1893, 22.

[40]_____, Forty-First Annual Report, 1895, 25, 26.

[41]_____, Forty-Second Annual Report, 1896, 32, 33.

[42]_____, Forty-Fourth Annual Report, 1898, 34.

[43]Ibid., 35.

[44]Forty-Fifth Annual Report, 1899, 155.

[45]The Educational Commission of the City of Chicago, Report of the Educational Commission of the City of Chicago, (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1899), vii.

[46]Ibid., viii.

[47]Ibid.

[48]Ibid., 21, 32.

[49]Chicago Board of Education, Official Report of the Proceedings of the Board of Ecucation of the City of Chicago, 21 October 1898, 310; and, Forty-Fifth Annual Report, 1899, 4.

[50]_____, Forty-Fifth Annual Report, 1899, 4; Subsequent numbered annual reports Forty-Sixth, 1900, through Sixty- Fourth, 1918, were also reviewed for the position changes.

[51]_____, Forty-Fifth Annual Report, 1899, 14; Forty-Sixth Annual Report, 1900, 4, 178; Forty-Seventh Annual Report, 1901, 4, 17; and, Forty-Eighth Annual Report, 1902, 4.

[52]_____, Forty-Ninth Annual Report, 1903, 4.

[53]_____, Fifty-Second Annual Report, 1906, 19.

[54]_____, Thirty-Seventh Annual Report, 1891, 3; Subsequent numbered annual reports, Thirty-Eighth, 1892, through Sixty-Fourth, 1918, were also examined to identify changes in Assistant and District Superintendent positions.

[55]_____, Directory of the Chicago Public Schools, 1898, 5, 10, 11; Subsequent Directories for the years 1899, 1900, and 1901 were also used. The titles of the directories varied over the years. Some were called manuals while others were called directories, and some were not designated as either.

[56]_____, Forty-Fifth Annual Report, 1899, 141; Subsequent numbered annual reports, Forty-Sixth, 1899, through Fifty-Seventh, 1901, were also examined for changes in programs and units.

[57]_____, Forty-Fourth Annual Report, 1898, 48; Subsequent numbered annual reports, Forty-Fifth, 1899, through Sixty-Second, 1916, were also examined for changes in programs and units.

[58]_____, Thirty-Eighth Annual Report, 1892, 65.

[59]_____, Forty-Eighth Annual Report, 1902, 47; and Forty-Ninth Annual Report, 1903, 52.

[60]_____, Sixty-Fourth Annual Report, 1918, 33.

[61]_____, Forty-Fifth Annual Report, 1899, 22, 26; Subsequent numbered annual reports, Forty-Sixth, 1900, through Sixty-Fourth, 1914, were examined for discussions related to school management.

[62]Mary J. Herrick, The Chicago Schools: A Social and Political History (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1971), 132.

[63]Chester C. Dodge, Reminiscences of a School Master (Chicago: Ralph Fletcher Seymour, 1941), 84.

[64]Ibid.

[65]Chicago Board of Education, Sixtieth Annual Report, 1914, 7.

[66]Dodge, Reminiscences, 87.

[67]Chicago Board of Education, Sixty-Fourth Annual Report, 1918, 31, 32.

[68]Ibid., 32, 33.

[69]_____, Sixty-Fifth Annual Report, 1919, 11, 23.

[70]Ibid.

[71]_____, Sixty-Fourth Annual Report, 1918, 36-38, 49.

[72]_____, Directory of the Chicago Public Schools, 1919-20, 11, 17, 18; Subsequent directories, from 1920 to 1926, were examined for additional changes.

[73]_____, Sixty-Sixth Annual Report, 1922, 5, 41.

[74]_____, Official Report, 18 June 1924, 1395.

[75]_____, Annual Report, 1923-24, 12, 13.

[76]Ibid., 14, 18, 19.

[77]_____, Annual Report, 1924-25, 30, 40, 42.

[78]_____, Annual Report, 1925-26, 32.

[79]_____, Directory of the Chicago Public Schools, 1924-25, 12; Directory of the Chicago Public Schools, 1925-26, 11, 13.

[80]_____, Official Record, 11 March 1925, 827.

[81]_____, Directory of the Chicago Public Schools, 1926-27, 10, 11; Directory of the Chicago Public Schools, 1927-28, 11, 12, 13.

[82]_____, Official Record, 8 August 1928, 113.

CHAPTER IV

DIFFERENTIATION EXPANDS THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE: 1930-1949

During the period, 1930-1949, some major changes occurred in the administrative organization structure of the Chicago public school system. This era, characterized by Callahan and Button as, "a search for new concepts of school administration," experienced a major economic depression at the beginning and a time of affluence at the end.[1] Many social changes occurred due to both the effects of the Great Depression and World War II. Those economic and social trends had a decided effect on the organization and administration of the school system. In the 1930s, concepts of administration shifted in two respects: (1) the role of the superintendent as an administrtor was revived and reinforced; and, (2) there was a diminished interest in supervision.[2] At the other end of the period, there occurred the beginning of unrest in school administration to a degree never before experienced.[3]

