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ABSTRACT
                This booklet is intended to encourage and aid local
school boards in undertaking training programs that will enable them
to function more effectively. Relying heavily on case studies of
school boards in Chicago and Minneapolis, the author focuses on two
major problems facing school board members today--the phenomenon of
increasing bureaucratization and the challenge of desegregation.
Chapter 1 discusses the nature of school boards and the challenges
facing them today. Chapter 2 focuses on the experiences of school
board members in Chicago and Minneapolis. Chapter 3 comments on the
practices of school boards in general and the Chicago and Minneapolis
boards in particular. Chapter 4 presents the author's conclusions
about the selection and training of school board members and offers
specific suggestions for training board members to meet the demands
of their position. (JG)

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The Recruitment Leadership and Training Institute

The Recruitment Leadership and Training Institute (LTI) is a panel which provides technical and developmental assistance to projects funded under the Education Professions Development Act, P.L. 90-35, Part A, Section 504, New Careers in Education Program and administered by the Division of Educational Systems Development, U.S. Office of Education.

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Preface

The Recruitment Leadership and Training Institute (LTI) is a
panel which provides technical assistance to projects funded
by the U.S. Office of Education under Section 504 of the
Education Professions Development Act. Although none of
these projects deals directly with orientation and training for
members of school boards, the Recruitment LTI has become
increasingly aware of the critically important role which
these groups — some elected, some appointed — play in
determining whether new, promising, innovative educational
programs are attempted at all and whether or not they suc-
ceed in living up to their promise.

Because of its belief that orientation and training of school
board members might assist boards of education not only
to understand the complexity of school systems, but to
initiate and implement educational policies designed to deal
with critical issues, the Recruitment LTI commissioned
Dr. Badi G. Foster, Associate Professor, University of Massa-
chusetts/Boston and Lecturer in the Harvard Graduate School
of Education, to undertake a study of the theory and prac-
tice of school boards. Dr. Foster's research, based on exten-
sive examination of the literature and interviews with key
school board personnel, and an analysis by the Recruitment
LTI is presented in this position paper. Using school board
experience in two major cities (Chicago, Illinois; and Minne-
apolis, Minnesota), this paper focuses on two major prob-
lems facing school board members across the country: the
phenomenon of increasing bureaucratization and the chal-
lenge of desegregation.

This report is presented with the hope that those associated
with school boards will find challenge and encouragement to
undertake training programs which will enable school board
members to function more effectively in meeting not only
the specific problems dealt with here, but the whole range of

duties which constitute their responsibilities, as representatives of parents and the public for the education of America's children.

Special appreciation is extended to Ms. Grace Watson, Coordinator of New Careers in Education Programs, U.S. Office of Education, for her assistance and support.

Chapter 1
Introduction

By the end of the nineteenth century, the inadequacy of local private efforts to provide education for American children forced the states to take a more active role. In order to establish a comprehensive system of schools on the local level and to insure that such schools would be properly governed, the states created local agents to provide the necessary control and accountability while maintaining the traditions of democratic localism. The direct election of school board members (or their selection by locally elected officials) appeared to be the most effective manner for state governments to meet their obligations, while providing local citizens a genuine voice in deciding what was important in the education of their children. The reluctance of state legislators to enter into full debate as to the appropriate content of education at the local level further strengthened the role of the local school boards.

Although delegated powers of local school boards vary from state to state, boards of education are generally responsible for making policy, developing programs, employing personnel, providing educationally related services and managing the use of the physical facilities of the school district, and in some cases, levying taxes. In discharging these responsibilities, local boards of education are constrained or empowered by several sources of authority. These include the state constitution, legislative enactments, and rules and regulations of the state board of education.

The context within which school boards work and the problems which they face are considerably more varied and complex today than when they were first established. In addition to the emergence of changing and conflicting concepts of the role and function of schools, more people — parents, teachers, administrators and students — are becoming involved in school governance. Traditional organizations such as Parent-Teacher Associations or Home and School Associations are no longer the sole vehicle for parents to use in expressing

their views to school board members. Demonstrations, protest actions, recall elections, and direct lobbying of city and state officials are alternate ways of conveying citizens' views to members of school boards. Teachers are expressing growing militancy not only through membership in unions but more importantly by attempting to extend the scope of collective bargaining to include policy issues. Some are advocating collective bargaining as an effective process for increasing the role of teachers in the governance of the schools. The impact of the 18-year-old vote and the enactment by state legislatures of Student Bills of Rights represent changes in the expectations of students vis-a-vis local school boards. New constituencies outside the school system are demanding a voice and greater representation in matters of school board policy. Models for increased community participation range from advisory committees to complete citizen control. Efforts toward administrative decentralization have created new constituencies within the system at the area or district level. Public advocacy and other social reform groups are making demands upon local school boards — demands which are overwhelming in their breadth and complexity.

Patterns of school finance are being remolded. The impact of court decisions, finding the states to be in violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, has yet to be fully appreciated. Local school boards can no longer rely on their own tax revenues for sufficient financial support. The impact of inflation and the cut-back of Federal funds has caused local school boards simultaneously to have fewer dollars and less buying power than in previous years.

At the state level, legislatures are exerting greater control over finance, certification, professional standards and educational policy. Recent reorganization of state departments of education led by new chief state school officers, the expanded role of state boards of education, revenue-sharing and larger Fed-

eral grants to state departments along with regulations requiring increased state involvement in educational matters have led to the state's re-emergence as a significant power in previously local matters.

The design, development and implementation of national tests for the selection of college students and instruments for measuring educational achievement have affected the independence of local boards in matters of curriculum and policy. The efforts of the U.S. Office of Education, the National Institute of Education Foundation, private foundations such as the Carnegie Corporation and the Ford Foundation, to develop new curricula or new models of participation further curtail local autonomy.

National business corporations with interests in publishing textbooks or in other items of educational technology limit the options among which local systems may choose. Finally, congressional legislation such as the Vocational Education Act, Economic Opportunity Act, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Higher Education Act and the Education Amendments of 1972 and 1974 have all had direct impact on local school board operations.

The administration of school systems may once have been a relatively simple affair: the board of education made policies and the superintendent carried them out, at least in textbook theory, if not practice. But today's school boards, like all institutions and agencies, are caught in the swiftly moving tides of change. Old definitions of problems disappear even before solutions are formulated; parties and pressure groups seem powerful and intimidating one month and are dissolved by the next; government programs, directives and funds sometimes seem as changeable as the weather. How, in the face of constant change, are school boards to function both democratically and effectively? That is, how are they to absorb

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the continuous stream of information, requests or demands for change, and at the same time keep the school system on a steady course even while innovations are being developed and implemented?

School boards are *democratic* institutions and are obliged to act democratically. Although their particular responsibility is education, they, no less than city councils, state legislatures or Congress, must solicit and attend to the views of all citizens, reach decisions with due regard for the general welfare, and conduct their business in an open and equitable manner. At the same time, however, school boards are ultimately responsible for the management of school systems, which are *bureaucratic* institutions. School systems, like all bureaucracies, are designed to accomplish large-scale administrative tasks efficiently, and thus to systematize, standardize and routinize, to reduce complex and often conflicting demands to manageable operating policies and procedures.

As Peter Blau has pointed out in his book, *Bureaucracy in Modern Society,* (New York: Random House, 1950) there is an inherent conflict between the demands of the democratic process (which values freedom of discussion and variety of opinion) and those of the bureaucratic process (which values the elimination of differences in order to maximize efficiency): On the one hand, school boards are required (if they are to retain their democratic character) to take whatever time is necessary for the full and free expression of public opinion, to attempt to reach a consensus agreeable to the majority, although with due regard for minority rights. Almost every item of the business which comes before them (e.g., school construction sites, selection of textbooks, neighborhood school boundary lines) has the potential for protracted argument in public hearings. On the other hand, the day-to-day operation of the schools demands instantaneous decisions on a myriad of specific issues: is *this* house to be razed? is

this textbook to be ordered? is *this* child to be allowed to
enroll in *this* school? Without guidelines, paralysis or chaos
could well overwhelm the entire operation. The school sys-
tem, from teachers and principals to the superintendent,
looks to the school board for resolution of the issues before
it; the public, particularly those segments newly aware of
their rights to participation in democratic decision-making,
would rather postpone decisions until compromises satis-
factory to all participants can be found.

Caught between the demands of democracy and of bureauc-
racy, the tasks of school boards are further complicated by
the rapid change which characterizes every aspect of modern
life. Moreover, their responsibilities are expanding into new
areas. Already (in many places) the single largest employers
in terms of payroll and personnel, school boards are being
asked to undertake many functions which were formerly re-
garded as being in the domain of family, churches or other
private institutions. But while new definitions of education
multiply, the funds to provide these services are increasingly
difficult to secure. Small wonder, then, that school boards,
like school superintendents, are frequently at the center of
storms of controversy.

School superintendents have considerable training which
prepares them for their responsibilities as educational admin-
istrators. What of school board members? Average citizens
elected or selected to serve on a school board, no matter how
concerned about school affairs, are usually ill-prepared to
understand or cope with the complexities of their dual role:
as representatives of the people and as directors of the
bureaucracy. What opportunities do they have to learn how
to handle their responsibilities effectively? What programs
exist which provide orientation and training in, for example,
educational philosophy or organizational behavior? How can
they develop the capacity to respond to persistent and rapid

change without sacrificing either democratic participatory processes or the necessary efficiency of operation?

The Recruitment Leadership and Training Institute believes that school boards, in order to be both democratic and effective institutions, must begin to utilize all available resources to assist them to make and enforce decisions which will absorb and generate change.*

By "resources" is meant not simply the financial power or political strength to enforce policy decisions, critical as they may be. Rather, "resources" is defined here as "expertise" or access to the expertise, including educational, organization, financial and political skills, needed to understand school system operation and to develop systematic, efficient and effective ways of dealing with the business that comes before boards of education. Otherwise, they can respond to pressure and change in one of two, equally dysfunctional, ways: resistance and repression, or unplanned and purposeless innovation.

Before attempting to determine effective orientation and training procedures, however, it may be both interesting and helpful to explore some of the ways in which school boards currently operate. In the following section, members of school boards in two cities — Chicago and Minneapolis — recount some of their experiences as they and their fellow board members responded to conflicting pressures. Certain of their comments deal with the issues presented by the overwhelming complexity of the bureaucratic organization for which they were responsible; others relate to the tensions surrounding the demands for desegregated schools. At the

*The term "absorb" as used here means openness to the consideration of alternatives from outside the system and incorporation of them into the system; the term "generate" means to create a climate in which alternatives can proliferate and become viable, accepted modes of practice.

conclusion of these narratives, the implications of the two
case studies are discussed, and finally, a few specific recom-
mendations are offered relating to the orientation and train-
ing of school board members.

Chapter 2
Case Studies: School Boards in Two Cities

While generalizations about the nature of and responses to problems confronting school boards may be useful for some purposes, this paper employs simple case studies as a way of illustrating selected problems and contrasting ways of meeting them. The actual experience of two school boards — Chicago and Minneapolis — in dealing with school system bureaucratization and the challenges of desegregation provide the data for observation and analysis.

Bureaucracy is, quite simply, the type of organization established to coordinate the work of many individuals to accomplish efficiently large-scale administrative tasks. Rapidly expanding populations and the increased complexity of modern life, in its political, economic and social dimension, have required the systematization of numerous functions, if total chaos is to be avoided. Max Weber, the nineteenth century theoretician, outlined the following characteristics of a bureaucratic structure: (1) clear division of labor, (2) administrative hierarchy, (3) explicit rules to assure uniform performance of tasks, (4) impersonal formality towards clients, (5) personnel policies specifying technical qualifications for hiring and promotion. All these characteristics are intended to eliminate irrationality (e.g., favoritism) and maximize operating efficiency; and, ideally, they do. In reality, of course, bureaucratic behavior may display inconsistency, informality, irrationality, and ultimately, dysfunctional inefficiency.

