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ABSTRACT

A study focusing on vocational education in the Atlanta schools reveals that while vocational education in the Atlanta public schools has a long history, full-fledged job training was quite late in coming to Atlanta's high schools. With the onset of desegregation in the mid-1960s, several new projects were initiated to enhance vocational education on the elementary and secondary levels. However, statistics affirm that even today vocational education should be a stronger alternative for Atlanta's students than it is. Among the reasons for this state of affairs are the following: lack of uniform and adequate procedures for hiring and training teachers; lack of federal, state, and local agreement over the immediate purpose of vocational education in high schools, and segregation of vocational programs in inner-city areas. In addition, female and black enrollment statistics and local administrator and teacher attitudes reinforce skepticism of the the state's committment to sex and race equity. On-site visits to several Atlanta schools and interviews with school teachers and administrators support the notion that while vocational education programs get a fair share of Atlanta's educational budget, they do not get full support in terms of recognition and leadership. (MN)

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN THE ATLANTA SCHOOLS

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Introduction

Making policy analyses about vocational education, or any other branch of the educational enterprise, is a task which could easily overwhelm anyone who took it seriously. As will become clear later in this essay, the diverse points of view which one encounters, not only from prospective clients of vocational education but also from the various vocational educators themselves, indicate the impossibility of coming up with a single reasonably objective, informative, and rational suggestion for the future. The simultaneously plentiful (in quantity) but meager (in its instructiveness) data which one can consult about the vocational education enterprise, though it needs to be consulted and, more importantly, to be improved, is not particularly helpful in shaping a particular respose to vocational education policy. These problems are not peculiar to education, or to vocational education, but rather are faced by all researchers in the social "sciences," those fields which in name resemble the natural "sciences" but which confront a far less reliable and more diverse reality much more difficult to analyze with any precision and even more difficult to predict about with even the slightest degree of certainty. In the area of vocational education the difficulties are very basic, dealing with the purposes and goals of the education for the individual and for society. The failure to find a unified policy in these areas precludes, to a degree, questions about the program which rely upon a single view of what the program is intended to accomplish.

Because of these conceptual difficulties and because of the scholarly preferences of this essay's authors, we have chosen to begin it with an

historical account of vocational education in Atlanta and to base our current treatment of the subject on the results of that historical inquiry. As the careful reader will discover, early generalization about the nature and effectiveness of vocational education in Atlanta is not too difficult. Carrying the conclusions of that early generalization over into the contemporary context, while admittedly no easy task, and one which requires a great deal of qualification, is what we have attempted to do.

Some final introductory comments of a non-conceptual but methodological nature need to be made. We have confined our inquiry mainly to the programs offered in institutions controlled, either solely or cooperatively, by the City of Atlanta and its agencies. More particularly, we have focussed on the Atlanta city schools and the joint City of Atlanta-Fulton County Area Technical School. Though we considered, initially, a metropolitan area wide focus for our inquiry, we discarded this approach as its complexity became increasingly apparent. The charge in the problem statement from the National Institute of Education to be sensitive to the issues affecting minority populations reinforces the decision to focus on the city in this study, since the high concentration of minority students is in the city institutions; but a full comparison between city and suburban vocational efforts would surely provide a broader view of the problem. Finally, the funding structure of vocational education, in which federal funds are funelled mainly through the states to the local school systems, dictated that we pay considerable attention to the State Department of Education and its provisions for vocational education as well as to the City of Atlanta. Our notes indicate the written materials we have consulted as well as the individuals who were interviewed for the study and the positions they hold. Of course, we hold ourselves responsible for our interpretation of interviews as well as for conclusions we reached on the basis of interviews. In general, we have tried

to verify, through some corroborative data, judgments reached by our interviewees. When this was not possible, we have tried to indicate possible data which if generated, could help lead to a conclusion.

As the focus of this study is vocational education within a specific urban area, a brief description of the city and its citizens should help to form the context for our findings.

The City of Atlanta advertises itself as "The World's Next Great City," and prides itself on its role as a regional, national, and international city. Atlanta is the 18th largest metropolitan area in the United States. Prior to April, 1973, Metropolitan Atlanta was comprised of a five-county area consisting of the city of Atlanta and 42 municipalities. In April of 1973, the Atlanta Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area was expanded from a five-county to a fifteen-county area (83 municipalities) resulting in a current population of over 1.8 million. The City of Atlanta has a current population of 477,000; the preliminary 1980 census results show a drop of 53,000 from that figure, but the city is contesting the results.

Atlanta is the location of many national businesses and federal government activities. In its Commercial Survey of the Southeast, the United Sates Department of Commerce referred to Atlanta as the "principal headquarters" city of the Southeastern Region. This statement was prompted by two significant facts.

1. The City of Atlanta, in addition to the many locally owned and operated industries, has over 5,500 national businesses. Of the 500 largest U.S. industrial corporations, 450 have operations in Atlanta as do 40 of the 50 largest life insurance companies, 28 of the 50 largest retailing companies, and 41 of the 50 largest transportation companies.

2. As the center of most of the U.S. government activity in the Southeast, Atlanta has some 93 federal departments, commissions, bureaus, and divisions. Included among the major agencies are the Federal Aviation Administration; Veterans Administration; the U.S. Public Health Services' national headquarters--the Center for Disease Control; and the Departments of Agriculture; Commerce; Defense; Education; and Health and Human Services.

In addition, Atlanta

- is served by three inter-city bus lines from two downtown bus terminals with approximately 250 buses entering and leaving the city daily;
- is currently constructing a rapid transit system under the authority of the 1965-legislated Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority (MARTA) which has jurisdiction over a four-county area involving 52.9 miles of rapid transit rail plus 8.0 miles of rapid busway, the first phase to be completed in the early 1980's;
- has ten major daily newspapers;
- has thirty degree-granting institutions of higher learning;
- is the medical center of the South with 29 general and 29 special hospitals;
- has the nation's second largest cultural center, the $13 million Atlanta Memorial Arts Center which houses the High Museum of Art, the Atlanta School of Art, the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra and the Alliance Resident Theater.

The Georgia Department of Labor has done several studies detailing the growth and type of employment in Atlanta. Each year since 1960 has added an average of 23,000 jobs. Those jobs range across many areas. Table 1 is a breakdown of where the jobs in Atlanta are.

TABLE 1

Industry	Distribution
TOTAL	100%
Contract Construction	7%
Manufacturing	
Durable	8%
Non-Durable	9%
Transportation, Communication, Electric, Gas and Sanitary Services	9%
Trade	
Wholesale	10%
Retail	17%
Finance	3%
Insurance	3%
Real Estate	2%
Services	16%
Government	
Federal	4%
State and Local	12%

As evidenced from the preceding, Atlanta is one of the nation's major centers of commercial, industrial, financial, educational, and cultural activity. In spite, however, of the positive progressive nature of the city, a substantial segment of the citizenry, particularly the educationally disadvantaged residents of the city, lacks the necessary education and training to function competitively in a large environment such as Atlanta. How that situation has developed, how people are excluded from full participation in the city's life, is partially answered by examining the historical links between education and vocations in Atlanta.

Vocational education in the Atlanta public schools has a long history which, particularly in its early years, was intertwined with national developments. We will shortly see, however, that Atlanta's advocates of vocational education were far less successful than their colleagues in other cities in establishing vocational education in its most fully developed form, job training, as a viable alternative to the traditional academic studies.

The first mention of vocational education in the official records of the Atlanta schools occurred in 1885. At this time, Hoke Smith, who was soon to become a board member, later a governor of Georgia, and still later a United States Senator [who sponsored two of the early landmark vocational education laws, the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, and the Smith-Hughes Bill of 1917], proposed to the Board that it investigate the possibility of introducing a system of manual training in the schools alongside the regular curriculum. It was not until 1899, however, three years after Smith returned from Washington where he had been Secretary of the Interior under Grover Cleveland and assumed the presidency of the Board of Education, that an attempt at implementing the manual training proposal would be made.[1]

The early arguments of Smith and other manual training advocates did not differ from those of like-minded reformers in other cities. One early proponent of industrial education in Atlanta stressed the practical, economic relevance which students would derive from such curricula:

> The great mass of our school boys must come from necessity to be bread winners. Their poverty compels them to enter upon labor for a living early in their careers. It is right, it is wise that the school system supported by popular taxation should so train and teach the mind and heart of

these boys that they enter upon bread winning when they complete the course in our schools.[2]

Another advocate of these changes gave a rationale which was based, not on the economic gain to be achieved by the students, but rather on the social goals which the established classes of Atlanta might achieve if they were implemented. This "reformer" told the school board that "you can make no mistake in extending a department [manual studies] which tends to correct the restless, impudent, and irreverent child which is abroad in the land."[3]

While these arguments may not be absolutely irreconcilable, it seems clear that they lead in different directions; the former toward a consumer orientation in which occupational competence is the goal and the latter toward an employer orientation in which a socially disciplined workforce is the end. We have encountered them both in our contemporary studies and interviews as well as in the past. They were also used by advocates of vocational studies throughout the country in the early twentieth century, an indication that rhetorically at least, the Atlanta vocational stuides differed little from those elsewhere.