The Great Depression

The Board had been experiencing financial difficulties prior to the depression, because of delayed tax collecting, and the problems were greatly accentuated by the

high rate of unemployment which resulted from the depression. People and businesses were unable to pay their taxes and, as a consequence, the school system as a whole was affected. The administrative organization structure was practically decimated. In interviews with Dr. John Erzinger[4] and Dr. William Rohan[5], both stated that there was a major reorganization due to reduced income. Their statements supported the announcement made by the board, that faced with a financial crisis, "adopted a plan to meet the emergency by making important changes throughout the school system in its administration and operation."[6]

Known as the "School Wrecking Program," this austerity measure included the following modifications: a reduction of the school year from ten to nine months; the closing of junior high schools; a longer teaching day; elimination of special subject teachers; a reduced kindergarten staff; elimination of deans and vocational guidance teachers; and a reduced membership in special schools. It also included: elimination of household arts and manual training in grades seven and eight; replacement of higher paid teachers with household arts teachers to supervise the lunchrooms; abolition of the position of assistant director of art; the closing of positions of assistant director of music and supervisor of orchestra music; increased pupil-

teacher ratios in pre-vocational classes; discontinuation of adult lectures for teachers; and a reduction in textbooks purchases. Other modifications were: the supervision of two schools by each elementary principal; reduction in salaries and number of employees in plant operation; the elimination of Crane Junior College; and, finally, the elimination of portable schools.[7]

In addition, community centers and the Chicago and Cook County School for Boys were closed, and the positions of three special attorneys, of director of safety, of supervisor of exhibits, of director of the bureau of visual education, and of supervisor of practical arts were dropped. There was also a reduction in the number of district supervising engineers.[8] A position could be added one year and dropped the next, as in the case of the supervisor of typing position which was added in 1930 and dropped in 1931.[9] Another example occurred in the law department where an assistant attorney position was opened in 1932 after three special assistant positions, mentioned above, were dropped in 1931.[10]

According to Erzinger, districts were combined and some associate and assistant superintendent positions were closed, teachers college membership was reduced, and central office positions were consolidated or eliminated. The

consequences of all these changes produced a domino effect, as people who were displaced from top positions, displaced others who were at lower levels until, finally, teachers lost their jobs.[11] Doctor Erzinger stated that the morale of the total teaching force was at low ebb, especially among those who were demoted. The uncertainty of the future kept people feeling very insecure and very apprehensive.[12] And it was with no wonder because changes from 1930 to 1934 kept occurring on a yearly basis, as shown with the district superintendent positions. In 1930, the number of positions was reduced from eighteen to fifteen; in 1932, the number dropped to ten; the following year another reduction left seven positions; and, finally in 1934, the number of positions was reduced to five.

Post-Depression Events

The overall effects of the depression on the administrative organization and the organization of the other aspects of the system was devastating. Administrative positions were continually realigned in order to absorb the duties and responsibilities of eliminated positions. The number of positions of assistant superintendents and supervisors also fluctuated during this period. The functions of some positions were changed, positions were upgraded and some were added. For example, the positions of supervi-

sors of commercial work and art were upgraded to that of directors; a supervisor of typing position was added; and, the bureau of real estate was eliminated, while the tax warrant division was added.

Financial relief came in 1936, when staff returned to former posts or comparable ones. However, all of these variations created a communications breakdown that reverberated into the flow of administration and support services.[13] It took a number of years for the administrative organization structure to regain its former configuration. Needless to say, recovery was slow. For example, in the case of the district superintendents: in 1936, the number of positions was increased from five to seven; in 1937, the number went to twelve postions; the number was increased to thirteen in 1941, and, finally, in 1946, the number was increased to fourteen, where it remained until the mid fifties.[14] However, it did not reach the level, eighteen, that had existed prior to 1930.

After the depression, one of the changes that occurred was the separation of elementary and high school districts which had been combined during the depression. With an increase of 17.83 percent in the number of high school age students entering or continuing the high school program,[15] Superintendent Johnson recommended this separa-

tion. Citing trends in education, he related Chicago public school trends to national trends. For instance, the increased complexity of living in the new era of modern life caused schools in Chicago and the nation to take on more types of education. Also, the increase in automobile traffic created a need for safety campaigns and safety patrols; and the schools provided socialization and citizenship training because children could no longer have direct contact with governmental operations. To cultivate children in social and civil development and in social situations, character education was introduced. The schools took on responsibilities traditionally found in the home as they provided opportunities to develop self-reliance, independence, resourcefulness, and leadership development, opportunities not readily available elsewhere. Schools now recognized children as individuals and worked with individual differences. Coupled with this was the trend to expect children to achieve based on abilities that could be measured by the use of new scientific tests and measurements. In fact, the system conducted many research projects to improve the delivery of instruction based on these new trends. One of the most important trends mentioned was the continued study of more rational and modern methods of instruction, as well as the move toward super-

vision of teachers based on new concepts of supervision.[16]