The school board, as was pointed out earlier, is a form of democratic institution, a representative group of citizens attempting to decide on common goals and programs. Free expression of opinion, among members and from the general public, is an essential requirement if it is to retain democratic character. However, the day-to-day management of the school system is necessarily in the hands of a bureaucracy, the nature of which is to reduce complex and sometimes

conflicting demands to standard operating procedures. The problems inherent in the uneasy, but apparently essential, marriage of democracy and bureaucracy confront not only school boards, but all institutions in a democratic society, with almost insoluble dilemmas. An understanding of the nature of bureaucracy and its potential dangers is certainly a basic requisite for those charged with conducting public business in a democracy.

Perhaps the most severe tests of school board effectiveness as a democratic institution have been those relating to the integration or desegregation of the schools. Following the 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education decision which outlawed segregation in the public schools altogether, the Supreme Court stated in its 1955 supplementary decree that "school authorities have the primary responsibility of elucidating, assessing, and solving these problems (ed. — local school arrangements which required or permitted discrimination on the basis of race); courts will have to consider whether the action of school authorities constitutes good faith implementation of the governing constitutional principles."

Twenty years later, after two decades of civil rights activity, court cases, Federal regulations, and formal and informal studies of the methods and impact of desegregation activity, the Court's mandate has still to be complied with. The focus, has, of course, swung from the *de jure* segregation of southern school systems to the *de facto* segregation existing in the North and fortified by housing patterns. Whether in the South or the North, whether responsible for many or few minority students, school boards throughout the nation have had to cope in some fashion with the implications of the finding that "separate facilities are inherently unequal." The story of how northern school boards are dealing with this requirement is not yet concluded, but the evidence from

Chicago and Minneapolis is an interesting contribution to that story.

Material for this section may be termed "oral history," for it consists almost in its entirety in transcriptions of taped interviews with members of school boards in the selected cities. Clearly, their comments represent their own recollections and interpretations of the events described, and no attempt was made to "balance" their accounts or even to substantiate them.

Serious and considered deliberation was given to the possibility of presenting these case studies without identifying either persons or cities. In the case of Chicago, any attempt to preserve anonymity appeared to destroy the integrity of the rationale for its selection even if it were possible to disguise its unique identity. The Chicago experience was so widely publicized and the circumstances so fully discussed in all of the media that to obscure the identity would have been not only dysfunctional to the purposes of this paper, but also in the ultimate, dishonest. Minneapolis, whose identity might more easily be obscured, would have fallen heir to the same lack of purpose and integrity.

The purpose here is to provide evidence of the need for improved orientation and training of school board members recognizing that in their day-to-day operations they must deal with some of the most crucial problems facing American society. For that purpose, their highly personal presentations more than suffice.

Chicago

Chicago is comprised of what some have called a series of subdivided territories or neighborhoods. On a main line of migration from the South, the city has seen its minority and poor white populations increased dramatically since the 1940's. In a study made during the middle sixties by the U.S.

Civil Rights Commission, it was termed the most racially
segregated city in the North, if not in the country; its segre-
gated school system had some schools operating at up to
100% over capacity while others were at 70% of capacity in
order to maintain "neighborhood schools." Heading the
school system are the 11-member Board of Education and
the Superintendent of Schools, and students number over
fifty thousand, of whom approximately 65% are members of
minority groups. Until the mid-sixties, education for the city
was managed by a highly centralized bureaucracy; although
now decentralized, the school system has not, in the opinion
of several researchers and commentators, noticeably changed
its policies and programs.

Key actors in the Chicago "drama" are Mayor Richard Daley,
now serving his twentieth year as Mayor of the third largest
city in the country; Benjamin Willis, Superintendent of Chi-
cago Schools from 1953 to 1966, Warren Bacon, Assistant
Director, Industrial Relations, Inland Steel Company and
from 1963 to 1973 a member of the Chicago Board of Educa-
tion, and James Clement, a Chicago patent attorney who served
on the board from 1964 to 1966.

... Warren Bacon on the Chicago School Board

Appointment to
the School
Board

"I was appointed in 1963, and I guess one of the reasons I
was appointed was because there was considerable contro-
versy about minority representation on the Board. I was one
of the few who had been suggested who could afford the
time during the day to attend the meetings.

"One of the reasons [for my appointment] was that I am
black and a male. At that time there was only one black per-
son on the 11-member Board, a female, who was strongly
identified with the administration of the city, and also with
the then Superintendent of Schools, Ben Willis. He was con-

sidered to be an arch foe of integration, and since the com-
munity at large felt that there was insufficient minority
representation on the Board, a male minority member came
well recommended."

**Controversy
over
Integration**

"I was seated in the midst of a very energetic controversy,
major issues not only being integration but also the utilization
of unused classrooms and vacant seats [which] were available
in white schools surrounding the black ghetto. There was a
strong feeling that the school system was containing the
black community.

"The majority of the board members felt like the superintend-
ent did — they didn't want any part of this issue. So you had
the ludicrous situation where the Board of Education didn't
even acknowledge [that] there was a problem. We didn't
discuss it in Board of Education meetings. They said the
Board was color blind; therefore, black/white problems didn't
exist. It was a knock down, drag out fight here in Chicago.
[Among the actors in the controversy] . . . was the Coor-
dinating Council of Community Organizations. It was a
powerful group of community and city-wide agencies demand-
ing integration. The Board virtually ignored the Council. We
had the first student boycott of any massive size, in the fall
of 1963. Nearly four hundred thousand kids stayed out of
school. The politicians got involved in it and, of course, it
went down partisan lines. . . . There were sit-ins and demon-
strations at the Board offices and the downtown area. . . it
was a super-charged climate. The Business Advisory Council
of the Chicago Urban League, composed of top officers from
major corporations in the city got involved; they took out a
full-page ad in the newspapers calling for some action on the
part of the Board.

"School problems were page-one news throughout the
period. People demonstrated at schools, protesting the

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board policy, which was to adhere to the neighborhood school concept (consisting of gerrymandered lines drawn around the schools), which together with housing segregation insured continued school segregation . . . [Willis] was building many new schools in the black neighborhoods, ostensibly to relieve over-crowding. That was viewed by many as a way of containing blacks rather than allowing them to move over to under-utilized classrooms on the periphery. People literally threw their bodies in front of the bulldozers to halt school construction; a priest was killed, run over by a bulldozer inadvertently."

**The Mayor
Steps in**

"Simultaneously, something else was happening. Mayor Daley had always been accepted in the black community as a friend. But more and more people were becoming disenchanted with him because they felt that he took no leadership in social matters.

"The NAACP had their national convention here in June, 1963. Daley spoke at the convention. Before he had always received a standing ovation, however, this time he made two errors: he pretended that he didn't know what all the rhubarb was about; and he said there were no ghettos in Chicago; people weren't living in crumbling shacks [with] rats biting the kids. . . . He was booed for the first time in the black community by a large group of people who were in an organization that was considered friendly to him.

"The Board of Education held firm to its neighborhood school policy. The Board had, however, considered and tentatively adopted, but never implemented, a modified transfer policy that would allow people in certain areas to go to schools other than their neighborhood school. The Board delayed action on this policy and a group of parents took the matter to court. The judge agreed with the parents. . . . A subpoena was issued for the Superintendent. When they

tried to serve the subpoena. . . he heard them coming [and]
sought to avoid it by going out the back door as they were
coming in the front.

"When the Board could no longer avoid the problem of segre-
gation, it used the device of holding public hearings, to hear
what the public wanted . . . . I recall the President of the
Board of Education, who was opposed to any integration,
meeting with some of the local politicians at the Board of
Education executive offices, in private. Some of the reporters
covering the situation eavesdropped and overheard the Presi-
dent, Frank Whiston, promise these political representatives
that there would never be any open enrollment or modified
open enrollment as long as he had anything to do with it.

"The same backlash communities that opposed integration
also opposed any change in the curriculum, administration,
or anything else. Other groups in the city who were not
necessarily involved in the race issue were going to court to
try to get new programs introduced. . . such as shared time,
sex education, etc. The Chicago Board of Education has
been surrounded by controversy for the last fifteen years.
Most of it has been racially oriented. As other school systems
began, however slowly, to move and deal realistically with
this question [desegregation] , Chicago was different. Even
after court action, it resisted. Even after the Department of
Health, Education and Welfare suspended Federal funds,
they continued to resist — in fact, Mayor Daley pressured
President Lyndon B. Johnson to have Francis Keppel, Com-
missioner of Education, rescind the suspension order and it
was."

Election of
Board
Officers

"As Board membership changed over the years, it reflected
much of the division which existed in the city. This was
clearly seen in the election of the Board president in 1970. I
challenged the old guard leadership — which always had been

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white, always male, always close to the Mayor — by becoming a candidate for President . . . not surprisingly, that challenge became a hot issue.

"Prior to the annual election that spring, it appeared I had the necessary six votes to be elected President. A Board member, whose term was expiring and who had made known his support for me, was not reappointed, even though he had indicated willingness to continue serving. Failure to reappoint a willing Board member was unprecedented. This left me with only five votes — one short — and since one of my remaining supporters was under heavy pressure by the city administration not to vote for me, I withdrew from the race at the last minute rather than jeopardize the beleaguered member.

"Several months later, the Board President died and I became a candidate again. The Board refused to hold another election until a replacement was appointed to the Board. This process dragged on for three or four months. In the meantime, community organizations took to the streets to try to force my election. They perceived the issue as one in which the city administration which influences all important decisions in the city, as not wanting an independent black to win the school board presidency. Groups held mass meetings, demonstrations and parades supporting me. Jesse Jackson (and his group) threatened to boycott downtown stores during the Christmas season if I wasn't elected. Members of the City Council squabbled over approval of the replacement member.

"It was alleged that the new person appointed to the Board had to agree not to vote for me in order to win Council approval. When the Board finally held the election, an unprecedented action took place — instead of voting openly in public as had been the custom, this time the vote was by secret ballot . . . [Bacon lost] . The black and liberal groups

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which had supported me were very bitter and accused the Mayor of interfering in school affairs.

"The divisions on and off the Board became very pronounced —which, in my opinion, prevented the Board from dealing realistically with school problems. Other cities were more forthright in their approach than Chicago, though they had not resolved all their problems. The Chicago Board was incapable of providing the leadership necessary to handle effectively even routine situations. For example, the distribution of textbooks and supplies is a perennial hassle at the begining of each school year. Kids sit in many classrooms six to eight weeks before textbooks are made available to them."

Administrative and Organizational Problems

" [When I first joined the Board, it] had been deliberating for a number of months [about undertaking] a comprehensive study of the school system, its effectiveness, its methods, etc. The person who had been touted the most to head up the study was a prominent professor from the University of Chicago. Superintendent Willis wanted no part of him, nor the study. He threatened to resign if the Board even considered him as the head of the study; he did, in fact, submit his resignation. He said he was going to go on TV and speak directly to the public (those very strong pockets of backlash, which supported him). Willis curried the favor of these people and gave them strength and sustenance by not taking any action on the pressing school-related matters.

"There were also a large number of whites in the city who felt that their kids were not getting a decent education, basically because of the ineptitude of the system. It had gotten too big, too bureaucratic, to deal effectively with changing needs. [They] wanted to see some improvement.