Despite the similarity in arguments for vocational studies between Atlanta and the rest of the nation, the net result of the efforts of vocational education advocates in Atlanta differed significantly from that achieved in other settings. Historian Marvin Lazerson's study of vocational education in Massachusetts' urban schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries describes a two stage development in the schools of that state from an early manual training movement which depicted manual studies as a pedagogical reform suitable for all children to a "vocational" phase in which these studies were used to train the less academically able, usually lower class students for jobs. In another work, co-authored with Norton Grubb,

Lazerson noted the prevalence of the Massachusetts pattern in most of the country.

> Between 1890 and 1910, vocational education attracted the support of almost every group in the country with an interest in education. The magnitude of this conversion was overwhelming; it indicates that, in a period when large segments of society were conscious of the problems caused by industrialism, vocational education was almost universally perceived as a panacea.[4]

The particular type of vocational education that was sought, according to Lazerson, was one "intended to prepare its students for specific jobs."[5]

In Atlanta, a clearly job oriented program of vocational studies was not reached for many years. At the elementary level, despite Smith's early advocacy of manual training, it was not successfully implemented. Twenty years after Board President Smith "introduced" manual studies into the curriculum, the Board was still being apprised of the necessity for introducing manual training and domestic science into the elmentary schools.[6]

At the secondary level, though change came earlier and faster, it still never culminated in a strictly job preparation approach to vocational studies. A business course was introduced at the Girl's High School in the 1890's which later culminated in the establishment of a separate Commercial High School. For high school boys, manual training was initially introduced as a new course of study at the Boy's High School and later formed a significant part of the course of study at the newly established Technological High School.[7]

Reformers in the World War I era, however, expressed dissatisfaction at the lack of relationship between the curricula at these separate high schools and the world of work and the persistence of academic studies in all of the high schools. In 1914, a school survey severely criticized the impracticality of the existing course of study at Girl's High School. The academic college-preparatory course, argued the author of the survey, ignored the needs of the ninety-five percent of the student body which did not attend college. For this group, a different course of study was recommended which would attend to its twin needs of homemaking, child-rearing and job preparation. To meet these needs, the survey advocated commerical subjects for the girls as well as the study of "Art, Science, Literature, History, Music, Elementary Economics and Sociology, and Household Arts."[8]

Eight years later, George Strayer of Teachers College, Columbia University, made similar recommendations for both girls and boys. He noted that the Technological High School was not carrying out boys' vocational work, as reformers had wanted for some time, but rather, that its curriculum, though somewhat technical, was mainly prepration for entry into the Georgia School of Technology. Strayer complained that the shopwork at Tech High "is rather of a liberal than a vocational type." A similar problem existed at Commercial High. Strayer noted that over sixty percent of the students at Commercial High's night school enrolled in academic courses in preference to a course of study which stressed the more vocational subjects of bookkeeping and stenography. Here again, the problem was that the institution served a preparatory purpose that overshadowed its practical purpose. In 1918 the board had approved a diploma course of study for Commercial High School which combined academic and business subjects in order to "prepare graduates for admission into the universities and schools of commerce without examination or condition."[9]

As a remedy for the imbalance, Strayer recommended expansion of the more directly vocational work going on in all the night schools. He also proposed the addition of a Vocational Department at Tech High where a student could undertake a curriculum that "will be designed to train young people for a single recognized trade," the appointment of a Director of Vocational Education who would be responsible for linking the training in the schools to the city's job requirements, and the appointment of a vocational guidance counselor to gather information on both pupils' and the community's occupational needs.[10]

These recommendations reveal the tenuous status of vocational studies in Atlanta twenty years after Lazerson and Gubb claim that "vocational education attracted the support of almost every group in the country with an interest in education."[11] The curriculum at neither the Technological nor Commercial High Schools addressed the needs of students who were not college-bound. The vast majority of students at both schools followed a traditional academic course. Significant, both in terms of the early twentieth century and of contemporary developments, both the short vocational courses in the night schools and the homemaking science courses at Commercial High were funded only with federal or state money. No local funds were expended, a good indication of the degree of local commitment to the new studies. The need for a director and a counselor represents another indication of the low esteem in which vocational education was held at the time, as well as a bureaucratic deficiency. There was no way to coordinate vocational efforts, nor to determine either student or community needs, not surprising if only academic courses are considered to be of primary importance for all students. The evening schools, which had been receiving money since the inception of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917, had limited offerings, which included neither

a concentrated preparation for a job nor a standard high school curriculum.

A 1937 study of the city's high schools revealed, however, that the 1914 survey and the 1922 Strayer Report had gone largely unheeded. The separate high schools existed in the late 1930's that had existed in the earlier years and the curricula at the Commercial High and Tech High were still college rather than job preparatory. At Tech High, the manual training subjects continued "to place emphasis on general technical training rather than on specialized vocational training" and at Commercial High the stated goal continued to be to offer "pupils a broad and general understanding of business" rather than specific vocational training.[12]

Thus, we can conclude that full-fledged job training never came to Atlanta's high schools, even its technical and commercial high schools, during the period in which it is said by historians to have carried the day in other settings. Atlantans preferred to offer separate high school curricula that were all preparatory, or what one historian has called "different pathways to liberal education," instead of directly vocational training. They chose as their goal not job preparation but an expanded form of traditional, academic, secondary education that provided practical subjects for some, but in the context of preparation for higher education. On reflection, it seems that this type of education allowed the city to borrow some of the ideas of reformers in other sections but to adapt them to the traditional approach that Atlantans preferred to take in education, as well as in other areas. It produced a finished product that grafted the new subjects on to the curriculum of the past rather than replace the old with the new. The end product, however, had more of the flavor of the old studies than it did of a highly differentiated job or trade oriented curriculum.[13]

One explanation for Atlanta's hesitancy to take up job training it its schools was the fact that, like most of the South, it was not

experiencing the full-fledged industrialization that characterized developments in other regions, particularly the Northeast and urban Midwest, and that caused schoolmen in those cities to adopt job training as a main goal of vocational studies. The problems so evident in the North created by immigration, industry, and urbanization were minor, if they existed at all, in most of the South. Many of the jobs for which vocational education was to prepare students hardly existed in Atlanta or the rest of the South. Its economy was still basically agricultural and its chief social problem was race, not the working class.

Northerners related vocational education to the problems of the lower class, especially immigrants, both from overseas and from the farms. Vocational education could raise individuals and groups in status and wealth. But in the South, the issues of status, of wealth, opportunity, or achievement were inextricably intertwined with the question of race. The South, with a steady growth rate little affected by massive immigration, with its traditional economy of agriculture and small towns little affected by industrial change, and with a consciously stratified social system, was not seeking change. All social questions in the South had to be answered with segregation in mind, including questions about the social goals of education. Southern leaders needed to guarantee no upward mobility among Blacks. The argument that vocational education would provide a way to change the economic status of the lowest classes thus fell on hostile ears in Atlanta and the rest of the South.

The educational opportunities for Blacks were segregated and very limited during this entire period. Facilities were terrible; teachers were undereducated, underpaid, and over-worked. Schools routinely held double and even triple sessions. In addition, a minority on the Board of Education continually attempted to weaken the few existing programs. For example,

in 1930 a motion was made to disconinue all Black night schools, academic and vocational.[14]

The Depression era conditions that caused the Board to consider discontinuing Black schools also threatened most vocational programs. In 1930 motions were also made to cut the number of night schools and to eliminate all Smith-Hughes vocational programs and the Opportunity School. The Depression was not the first time Atlanta's schools had experienced fiscal problems. In fact, lack of funds plaqued the schools throughout their history.[15]

Strayer's report in 1922 accused the system of serious and debilitating problems, ranging from inadequate local support to maintaining a physical plant that was not only non-conducive to education but was also dangerous to student's health and safety, all of which were related to the niggardly funding provided. Three of the city's four high schools, including Technological High School, were declared uninhabitable by Strayer while the fourth, Commercial High, met only absolute minimum standards as an educational facility. The Depression served as a spur for many city politicians to attack the schools, with some justification.