The improved economy allowed the board to upgrade the administrative staff. In addition to increasing the number of district superintendents, the positions of directors and supervisors were also added, as shown later in this chapter. These latter increases reflected the system's philosophy of providing educational opportunities from kindergarten through junior college, along with the areas of vocational and handicapped education. Credit was given to Colonel Francis Parker, who as head of the Chicago Normal School, led the movement for using the interest and activities of children in developing educational programs. The system was moving toward child-centered education for its clientele by focusing on good health, character, and civic competency. This movement created special programs which, in turn, required specialists to be added to the staff. New programs included: a special adjustment teacher service; socialization classes; ungraded classes for mentally retarded; classes for epileptics; vocational guidance and speech correction services; and vocational centers. Also, the parental school was expanded, and a new department of vocational education came into being. In addition, the Work Projects Administration program provided for adult education classes.[17]

This expansion is revealed in four major divisions as outlined in the 1938-39 annual report: (1) the elementary schools; (2) the high schools and junior colleges; (3) the evening and summer schools, playgrounds, and adult education; the special schools and classes; and (4) the personnel division--each of which was headed by one of the four assistant superintendents and the special assistant to the superintendent of schools.[18]

The Strayer Report

The depression was not the only reason for cut-backs. The Senate Subcommittee on Education of the State Legislature selected the Cleveland Audit Company to do a survey in 1931. Based on recommendations received as a result of the survey, 134 employees were dismissed and with additional cuts the system achieved an annual savings of $2,310,500. Impressed by this, the board itself decided to conduct a comprehensive study of its organizational structure. It contracted with the Division of Field Studies of the Institute of Educational Research, Columbia University for a more complete survey.[19] The survey was conducted by Dr. George D. Strayer of Teachers College.[20] Strayer was part of an interlocking directorate or network that exerted influence on the direction taken in educational administration. In the 1920's, he was considered to be an influ-

ential figure in the development of educational administration, according to Callahan and Button. Strayer viewed the administrator as one who concentrates on the specific and immediate tasks and not one who was necessarily an educational expert. Instead, the administrator was seen as managing the system in a business-like manner.[21]

Completed in June 1932, the report reflected Strayer's business-manager philosophy. The standards to use for evaluating the system's administrative organization were outlined in the report. He had some preconceived notions as to what he would find through doing the survey and, also, what the recommendations would be. The results of the survey were probably predictable by the board also, inasmuch as the board had access to five or six surveys previously conducted by Strayer for other systems. In the chapter which addressed the administration of the school system, the provisions of the Constitution of the State of Illinois and laws enacted by the legislature were used as the basis for suggested administrative organization structure changes. The intent of the Otis Law, under which the Chicago public school system was administered, was interpreted so as, "to vest complete responsibility for the organization and the maintenance of a complete system of free public education in the hands of the Board of Educa-

tion."[22]

The report also interpreted the Otis Law as providing for the separation of control from the mayor and vesting it in the board. It suggested that there was an obligation on the part of the board to take the necessary action for the development of a school system under constant flux. The survey staff judged the existing top administrative organization structure of superintendent, business manager, and attorney to be inefficient because each reported directly to the board. In the words of the report, "If responsibility is to be fixed and acknowledged, the board should have one chief executive officer and the other executive officers should report, through his office, to the Board."[23]

The recommendations regarding the office of attorney centered on reducing the staff and designating the attorney as counsel to the board but reporting through the superintendent of schools. However, they were not accepted. Had they been implemented, some problems would have resulted. For example, as counsel to the board, the attorney was to provide the legal advice needed in the development of policy. In essence, the attorney was to function as an advisor to the board, and the board would have been handicapped if it had to work through the superintendent.

Strayer recommended that the board function as a com-

mittee of the whole and thus replace the many standing committees. It would act as a board of directors and delegate the administration of the schools to the superintendent. At this point, the board was to divorce itself from having anything to do with the execution of the policies which they adopted. Other recommendations regarding the administrative organization structure placed responsibility for a city-wide division of the school system (for example, elementary education, secondary education, and so on) under the supervision of specific assistant superintendents. Continuing this example, the assistant superintendent-in-charge of elementary education would have two district superintendents assigned to him, with one in charge of primary levels and the other in charge of the intermediate and upper levels.[24]

The report also proposed that there should be a line and staff organization to include a deputy superintendent, assistant superintendent, district superintendents, presidents of the junior colleges and normal school, and principals as line officers with directors and supervisors as staff officers. Line officers were to be directly responsible for administration of specific units of the school system and staff officers were to provide support and services to the units through the line officers who, in turn,

were to make the arrangements for and monitor the staff officers' services. The report also recommended that general supervisors and special subject supervisors should be staff officers because their functions were system-wide. Finally, it described the job responsibilities and functions proposed under the recommendations for reorganization.[25]

As a result of the Strayer Report, many matters were brought to the attention of the board that might otherwise have been overloked or discounted. Although most of the recommendations of the report were acceptable, many had to be temporarily deferred due to lack of funds. There were some recommendations that were implemented prior to the formal acceptance of the report. For example, the reorganization of the administrative organization started immediately with the separation of line and staff functions.[26] The board abolished standing committees, which was seen as a move to change the administration of school matters to executive and away from board members. With standing committees abolished, the board was able to devote its time to legislative and judiciary activities. Therefore, it was in a better position to establish policy and to hold the executive officers accountable for its implementation.