"The Board has never been geared to deal with the fast-changing problems which confronted it. I'm not talking just

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about race problems, but growth, population expansion and changing life styles. Student enrollment jumped from 310,000 in 1954 to 600,000 in 1965. An increase in excess of 20,000 new students each year. It was a tremendous administrative problem, together with the rapidly changing theories of education, the knowledge explosion. You had a bureaucratic organization which prided itself in doing things the same old way. There wasn't a willingness to look at the problem and see what could be done about it. Everything had to fit the existing mold.

"The Superintendent threatened to resign again because he charged that Board members were becoming too involved in administrative matters. He [Willis] developed a system where-by Board members could not talk to any administrative. people except through his office, and he even developed a set of procedures for Board member-staff interaction. Organiza-tional matters came up, and the Board felt that there was a great need for a hard look at the organization structure. We hired a company to make an extensive study, and the recom-mendations were partially accepted and implemented. One of the problems which a number of the Board members saw, and continue to see, is that the Board never extricates itself from dealing with minutiae. By State law the Board must pass on every appointment, every expenditure of money over a mini-mal amount. They tried to deal with that by adopting reports on an omnibus basis. We'd get thick reports each meeting and we'd meet twice a month. Board members wanted to show that they'd read the damn things, so they asked a lot of asinine questions such as what kind of typewriters, paper, etc., were purchased. The Board never got around to its more critical function of policy-making.

Centralization and Opposition nge
"This is a highly centralized system, which was fostered by Ben Willis, in his 13 years here. He was a strong personality; staff had to follow the party line. He allowed no real devia-

tion, no initiative at the local level. Many people in the system. who had a lot of talent, and a lot of ability either went elsewhere or saw their talents atrophied because they didn't have a chance to use them. Willis' successor was completely the opposite. But many of the old-line people had lost all the zest for innovation and change, and they continued to look to headquarters for minute, day-to-day guidance instead of exercising initiative, or looking to the district office or the principal's office for direction. I wanted to strengthen the principal, hold the principal responsible; give him some authority and let him run his own ship.

"How do you change a structure when you have people who don't understand that structure and don't want to come to grips with it because it's something that is foreign? You ran into the desire to maintain the status quo from a large part of the community as well as people with vested interests within the system. The school system is a billion dollar operation, one of the largest enterprises in the state; with 44,000 employees, 575,000 students, 550 schools. It is being run by a policy-making group, that doesn't want to make policy and [by] a staff with little or no management expertise. The staff, sensing the division among the Board members the 'progressives' and the 'status-quoers,' played politics by not rocking the boat either way. As a result, you have one of the most inept school systems, in my judgment, of any of the large cities. Yet, through the union, and the mediation of the Mayor the level of staff compensation was steadily increased so that Chicago has perhaps the highest starting rates for teachers in the country, and one of the poorest student achievement levels. That's been documented by study after study. Our kids come to the public schools almost at the national average in reading readiness tests but they decline the longer they stay in school, as opposed to Baltimore, for instance, where they show a modest improvement.

Budgetary and Financial Matters

"The budget is very intricate and complex. And I think purposely so. Administrators don't want the Board to understand the budget. Board members don't always recognize that the budget is a very important instrument of policy-making. You get so bogged down in the details of trying to understand it, that you don't have the proper perspective to deal with it effectively. For instance, one of my pet issues in the policy area, that the Board wouldn't come to grips with, was that we spent more money for high-school students than we did for elementary students. Many student problems stem from poor education at the elementary level. We have more overcrowding and fewer resources in the elementary grades than in the high schools. If we're ever going to break the cycle of remedial reading and arithmetic, we've got to do a better job in the lower grades. That means moving more resources to the elementary schools. Well, I could never drum up six votes to get that done. I think part of the problem in dealing with those kinds of issues or in developing priorities [is that] the 11-member Board tried to operate the system rather than set policy, goals and objectives.

"Our financial system is very archaic, and the Board of Education was constantly exposed publicly through audits by outside agencies concerning improper expenditures. But the Board members never found out about these things until six months later when we read about it in the newspaper. The payment of invoices was terrible; vendors, particularly small ones, had to wait up to six months before being paid. You didn't always know where money was spent. There wasn't timely and accurate reporting of funds. To correct this meant a complete overhauling of the financial and accounting system, which was an expensive proposition.

"This occurred at a time when the schools were very short of money, and it was very difficult to get enough Board mem-

bers to see that spending the money to improve financial
reporting was a wise investment."

. . . James Clement on the Chicago School Board

**Appointment to
the School
Board**

"Although I had a five-year appointment, I was on the Board
from about May, 1964, to about May, 1966. The amount of
time that I had to spend each week was about twice what I
had been told a conscientious Board member would have to
contribute. The common estimate, when I was considering
going on the Board, was about 15 to 20 hours a week. As it
turned out, largely because of the unco-operative attitude of
Superintendent Benjamin C. Willis, I found I had to spend
35 to 40 hours a week. So I resigned in the spring of 1966.

"My name was submitted by the Episcopal Society for Cul-
tural and Racial Unity which called me and asked whether I
would be interested. I had never previously given any serious
thought to going on the Board of Education, but I felt that
with five children in the public schools, I should try to do
what I could to help improve the schools.

"When my name was submitted, there were, I understand,
something like 145 names presented, and the Advisory Com-
mission selected approximately 25 of these for personal inter-
views. Interviews lasted 20 to 25 minutes and covered some
fairly significant questions. However, some of the questions
were rather superficial.

"I had never been to a Board meeting before I became a
member. All that I knew was that Chicago had a system
based on the principle of citizen control of schools. I under-
stood the difference between policy-making decisions and
general supervision by a citizen board, on the one hand, and
day-to-day administration on the other hand. My father was
a professor of education, my mother was a school teacher,

my sister is married to a college professor, and I taught
school one year myself, so I had a feeling for the complexity
of the problems. I think I appreciated that the citizen board
should not be interfering in details and in day-to-day tech-
niques used by teachers, or in the administration of a given
school. But I felt that there were many, many problems of
policy, that only a citizen board could decide, and that some
of these questions of policy would necessarily be reflected in
approaches to day-to-day problems by people throughout the
system. I knew from reading the newspapers that the 11-
member Board had been cowed by Superintendent Willis, so
I knew there was a personality problem. I guess at the time I
accepted the statement by Mayor Daley that he didn't inter-
fere in the schools.

"I was aware that there was a great deal of discontent mainly
in black communities, but also in some of the more aware
white communities. I had a feeling that the white communi-
ties that were embracing Superintendent Willis and being
uncritical, and even laudatory of the public schools, were
sometimes influenced by the fact that their children were
from a socio-economic class that would achieve well anyway,
no matter what kind of school they were in. And in many
other ways, they were influenced by the fact that they were
basically racist themselves, and they conceived the Super-
intendent as being the protector of a white racist point of
view and were therefore for him.

**Desegregation,
Political Control
and Quality
Education
Major Issues**

"The most urgent problem facing the Board in 1964 was the
problem of desegregation of the Chicago Public Schools. But
I think the most basic issue facing the Board then, as now, is
the impact that the Mayor of the City of Chicago has on the
Board. The Mayor appoints Board members, and the appoint-
ments are confirmed by the City Council. The public posture
of the Mayor is that he has nothing further to do with the
Schools. It is my belief, however, that the Mayor has been

involved in certain issues confronting the Board of Education. Obviously, politics, in the sense of patronage, should never be permitted to enter into the Chicago Public Schools.

"There are, I believe, two situations in which politics belong in the public schools. I think that politics is, after all, just the presentation of alternatives to the electorate so that they can make informed decisions. Politics also belong in the public schools in the sense that the chief executive officer of the city has to provide some broad leadership in public education. I think that the Mayor must provide a leadership that will evoke from the members of the Board of Education a far better performance than they have exhibited so far. I also think that the Mayor should help provide the members of the Board of Education with the kind of staff and tools they need to do a good job. That's probably an equally important, continuing and underlying issue that has always been present. The Board doesn't have any staff, so they're at the mercy of a mammoth, entrenched and rigid bureaucracy.

"It's perfectly clear that one of the major issues was the quality of education in the public schools. Many, many students who graduate from the Chicago Public Schools are not able to read, or write or do arithmetic. They have not been given the chance to enjoy the cultural aspects of education, or to develop any very refined skills, either for personal enjoyment, or for making a living.

Intransigence to Change

"What happens, I think, is that teachers realize that much of the problem is beyond their control and so they, understandably, become annoyed when it appears that they are the ones who are being criticized. Many of them become so defensive that they won't think about change and they won't accept their fair degree of criticism. In the Chicago Public School System, this was complicated by the fact that the Mayor is one who believes in presenting the very best possible picture

he can of any municipal institution, such as the public
schools, and he brooks no criticism, no matter how constructive it may be. So from the top down through the bureaucracy in the Central Board of Education offices, out into the
districts, into school administrations and down through the
teachers, there is a tendency to refuse to accept a fair share
of criticism and to accept the conclusion that change is
necessary.

"I think that the main problem is one of attitudes. The business community has recently decided that the public schools
are not nearly what they should be. Ten years ago, there were
not many persons in the business community who would
publicly say that. That was unfortunate. The general public,
in the city, state and nation, declares its undying loyalty to
the public school system. It's a part of our American tradition. It makes our American Dream possible; equal opportunity for all. And yet, when taxes go up, there are complaints, and the general public and the political leaders often
fail to see the cost to society in terms of lost achievement,
discouragement, resulting crime, and inability of people to
support themselves. I think when we're talking about both
quality and integration, that members of minority groups
often fail in school simply because they're not expected to
achieve. There's a terrible problem of attitudes and low expectations of both teachers and school principals and to an
extent, higher administration officials. These are self-fulfilling
prophecies and some children can overcome that kind of
attitude, but many, indeed most, cannot.

"I came to feel that Chicago's basic problems in public education were probably the same as in every other city. But I
came to feel that Superintendent Willis was a symbol of a
kind of defeatist attitude on the part of the public school
system, an overly defensive and disruptive attitude. He was a

symbol that had to be replaced by a better administration which could attack the problems in a more sensible way.

Policy Formulation vs. Administration

"I don't think there's any formula that you can use to separate policy from administration. You just have to rely on the good sense of the people involved. To justify his actions, Superintendent Willis used the shibboleth that the Board shouldn't interfere in administrative matters. The Board simply can't get into the day-to-day administration of the schools. If there are complaints, I think the Board should have some machinery set up for listening to those complaints. I think that the Board has been moving in that direction over the years, and some people have criticized it, particularly teachers. But I think it has to be done because there must be some kind of safety valve for public opinion. It's terribly important to many parents that their children get a good education. The more they realize it, the more frustrated and embittered they become if they think there are possible resolutions to their problems. I spent a good deal of time over a period of several years, working with our local high school through the Parent-Teacher-Student Association. It takes an awful lot of time and effort to get anything done because the local bureaucracy can outlast you. And they're supported by the downtown bureaucracy.

"In broad terms, the curriculum is something that I think is a policy question that a citizen board should be deciding. After Sputnik there was, of course, a nationwide revision of the curriculum of public schools. I think that in many ways these changes are technical educational questions. The kind of deployment of administrative personnel and of teachers, it seems to me, is a policy matter.

"The question of integration is a policy question which the citizen board ought to be passing on. I think that the following should also be included: the emphasis on teaching read-

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ing; allocation of budgetary resources; types of teachers; teaching personnel that should be made available in schools; the kinds of testing that should be carried out to provide indications as to where students' problems are and how these problems could best be met; a concern about seeing to it that tests are not used to stigmatize students; the overall question of where schools are built. The Board should also be concerned, far more than it is now, with an adequate bidding and procurement procedure, the integrity of the school principals' examination and the overall administrative structure of the school system.