In 1930, a Grand Jury report attacked the system as being wasteful and inefficient, chastized the Superintendent for traveling too much, and indicted an ex-board member for taking a commission for sale of school lands while he was on the Board. Also in 1930, an advisory council appointed by the mayor of Atlanta reiterated many of the criticisms made in the Strayer report of eight years earlier. The advisory council, unlike the grand jury, blamed economic and not personnel problems as the chief source of the poor condition of the schools. If true, then the situation could only get worse when in 1932 the school budget was reduced. In 1938, a report

by the National Municipal League once again castigated the school system, finding the school board inefficient and guilty of favoritism in the building and maintenance of the schools; buildings were placed according to politics and not needs. No significant action was taken to correct the problems or implement the recommendations of any of these juries, councils, or advisors. Some administrative changes were made, but basically the Board of Education and the Superintendent maintained their policies throughout the 1930's.

World War II brought federal money to Atlanta's beleaguered schools which was to be used for vocational needs dictated by the priorities of the national government. Two hundred and eighty-three students were enrolled in various vocational shops, including machine, automobile, aviation, sheet metal, wood, electrical, and chemical shops. In 1941, Atlanta made overtures to Fulton County [which encompasses much of the city] to prepare a joint request for federal funds to open a vocational-technical school, a project not completed until after the war. By 1943, the Superintendent reported that half of the Opportunity School enrollment, 2,436 people, was engaged in war production training classes. While the end of the war brought the end of many of these special courses, it also coincided with a major change in the leadership of the system and a new emphasis on vocational studies, at least in theory. A new Superintendent recommended in 1945 that the system adopt a K-7-5-V program of grade divisions. The V was for vocational and emphasized that vocational studies were to be considered outside of the regular curriculum. By the end of the 1940's one White and one Black vocational high school, and one joint city-county vocational-technical school were in operation. The attitude of the School Board regarding the possibility of providing various opportunities for different students through a diversified curriculum is best summarized by the 1947 statement

of the vice chairman of the Board: "The single common program [for all students] with electives provided under the guidance of adequate counseling is the most intelligent way to meet the unique needs of individuals."[17] The Board still believed in the absolute predominance of traditional academic courses in the high schools, even to the point of espousing individual development through a common program. There were two exceptions, however, to the general stress on academic programs.

One exception, as always, concerned Blacks. The schools were still segregated, and Blacks still received a minimal share of the school board's resources by any standard. Academics, so important in the White schools, received less attention in the Black schools. The shop courses found in the White vocational school which might have led to middle-class, blue-collar employment, in the building trades for instance, were notably lacking at the Black vocational high school. That school's curriculum included courses in domestic service, drafting, shoe repair, homemaking, practical nursing, gardening, tailoring, and beauty culture. The vocational school for Blacks was to be in no sense a path for a change in the economic or social status of Blacks.

A second exception to the general neglect of vocational studies by the Board was in the area of post-secondary education. A jointy city-Fulton County school was opened in 1947 and by 1948 had an enrollment of over 2;400; it was also segregated. This school, funded with state money, was the forerunner of the current Atlanta Area Technical School. It was intended to provide job-ready graduates, extensively prepared, for entry level positions in a number of trades, particularly construction trades.

The status of education and vocational education remained fairly static in Atlanta throughout the 1950's and early 1960's. The system

grew but remained basically a segregated bastion of academic education. Vocational programs and schools had been initiated, but in no case were they considered more than an adjunct to the real purpose of the school system. The biggest impetus to vocational education came from outside the school system in the form of guidance and money from the state or federal government for specific projects. The situation did not change much until the mid-1960's with the advent of desegregation and the increased federal involvement in the educational process; these two issues became dominant in the school system and vocational education in the 1960's and remain so in the 1980's.

Desegregation of the Atlanta schools began in May of 1961 when ten Black high school students entered previously all-White schools, but the biggest change came during the period 1963-1965. Integration and the changing economic status of cities, including Atlanta, led to an enrollment that was in 1980 91 percent Black. The mayor, Superintendent of Schools, and President of the School Board are all Blacks. Discrimination against Blacks by White officials has been eliminated within the official structure, but the problems of poverty and social discrimination linger on. Atlanta and its school system have become homes for largely Black, economically lower-class citizens and students. The inference might be made that this situation has significantly altered the School Board's traditional view of vocational education, making the Board more interested in funding vocational programs, particularly those which prepare students for jobs. That inference would seem to be strengthened through a cursory view of Atlanta's participation in several federal vocational programs in the 1960's and 70's. But there is considerably mixed evidence, based on personal interviews, on site visits and on statistical data, which tends to dispute that inference.

Nonetheless, Atlanta did take part in several projects which enhanced vocational education in the last fifteen years. In 1968 the Hoke Smith

Vocational School, the descendent of the original joint city-county school opened in 1947, became the Atlanta Area Technical School and moved into a modern facility. In 1964 the Atlanta school system was the only non-private industry to receive funding under the Manpower and Training Act for a project titled "Human Relations Approach to Gaining and Maintaining Employment." The goal of the project was to identify "hard-core" unemployable youths and guide them through vocational experiences to successful employment.[18] Over 1.2 million dollars went into this program, of which $400,000.00 went directly to the youthful participants. Later in 1964, Atlanta became one of twelve school systems invited to join in the development of a comprehensive secondary school curriculum project under the auspices of the Adult and Vocational Research Division of the United States Office of Education. The project intented to create a high school curriculum that would integrate academic and vocational courses. This project was to last several years and its chief result was the installation of such a curriculum into two of the city's high schools.[19] A detailed study of one of these schools will be made later.

In 1968 the city initiated the Child Development Program which was to prepare students for employment or upgrading in their present jobs. This project was funded from federal Vocational Education funds and offered adult, short-term courses, high school cooperative and laboratory courses, and a limited enrollment post-secondary program.[20] Also in 1968, the School Board heard a report from the year old Occupational Information Center which had prepared Occupational Briefs on eighty-five businesses, industries, and other large employers in the Atlanta metropolitan area.[21] It may be remembered that this had been a recommendation of the Strayer report in 1922. The Center was funded by the state. In 1970 the Board of Education

reviewed some of the programs underway in the schools from grades three through twelve.

> On the elementary school level, the Occupational Information Materials Project funded through Title III had located and developed materials suitable for children in grades three through eight and field-tested them in 14 schools. In the middle schools, a Program for Education and Career Exploration specifically designed for the study of occupations was offered in 13 schools with approximately 1,300 students enrolled. The usual Home Economics, Industrial Arts, and Business Education courses were available in the high schools. Two high schools--Washington and Carver--had been designated as Area Comprehensive High Schools, which meant they had to offer vocational training in six or more areas. At the post-secondary level, of course, the Atlanta Area Technical School provided training in 45 occupational areas.[22]

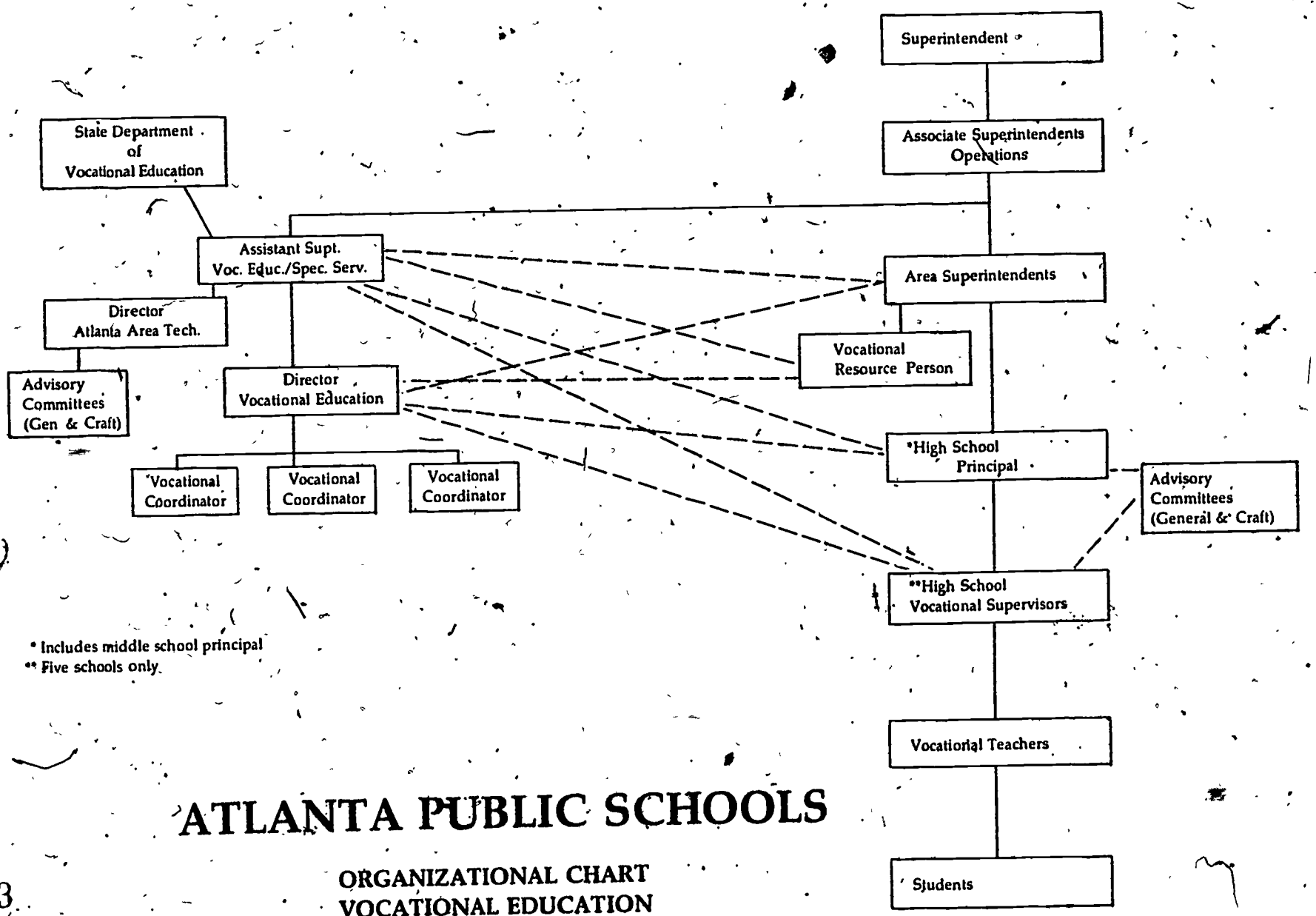
The range of these programs, from third grade to twelfth, was extended by the Atlanta Area Technical School which was offering post high school courses in forty-five vocational areas. To some extent, the wide range of programs throughout a student's school years is the result of federal money for specific programs in elementary and secondary schools. But it is also indicative of a State of Georgia policy in vocational education, a policy that Atlanta's efforts have not always coincided with. Indeed,