Unfortunately, some of the most important administra-

tive organization changes, such as the grouping of functions under one chief administrative officer, were not forthcoming. However, the groundwork had been laid. Financial problems continued to plague the system through 1936 and caused the recovery to be slow. Eventually, however, the system would be restored, but not immediately.

The War Years and Their Aftermath: 1936-1949

Human Relations and Political Conflicts. In addition to finances, other factors created problems for the system. In 1936, the board president, James McCahey, and a new superintendent, William Johnson, formed an alliance, that was supported by the city administration and opposed by a group of teachers and lay people. The alliance ran the schools in an autocratic fashion and created a dispute over the nature and purpose of education and administration, not to mention the role of politics in school governance. A major concern by the professional staff was the strong insistance on loyalty and the extreme treatment of those who deviated. The community was concerned that they were not allowed to become involved in school matters. Thus, they felt there were some "hidden agendas" related to taxes for support of public schools and education for the masses. Also, the mayor, Edward J. Kelly, and the school board president were Catholic, which many felt kept them from

wholeheartedly supporting public education. What was most unfortunate was the identification of the administration's practices with fascism; of course, the feeling that politics controlled the operation of the system continued to be an ongoing charge.[27]

Some of the actions by the board president and the superintendent which fanned the flames of protest were directly related to the authoritarian treatment of personnel. The controversial handling of the 1937 principals' examination by the superintendent and the demotion of personnel considered to be trouble-makers stirred up the opposition.[28] Resentment grew over the examination and the other alleged favoritisms. Then with the advent of World War II, there was a shift in attention from local to national matters and the conflict became dormant.

World War II: A Plateau. The trend toward child-centered education and developing democratic social structures was threatened by the activities occurring worldwide. The American way of life was being threatened by the war raging in Europe because of the philosophical bent of the invaders. It was a clash of totalitarian versus democratic social structures. Due to this, the Chicago public school system redoubled its efforts to foster citizenship, personal responsibility, and achievement through adminis-

tration, supervision, and teaching programs designed to enhance the democratic principles of civic and social action.[29] One of the major changes was the closing of the Work Projects Administration's Adult Education program sponsored by the board. Programs that expanded included: evening and summer schools; the teaching of Americanism; physical education, aviation, and ROTC; and nursery schools.[30]

The problems presented by the war kept the board occupied with just sustaining the system. There were some changes in the responsibilities of administrative staff in meeting the special needs of the war effort, but most of it was related to working with the government to coordinate and support training efforts. Toward the end of the war, the problems created by the board president and superintendent, although in somewhat of a dormant stage during the war period, began to resurface. Johnson's controversial administration had caught the eye of the National Education Association. They authorized an investigation of the public school system. In May 1945, the Investigating Commission of the National Education Association published its report. The report was strong in its denunciation of the superintendent's administration and it cited the system as being politically corrupt. As a result, Johnson was

dropped from the NEA the following January.[31]

The Investigating Committee recommended that the board seek to have the Otis Law amended to correct its defects. The NEA agreed with the the North Central Association that there should be created the position of general superintendent of schools, with full and sole executive authority. The NEA went further by recommending that a teacher council should be formed; the board president should function within the scope of his office; and board business should be conducted in open sessions.[32] With the ferment reaching crisis proportions, the mayor appointed a blue-ribbon committee to investigate. Composed of Chicago area college presidents, it recommended on 18 June 1946 that the superintendent resign, which he did.[33]

A Major Reorganization. By 1946, conditions were right for change. The war was over, and the board and staff could concentrate on the system's primary mission again. Reform in the administrative organization structure had never been completely implemented. There was still a need to expand and, most significantly, the Johnson administration created a feeling of distrust and dissatisfaction among the general public.[34] The public and the teachers applied pressure through various oganizations, both lay and professional. When conflict finally reached crisis propor-

tions after the war, a major overhaul of the system began.[35]

Another of the professional organizations to apply pressure was the North Central Association of Schools and Colleges. In March 1946, they reviewed the system and recommended immediate changes. Otherwise, accreditation would be withdrawn from the high schools. The North Central Association strongly concurred with the NEA report. They recommended that the board become non-political and that a general superintendent of schools position be created. The mayor thereupon appointed a citizens' advisory committee to recommend new procedures whereby the appointment of school board members would be non-political. The committee recommended that the appointive procedures for school board members be retained, but that appointments should be made by the mayor from a list compiled by a new commission on school board nominations. The incumbent board members were gradually phased out, but pressure was still exerted for a change in the superintendency.[36]

Thus by 1947, the system had reached a point where change became inevitable. Now it was left up to someone to initiate the first step. The board members finally took action on 9 April 1947, when a report was submitted to the board, by one of its members. It outlined a suggested bill

for establishing one administrative head for the Chicago public school system. The report stated that on 14 February 1947, the board had met and agreed to sponsor such a bill. The law department drafted the bill and distributed copies to board members, the governor, and the house leaders of the state legislature. Support was sought from all educational, civic, and business groups. As a result, the bill was introduced on 18 February 1947, and on 26 February a strategy committee was formed to help with passage of the bill. A meeting was held on 3 March 1947 with the governor who agreed to accede to the wishes of the board members and organization heads by moving for the prompt passage of the bill.[37] The result was that the school code was amended on 4 June 1947, and the board moved to send letters of appreciation to not only the governor and legislative sponsors, but to educational, civic, business, and labor groups who helped to draft and pass what was officially called Senate Bill 60.[38] Its important feature was that it provided for the appointment of a general superintendent of school who would be the chief administrative officer of the board. The office would be in charge of all departments and employees, except the law department, and with board approval, the superintendent would appoint heads of units established by the board.[39] It thereby consolidated all

units of the system, except the law department, under the centralized control of one person whose title would be General Superintendent of Schools.[40]