"I don't mean that the Board should necessarily initiate policy in all of these areas, but these are areas where the Board needs to pass on suggestions that are presented to them by the bureaucracy and the Superintendent.

Selection and Qualifications of Board Members

"I think the present method of selection of Board members is a good one. I think it has potential for developing better Board members than it has. The only alternative is an elected school board. I think that would be worse. I think that you'd end up with a body similar to the City Council which would be just as political as the City Council, in the worst sense. What is needed is more leadership from the Mayor. The 11-member Board should be given a staff so that it isn't overwhelmed by the job. It's up to the public to push for the best possible appointments.

"In a city as large as Chicago, I think an elected board would be a disaster because it would be run, if not by the Mayor, by the ward committeemen. Board positions would be political plums and they wouldn't go to anybody unless they were loyal to the organization. I don't think you'd have as much accountability under an elected system, as under an appointed system. But I do think that the Mayor should accept a larger degree of responsibility, both for appointments and

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for performance. He should provide a broad type of leadership that won't get him involved in individual decisions very often, but will make it clear to the Board, the kind of performance that he expects them to give. It is true that there are members of the Board who are openly representing certain constituencies. There are two seats that are generally considered to be labor seats. I think it's a good idea to have persons from different walks of life and from different vocations. However, it's a shame that such emphasis has been placed on the fact that these are labor seats. There are other seats that are generally considered in proportion to the ethnic groups in Chicago, and I think that's a good idea.

"You can recite a list of qualifications which we can all agree on, but only when the real pressure comes can you decide whether a certain person has these qualifications. An obvious one is a concern about public school education. That's not always been the case because there have been members of the Board who were there simply because the Mayor wanted them there. There have been other members there because of business considerations. I think a willingness to participate in discussions about public schools in an orderly and mannerly way is another prerequisite. In a city this size, Board members have to have a passionate dedication and desire to achieve the goal of a stable, integrated community. This, I think, is very important and yet there are not too many, perhaps, who have really believed it is possible. They have to want an open community, throughout the city, with attention paid to the needs of everybody on an equal basis to achieve a just and a stable community.

**Needed
Changes**

"Board meetings ought to be more productive. One of the procedural reforms ought to be to circulate documents of importance ahead of time, to give the Board a chance to look at them. One of the things which the members of the Board have been criticized for is the fact that they spent so much

time on procurement. I think that could be handled through a committee arrangement which wouldn't bring all the procurement problems before the main board. I think that, if there were more attention paid to procurement procedures in competitive bidding, that the board could assure itself that everything was being done fairly. Of course, when you have a budget as large as the Chicago Board of Education, you can wonder, legitimately, whether somebody has his hand in the till, and so the Board must be careful about turning over procurement to the staff without some kind of supervision and control.

"Before I was on the Board, the School Board budget had provided for one administrative assistant and one secretary for 11 members. I moved at a Board meeting that we hire three administrative assistants; one trained in the discipline of human relations, one trained in the discipline of public administration and one trained in education.

"I think that School Board members need, most of all, a paid staff, who could put together some kind of training outline for School Board members who have been appointed. There should be a greater lead time between the appointment and confirmation of Board members and the actual seating which would make it possible to have some kind of a training program. It would also make it possible for the new Board members to attend Board meetings to see what kind of problems come up so that they can prepare themselves to vote on issues.

"There's a difference between a successful public school system that accomplishes objectives and one that just survives. I imagine that the Chicago Public Schools will survive in the sense that the buildings will be standing and teachers and students will still be in the classrooms, but they won't be doing the job they should be doing. The school system will

survive in the minimal sense, but unless it's greatly improved, it's not going to do the job it should be doing.

"I would not throw out the present Board, or the present Board structure. I guess that I would say, however, that there are certain Board members who I would feel have completed their tours of duty."

Minneapolis

Minneapolis is predominantly a residential city built around a chain of lakes. Neighborhoods are subdivided either racially or socio-economically. However, there are pockets of minority population spread around the city. The outer ring of the city and the first ring of the suburban area are predominantly white, with a wide range of socio-economic status in the population. The city is unique in having the second largest urban Native-American population in the country, next to Los Angeles. School students number about sixty thousand, 13% of whom are from minority groups.

During the period in which desegregation became an issue, the Minneapolis schools were run by a seven-member Board of Education, elected by the citizens of Minneapolis, and a relatively centralized bureaucracy headed by the Superintendent. Before the arrival of Dr. John B. Davis, Jr. as Superintendent, his predecessor had delegated authority to school principals to the extent that one Board member characterized the system as "the czar and his lords." Superintendent Davis revised that pattern of administrative relationships, beginning with experimental decentralization. Decentralization was fully implemented in 1973-74.

Brainstorming on the possibilities for introducing school desegregation began early in the administration of Dr. Davis. He had established a pattern of decisive, respected leadership on such issues among School Board members and administrative staff. Thus, in the academic year 1970-71 when the school's

administrative staff and School Board members took several alternative experimental proposals to the public, the governing bodies of the school system were well acquainted with the possible alternatives for desegregation.

Over a two-year period, numerous meetings were held to assess public sentiment on the possible experimental alternatives that were to serve as a prelude to a full-scale plan for school desegregation. The public hearings were often stormy affairs held at numbers of schools around the city, in which school administrators at all levels and School Board members were called to account not only for their proposals on desegregation, but for their general level of responsiveness to the public. Often the discussion focused as much on questions of accountability for "basic skills," reading, writing, and computing, and parental access to the schools and information about their children as they did on desegregation.

Finally, the experimental pairing of two elementary schools was approved, combining two schools in racially and socio-economically diverse areas of South Minneapolis. Although many residents of the area once approached the experiment with some trepidation, today there are waiting lists of students from all over the city who desire to become enrolled in the paired schools.

The workings of the Minneapolis School Board are described by two of its members. Harry Davis, presently an executive on the publisher's staff of the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune,* has been on the Minneapolis Board of Education since 1968 and is currently its President.

Mrs. Marilyn Borea, a housewife, is presently in the midst of her first term as a member of the Minneapolis Board of Education. Originally touted by the media and viewed by many as the foe of desegregation, higher taxes and bureaucratic

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insensitivity, she has emerged as one Board member said, "a very bright, conscientious, good School Board member [who] has the ability to ask questions [and] does her homework."

. . . . Harry Davis, on the Minneapolis School Board

Recruitment and Appointment of School Board Members

"In 1968 the Urban Coalition was founded by businessmen. I was working then for a division of Studebaker where I was a Director of Personnel. They asked me to be the first President of the Urban Coalition. I took a three-year leave of absence to develop the coalition, hire staff and get it going. The first year I was there we appointed Task Forces to look at seven major areas including employment, housing, education, economic development and community relations. The second year we focused directly on the black community and held a conference in 1969, sponsored by the Urban Coalition. Out of the conference came a 14-person strategy committee for the black community; I was one of the 14. We had been working with [Mayor] Art Naftolin to appoint minorities to boards and commissions, because we knew that there weren't enough voters to elect them.

"In the meantime, certain political involvement had been developing in the city. L. Howard Bennett was a member of the School Board and later was appointed to a judgeship. John Warder was appointed to the Board to take his place. Education is very important, and the black community felt we should have representation on the policy-making body of the school district. Warder had to leave the School Board and a 14-man strategy committee met and recommended who should take John's place. We needed someone who had been working with the system, either through the PTA or on the task forces, someone who was known, whose name had been in the headlines who was respected and had the possibility of

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being elected. I was chosen. I was appointed in late 1968 and then I ran for office in the spring of 1969.

"We continued the political development in the Urban Coalition. I was involved in the PTA's; we've always been active. I served on a number of task forces even before Superintendent Davis came. So I was quite familiar with the school system. I was also a product of the schools.

"I had some ideas of the responsibilities of a Board person, and I had an idea of what my responsibilities would be. Working closely with the schools I felt the major responsibility of the School Board member was to establish policy and procedures that would provide quality education for all the students according to their abilities. You have a very broad spectrum of students; from the very bright to the very slow learner along with the handicapped and the physically capable. And in my opinion you cannot satisfy all of their needs through conventional education. I thought that my responsibility was to establish policies to offer children the best quality education we could give them. . . . knowing also that we need money.

Integration Begins

"In 1970, when we went through our problems with integration, I changed my conception from quality education, to quality-integrated education that should be a responsibility of every Board member. When I went on the Board of Education, I thought about integration but I didn't put it together with quality education. The more I learned about desegregation plans and how we were going to integrate, the more it became apparent that integration went together with quality education, not only for the black students but for whites also. One of the ways that I worked outside the school system to help our cause, which I think Dr. Davis and some of the other Board members agreed with, was to encourage the NAACP to file suit against us.

"I knew that when they got in Judge Larsen's court, they (the NAACP) were in a good position to beat us, and that is what happened. But that is the best thing that ever happened to our plan for integration, because it got Judge Larsen to be the monitoring guide who worked behind the scenes to keep people going legally.

"Our human relations guidelines were established in 1968; however, we revised them in 1970. When Bob Williams came on as an Assistant Superintendent, the recruitment of minority teachers became a policy quite naturally. And the people we were recruiting were good quality.

"Superintendent Davis is not a hard person to work with, because he is a very dedicated, honest and good superintendent; in fact, excellent. He saw the value of an integrated teaching staff and we started moving people."

Affirmative Action Efforts

"[On the issue of affirmative action] the business community was one of the major actors. It probably should have been the labor unions, but they put up the opposition. At the time the affirmative action and integration plans were being considered the majority of the Board were Republicans — Stu Rider; Duke Johnson; Florence Lehman; Dick Allen; also David Preus, who was a Democrat with Republican endorsement; Frank Adams, who was a labor representative; and myself. I think that the business community was saying, through the Republicans on the Board, that in their corporations they were to implement affirmative action, and that it would be a good example if the school system would do so in hiring and promotion. I think that had a lot of influence. I can specifically point to Dean McNeal of Pillsbury, Jim Sommers of General Mills, Steve Keating of Honeywell. I cite these people because General Mills supports the Lincoln Learning Center and Honeywell the Bryant YES Center. These three corporations along with the *Minneapolis Star* and

Peavey and Northwestern Bank are major contributors of money and materials to the Minneapolis public schools.

"At present, we're reaching almost the last milestone in terms of integration, both students, teachers and staff, at a level where they can show signs of achievement. If black children want to be teachers, they have to be able to see an example, a black teacher or a principal. We've passed a good number of milestones in reaching our goal. We've proven to the most radical opposition of integration that it can work the way we are trying to approach it. We're not out of the woods by a long shot, however. We made a good start — the Field-Hale pairing, the clustering, the alternative education — doing these things along with integration. A lot of people say that the Minneapolis school system is doing something and it is working, and our children are benefiting from it. People are looking for an aggressive new education, and that's a responsibility that I, too, have taken on.

"We then looked at the 10-year building program, which would cost about ninety million dollars; now even more than that. The Bethune school, Franklin, South, North, elementary community schools; there was a lot of building. The school system had a responsibility in its building programs to consider integration. I convinced [those responsible] to appoint an affirmative action officer for the building program, which they did. We were able to get minority contractors to work on building the schools, minority people working on the job, and minority children out of vocational schools to teach them how to be bricklayers, carpenters, etc."

Access to Personnel

"I have a background in administration, and often I'm consulted by Superintendent Davis and other members of his staff relating to differences that arise within a school system. I suggest minority people for certain positions, but I don't think any of the other Board members suggest changes in staff.