the present state of vocational education in Atlanta is a complex web of sometimes conflicting, sometimes confusing policies and directives, stemming in part from the tripartite arrangement of federal, state, and local regulations and educational philosophies. We can begin to examine this complex web by turning to the Atlanta School Board's bureaucratic structures.

Figure one is the organizational chart for the Atlanta public schools' vocational education structure. It will be noted that the Assistant Superintendent for Vocational Education and Special Services is linked to both the Atlanta school system, of which he is an employee, and to the State Department of Vocational Education. This division reflects not only the role of the state in providing guidelines to the local school boards and their superintendents, but also the fact that the State of Georgia provided 56 percent of the $7,071,182.00 in revenues for vocational education at the secondary level in 1978-79, the last year for which data are currently available. The state percentage for the entire Atlanta school system's expenditures was only 35.2, considerably less than their specific contribution to vocational education. At the post-secondary level, the state involvement is even greater, 65 percent of the funds for the Atlanta Area Technical School come from the state. Its physical plant, opened in 1968, was financed equally be the state and the city, although the city donated the land.

There are some other revealing features on the organizational chart. For instance, although there are twenty-two public high schools in Atlanta, all of which supposedly have some form of vocational education, only five have vocational supervisors. This fact becomes important when the attitudes and abilities of the guidance counselors and vocational education teachers who perform the duties of vocational supervisors in the remaining seventeen

Figure 1



* Includes middle school principal
** Five schools only

ATLANTA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART
VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

high schools are considered. A persistent theme that arose at every interview conducted for this paper, among university faculty members who work with the high schools, state officials, and school system employees, was the lack of understanding and respect for vocational instruction that permeates the ranks of guidance counselors in the high schools. The consensus of opinion--opinion expressed by people with frequent, sometimes daily contact with counselors--was that counselors discouraged vocational studies as a viable alternative to academic studies for all but the least academically inclined. Among counselors, academic preparation is the standard, even in watered down forms; college preparation is considered to be of primary importance. Non-college bound academics come second, and vocational programs come last. It might be that this rating reflects a commitment to the ultimate desirability of a four year college degree, but it does not necessarily reflect a pragmatic assessment of the realities of Atlanta's society or its students. It may also reflect a carryover of Atlanta's traditional emphasis on academic education as discussed earlier. That hypothesis will gain some support when the role of the school board is discussed later. First, however, the role played in vocational education by the two groups that are in direct and constant contact with the students, the guidance counselors and the teachers, must be studied. The counselors are supposed to be aware of the needs and assets of the students, and have the mandate to match those students with appropriate school programs leading to successful life outcomes. The vocational teachers should be prepared and competent to direct and assist, teach and train the students; in addition, the vocational teacher should be prepared to fulfill the non-teaching functions associated with public education.

Whatever the cause, statistics seem to show that vocational education

should be a stronger alternative for Atlanta's students than it is. While 42.3 percent of Atlanta's high school graduates went on to two or four years of college programs immediately after graduation, only 10.1 percent went straight into vocational programs. If vocational education was offered to the students as a serious alternative, at least in pragmatic terms, then students at both ends of the academic scale might have been attracted. Both those who dropped out before graduation and those who entered but were unsuited for college might have been potential vocational students if counselors were willing to recommend the program. One vocational educator interviewed for this paper made this statement: "If I could get students from the top ten percent of their classes to ask guidance counselors about vocational courses, I'd cause heart attacks in every counseling office in the city." Every other person interviewed agreed with this statement.[23]

Speculation aside, it is a fact that the 42.3 percent figure was a system average; some schools in affluent neighborhoods have as much as 73 percent of graduating students attending college; therefore, the college bound students at the schools in poor, inner-city areas are few in number. At the vocational school visited for this project, the percentage of students going on to college is 13.1. Low percentages in inner-city schools like the one visited created the 42.3 average, but obversly, no high figure from those same inner-city schools of students attending vocational schools raised the system average of students attending vocational schools above 10.1 percent. Thus, inner-city students were not going on to college, but neither were they going on to vocational schools. Now can this figure be undercut by speculating that many students did not go on to vocational schools because they had already achieved job-ready status in high school programs; only 11.7 percent of the graduating seniors are listed as having gone on to skilled jobs, and that is if clerical/sales jobs were considered skilled.[24] Further, as will be discussed later, there is disagreement about whether the high schools do, or even should prepare students directly for specific

employment.

Obviously, guidance counselors cannot be accused of bearing the sole responsibility for the low esteem in which vocational education is sometimes held--another recurring of the interviews. But they are the hired agents of the school systems who are charged with the duty of perceiving the abilities and desires of the students and guiding them accordingly. If counselors hold vocational programs in low esteem, their guidance of students toward or away from these programs will reflect their views. The second group with responsibility for the running of vocational programs within the schools in the absence of vocational supervisors is the teachers of the vocational courses. Consideration of their ability to provide direction and guidance for their students or their own programs raises the problem of their professional qualifications as educators and their competence as instructors.

The State of Georgia provides a program outline of coursework requirements for certification of vocational instructors, but the hiring and training process is left entirely up to the school system; in fact, it is actually left to each school. As a result there is no way of guaranteeing even minimum quality, either within the field to be taught, or within education as a profession. The result is a solely on-the-job training program mixed with a weeding-out process based solely upon failure on the job. Interviewees at all levels of the vocational education program in Atlanta, teachers, administrators, principals, and directors, stated that there is a wide range of quality within the ranks of vocational instructors.[25] Of course there is probably a wide range of abilities among teachers of all subjects, but the problem is exacerbated among vocational instructors by the almost total lack of professional education experience or training among the teachers of

vocational courses. While the on the job training process cannot always ensure that prospective teachers are even proficient in the fields they are to teach, the lack of educational experience and training provided by the minimal state requirements means that effectiveness at communicating the subject or cooperating as a member of the educational bureaucracy in a school is not seriously addressed in the training. The problem is worsened by the reliance on individual schools and systems to provide training, and by an apparent, and openly stated, disdain for vocational instructors with post-secondary degrees among administrators.[26]

The only state regulations limiting who can be hired are that if a vocational field is governed by a licensing board, the prospective teacher must have a license, and that the prospect must have worked full-time for two years in the field. There are no educational requirements. If hired, the teacher receives a three-year, non-renewable teaching certificate. During the term of that certificate, the teacher must successfully pass thirty quarter hours of vocational education courses, fifteen from an accredited college which may include general education courses, and fifteen as staff development units which are special, non-college courses offered to vocational instructors. At the end of three years, if the thirty-hour requirement has been met, the teacher can apply for a five-year Vocational Renewable Certificate; during the course of this certificate, ten more hours of college courses or staff development units must be completed. A teacher who has fulfilled the requirements of the first three year certificate and who has an associate or bachelor's degree can be exempted from the ten hour requirements of the five-year certificate.[27] Other than these two certificates, there are no requirements regarding teacher abilities or training. Because, as admitted--in fact, proclaimed--by school principals and directors, many vocational teachers have

neither the background nor the ability to do college level work, either because of little previous education or an inability to take tests or be a student, special efforts often have to be made to assure admittance to and completion of college requirements. Georgia State University faculty and staff members work closely with the city high schools and the Atlanta Area Technical School to prepare teachers for admission into the university, often under special admission policies. Nonetheless, administrators at the schools claim that some good teachers are lost because of their inability to meet these minimal requirements.