Although not stated in so many words, the new general superintendent was faced with the herculean task of restoring confidence in the system. This was to be sanctification time, i.e., a clean-up-the-system time.[41] In order to find the best person for this tremendous task, the board appointed a special search committee to identify someone for the new position. However, the new appointment could not be made until after the effective date of the amendment to the Otis Law which was 1 July 1947. The person selected could not assume office until 1 September 1947, so an acting general superintendent was appointed in the interim.[42] Dr. Herold Hunt was selected. He took office on 5 August 1947. One of his first recommendations was to retain Griffenhagen and Associates to do three studies: (1) on the organization structure; (2) on a salary comparison; and, (3) on purchasing practices. The superintendent proceeded to outline the parameters of the studies and the procedures to be followed. The final goal was to bring the system into compliance with the new law.[43]

The Griffenhagen Survey. Griffenhagen was charged with the development of an organizational plan to be headed

by the general superintendent of schools. He was to create a design that would define clear lines of authority and functions of the component units and would reduce the span of control for the superintendent. It was to be a plan that could be implemented with the least amount of disruption. In addition, consideration was to be given to the utilization of existing personnel and to providing authority commensurate with responsibilities. In order to do this, there had to be: (1) an analysis of each of the unit's present purpose and function; (2) a determination of the functional chain of command and responsibilities; (3) recommendations as to how to integrate the existing unit tasks into the proposed units; (4) the identification of existing activities to be realigned and new ones to be included; (5) proposals on how to implement the new plan; (6) a final plan for action; and, (7) an analysis of present units regarding appropriate staffing. The other two studies undertaken by Griffenhagen were not related to the administrative reorganization. The target date for the completion of the studies was 1 November 1947, and implementation was projected for the 1948 fiscal year.[44]

Griffenhagen also used the new amendments to the Otis Law as a basis for developing many of the recommendations. In analyzing the provisions and mandates of the amended

law, it was found that there were some major issues. The new law gave the board the authority to create departments and to specify the functions of those departments. It gave the superintendent the authority to appoint department heads with board approval. It provided that existing departments would remain in existence unless changed by the board. It excluded the law department from the above provisions. In addition, the new law substituted "general superintendent" for "business manager" and deleted "business manager" from the section that listed officers who could attend board meetings. Finally, it created the unit organization model in which all functions were vested in the chief executive officer, and all other officers, excluding the attorney, were subordinate.[45]

The study team, in evaluating the system's administrative organization structure, used what were generally accepted principles of good organization as criteria. They were also used as the basis for reorganization recommendations. Included were: (1) clearness and definiteness; (2) unity and coordination; (3) logical allocation of functions; (4) limitations of span of control; (5) avoidance of divided responsibilities; (6) the importance of a unit (and not the salary of its head) in determining its classification; (7) the technical requirements of the duties in

determining salary; (8) influence of personnel on the ranking of their unit; (9) the need for competent personnel; and (10) proper classification, assignments, and budget provisions. In the report, organization structure was interpreted to mean the arrangement of units and how functions were assigned to units. This included the relationships of the units and their subunits and the relationship of units to other units. Finally, the lines of authority and responsibility were to be delineated.[46]

Griffenhagen's study revealed what was already suspected: mainly that the existing administrative organization structure was disoriented. Job titles and descriptions, unit titles and descriptions, and perceptions of jobs and unit functions by incumbents and outsiders were not consistant. The general recommendations that arose from this study included provisions for a logical allocation of functions and responsibilities for all administrative, supervisory, and support personnel, and a unification and coordination of all functions.[47] Based on this study, Griffenhagen and his staff prepared a reorganization plan. An organization chart was drawn, depicting the recommended administrative organization and suggesting how the board could make the changes needed to achieve the new structure.

After the groundwork had been accomplished, the study

team then recommended that the general superintendent's span of control include one assistant to the general superintendent, one first assistant superintendent, and four assistant superintendents. They stated that the assistant to the superintendent should supervise the units not placed in any one of eight proposed departments, and also act as secretary. They also recommended that the first assistant superintendent be in charge of instruction and supervision of the remaining four superintendents. They suggested that the creation of eight departments, with the stipulation that the number of positions should not be increased, just realigned. These recommendations were designed to improve the effectiveness of administrative direction and control.[48]

Another recommendation was related to the number and kinds of units to be included in the administrative structure. The committee felt that this should be determined by the function of each unit which, in turn, should determine the number and kinds of positions to be authorized. It was proposed that using this organizational approach would improve the quantity and quality of work, yet fewer positions would be needed. The recommendations specified that units should be designated by their organizational relationship in the hierarchy, starting with the departments and then

with the bureaus, divisions, and sections, in that order, as subdivisions. The proposed reorganization also provided for the establishment of independent bureaus whose functions would not relate to any other unit. Finally, there were provisions for offices which would have no administrative or supervisory functions but would be in support positions to units.[49]