I'm consulted by minority staff people while very few others are consulted by these people unless they come through Dr. Davis. He and I have a relationship and he doesn't feel uncomfortable at all if a staff person does consult me."

Orientation of New Members and Budget Issues

"[The Taxpayer's Party, a third political party in Minneapolis, supported two school board candidates who were elected] . . . and they were going to do something to reduce taxes, their major issue was to go in and cut the budget. But these people did not understand that the school system was a multi-million-dollar operation that produces the most important product of any million-dollar operation; well-educated children. They didn't understand that.

"I don't know how we're going to cope with that because issues often get people elected. Maybe we're going to have to do a more effective job in orienting new Board members as they come in, and help them overcome the commitments they've made to their constituents. We have to make them aware immediately of the responsibility they have accepted as Board members.

"We're trying to do that. When I came aboard, there really wasn't an orientation period by the Board for new Board members; now, we do take time and spend a day or two orienting them in their areas of responsibility by going over the personnel policies, the budgets, etc. If you follow the system at all, you know that since 1968 the budget has become a readable document, an understandable one. I think that the influence came not only from Dr. Davis but from members of the Board — Stu Rider, Dick Allen, David Preus, Florence Lehman, Duke Johnson and more recently Jane Starr — who know that their responsibility is to make sure that their communication with the public about the tax dollar is understandable. I think that the influence of the people on the Board, and the way they are trained and

oriented when they come on is very helpful. By sitting on the Minnesota School Board Association, the National School Board Association and the Great City Council of Schools, made up of the 16 largest school districts in the country, we are able to encourage them to hold workshops for new Board members. That happens during conventions.

Curricula and Staff Competence

"Many school system staff people don't want to assume responsibilities in certain areas because they may disagree with Board philosophy or an area presents a problem to them or creates confrontations. But, we need to have staff who can relate, and we have some problems in that area. I don't say that all staff [can't relate], because I think that the Minneapolis school system has many teachers who are good people, mean well and are well-prepared, but that's not everybody. I think sometimes a small group of people can do a lot of harm to many people.

Community Input

"From time to time we appoint task forces to take on specific responsibilities and to advise us. These committees have brought back considerable information and have helped us perform better. One project is still in progress — the Accountability Project (a group of citizens who are analyzing the schools' effectiveness in educating children). Their information has been unbelievably valuable. They have spotted some things which we had looked at but not seen. They made it obvious that we had to deal with certain situations. We have involved much of the community. The second thing [we have done to involve the community] is decentralization — allowing administrators and faculty in a specific area to deal with parents on programs in those areas.

"We have received some very valuable assistance from communities. Each area — West, North and East — is different in approach. School people are listening to and evaluating their input because they are educators. Decentralization has made

areas aware that the School Board is trying to find out if our district is healthy, and it is providing the input to see that it is healthy. All the parts are in order. Our system is doing a good job in bringing in the community; we can improve, however.

Past Contracts

"One of our major stumbling blocks is in the area of past agreements (union contracts, etc.). These problems can only be corrected by committed and aggressive Board members. We have to play a major role and look realistically at the changes that have to be made in order for us to carry out our responsibilities. There is, of course, a chance you take because you will be challenging people who would be supportive of you in your election.".

. . . Marilyn Borea on the Minneapolis School Board

Budget

"We had budget briefings on the average of once a week, more or less, sometimes every day for five days, and we met last year on Saturdays from eight in the morning until noon or one o'clock during January, February, March, working on the budget. Actually there wasn't enough time. I think until the last few years the budget has been pretty well accepted by the Board, but over half of the members, who are not even anti-budget, question certain priorities; for example, should we put more money into special education and less into something else? This coming year we'll spend even more time on the budget; we'll probably start working with the administration in September.

Administrative Details

"We try not to become too involved but sometimes you happen to know a lot about one given area and it's hard not to become involved. I think one thing I did a couple of years ago [was helpful] . I served on an evaluation committee in purchasing, so I would know the process that the Department of City Purchasing uses. [This Department does our pur-

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chasing.] I would then know the process and how things are evaluated all the way down the line. I think one of the other Board members has done that, too, but I think an experience like that is very helpful because one realizes the time that has gone into purchasing just one item. If one hasn't been involved in the process, it might be easy to think that there wasn't much that went into it.

Information and Decision-Making

"We have been having community meetings for about a year. A lot of information, by the time it gets to the Board, is watered down; no, it's compacted. Many times it's assumed that we really don't need all of that information and often we don't because we have a staff to take care of these matters. But [there are some situations where] it's difficult to know whether the right decision is being made without having all of the background information.

"I think one of the reasons [for the watering down of information] is that people in the administration feel that they are hired to present background information and that the Board is supposed merely to set policy. Historically, this Board has been very content to do that. But in the last three and a half years, we have had five new Board members who are more interested in knowing what considerations went into recommendations than they might have been in the past. I don't mean this as degrading; I think it is because politics and decision-making are becoming more open. If we are going to make decisions in such an open manner, we have to have the information.

Educational Innovations and Program Planning

"The only problem I have with educational innovation is that we should not move too fast. We realize that what is working in one area [of the city] might be due to factors peculiar to that community. We want to take these factors into account when studies are being made and statements being circulated that these [new programs] are great. Basically, I support

[alternatives in education] but the Board shouldn't adopt all
alternatives unless it's sure that these alternatives are what a
given community wants; if the majority of a community
wants them, then they will work. If the majority doesn't
want them, I don't care how good they are, I don't think
they will really work.

"Board members or elected officials can look at an issue and
try to ask the kinds of questions they think the people they
are representing would ask. Many times other Board members
will ask questions and a member of the administration will
get another view of an issue.

**Access to
School
Personnel**

"I guess it is human nature that if a Board member calls a
principal to determine whether the school or the parents
were wrong in a particular instance, the principal will take an
extra ten minutes to check out the facts. I try to use discre-
tion [in calling principals] . I say that I'm not taking sides,
that I don't know the situation, and I don't know what's in-
volved, but I would appreciate it if he would check some facts
for me. I'm sure that carries more weight than if a parent
calls, but I have to be tactful and try not to get carried away
by this kind of involvement. However, I do not think that
parents would call a Board member unless they really felt
there is a problem. Sometimes someone calls and you really
think that they're exaggerating, but you find out that they
were correct.

"For example, a friend of my husband has a child who would
be five when school started. The mother was a former
teacher. She had called me and said she wanted to have her
daughter tested, but that the school wouldn't test her. The
principal of the local school would not agree to her testing
at the administration building. She said she was sure that her
child read at least at a first-grade level. I called down to the
Board and they took care of it. I didn't really expect her to

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read at a first- or second-grade level because she wasn't five yet, but it turned out that she was reading at a third-grade level. It only took a few minutes of my time, but it was very important. Lots of things like that come up. When I was first elected, I would let people talk over the phone for 45 minutes. Now I have learned that you can be just as effective in five minutes.

School Accountability and Parental Involvement

"I think schools still need to make more of an effort to become involved with parents. The main thing is making the people in the community feel involved in the school. I know this is something that is being worked on. When you have a school-community meeting and send out a flyer, many people are going to be shy about coming in because they don't want to raise questions before a whole room of people that can be identified as their child's problem. Many educators feel that in essence this is why so few show up. If people are pleased with the way their children are doing, their neighbors usually know about it and their feelings result in support for legislators and School Board people who are trying to get things done. Sometimes people will vote no on an issue because of the little dissatisfactions and what they hear in their own particular neighborhood school. Those things really can mushroom.

"We [the School Board] don't need more power; we have the power to do practically anything. The problem is whether or not the staff favors particular positions. The power to make a decision doesn't really carry anything out."

Chapter 3
Some Comments on School Board Practices

In light of the preceding accounts of the operations of the Chicago and Minneapolis school boards, how do they compare as "democratic" or "effective" institutions? What techniques did board members use to absorb and generate change? Did they demonstrate the will and capacity to absorb change? Did they attempt to generate change through innovation? Did they employ democratic practices in their deliberations? Did they have the resources necessary to deal with issues of bureaucratization and desegregation?

The school boards of Chicago and Minneapolis, as portrayed in these interviews with a few board members, present contrasting styles of operation. However, it would be unwarranted to conclude that either Board approached an ideal "democratic" or "effective" process. What can be said is that Chicago's Board, in the view of the Board members interviewed, was unable to be responsive to the demands of the public it served. The Minneapolis Board appeared to have attempted to understand and respond to changing circumstances, including the need to desegregate its schools, but it was not always effective as a manager of the bureaucracy.

Recognition of Need for Change

The Chicago Board of Education, like many others, seemed unable even to deal with the issue of desegregation of schools. Their actions suggest an inability to deal with the uncompromising positions of the Superintendent and the Mayor. Under an outmoded and inflexible system of financial management and delivery of education services, Board members were unable to deal with problems directly.

Board members and the Superintendent in Chicago seem not to have been able to assess and adjust to the drastic changes which had taken place in the city and its school system. Chicago had grown enormously since the 1940's. Over a 20-year period, the number of poor whites and minorities flowing into the city from the South changed not only the composi-

tion of the city's neighborhoods, but also the demands on the school system, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Board members, operating out of a context which did not take into account these changes, seemed unable to respond to the needs of the population. The school system had grown in this same 20-year period into a multi-billion dollar corporation with commensurate organizational complexity.

The Minneapolis school board was at least willing, if not always able, to grapple with the problems of desegregation and bureaucratization. Citizens participation was recognized and encouraged to a far greater extent than in Chicago.

Board members had a clear understanding of the need to desegregate schools. In fact, the issue was one of the major items on the agendas of the Board and the Superintendent. Furthermore, under the urging of people like Harry Davis, Board members perceived the interrelationship between quality and integrated education, and (although its impact to date is uncertain) the Board and the Superintendent implemented plans for the administrative decentralization of the school system with the intention of making the system more responsive to staff and community concerns. (Administrative decentralization was implemented in Chicago under Superintendent James Redmond; however, if one is to judge from the assessment of Warren Bacon, its impact in reducing the ill effects of bureaucratization has been questionable.)

Out of the unrest of the sixties emerged a new cadre of minority leaders, in groups such as the Urban Coalition. These leaders, Harry Davis among them, worked to articulate and publicize the nature of educational problems in Minne- apolis. Because the Board was accessible, participants in the Coalition and members of the business community were able to make Board members aware of the students' needs. Thus, when Superintendent Davis and Board members initiated

action to desegregate the schools and cope with problems of bureaucratization, the foundations of awareness had been built among the Board members.

Openness to Public Opinion

A majority of the members of the School Board and the Superintendent in Chicago were unable to incorporate the thinking of community organizations such as the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations. Since most members of the Board were unable to incorporate parental and community concerns into their own views, teachers were discouraged in their efforts to seek new ways of collaborating with students, parents and the community to find creative alternatives designed to deal effectively with the increasingly diverse needs of students. The School Board utilized the services of a consulting firm to make recommendations for the updating of the services delivery systems but utilized very little of the findings and suggestions in the final report.

Citizens felt inhibited in the formation of realistic goals by minimal access to information. When they did formulate goals, they were confronted with tremendous opposition to the presentation of these goals to the School Board, as indicated by the numerous protests and boycotts. Citizens felt that when goals and/or preferences were voiced, little consideration was given them by the School Board.