As stated above, the comment was often made that college educated vocational teachers were not as highly regarded as those who had never attended college. College graduates were accused of several faults: of being too theory oriented, rather than practical; of not having enough work experience; of not having the proper attitude for a vocational preparation program; and of interfering in administrative affairs.[28] That these college-degreed teachers are prepared for the paperwork tasks of being a teacher, like preparing course outlines, study plans, and bureaucratic forms, was not seen as an effective counter-balance to their perceived liabilities. Some interesting inferences can be drawn from these comments. First, if there is an anti-vocational bias among academics, there may be an anti-academic bias among vocational administrators. It would seem that a teacher with both a college degree and two years of on-the-job experience, the state requirement, would be a fine example of the best union of both sides. But, as stated, those teachers are less highly regarded than teachers with no college experience. Another problem is that one frequently used source for instructors in the past, the military, was criticized by vocational administrators as producing lower quality personnel every year. Second, faced with teacher shortages because of the declining

role of the military and because of the salary competition from private industry, administrators were unanimous in declaring that they did not support an increased role for the colleges in providing teachers. It may be that they believe that practical training is the only good way to produce effective vocational instructors, but, in Atlanta, most of the administrators, principals, and directors of vocational programs and schools are not vocational educators themselves; they are mostly from the ranks of professional public school administrators. Most of the administrators at the technical school come from the Atlanta school system's administrative ranks; promotion from within the technical schools ranks to the administration is minimal. The notion expressed by these administrators that students who are being trained in vocational fields cannot be effectively taught by professionally educated teachers is inconsistent with the principle on which they were chosen to administer the programs. Perhaps the school administrators appreciate the wide leeway that the lack of stronger state guidelines provides them in hiring and training vocational teachers; perhaps the perceived deficiencies among college trained teachers reflects an inherent tension between academics and vocationalism even within the ranks of vocational educators. Whatever the cause, teacher training and certification requirements represent an area of concern that is inconsistently dealt with in the Atlanta school system.

The hiring process is totally controlled by the individual schools; the city school system's personnel office merely advertizes the openings and directs the applicants to the school. Although there are minor differences among the schools, the hiring process is basically the same. The principal or director interviews the applicant for general information, usually based upon the principal's personal ideas about what is important in a vocational teacher's background or ideas, even though the principal is rarely a

vocational educator. Advice may be asked from a vocational coordinator or section head, usually concerning the technical knowledge of the applicant. The choice, however, is the principal's alone.

As the vast majority of those hired do not have post-secondary degrees or teacher training, there is a four-fold process of training for new teachers in the Atlanta system. One part is through the state certification requirements already discussed. A second part is through a state sponsored and funded program administered by four universities throughout the state; in the Atlanta area, the program is conducted through the Vocational and Career Development Department at Georgia State University. Two faculty members work with administrators and teachers to provide training on how to be a teacher. The program includes a summer session at the university, visits to the teachers at their schools, prepraration and delivery of practical, how-to manuals, and, in 1980-81, the establishment of several curriculum materials and information centers. The university faculty members are also the coordinators for admission to the university. There are only two people fulfilling this function for all of the high schools and technical schools in one-fourth of the state; they each cover approximately twenty-five schools. During the summer session of 1980, Georgia State initiated a new program that was geared to practical, low level instruction based upon the specific programs at the teacher's own schools. Prior to this, and currently at the other three universities performing this function, the summer session was a strictly academic, basically theoretical program. The Georgia State University professors decided that the newly-hired teachers who were required to take the summer course needed much more basic information. The students, after several days at the university, are sent back to their schools to gather information about their specific duties and to gain familiarity with their environment, from equipment

to the school's secretarial staff. They are given checklists to follow for questions to ask, forms to see, and shops to examine. After further training at the university, the students write lesson plans and performance objectives in the form of contracts which are to be monitored by the superiors. The course material is very pragmatic, programmed, and simplified. (See Figure 2) The administrators interviewed for this study were very enthusiastic about this program; however, the simplistic style raises some question about those administrators' perception of the ability of the teachers to absorb even basic instruction.

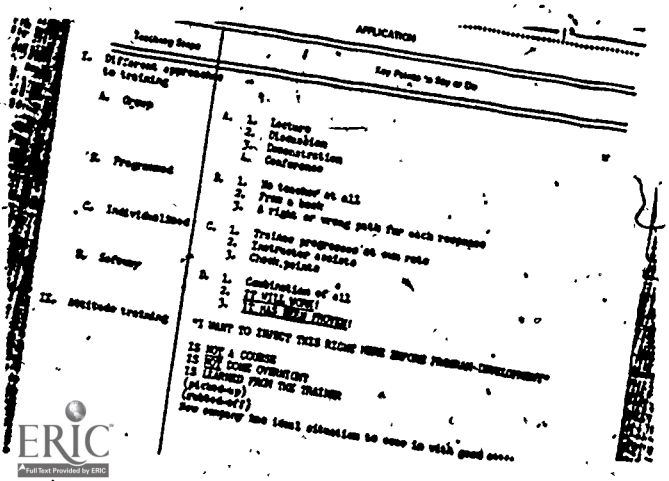
Atlanta Area Technical School has an in-house training program for new teachers; such a program is not a state requirement and does not exist at other vocational schools within the Atlanta metropolitan area. The program has two parts; first, all newly hired teachers are required to attend a two-week orientation class in which the schools' procedures, paperwork, and support services are reviewed, as well as how to maintain discipline, how to write a lesson plan, and how to do all necessary paperwork. Second, there are four administrative staff people who are designated as curriculum and staff development aides who are available for guidance and advice.[29] None of these four are non-degreed vocational education teachers who have risen from the ranks; the assumption seems to be that while workers can teach their workfield, they cannot teach educational techniques, even if they have the experience. In fact, none of the administrative staff is non-degreed, and only one director of a vocational-technical school in the state is non-degreed.

Georgia also participates in Project SERVE (Supportive Efforts for Regular Vocational Education) which is designed to prepare sedondary and post-secondary vocational education teachers for the education of academically disadvantaged students. This program will be studied as part of the school

A good Instructor will always be prepared, be neat in appearance and perform with confidence . . .

. . . and be friendly and cooperative . . .

. . . show enthusiasm to his class and attempt to make them feel at ease.



He should have a well prepared Lesson Plan, to insure he stays focused on the objective . . .

Instructor Training Series, Georgia Department of Education, 1980.

system's vocational offerings later in the paper.

There seems to be a discrepancy between the stated needs and desires of vocational education leaders in the Atlanta school system and the methods that they espouse for meeting them, at least in the area of faculty professionalism. After stating a hope that vocational education would take its place alongside academic preparation as a viable educational alternative, after criticising the attitudes of counselors and even the Board of Education regarding the value of vocational studies, and after stating a belief that vocational education must and will grow throughout the rest of this century, these administrators express a desire to cling to a system of teacher training and selection that provides at best an on the job training experience for teachers which does little to combat a situation which reinforces the image of vocational studies as second class. There is an underlying assumption that either the ability to do something entails the ability to teach it, or that teaching vocational subjects requires less professional preparation (if any at all) than teaching other subjects. In the meantime, students continue to be the guinea pigs for the training of teachers who may or may not succeed. The prejudice which vocational educators perceive among academics seems to be reciprocal, further widening the breach between the two fields.

It is not necessary to advocate college preparation for all vocational instructors to upgrade their teaching ability; it is probably true that some good teachers are lost because of their weak academic ability. But some form of preparation for the job of teacher should be offered before the instructors start teaching. There should be some method of ensuring the ability to pass on knowledge within an educational setting, a different competency from the ability to perform a particular job skill.

Whatever the qualifications of the instructors, the vocational education programs in the Atlanta Public School System are large and diverse. The high school programs will be studied first.

The vocational education classes in the Atlanta school system's high schools served 50,591 students in 283 programs in 1978-79; the total of students includes duplication over a three quarter period, so the same students could be counted three times. There are no figures available detailing how many students receive no, one quarter, two quarters, etc., of vocational education. There were 30,580 students enrolled in high school that year, with an average daily attendance of 24,049. Table 2 below lists the occupational areas, the number of programs, and the student enrollment.[30] Table 3 is a listing of all the programs and a statement of the goals for each program.