The general superintendent and his advisors also made recommendations which were combined with those of the Griffenhagen Report, and a final basic administrative organization structure was approved by the board on 10 December 1947. On that date, the board also authorized the superintendent to draw up statements of functions to be assigned to the organization units. The structure adopted consisted of three major components: line, staff, and service. The line positions were those connected by formal and direct lines of authority extending from the general superintendent to the teachers. These positions included: the assistant superintendents in charge of education departments, the district superintendents, and the principals. The functions of the staff positions were to be advisory. The people in these positions were experts and specialists in a given field who furnished advice and information to the line officers. Some of the examples

given were: the assistant to the general superintendent; the assistant superintendent in charge of personnel; director of subject supervision, research, and instructional materials; and directors of curriculum development, music, art, and physical education. The service component consisted of experts and specialists who performed some particular function for the entire system, such as, the controller, the architect, the chief engineer, or the director of purchases.[50]

A summary list of the units of the administrative organization structure is as follows:[51]

ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS UNDER THE BOARD

Office of the president
Office of the secretary
Law department
Board of examiners
  Examining office
General superintendent of schools

ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS UNDER THE GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS

Office of the general superintendent

Assistant to the general superintendent
  Bureau of research and statistics, director of
    Division of research
    Division of statistics
    Division of building surveys
  Bureau of public relations
    Division of photographic services
  Bureau of office services, office manager
    Division of mail and office supplies
    Division of telephone operation

Division of stenographic and clerical services

First assistant superintendent of schools
Bureau of instruction materials, director of
Division of curriculum development
Division of textbook selection
Division of libraries
High school library cataloging section
Division of visual education
Division of radio
Division of intercultural relations
Bureau of subject supervision, director of
Division of music
Division of art
Division of industrial arts
Division of home economics
Division of health and physical education
Division of R.O.T.C.
Division of commercial studies
Bureau of education extension, director of
Division of recreation, director of
Playgrounds section
Social centers section
Division of Americanization
Division of evening and summer schools
Department of elementary education
Assistant superintendent in charge of elementary education
Elementary school district superintendent

Department of secondary education
Assistant superintendent in charge of secondary education
High school district superintendent

Department of vocational education
Assistant superintendent in charge of vocational education
Bureau of technical subjects
Bureau of special services
Bureau of veterans training
Bureau of distributive education

Department of special education
Assistant superintendent in charge of special education
Bureau of exceptional children
Bureau of special classes
Bureau of child study
Bureau of guidance and counseling
Division of employment certificates

Bureau of school attendance
Court division
Department of personnel
Assistant superintendent in charge of personnel
Bureau of teacher personnel
Division of substitute teacher assignment
Bureau of administrative and office personnel
Division of school clerks
Bureau of operation, maintenance, and lunchroom personnel
Division of lunchroom personnel
Bureau of civil service records

Department of purchases
Director of purchases
Staff of buyers, a buyer
Printing plant (bureau)
Assistant purchasing agent
Division of clerical services
Book requisitions section
Invoice checking section
Testing laboratory
Division of supplies
Division of purchase specifications
Division of property control

Department of architecture and building repair
Architect
Bureau of architecture, assistant architect
Division of architecture, office service
Division of drafting
Architectural design section
Electrical engineering section
Mechanical engineering section
High school rehabilitation and equipment section
Division of construction
Division of specifications
Division of fire prevention and safety
Division of special assignments
Bureau of general maintenance and repair
Bureau of electrical and mechanical repair

Department of plant engineering and lunchrooms
Director of plant engineering and lunchrooms
Bureau of plant engineering, chief engineer
District supervision engineer
District inspector of school property
Division of mechanical equipment

Bureau of lunchrooms, director of
Division of lunchroom office service
Division of lunchroom statistics
Division of test kitchens
Division of lunchroom equipment
District supervisor of lunchrooms

Department of finance
Controller
Bureau of the budget
Bureau of accounting, chief accountant
Division of accounts
Division of depository and redemption
Division of lunchroom and school activity accounts
Division of real estate
Division of school treasurer
Bureau of audits, assistant auditor
Division of invoice and tax warrant audit
Division of teacher payroll audit
Division of civil service payroll audit
Division of school field audit
Division of reconciliation
Division of machine tabulation
Bureau of payrolls, paymaster
Division of teacher payroll
Division of civil service payroll

The reorganization that was started in 1947 was a major one. It incorporated many new concepts which emerged from developing theories of educational and business administration and organization. The reorganization took two years to complete. During the first year, 1947-48, the major reorganization of the entire administration structure under the unit plan and the delineation of functions of each department, bureau, division, and section were substantially completed.[52] After the second year, 1948-49, the implementation was completed and some additional

changes, not included in the original plan were implemented.[53] All changes were not over, however. On 14 December 1949, the superintendent recommended that on the basis of an ongoing evaluation and study of the functioning and responsibilities, some adjustments should be made. In recommending that the department of personnel be reorganized, he submitted a plan that included a bureau of teacher personnel with subdivisions for elementary and special teacher assignments, and for secondary and substitute teacher assignments. Also included was a bureau of civil service personnel with subdivisions for administrative and office personnel, lunchroom personnel, operation and maintenance personnel and civil service records.