At times citizens were reluctant to express concerns because of their fear of possible economic, political or social reprisals from the political organization in power. The School Board member whose business was threatened if he voted for Warren Bacon for President of the Board was cited as an example. The Mayor's selection process effectively insulated the Board from public input involving recruitment or final selection of Board members. His screening committee effectively narrowed the field of possible candidates and limited

the expression of ideas (as Bacon noted, he was eligible largely because he had "no skeletons in his closet"). Within the school system the Superintendent effectively controlled access to information about the schools. In fact, as noted, on one occasion when he was subpoenaed, he avoided being served by leaving the premises. At School Board meetings it was, at best, difficult to get controversial issues on the agenda and opposition to the Mayor on a substantive issue endangered reappointment.

In Minneapolis, however, there appeared to have been a continuing pattern of efforts to afford citizens input and impact. Numerous citizens' groups, such as the West High School Community Organization, the Accountability Task Force and the Task Force on Women in the Schools, had access to and impact on the deliberations and policies of the School Board. Citizens indicated their goals through elections, public hearings and the formation of a third party. Citizens often called School Board members because they perceived them as responsive public officials.

There was little evidence in Minneapolis of punishment for the exercise of one's preferences. Despite the 1970-71 controversy over the dismissal of a teacher (who, many maintained, was dismissed because of his divergent views on desegregation), the School Board held numerous hearings on the case, some specifically for the public to air its views on this issue.

The School Board and the Superintendent and his staff have often "gone to the public." A recently passed state open meeting regulation forced School Board members to make their deliberations and decisions even more visible by considerably narrowing the scope of those matters which could be dealt with in executive session. As Harry Davis and Stuart Rider (an ex-school Board member and Board President) indi-

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cated in interviews, businessmen, the Chamber of Commerce and the Urban Coalition played significant roles in important educational issues, such as the teachers' strike settlement of 1970 and the desegregation of schools. Nevertheless, there are school system staff members and community representatives who still maintain that the bureaucracy prevents a clear understanding of the decision-making process.

Citizens in Minneapolis join and form organizations to advance their positions both in the political and economic arenas and in the educational system. This is due in part to the fact that Minneapolis has a relatively powerless Mayor and a strong City Council system of municipal government. Although the School Board must seek the support of the Mayor, the City Council and a rurally dominated State Legislature for school budget levy increases, Board members are held accountable through the electoral process. School Board members are elected at large rather than from specific political subdivisions, and they tend to run on a specific set of issues. They represent various segments of the city-wide constituencies who have voted for them and members of the public have ready access to them both privately and through public hearings. For example, Marilyn Borea noted the hours she had spent on the phone with friends, school staff and constituents who desired to have their views made known to the School Board.

According to Harry Davis and Marilyn Borea, any citizen can mount a campaign for the office, the chief drawback being the cost. Characteristically in recent years, these elections have appeared to be fair, open and hard-fought contests centered around the issues of desegregation, taxes and accountability.

Both the electoral process and the character of the Board members seem to have led to consistent responsiveness to

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citizen concerns. In fact, as Harry Davis noted, Board members are often called to task in public hearings on specific positions they have taken on educational issues. Clearly, the election of Marilyn Borea was, in part, the result of citizen response to perceived bureaucratic insensitivity.

The Minneapolis Board of Education initiated a number of experimental and alternative programs in response to specific problems: The Southeast alternative school district, the experimental pairing of elementary schools and the clustering of schools to remediate segregated attendance patterns. Moreover, while their effectiveness has been questioned by participants in the programs, the efforts of the administrative staff to enact Human Relations and Affirmative Action plans offer further evidence of a search for alternatives. Finally, the Board initiated a number of task forces and public hearings which School Board members have either sponsored or used as vehicles for responding to community concerns.

Leadership
One apparent difference between these two school systems lies in the nature of administrative leadership. In Mr. Bacon's view, Superintendent Willis focused his leadership on issues surrounding the need for new facilities. In fact, Mr. Willis was criticized rightly or wrongly for contributing to the continuation of the ill effects of bureaucratization and segregated schooling through lack of focus on other areas of concern. In notable contrast, all three School Board members interviewed in Minneapolis clearly indicated that Superintendent Davis has offered respected, positive and constructive leadership on a broad range of policy issues. Specifically, Harry Davis pointed to the role Superintendent Davis played in working with the Board, the Urban Coalition, the NAACP and the court to facilitate desegregation plans.

It is difficult to determine exactly who was making educational decisions in Chicago. Was it the School Board? Was it

Superintendent Willis and other school officials? The absence of a clearly defined system of educational decision-making made it difficult to know whom to hold accountable. If those responsible for educational decision-making are neither visible nor accountable, to whom are they responsible? Who were the constituents they served? In Chicago, citizens perceived no vehicles through which the voices of the many constituencies of the city could gain a hearing, let alone be given full and fair opportunity to express their preferences to those who represented them.

In Minneapolis, both School Board members and the Superintendent and his staff perceived themselves and are perceived as being accountable. Certainly, there were a number of instances in which neither visibility nor accountability was obtained. In comparison with the exercise of power in Chicago, however, the style of educational governance in Minneapolis was clearly more democratic.

Administrative Detail

However, many similarities exist between board practices in the cities. Both boards tend to become preoccupied with administrative detail. In Chicago the Board attempted to simplify matters by having omnibus reports. However, according to Mr. Bacon, meetings soon became dominated by these reports. Mrs. Borea remarked on the tendency to get involved in administrative details, especially those she knew something about, such as purchasing. In Chicago, during the sixties, Superintendent Willis threatened to resign if the School Board did not extricate itself from administrative decision-making. In Minneapolis, one Board member noted that when executive sessions were used more frequently, Superintendent Davis would ask, in so many words, why they hired him if they were devoting so much time to the administration of the schools.

Both school systems continue to face the problems created
by bureaucratization and the need for desegregation. The
Minneapolis School Board and Superintendent Davis have,
however, demonstrated both the will and the capacity to
acknowledge and begin to formulate alternatives for dealing
with the interrelated problems considered here, while in
Chicago, at least until 1973, when he left the Board of Edu-
cation, Warren Bacon felt there was little evidence of either
will or capacity to acknowledge or act upon the problems
evolving from a highly bureaucratized and segregated school
system.

Chapter 4
Conclusions and Recommendations

School board members are chosen in various ways in various communities, and arguments will undoubtedly continue as to whether selection (by a mayor and/or a nominating panel) or direct election is the method better designed to place responsible and informed citizens in charge of a school system. Recruitment techniques will also, therefore, vary from place to place, but regardless of the process involved, certain criteria for membership on school boards would appear to be essential.

Potential school board members, for instance, should have a genuine concern for the welfare of all students served by the system, a clear conception of the function and role of public education, and some first-hand experience in local educational affairs. While some attention will inevitably be paid to the desire or ability of a given candidate to represent a certain segment of the population — an ethnic, religious or geographical group, there is little to recommend a strict quota system of school board representation. Members of the board of education must be able to rise above sectarian pressures and to act in the interest of the entire community.

However, in those communities where a majority of the student population represents a minority group, the LTI takes the position that representation on the board of education for that minority should be significant. The policies and practices of the school district affect most seriously the students actually attending the public schools. And the students, as the ones who will suffer or benefit to the degree that their interests are taken into account, should be represented.

No matter how school board members are recruited or chosen, however, much remains to be said and done on the subject of their orientation and training. As was amply demonstrated in the interviews with the Chicago and Minne-

apolis board members, their tasks are enormously compli-
cated by their inability (even when willing to learn) to
grasp the inherent conflict of their dual relationship to both
the public and to the educational bureaucracy. Thrust into a
situation in which they must listen to and sort out the many
and varied demands from outside the system, and simultane-
ously understand and direct a massive organization, most
school board members are ill-prepared to serve as effective
policy-makers.

Despite their responsibility for decisions involving school
personnel, students and millions of tax dollars, little or no
attention has been paid to ensuring that members of the
school boards have even minimal preparation for undertaking
their tasks. The Recruitment LTI offers, therefore, a number
of recommendations for school board member orientation
and training. While local conditions — size and composition
of the community, among other things — will necessarily
indicate modifications in both diagnosis of problem areas and
in suggested solutions, the LTI believes that the proposals
outlined below deserve careful study and appropriate adop-
tion.

Before proceeding to identification of school board training
needs and possible resources to meet them, some further
exploration of school board functions may prove helpful. As
has been stated earlier, school boards are required to be both
effective representatives of the public and efficient policy-
makers for the educational bureaucracy. This necessarily
places them in the unenviable position of having constantly
to assimilate input from many sources, to translate that input
into coherent changes in or additions to existing policy, to
identify the specific aspects of the bureaucracy through
which those changes must be effected, and, finally, to
demonstrate to the public that the called-for changes are, in
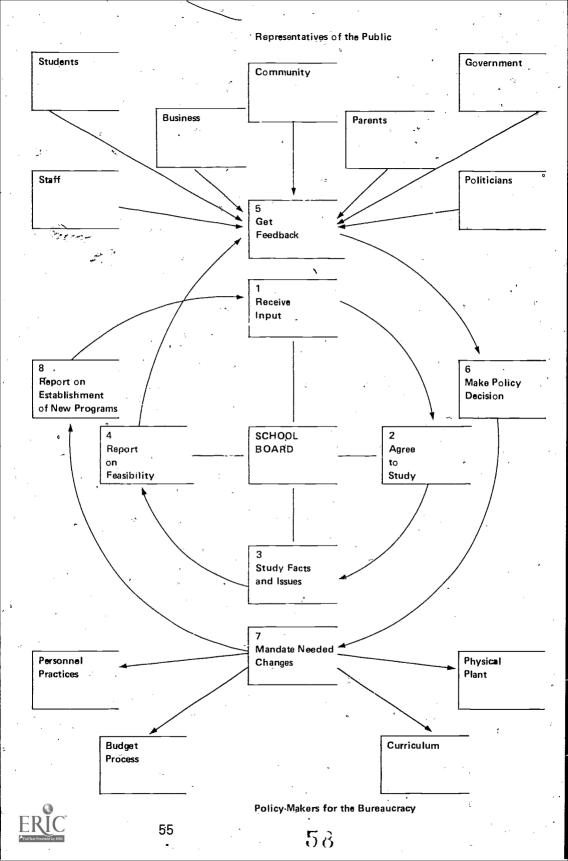fact, being made.

The diagram on page 55 is one possible portrayal of the complex and continuous process in which school board members are involved, as they attempt to absorb and to generate change.

For instance, suppose the school board, in public hearings, is asked to change its basal reading series from one portraying a white, middle-class family to an urban, multi-ethnic oriented series. Such requests may come not only from outside sources — parents or community groups — but also from concerned teachers and curriculum specialists within the bureaucracy. The ultimate resolution of the problem may well require two "rounds" of the decision-making circle (as portrayed in the diagram): the first, an agreement in principle that such a change is desirable, followed by study of the existing materials, the availability of new books, the expense of making changes, the needed ancillary programs (such as staff development to train teachers in the use of new materials). Returning to the "public" with a report on the costs and other factors involved in the new program, the school board must then again hear from the public before taking the second step of deciding to institute that program. After the board has determined to do so, it is then responsible for mandating the required changes as a policy and seeing that they are carried out within the school system.

This case is a discrete curriculum change and relatively non-controversial and such an example is, of course, almost too simple to be representative of the actual agenda of school boards, large or small, which are cluttered with hundreds of problems in varying stages of resolution. However, the process presented here is one which can and should be utilized in considering all issues which come before boards. Board members' ability to deal with this myriad of issues can be enhanced considerably if some effort is made to provide them with both initial and on-going training designed to assist

Representatives of the Public

Students

Community

Government

Business

Parents

Staff

Politicians

5
Get
Feedback

1
Receive
Input

8
Report on
Establishment
of New Programs

6
Make Policy
Decision

4
Report
on
Feasibility

SCHOOL
BOARD

2
Agree
to
Study

3
Study Facts
and Issues

7
Mandate Needed
Changes

Personnel
Practices

Physical
Plant

Budget
Process

Curriculum

Policy-Makers for the Bureaucracy

them to receive and assimilate information and to translate it into viable school programs and practices.