TABLE 2

Occupational Areas	No. of Programs	Duplicated Program Enrollments (3 qtrs.)
A. Cooperative Programs		
1. Distributive Education	18	802
2. VOT (Including 1 Intensive Office Procedure)	22	801
3. OHE	15	642
4. DCT	9	531
B. Vocational/Practical Arts		
1. Business Education	54	12,010
2. Home Economics (Consumer)	27	11,892
3. Industrial Arts	59	14,349
4. Trade and Industrial	32	2,000
5. Horticulture	1	166
6. CVAE	12	683
7. PECE	25	6,085
8. Health Occupations	4	408
9. RVI	2	44
10. Occupational Home Economics	3	178
TOTALS:	283	50,591

TABLE 3

Program	Statement of Purpose	Student Group Served	Related Club
Agricultural Occupations			
Ornamental Horticulture	Ornamental Horticulture provides opportunities for pupils to prepare for agricultural occupations.	Grades 10-12	
	Future Farmers of America is an integral activity which aids agricultural education in making contributions to the guidance and total general development of pupils.	Grades 9-12	Future Farmers of America (FFA)
Business and Office Occupations			
Business Education	Business Education provides opportunities for students to develop interests, skills and knowledge in selected aspects of business and office occupations.	Grade 8 (Exploratory) Grades 9-10	
Intensive Office Procedures	Intensive Office Procedures is designed to enhance specific marketable skills in specific office occupations utilizing the "total job environment" approach.	Grades 11 & 12	
Vocational Office Training (VOT)	Vocational Office Training is a cooperative work training program for students who are preparing for employment in business and office occupations.	Grades 11 & 12	
	Future Business Leaders of America is the student organization for business and office occupations. FBLA provides additional opportunities for students to develop leadership qualities and an understanding of the world of work in business and office occupations.	Any student 14 years old and who has not completed high school	Future Business Leaders of America FBLA

TABLE 3, Continued

Program	Statement of Purpose	Student Group Served	Related Club
Distributive and Marketing Occupations			
Distributive Education (DE)	Distributive Education is a cooperative work training program to enhance the specific competencies needed by students in sales and marketing careers.	Grade 10 (orientations) Grades 11 & 12	
	Distributive Education Clubs of America is the student organization for distributive education. DECA provides a program of activities highlighting career development, economic understanding citizenship, and leadership development in the marketing and distributive fields.	Grades 10-12	Distributive Education Clubs of America (DECA)
Health Occupations	Health Occupations is a program of instruction designed to provide planned experiences to impart knowledge and acquire skills required to support the health profession.	Grades 10-12	
Home Economics Related Occupations			
Consumer and Homemaking	Consumer and Homemaking explore the skills of personal and social development, Consumer Education, Personnel Management, Nutrition/Food Preparation, and Textiles/Clothing.	Grade 8 (exploratory) Grades 9-12	
Occupational Home Economics	Occupational Home Economics programs are designed for the career development of persons who have employment objectives in a variety of occupations which utilize home economics knowledge and skills.	Grades 11 & 12	

TABLE 3, Continued

	Future Homemakers of America-HERO functions as an integral part of home economics program. This student organization provides an extension of activities beyond the classroom which enhance learning activities.	Grades 9-12	Future Homemakers of America-HERO (FHA-HERO)
Trade and Industrial Occupations			
Trade and Industrial Education	Trade and Industrial Education includes and industrial pursuit, skilled or semi-skilled trade, craft or occupation which directly functions in the designing, production, processing, assembling, servicing or repairing of any product.	Grades 10-12	
Diversified Cooperative Training Program (DCT)	Diversified Cooperative Training is a cooperative work training program which provides practical on-the-job work experience for students to gain employability skills in the trades and industrial occupations.	Grade 10 (orientation) Grades 11 & 12	
	Vocational Industrial Clubs of America is an integral part of the trade and industrial programs. VICA is designed to develop leadership abilities in students.	Grades 10-12	Vocational Industrial Clubs of America (VICA)
Program of Education and Career Exploration (PECE)	Programs of Education and Career Exploration provides in-depth experience for 8th grade students to explore the world of work in school and the business community.	Grade 8	
Coordinated Vocational Academic Education (CVAE)	Coordinated Vocational Academic Education is a support program for vocational education programs. CVAE is designed to remediate academic deficiencies, and to assist the economically disadvantaged in order that these students may succeed in vocational programs.	Grades 9-12	
	Vocational Clubs of America is designed to encourage student participation in civic, social and school activities.	Grades 9-12	Vocational Clubs of America (VOCA)

TABLE 3, Continued

Related Vocational Instruction (VRI)	Related Vocational Instruction is designed to serve identified handicapped students who cannot succeed in regular vocational programs without special assistance.	Grades 9-12	
Industrial Arts	Provides opportunities for students to develop interest, skills, knowledge, and an appreciation for industrial technology.	Grades 8-12	Industrial Arts Club of America

In addition to these programs, there are:

OCCUPATIONAL HOME ECONOMICS CHILD DEVELOPMENT . . . A laboratory preparatory program for eleventh and twelfth grade youths who will be trained as aides for pre-school programs. Two years are spent in this program. The first year is spent operating a pre-school program on the high school campus. The second year is spent in cooperative work experiences in a pre-school program.

and,

OCCUPATIONAL HOME ECONOMICS FOOD SERVICE COOP. (OSC). . . cooperative program for training eleventh and twelfth grade students in food service occupations through on-the-job experiences and class related instruction.

There are also several work support programs, two of which are funded through the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA).

IN SCHOOL WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAM (ISWE) . . . A training program funded by CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act). This is a financial assistance program that provides jobs for needy students (ages 14 through 21), enabling them to remain in school. Students are exposed to constructive work habits and attitudes with emphasis on matching their career objectives and job placements.

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT TRAINING PROJECT. . . A CETA funded demonstration project (CETA Title III Act, YEDPA 1977) providing work experiences for students 15-21 years of age whose potential for success falls below the average. It is aimed at helping students

who need financial help as well as intensive counseling due to poor attendance and negative attitudes toward school. The main objective is to keep students in school until they graduate.

Those programs which provide on-the-job, paid work experience:

> . . . are administered by the Atlanta Public Schools with the cooperation of funding agencies such as the Office of Adult and Vocational Education and federal funding through CETA Title III. Jobs are provided by local business, federal, state, and other non-profit community agencies.
>
> [Attachment 1] gives a breakdown of each Work Experience Program by schools according to the enrollment, number of students employed, the average number of hours each student works weekly, and the average hourly salary. These data reflect a three-quarter average.

Table 4 shows the summary of student earnings through these programs, a total of $2,711,903.28. Table 5 is a specific break-down of enrollment by program and source of earning, as shown in the school system's 1978-79 Statistical Report.

TABLE 4

Atlanta Public Schools

COOPERATIVE VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Summary of Student Earnings
by Programs
FY 1978-79

Occupational Area		Earnings
Coordinated Vocational Academic Education (CVAE)		$ 104,786.21
Diversified Cooperative Training (DCT)		271,441.82
Distributive Education (DE)		765,414.37
Occupational Home Economics		90,971.15
Vocational Office Training (VOT)		1,038,989.17
	Sub-Total	$2,270,702.72
CETA FUNDED PROGRAMS		
In School Work Experience Program		254,045.06
Youth Employment Training Program		187,155.50
	Sub-Total	$ 441,200.56
	TOTAL	$2,711,903.28

TABLE 5

I. Secondary School Vocational Programs	Enrollment
A. Cooperative Programs	
1. Distributive Education	990
2. Vocational Office Training	853
3. Occupational Home Economics	642
4. Diversified Cooperative Training	531
B. Vocational and Practical Arts Programs	
1. Business Education	12,010
2. Home Economics	11,892
3. Industrial Arts	14,349
4. Trade and Industrial	2,000
5. Horticulture	166
6. Cooperative Vocational/Academic Education	683
7. Program of Education/Career Exploration	6,085
8. Health Occupations	408
9. Related Vocational Instruction	44
C. Students Employed through Cooperative Programs	
1. Distributive Education	484
2. Vocational Office Training	584
3. Diversified Cooperative Training	280
4. Occupational Home Economics	178

II. Cooperative Vocational Education Student Earnings	Amount
1. Distributive Education	$ 765,414.37
2. Vocational Office Training	1,038,989.17
3. Diversified Cooperative Training	271,441.82
4. Occupational Home Economics	90,071.15
5. Cooperative Vocational/Academic Education	104,786.21
TOTAL	$2,270,702.72

Georgia also participates in Project SERVE (Supportive Efforts for Regular Vocational Education) which is for the benefit of certain vocational students. Project SERVE is designed to prepare secondary and post-secondary vocational education teachers for the education of academically disadvantaged students. Atlanta serves as the Central Center for six Satellite Centers throughout the state. As the city's vocational education report describes it:

> Instructional specialists in these centers work with the regular vocational instructors to locate, evaluate, calssify, and disseminate materials that have been used sucessfully in teaching disadvantaged students. The improvements and modifications of instructional materials already in use are other important concerns.
>
> Funding for grants to local school systems participating in SERVE has been made available through the 1976 Vocational Education Act. The State Department of Education allocates funds to participating systems for the purchase of materials, staff development, and travel expenses. Each local system makes the program a support service to complement the instructional services already rendered.
>
> The program provides optional exit points, specialized supplementary instructional materials and techniques, and staff development for participants.
>
> The goals of the program are to improve the effectiveness of the vocational education program for disadvantaged students, to increase enrollments and placements of

disadvantaged students, and to increase the mainstreaming of disadvantaged students.