Included in the recommendations were the following:

> That the Division of School Clerks be transferred to the office of the Assistant to the General Superintendent and redesignated Bureau of School Clerks.
>
> That the Division of Intercultural Relations be transferred to the General Superintendent of schools and placed under the direction of a coordinator.
>
> That the Bureau of Education Extension be transferred to the Department of Secondary Education.
>
> That a new division, Health Services, be created in the Bureau of Pupil Welfare.
>
> That a new bureau, Vocational Business Education, be added to the Department of Vocational Education.
>
> That the department of Special Education be reorganized as follows: Bureau of Mentally Handicapped Children, with a division of Speech Correction: Bureau

of Physically Handicpaped children, with a division of Orthopedically Handicapped, a division of the Blind and Deaf, and a division of Physical Improvement: Bureau of Socially Maladjusted Children.

That the Department of Plant Engineering and Lunchrooms be renamed, Department of Plant Engineering, and that the Bureau of Lunchrooms be transferred to the office of the Assistant to the General Superintendent.

That the Office of the Assistant to the General Superintendent of Schools be changed to the Department of Special Administrative and School Services and that the Head of this Department be designated as Assistant to the General Superintendent in charge of Special Administrative and School Services.

That the position of Auditor be established under the supervision of the Controller.

That the Bureau of Payrolls be eliminated and that the divisions of Teacher Payroll and of Civil Service Payroll be transferred to the Bureau of Accounting.

That the Division of Lunchrooms and School Accounts in the Bureau of Accounting be separated into two divisions, namely: Division of Lunchroom Accounts and Division of School Internal Accounts.[54]

These last changes were the final refinements to a very comprehensive overhaul of a complex, bureaucratic organization. On 8 February 1950, a summary list of the organization unit changes approved on 14 December 1949 were presented to the board along with the changes in functions that resulted.[55] Thus ended a 112 year history of growth and development which culminated in the creation of an administrative organization of vast proportions which was unique and, at last, reflective of the real needs of the

system in accomplishing its mission. A complex, yet comprehensive and well coordinated, structural model, was in place, and it managed to operate Chicago's system of public schools more smoothly than any of its predecessors.

ENDNOTES

[1]Raymond E. Callahan and H. Warren Button, "Historical Change of the Role of the Man in the Organization: 1865-1950," in Daniel E. Griffiths, ed., Behavioral Science and Educational Administration (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 89.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Frank Freidel, America In the Twentieth Century, 2nd ed., (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), 359.

[4]Interview with Dr. John Erzinger, Retired Assistant Superintendent, Chicago public school system, 18 March 1986.

[5]Interview with Dr. William Rohan, Retired District Superintendent, Chicago public school system, 27 March 1986.

[6]Chicago Board of Education, Our Public Schools Must Not Close, (Chicago: N.p., n.d.), 3, 6.

[7]Ibid., 10-12.

[8]Chicago Board of Education, Official Report of the Proceedings of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, 27 July 1936, 150, 151.

[9]_____, Directory of the Board of Education, 1930; and, Directory of the Board of Education, 1931. The title of this document varied from manual to directory, and at times neither title was used.

[10]_____, Official Report, 27 July 1931, 150.

[11]Erzinger, Interview, 18 March 1986.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Rohan, Interview, 27 March 1986.

[14]Chicago Board of Education, Directory, 1929-30, 7; Subsequent directories, 1931 through 1955, were also examined for changes.

[15]Chicago Board of Education, Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending 11 June 1937, (Chicago: N.p., n.d.) 5, 342; After 1922, the annual reports were no longer numbered.

[16]_____, Annual Report 1936-1937, 11-13, 59.

[17]_____, Annual Report 1937-1938, 18-446.

[18]_____, Annual Report 1938-1939, 19.

[19]_____, Official Report, 29 October 1931, 441.

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[24]Ibid., 13-15.

[25]Chicago Board of Education, Official Report, 8 June 1932, 1640.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Stephen J. Hazlett, "Crisis in School Government: An Administrative History of the Chicago Public Schools, 1933-1947," Ph.D. Dissertation Abstract (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1968), 2-4.

[28]Interview with Mr. Michael Fortino, Retired District Superintendent, Chicago public schools, 15 March 1986; The controversy was over the superintendent personally conducting the oral part of the examination for principal. This was later upheld by the courts.

[29]Chicago Board of Education, Annual Report, 1939-40, 19-21.

[30] _____, Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the School Years: 1941-42, 1942-43, 17.

[31] Jim Bowman, "The Way We Were," Chicago Tribune Magazine, 18 September 1986, 11.

[32] National Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education of the National Education Association of the United States, Certain Personnel Practices in the Chicago Public Schools, (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1945), 64, 65.

[33] Bowman, "The Way We Were," 11.

[34] Fortino, Interview, 15 March 1986.

[35] Joseph Pois, The School Board Crisis, A Chicago Case Study, (Chicago: Educational Methods, Incorporated, 1964), 10-11.

[36] Hazlett, "Crisis," 12, 13.