Such training possibilities may be roughly divided into two categories, corresponding to the two roles in which school boards find themselves: representatives of the public and decision-makers for the bureaucracy. The charts on pages 58-67 outline necessary skills, possible resources and suggested training activities in each of these two categories.

Local conditions and abilities of school board members will determine school board training needs and availability of resources as well as the nature and frequency of orientation and training programs. It is the position of the Recruitment LTI, however, that all newly appointed or elected board members should receive minimal preparation for undertaking their tasks and that experienced board members should be given opportunities immediately to enhance their abilities to function as representatives of the public and bureaucratic decision-makers. The charts on pages 58-67 outline suggested basic orientation and training programs which, with discussion and planning, can be revised and implemented by most school boards in this country.

In most school districts the superintendent and his staff will ultimately assume responsibility for the development of a viable orientation and training program for board members. However, in those districts where the board has a staff of its own we would recommend that they be directly involved in planning for and participate in all sessions. The type of training proposed in this paper would be invaluable for board staff persons who are charged with the responsibility of maintaining contact with the school bureaucracy and the community.

School board members, in short, need to be skilled in dealing
with both people and facts. They require, above all, a process
for assimilating new information and translating it into viable
new directions for their school systems. The resources exist
to provide school boards with necessary orientation and
training. It is the position of the Recruitment LTI that these
resources must be mobilized to assist school board members
to deal more effectively and efficiently with their critical
responsibilities. The decision to identify, articulate and solve
training needs by utilizing available resources rests with
members of school boards themselves and with state and na-
tional organizations which represent school boards and their
members.

Orientation and Training for School Board Members

As Representatives of the Public and School Community

Ability to function effectively and efficiently as a representative, democratic group; understand the role and function of the community and be aware of the legal and social mandates and constraints on a local board of education.

Needed Skills	Possible Resources	Training Activities
1. Ability to Utilize Group Process Skills a. Focus on factors facilitating and blocking effective work and problem-solving in the group including leadership styles, communication patterns, decision-making and conflict resolution. b. Increase awareness of and sensitivity to issues of power and the dangers and opportunities of power. To develop more enlightened, sensitive, effective and responsible uses of power. c. Maximize utilization of human resources for the accomplishment of organizational tasks and improve the quality of life in the organization. d. Know the rules of Parliamentary Procedure and how best to run small and large meetings	Consultants, change agents or trainers who are expert in assisting groups and systems work through their problems and define their own needs through reflection and authentic feedback. Experts may be found in psychology departments of local universities and consulting firms. Locally based National Training Laboratory (NTL) Associates may also be utilized. Local school administrators who have experience as consultants or trainers.	Group Process, problem-solving, human relations and communications laboratories to develop greater openness and interpersonal competence can be organized as off-site "retreats" or periodic in-house workshops. Board members, individually or in small groups, can also attend labs organized and run by the National Training Laboratory Institute for Applied Behavioral Science. Brainstorming sessions on selected topics to suggest innovative problem solutions while deliberately restraining critical judgment.

Orientation and Training for School Board Members

As Representatives of the Public and School Community

Ability to function effectively and efficiently as a representative, democratic group; understand the role and function of the community and be aware of the legal and social mandates and constraints on a local board of education.

Needed Skills	Possible Resources	Training Activities
2. Understanding of the Sociology of Education a. Be aware of the demographic and cultural changes which have occurred in the past 20 years and how population movements and changes affect communities and their schools. b. Be familiar with the cultural status of the community including racial, generational and religious composition and conflicting views. c. Understand prevailing economic status of public school parents and community at large and the effect this has on tax base and student achievement. d. Know political climate locally, state-wide and nationally and its effects on public education.	Community leaders, university personnel and directors of service organizations and agencies expert in social, political and economic conditions in the community. Representatives of student government and student rights organizations. Local civil rights organizations and agencies. Representatives from government agencies which collect and analyze information relating to community concerns. Local parents' organizations. Staff members of Regional Educational Laboratories. Teachers or administrators knowledgeable on specific community problems. Representatives from local Civil Liberties Union and Community Legal Services.	Mini-courses, workshops and conferences can be planned around individual topics. Regular course offerings at local colleges and universities. Action research involving a subcommittee of the board, university social scientists and community people to study, diagnose and evaluate existing community conditions and problems. One-day seminars on selected topics.

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Orientation and Training for School Board Members

As Representatives of the Public and School Community

Ability to function effectively and efficiently as a representative, democratic group; understand the role and function of the community and be aware of the legal and social mandates and constraints on a local board of education.

Needed Skills	Possible Resources	Training Activities
3. Knowledge of Legal Mandates and Constraints a. Know the major provisions of the state education code and recent court rulings affecting education locally and nationally. b. Be aware of existing school policies and procedures relating to relationships with the community at large, students and parents. c. Be aware of the financial resources available to the school district and problems relating to school financing. d. Be familiar with the level of Federal aid to the district and the disposition of these funds to support local school program.	Experts on educational law and finance including university professors in departments of educational administration, law firms and Regional Educational Laboratories. Representatives from local Civil Liberties Union and Community Legal Services Local school administrators and the district's legal department. Representatives from governmental agencies dealing with Federal funding for local school districts, the Regional Office or the Headquarters Office of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. State and national organizations which represent school boards and board members, such as the National Association of School Boards.	Mini-courses, workshops, institutes and conferences on school law and finance. Regular course offerings at local colleges and universities. One-day seminars on selected topics.

Orientation and Training for School Board Members

As Representatives of the Public and School Community

Ability to function effectively and efficiently as a representative, democratic group; understand the role and function of the community and be aware of the legal and social mandates and constraints on a local board of education.

Needed Skills	Possible Resources	Training Activities
4. Awareness of Groups Appealing to the Board a. Increase awareness of neighborhood and community groups including home and school associations, parents and teachers associations, ethnic groups, etc. b. Increase sensitivity of all school system organizations including the teachers' union, students' organizations, administrators' organizations, etc. c. Be aware of the roles played by and the resources available from various business and labor groups such as the National Association of Manufacturers, the local AFL-CIO central labor body, etc. d. Understand the nature and role of political and governmental groups including local political parties and sectarian groups.	Formal and informal leaders from groups dealing with school problems and issues including business and labor leaders, student representatives, parents, community and political leaders. Experts from university sociology departments. Local parents' organization Locally based labor educators and experts in labor-management relations at local colleges and universities, consulting firms and law firms. Representatives from local student rights organizations. Representatives from local civil rights organizations and agencies.	Mini-courses, workshops, institutes and conferences to air views of groups toward selected topics. Collaborative action inquiry with subcommittee of board and variety of community groups diagnosing and analyzing selected problems. Simulated collective bargaining sessions designed to familiarize board members with process, issues and parties in contract negotiations. Inter-organizational visiting for subcommittees of board to provide broader perspective of other groups and agencies.

Orientation and Training for School Board Members

As Bureaucratic Decision-Makers

Understand the role and function of each part of the educational bureaucracy, the formal and informal organizations which run the schools, in order to set educational policy

Needed Skills	Possible Resources	Training Activities
1. Knowledge of Personnel Policies and Procedures a. Understand the policy-making role of a board of education and its relationship with the superintendent, the school staff, parents, community and students. b. Be aware of policies and procedures on recruiting, hiring, promoting and evaluating members of the school staff. c. Be familiar with the collective bargaining process and recent negotiating trends locally and nationally and the local agreement. d. Understand the concept of Equal Employment Opportunity and be familiar with the district's affirmative action plan and model plans developed by governmental agencies and advocacy organizations.	Experts from local college and university departments of edutional administration. Experts from Regional Educational Laboratories and the Regional HEW Office. Legal experts from local law firms. Knowledgeable board members. Local school administrators. Labor-management experts from local universities, law firms and governmental agencies. Representatives from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance and the Regional Office of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare who deal with affirmative action in school systems.	Mini-courses, workshops and one-day seminars on selected topics. Regular course offerings at local colleges or universities. Simulated collective bargaining exercises designed to increase understanding of process, issues, and parties.

Orientation and Training for School Board Members

As Bureaucratic Decision-Makers

Understand the role and function of each part of the educational bureaucracy, the formal and informal organizations which run the schools, in order to set educational policy

Needed Skills	Possible Resources	Training Activities
2. Understanding of Curriculum, Personnel and Student Achievement a. Know what courses of study and programs are being offered from K to 12 with emphasis on recent innovative programs designed to meet needs of under-achieving and handi-capped students. b. Be familiar with school staff in the system including cen-tral office administrators, school principals and selected teachers. c. Be conversant with local studies and evaluations of student achievement and of selected projects and na-tional studies of educational programs, innovations and trends. d. Know what textbooks and other instructional materials are being used in the schools, their age, value and cost and how they compare with other similar materials on the market.	Local school administrators from the divisions of curriculum devel-ment and research. Local student government and student rights organizations. Knowledgeable board members. University personnel from depart-ments of educational administra-tion, psychology and educational research. Local representatives of book companies. Representatives from local Civil Liberties Union and Community Legal Services. Representatives from local civil rights organizations.	Mini-courses, workshops, and in-stitutes on selected topics. Action research involving a sub-committee of the board, univer-sity professors and school staff to review program efforts and and student achievement. One-day seminars on selected topics. Regular course offerings at local colleges and universities. Visit schools and classrooms on various levels. Attend regular faculty meetings at selected schools in the system.

Orientation and Training for School Board Members

As Bureaucratic Decision-Makers

Understand the role and function of each part of the educational bureaucracy, the formal and informal organizations which run the schools, in order to set educational policy

Needed Skills	Possible Resources	Training Activities
3. Understanding of Budget and Accounting Procedures a. Know how the school system fits into municipal, state and Federal financial structures. Be able to see the school district in the context of larger fiscal systems in order to anticipate levels of support from each. b. Know what a budget is, how a fiscal year is planned, how the budget is prepared and the assumptions, timing and information essential to the budget process. c. Know precisely how the budget operates. d. Be familiar with management decision-making procedures which emphasize the setting of goals, objectives and strategies, Management by Objectives and PERT.	Experts on school budgeting and finance from local university educational administration departments, Regional Educational Laboratories, governmental agencies and private accounting firms. - Local school administrators. Representatives from community groups which have taken an interest in the school budget. Knowledgeable board members. Representatives from local Civil Liberties Union and Community Legal Services. Representatives from local civil rights organizations.	Mini-courses, institutes, workshops and conferences on selected topics. Regular course offerings at local colleges and universities. Task forces composed of subcommittee of board members, school staff and consultants and community people to analyze select topics. "Walk through the budget" following the purchasing process from request to delivery to payment. One-day seminars on selected topics.

Orientation and Training for School Board Members

As Bureaucratic Decision-Makers

Understand the role and function of each part of the educational bureaucracy, the formal and informal organizations which run the schools, in order to set educational policy

Needed Skills	Possible Resources	Training Activities
4. Familiarity with Physical Facilities a. Know what facilities are presently in use, how they are being utilized and know what alternative facilities are available in the community suitable for educational programs. b. Understand the relationship between facilities, educational programs and desired outcomes. c. Be familiar with the long-range needs of the district to maintain facilities and to meet changing community and student needs.	Experts on school facilities and school building programs from local architectural firms. Local school administrators. University professors from local university departments of educational administration. Knowledgeable school board members. Urban Planners.	Mini-courses, workshops and institutes on selected topics. One-day seminars. Regular course offerings at local colleges or universities. Task force composed of subcommittee of board, community people, school staff and experts to deal with long-range needs of school district.