At the present time, the Central Center of Project SERVE has 23 secondary and 22 post-secondary regular vocational instructors participating from the Atlanta Public School System.[31]

As will be seen when the academic achievement of Atlanta's school children is reviewed, such a program is sorely needed in the schools. Also, it should be noted that funding is strictly federal, not local; that is the nature of many of the programs in the Atlanta schools, including specific programs of education within the larger vocational curriculum. The relationship among the various levels of governmental programs, intentions, and discrepancies will be our next topic.

It has been stated that the vocational education effort within the Atlanta school system reflects federal, state, and local funding and directives. It might be inferred that such an arrangement implies close cooperation in a united effort toward common goals. There exists, however, a division in Atlanta between Atlanta and the federal government, as represented by the Vocational Amendments of 1976, and the state over a very basic question--the immediate purpose of vocational education in the high schools. The State of Georgia's goals for high school vocational studies have been centered on a cluster concept of courses. Supposedly, the student can take one or more courses in a specific cluster of related courses, a woodworking class in an industrial carpentry cluster, for example. Then after exposure to that field, the student may move on to another cluster. The theory has these major tenets: 1) Students in high school are not mature or experienced enough to choose a specific occupational field and stay with it. 2) Exposure

to several clusters will allow the student to choose a field. 3) Basic training in that field can be given so that the graduate will be able to go on to a vocational school, training program, apprenticeship, or entry-level position. This state concept places vocational education in high school as part of a first-grade through post-secondary program. As the Georgia State Plan for the Administration of Vocational Education: Under the Vocational Amendments of 1976 states, the philosophy of

> vocational education programs developed to serve the population of high school age and below can best be conducted in a single school setting as an integral part of a total curriculum designed to prepare students for entry employment or further vocational education at the post-secondary level.[32]

The high school program is just one of a five part program:

I. To promote career activities designed to help elementary school age children select future education leading to an appropriate career.

II. To provide students in middle school grades with exploratory and pre-vocational programs and experiences designed to assist them in making vocational choices.

III. To provide students of high school age with access to vocational education programs designed to prepare them for future job entry or specialized post-secondary education.

IV. To provide adults with general education programs leading to the equivalent of a high school education and enabling them to become more employable, productive and responsible citizens.

V. To provide vocational education for adults and other legally eligible citizens who need to develop or upgrade skills or employment and enterpreneurship.[33]

A recent study by the University of Georgia of this five part program suggests that effectiveness is achieved if a student continues through all the steps. But varying degrees of school participation, student transfers, and differing degrees of local funding and local dedication to vocational education all undercut that effectiveness.[34]

At first glance, it would seem that the state's directives on vocational education would carry some weight, but, while its directives are technically followed, there is a difference in goals that is noted both by state and city officials. That difference concerns the degree of specific job readiness to be sought as a goal of the education; this is a difference that is made more complex by the intervention of the federal government. Before we examine the City's attitude toward vocational education, it would be helpful to place their views in perspective by examining the context of their work. The school system's administrators feel that they have a unique situation as an urban area in a largely rural state and must meet the specific needs of their students. It is these students we will now profile.

The school system's total enrollment is 89.7 percent Black in an area in which race and poverty are related. Over 75 percent of all the students are eligible for the free lunch program. Only 4 of Atlanta's 131 schools are not eligible for Title I support. Fifty-one of the one-hundred and five

elementary schools have more than fifty percent of the students from low income families. The median family income in Atlanta, $14,261.00, is less than in any of the surrounding counties, including one that is largely rural.[35] Black elected and appointed officials now rule City Hall and the Board of Education, but recent political triumphs have not brought significant, long-range, financial improvement to the Black masses. A recent report of the Southern Regional Council points to the precipitate rise in the number of Black elected officials between 1965 and 1979. But the director of the council also stated that between 1965 and 1980 "the comparative economic status of blacks in the South over the past thirty years has hardly improved or in fact has declined." In 1975, Black family income in the South was only 62 percent of White income, and black men earned only 57 percent of what white men earned.[36]

Academically, Atlanta's students were also behind their neighbors and the rest of the country. Their Scholastic Aptitude Test score averages were: Verbal - 319, Math - 350, compared to a state average of 394 and 424 for Verbal and Math, and 429 and 468 for Verbal and Math national averages. In 1978 Atlanta's score on the Iowa Tests of Basic Skill averaged 95, five below the national average; only seventeen schools were above the national average.[37] The Test of Academic Progress given to Atlanta's first quarter high school seniors revealed a grade equivalency of 8.2 . Carver High School, visited for this paper, had a grade equivalency of 6.1. No high school exceeded 10.5; 11.1 is the national norm.[38] Subject failure rates in the high schools 1978-79 were: English 18.8, Math 20.1, Social Sciences 19.3, and Sciences 17.4 percent.[39] The failure rate per grade was:

9th	-	16.8
10th	-	16.3
11th	-	12.7
12th	-	4.1

The system wide dropout rate, during the nine month school year, excluding non-returnees, was 5.3 percent; it ranged from .8 percent to 12.5 percent. Carver's was 7.6 percent; perhaps a better picture of Carver's situation can be determined from the following statistic; of the 1,258 students enrolled in 1978-79, only 128, or ten percent, graduated. On any given school day, one fifth to one sixth of all high school students enrolled are absent.[40] In Georgia, the average number of school years attained by people 25 years old was 10.8 in 1979. Among Blacks, however, that figure was 7.3 for men and 8.3 for women.[41]

Table 5 shows the results of a poll of June, 1979 graduates, three months after graduation; 92.2 percent of graduates responded. The 52.4 percent going to college or vocational school seems high, but is undoubtedly skewed. For example, two high schools in affluent neighborhoods near the city limits have rates of 69.2 and 71.1 percent of students going to college, exclusive of vocational studies.[42] Further, these are statistics about graduates; dropouts are already excluded.

These statistics do not approach some of the truly appalling failure and dropout statistices in the industrial North, but they do reflect a common picture of the problems of urban education exacerbated by poverty and, in the South, race. Consider this comparison of Atlanta's poverty level in school and SAT scores to its surrounding suburban counties:

Area	Percent on Free Lunch	SAT Verbal/Math
Atlanta	75	319 / 350
Gwinnett County	8.4	404 / 437
Fulton County	15	424 / 463
Dekalb County	17	428 / 465
Cobb County	7	423 / 456
State	--	394 / 424
National	--	429 / 468

TABLE 6

CONTINUING EDUCATION OR OCCUPATION	NUMBER			PERCENTAGE
	M	F	T	
Four Year College	601	768	1369	34.2
Two Year College	121	203	324	8.1
State and Vocational Schools	170	234	404	10.1
Other Schools	44	107	151	3.8
Professional Management	10	7	17	.4
Clerical and Sales	66	278	344	8.6
Service	125	182	307	7.7
Armed Service	286	37	323	8.1
Agriculture, Forestry, etc.	0	0	0	0
Skilled	68	39	107	2.7
Semi-Skilled	123	58	181	4.5
Unskilled	146	100	246	6.1
Unemployed	114	192	306	7.6
TOTAL	1874	2205	4079	101.9

	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
Education	936	1312	2248	56.2
Employment	938	893	1831	45.7

In addition, Atlanta is not in an old, decaying, industrial region, it is a relatively prosperous community that has benefitted, as part of the Sun Belt, from increased growth in the last 25 years. The question that Atlanta's school officials face is how to construct a system that will best allow its students to benefit from the region's growth and prosperity. The administrators have to decide what combination and types of academic and vocational education will serve their students' needs best. For example, given the statistics on page 6 , which show that there are more jobs in Atlanta in trade and service jobs than in construction and manufacturing, what vocational programs are most valuable? That type of decision, however, must be made in a context in which many school children can barely read or write. The city's decision-making process must also take into account the area's traditional commitment to academic courses and the state's "cluster" concept. That concept places vocational education in an academic context, as part of a process of a general education which will lead the student to be able to decide upon his future upon high school graduation.