[37] Chicago Board of Education, Official Report, 9 April 1947, 960, 961.

[38] Chicago Board of Education, Official Report, 25 January 1947, 1246.

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[40] Interview with Dr. Joseph Zbornik, retired District Superintendent, Chicago public schools, 19 March 1986.

[41] Interview with Dr. George Connelly, retired Area Superintendent, Chicago public schools, 1 May 1986.

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[43] _____, Official Report, 10 September 1947, 221.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Griffenhagen and Associates, Organization Structure of the Chicago Public School System of Chicago (Chicago: N.p., 1947), 2.

[46]Ibid., 16-26.

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[48]Ibid., 21.

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CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Chicago is a useful situation to study because the history of Chicago's schools is illustrative of the general development of urban school systems. Chicago grew in population more rapidly than most cities, and it developed a greater variety of ethnic communities. As a large urban center, it became the target for many social, political, and professional movements, including the teacher union movement. Not all of these movements were negative, however, because Chicago was also on the cutting edge of trying to implement the latest in educational administrative theory.

In this study, the evolution of the administrative organization structure has been traced from its embryonic stage to maturity. The observable progression involved a gradual transfer of authority and responsibility, with concomitant changes in function. In the years prior to the incorporation of Chicago as a city, the authority for the operation of schools was vested in the county, then the township, and then to a municipal governmental body within the township. Authority and control of certain components of the governance of schooling was distributed among these

various governmental bodies until their final transfer to the Board of Education of the City of Chicago. At this point, the legislative, executive, and judiciary authority and functions were centralized in one body, the Chicago board of education. From this point, however, there was a gradual transfer of executive functions to three executive officers: the superintendent of schools, the business manager, and the attorney.

The transfer of executive functions from the board to its executive officers occurred because of increased demands on the time of the board members as the system grew in size and complexity. Unable to handle the multiplicity of tasks, the board found that it was necessary to employ personnel who would be responsible for performing certain specialized functions related to administration and supervision. Originally, the superintendent of schools, the business manager, and the attorney reported directly to the board. Eventually, however, the business manager position was placed subordinate to that of the superintendent. As changing conditions warranted, the total responsibility for the administration and supervision of the schools was finally vested in one chief executive officer, the general superintendent of schools.

As the system grew, its mission was expanded and this

was reflected in the system's goals and objectives. With the assumption of additional functions and the expansion of existing ones, additional personnel were needed. The first category of employee added was that of assistant superintendent. As specialization became a factor, especially in the area of curriculum, subject specialists were added. Specialists in the business management component were also employed.

With the addition of positions and functions came differentiation, thereby creating a hierarchical configuration to the administrative organization structure. Horizontal and vertical expansion soon produced a line-staff model of organization. Although the structure expanded and contracted over the years, expansion was the greater direction and the structure became more complex with each change. With the last reorganization, which occurred at the end of the period covered by this study, the administrative organization structure was expanded to include a service component. The final structure consisted of three distinct functionary components: (1) line, (2) staff, and (3) service.

The three major components of the administrative organization structure assumed different configurations over the years, based on the prevailing philosophy of those in

control, and all too often on the politics of the times. Inherent in each philosophy expressed or implied was the facilitation of the improvement and delivery of services. Changes in the structure were rationalized as a means for improvement. New configurations were deemed necessary as a means of maintaining continuity when new demands on the system created changes in its goals and objectives. The organization structure was used as a vehicle for improving the system. Unfortunately, the structure or design in itself could not always resolve the problems, as can be seen from the pattern exhibited by the restructuring of the subdistricts.

Although circumstances were not always the same, patterns of organizational repetition did occur. For example, the subdistricts were converted from unit models, which consisted of both elementary and high schools, to dual models, wherein elementary and high schools were in separate districts, back to unit models, and so on. Any changes tended to be brought about for a multitude of reasons including, but not limited to: educational rationales; financial set-backs and periods of affluence; and, as a tool for those in control to make other changes. Sometimes the reorganization of the subdistricts provided for the supervision of elementary and high schools to either be

consolidated under the supervision of one subdistrict superintendent or different subdistrict superintendents. At other times it allowed for one subdistrict superintendent to supervise a vertical continuum of educational services from kindergarten through grade twelve, or to supervise a horizontal segment of either kindergarten through grade eight or grades nine through twelve.

Another pattern related to the timetables for change also emerged. With the creation of a board of education in 1857, other major reorganizations of the system occurred roughly in fifteen year intervals. In 1872, legislation provided for more authority, previously vested in the city council, to be transferred to the board; from 1887 through 1889, annexations more than doubled the number of schools in the system; a change in the revenue laws in 1902 created a financial problem which caused system-wide changes; the Otis Law of 1917 transferred administrative functions from the board to the superintendent; the Great Depression caused wholesale reductions in administrative and supervisory positions; and, the 1947 amendment to the Otis Law created the position of chief administrator which consolidated educational and business functions under the general superintendent of schools. Research beyond these periods indicates that the pattern was not continued and reorgan-

ization occurred in much smaller intervals. However, the basic or skeletal structure that was finally functioning after the Otis Amendment, has continued to serve this large, urban, and complex school system effectively.

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