Orientation Program for New Board Members

	Activities	Resources
M O	One-day seminar on legal mandates and constraints on boards of education.	University professor in school law and school counsel.
N T H	Mini-course on Sociology of Education and local implications (four weekly two-hour sessions).	University professor in Sociology of of Education, local organizational leaders, student leaders and representatives of Community Legal Services and Civil Liberties Union.
1	"Walk through the budget" following the purchase procedures from order to delivery.	School administrators.
	One-day seminar on curriculum and student achievement.	Local school administrators and regional laboratory personnel.
M O	Visit a local elementary school and attend regular faculty meeting.	Local school staff.
N T	One-day seminar on physical facilities in school district.	School administrators and local school architect.
H	Two-day collective bargaining simulation.	Labor-management expert from Federal Mediation Service.
2	Visit local junior high and attend regular faculty meeting.	Local school staff.
M O	Attend National Training Laboratory (NTL) eight-day Program for Managers in Education.	NTL Institute for Behavioral Science.
N T	Enroll in local university course in Sociology of Education, Curriculum, School Facilities, etc.	Local or State university.
H 3	Visit local high school, observe in classroom and attend regular faculty meeting.	Local school staff.

Training Program for Experienced Board Members

	Activities	Resources
M	Organize and attend a weekend retreat for board members with	NTL or university group process consultant.
O	trained consultant.	
N	Participate in day-long brain-storming sessions on educational	NTL or university group process consultant.
T	issues.	
H	Develop action research project to study student achievement in selected communities.	School staff, community and university representatives.
1		
	"Walk through the budget" following purchase from order to delivery.	Local school administrators.
M	Mini-course on Sociology of Education (four weekly two-hour	University professor in Sociology of Education.
O	sessions).	
N	One-day seminar on physical facilities in school district.	School administrators and local school architect.
T		
H	One-day seminar on Equal Employment Opportunity and Federal funding.	Governmental agency personnel.
2	Mini-course on budgetary and accounting procedures (four weekly two-hour sessions).	School administrators and expert in school financing.
M	Attend National Training Laboratory (NTL) eight-day Program	NTL Institute of Behavioral Science.
O	for Managers in Education.	
N	Enroll in local university course in Sociology of Education,	Local or state university.
T	School Law, School Finance, etc.	
H	Plan and participate in weekend retreat with staff and community representatives to discuss school	Group process consultant, community people and school staff.
3	problems and plan future action.	

Appendix A
Literature on School Boards

James Koerner, in *Who Controls American Education?*
offers an apt comment about educational research:

> Little has yet come of the formalized, "scientific" study
> of how education is controlled, perhaps because so few
> instruments exist with which to measure the exercise of
> power. [Having reviewed the literature in the field] . . .
> the information in these studies is frequently conflicting
> and based on simplistic questionnaires or dubious inter-
> viewing techniques. . . . The value of these formal studies
> is, alas, further diminished by their jawbreaking jargon.
> The habit of inventing a special vocabulary with which to
> give status to every subspecialty that comes along is bad
> enough in the academic departments of our colleges and
> universities; in professional education it is a compulsion.

> An extended exposure to swamp gas of this kind is not
> merely a punishing experience that does nothing to streng-
> then one's faith in the academic study of how American
> education is controlled; even worse, one may become in-
> fected oneself through sheer exposure — in which case I
> can only crave my reader's pardon.

With this "caveat" in mind, it may be useful to note the vari-
ous types of studies currently available on school board
operations. Some of the authors mentioned in the following
pages will be of interest chiefly to students of democratic
or organizational theory; others may provide additional in-
sight into the actual experience of school boards in dis-
charging their important responsibility.

There are at least five different types of research, analysis,
and reporting on school boards and board members varying
in substance and style according to the perspectives of the
authors. These authors may be grouped as follows: (1) social
scientists, (2) students of educational administration,

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(3) journalists or concerned citizens, (4) school adminis-
trators and school board members and (5) dissertation
writers.

1. Social Scientists
Among the social scientists writing about school boards and
board members, there appear to be three fairly distinct ap-
proaches: (a) political scientists with an interest in school
boards as quasi-governmental institutions in the United
States, (b) political and other social scientists whose pri-
mary interest is education and (c) specialists in organizational
development who are interested in studying the organiza-
tional behavior of school boards.

Increasingly, political scientists interested in governing rela-
tionships in the United States, are taking a look at school
board activities as one example of how members of society
go about the process of making and enforcing decisions.

Among the political scientists who look at school boards as
entities in a larger political context are Michael Kirst, Har-
mon Zeigler, M. Kent Jennings, Thomas Eliot, Nicholas
Masters, Stephen Bailey, Frederick Wirt, Karl F. Johnson,
Alan Rosenthal, Robert Dahl, David Minar, Roscoe C. Mar-
tin, Ralph Kimbrough, Warner Bloomberg, Edward Ban-
field and James W. Wilson and Wallace S. Sayre and Herbert
Kaufman. Each of these authors focuses on issues and vari-
ables such as levels of conflict within the board, types of
influence exercised on the board, and the aggregation of
demands on and interest in the board. A primary concern
in each case is broadening the understanding of how people
function within formal structures of power and wield politi-
cal influence.

In the next group, social scientists with a primary interest in
education, one finds a similar, yet divergent, approach to

school boards and board members. Again one finds a reliance on varying forms of "scientific method" as the basis of re-search practice. In these cases, however, the issues and vari-ables at the core of the discussion are taken from such dis-ciplines as sociology, educational sociology, psychology and management. A multi-disciplinary approach is the method with which each of these authors analyzes the problems of education and the behavior of school boards and board members.

One of the foremost authorities on school boards (particu-larly those in New York City) who uses a multi-disciplinary approach based largely in political science is Dr. Marilyn Gittell. Her books, *Participants and Participation* and *School Boards and School Policy,* provide models for a multi-disciplinary approach to the problems which school boards face. Among other social scientists writing about school boards in the larger context of problems of education are Neal Gross, James Koerner, Ronald Corwin, Myron Lieber-man, George S. Counts, Raymond Callahan, David Rogers, Mario Fantini, Gerald Weinstein, A. Cicourel and J. Kitsuse, David K. Wiles and Houston Conley, Roland Pellegrin, Dewey Stollar, James M. Lipham, David Cohen and Jerome Murphy, Nathan Glazer and Peter Cistone, Edward Hickcox and Laur-ence Iannaccone. A dominant theme among these authors is the role of education in the social structure of the United States and Canada. Since most have their disciplinary base in sociology, they are concerned with roles and role expecta-tions, decision-making hierarchy and status, values, attitudes and attitude formation, the social structure of schools and communities, and the interaction between groups and organ-izations within the social structure of a given community. This group of social scientists, then, focuses upon the roles, values, attitudes and organizational interaction of school boards within the larger social and decision-making structures

of the communities, cities and towns within which they function.

Over the past fifteen years, an increasingly large group of behavioral scientists, with disciplinary bases in psychology, social psychology, sociology and management studies, have focused specific attention upon the problems of organizational behavior and attempts to intervene in organizations. Among those most concerned with the possibilities of organizational change through school personnel and school board members are Matthew Miles, Richard Schmuck and Phillip Runkel. In James March's *Handbook of Organizations* one finds a chapter on organizational research in schools through 1965 by Charles Bidwell entitled "The School as a Formal Organization." For an overview of values and ideology one might look to *Organizational Development* by French and Bell. These specialists in organizational development are zeroing in on the analysis and evaluation of behaviors through which organizations, and in this case school boards, can better conceptualize and articulate their goals.

2. Students of Educational Administration
Those involved in training school administrators began in the 1950's, through the Co-operative Program in Educational Administration (CPEA), under a grant from the Kellogg Foundation, to revitalize and reformulate the patterns and the substance of training by establishing eight regional centers for the development of new programs (e.g., the Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration at the University of Oregon). The function of these centers was not only to develop new and better programs for training, but simultaneously to build credibility for the administrative sciences through the accumulation of formal scientific research.

Among the leading students of administrative practice in schools are Alan Campbell, Ronald Campbell, Russell T. Gregg, Joseph Cronin, Keith Goldhammer, Donald McCarty, H. Thomas James; Maurice Stapely, H. Thomas James and Luvern L. Cunningham. One of the classic documents on administrative practice (often referred to as a "must" for school administrators) is Chester Barnard's *The Functions of the Executive.* Each of these authors focuses on the role of school boards as one of the many problems administrators face in trying to fulfill their executive functions in school systems. Central issues in these discussions of school boards are the division of function between policy-making and administration, how community representatives try to influence the decisions of school boards, the increasing role of states and the Federal government in circumscribing the jurisdiction of school boards, and conflicts of interest between school staffs and the communities they serve. Such research on school boards and board members attempts to inform future school administrators about one of the central factors influencing the nature of their jurisdiction and power.

3. Journalists or Concerned Citizens
The next group of those who have written about school boards comprises an interesting conglomeration of journalists, community advocates and concerned citizens. The major issues in these works deal with the impact of school board policy and practice on education and, in turn, the impact of the public on educational policy. Among the authors and groups writing from this perspective are Peter Schrag, Diane Ravitch, Alan Altshuler, the National Committee for Citizens in Education, and numerous citizen-action groups around the country. Specifically, the authors have concerned themselves with community control, the politicization of educational decision-making, school "wars" in New York City and problems of educational governance in major cities around the country. Most of these materials date from the mid-

sixties, when concern about the adequacy of education and equal opportunity were in the forefront of national concern.

4. Professionals and School Board Members
Every profession has its "club" pros — in this case, school board members, ex-members and professionals in school board organizations who write about professional problems from a more subjective perspective. Among the writers and groups in this circle are Edward Tuttle, the National School Boards Association (Harold Webb and James Mecklenberger), Joseph Pois and numerous state school board associations. Issues which these authors discuss cover the gamut of school board activities, such as distinctions among policy-making, administrative and housekeeping functions, or legislative, judicial and executive function, how to deal with pressure groups, how to establish policies in areas of personnel, curriculum, finance, facilities and administration, guidelines for negotiations and implicit or explicit codes of ethics for school board behavior. Clearly, authors or groups writing from this bent are not only concerned with the articulation of problems, but, specifically, with how to help school boards be more effective in confronting them.

5. Doctoral Dissertations
Doctoral dissertations make up the bulk of the over four hundred empirical studies of school boards and board member behavior and social characteristics. Although few of these doctoral students have continued their scholarly studies, a number of educators currently writing about school boards initially articulated their interests in dissertations (e.g., Keith Goldhammer and Joseph Cronin).

However, very little research to date explores how school board members are influenced, let alone their impact on the schools they govern and the interests they reflect.

Perhaps new conceptions of school board research need to be explored first by questioning current methodology, and second by examining the kinds of questions asked about school boards and their members. That is, why is research being conducted and for whom? What is the utility of the research other than to "publish another piece"? Are the current strategies of empirical methodology adequate for the questions which need to be asked about school boards, both to broaden understanding and possibly to make them more effective agents for absorbing and generating change? At present the greatest need is for forms of action research and longitudinal and exploratory case studies of school boards in operation. Action research entails both diagnosing organizational problems, evaluating their cause, and developing and enacting plans for increased effectiveness on a continuing basis, with the involvement of the participants in the organization. Scholarly perspectives offered through a multidisciplinary approach, as well as those by participants — board members and members of the community — are also needed.

Appendix B
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