Atlanta's vocational administrators believe that they have different needs; they want the students to be ready to enter a job field as trained craftsmen in low-skill jobs, or as apprentices in more technical jobs. They also believe that the 1976 Vocational Amendments to vocational education affirm their belief in training students for full and immediate employment upon graduation.

The city's vocational education administrators believe that job preparedness is a necessary goal for a school system whose students are largely poor academically and financially. As the principal of one comprehensive high school said, "We should be concerned about the number of students whom we fail if we don't prepare them for life."[43] His definition of life is a job.

It must be noted, however, that vocational programs leading to immediate jobs are found only in inner-city schools. The programs at the inner-city school that was visited can be compared to programs at two schools in more affluent neighborhoods:

Carver High School - Auto mechanics, brick masonry, carpentry, cosmetology, drafting, dry-cleaning, commercial cooking, machine shop, ornamental horticulture, power sewing, tailoring, health occupations, DCT, VOT, DE, PECE (see pp. 32-35 for course explanations).

Northside High School - DE, VOT, home economics, printing shop, typing, testing techniques. The school also has a Performing Arts Center, open to students from any part of the city, which has courses in music, band and orchestra, voice, drama, and stage technical skills.

North Fulton High School - Typing and shorthand, home economics, pre-law, wood shop, mechanical drawing, higher math, honors English. The last two are electives, but the school's guidance counselor stated that so many of the school's students went to college that these courses were vocational.

The disparity among these programs does not indicate that the Board of Education has simply decided on academics for the affluent and vocationalism for the poor, although the quotation by the vocational school principal (see note 43) might support that view as realistic. Rather, the vocational

administrators cite an exactly opposite problem.

An official in the office of the Assistant Superintendent for Vocational Education and Special Services stated that "there is no national recognition for schools that teach kids how to make a living and get a job." He believed that the traditional stress on going to college partly causes that and that the Atlanta Board and Superintendent share that way of thought unconsciously. They will give money but won't provide public support."[44] He cited the fanfare by the Board over the fact that graduating seniors had received six to eight million dollars in scholarships and grants for their next four years in college in 1980, while the three million per year earned by vocational students is largely ignored. Pointing to the political nature of the Board in a city that has always favored academic preparation over vocational education--and still does although the Board and city have become ruled by Black leaders--he said that "habits will change only after society changes." The principal of a comprehensive high school also pointed to the "lack of knowledge and leadership about vocational education" in Atlanta. He also believed that academics are stressed because of a "belief in that as the only way for a school system" and that "administrators are academically oriented."[45] The principal pointed out that comprehensive, largely vocational high schools like his are funded through the same formulas that other, more academic schools are. Believing that vocational training costs more than academic education, he calls for new formulas.

Still, money is not the chief need cited in vocational schools, at least not by the administrators. As the high school principal stated, "We find ways to live with our budget. We have to be careful and know what we need. But it is policy, not money, that we need, an understanding of [vocational] needs for the future. [We cannot accept] the status quo or laissez-faire

leadership."[46] Money may not be a pressing need, especially with state funding, but vocational education is part of a school budget that has been traditionally inadequate in Atlanta, and which still ranks low in the nation. Atlanta's schools have been underfinanced almost continuously since their inception. As shown earlier, the minutes of the Board reveal one fiscal crisis after another during the 1930's, 40's, and 50's. Even the federal funding and growth of Atlanta in the 1960's and 70's did not lead to funding approaching national averages. In 1977, Georgia's citizens spent between 4.5 and 4.74 percent of their personal incomes on schools; that placed the state in the bottom half of all the states in that statistic. In addition, the per capita income that was being taxed was nearly $900 per year below the national average $5,531 to $6,403. The result is that only six states have higher illiteracy rates than Georgia's.[47] Financial problems show up in many ways. For example, in Georgia two-thirds of teachers leave the profession before the end of their third year in the schools. According to a September 23, 1979 statement by J. William Leach, State Director of Staff Development in the Department of Education, quoted in the Atlanta Journal-Constitution, "The state's starting salary ($9,641 minimum, $12,698 maximum) might be the main reason new teachers do not stay in education." If there is a correlation between money and educational benefits, then Atlanta, as well as many other urban communities, is facing a growing problem as enrollment shrinks and the budget grows. In 1968, there were 103,469 students in Atlanta's public schools' the budget totalled $566.46 per student. By 1979, attendance had declined to 68,224, while the cost per student had become $1,779.25.[48] There is no direct proof, however, that a lack of money has resulted in a detrimental educational environment. As stated, though, administrators seemed to want cooperation and coordination more than money. They point to their success, as revealed

in placement figures, and to their programs, and ask for recognition.

On the surface, the placement figures, especially for the Atlanta Technical School, seem impressive. According to the 1979-80 figures, 83 percent of graduates were successfully placed in jobs. The placement rates for all courses were: Food Service 79%; Accounting, 78%; Dental Office Assisting, 78%; Architectural Drawing, 77%; Cabinetmaking, 77%; Automotive Mechanics, 76%; Deisel Mechanics, 76%; Radio/TV Servicing, 76%; Auto Body and Fender, 75%; Commercial Art, 75%; Computer Data Processing, 75%; Dental Lab Technology, 75%; Electrical Construction, 75%; and Marketing, 75%. Baking, 83%, Carpentry, 82%; Cosmetology, 81%; Medical Lab Assisting, 81%; Medical Office Assisting, 81%; Aviation Maintenance, 80%; Clerical Office, 80%; and Industrial Drafting, 80%. Barbering, 100%; Machine Shop, 100%; Welding, 97%; Air Conditioning, 96%; Printing, 96%; Electronics Technology, 94%; Major Appliances, 94%; Practical Nursing, 94%; Secretarial, 93%; Bricklaying, 90%; and Data Entry/ Keypunch, 90%.[49] The Technical School does not, however, provide information on dropout rates from these programs; also, many pupils, especially in evening courses, had jobs when they entered.

The placement data for high school graduates of vocational programs statewide are:[50]

Total Number of Graduates	23,761
Withdrawn	6,359
Available for Employment	17,432
Placed in Field	3,924
Placed in Related Field	1,715
Continuing Education	1,443
Military	125
Placed in Unrelated Field	1,484

Not Employed	2,152
Status Unknown	6,589
Total Employed	7,207

The state participates in a Management Information System, a computer fact-gathering program that was instituted to help the state monitor vocational programs to be in conformity with the 1976 amendments. There are two chief complaints against the gathering of placement figures. The first is that follow-up information, especially for high school graduates, is very difficult to collect; supposedly, the time limits for collection of the information do not provide adequate time to gather statistics from the target population. The "unknown" category above seems to bear this out. For example, to insure continued funding, 50 percent of those completing a course must be employed in the field, but the information must be gathered by May 30 for a June 2 graduation date. City officials blame state officials who blame federal policies; all the administrators interviewed were highly interested in the information generated by the MIS program, but they felt that time limits for gathering it should be extended to increase accuracy. Second, the nature of placement is questioned. According to technical school administrators, vocational education does more than prepare for a specific job; it teaches the student about the world of work and gives him learning skills about work. Thus, even though placement may not be in the specific job the student was trained for, the vocational training may have been successful in developing "those affective [sic] job skills which are sought by employers and [are] necessary for successful job placement" as one committee examining the role of vocational education in the state said.[51] The problem of placement figures is exacerbated when the non-placement of students who entered programs with no intention of placement is considered.

As stated earlier, the Atlanta Area Technical School administrators were less concerend with placement rates than the high school officials, probably due to the differences in age and socio-economic status of those entering the technical schools. These students are older and often have a clear idea of what they need and want from job training. The necessity of maintaining a 75 percent placement rate has been little problem for the technical school.

The MIS statistics on race and sex of students and staff yield varying inferences. A recent report by the American Civil Liberties Union revealed its theme in its title, The Unfufilled Promise of Vocational Education. That report was countered by the State Department of Education's publication Report on the Status of Males and Females in Vocational Education in Georgia which found the state at least average in its attempts to train and hire men and women in non-traditional roles. The ACLU report points out that in Georgia, among vocational-technical graduates, "the women graduates. . ., with one exception, had starting hourly earnings well under the beginning wages earned by men who had graduated in the same programs as the women." [italics theirs][52] But the state of the equality of women's salaries is beyond the scope of the school system's responsibilities; the best the schools can do is insure that minorities are given equal access to opportunities. Tables 6 through 9 provide data included in the ACLU report gathered from the State Office of Vocational Education; all of the data are for the entire state.

Table 6 shows the percentage of female enrollment in high school programs between 1976 and 1979.

TABLE 7 [53]

COMPARATIVE PERCENTAGES OF FEMALE ENROLLMENT IN SECONDARY PROGRAMS, 1976, 1977, 1978 AND 1979

Program	% Female 1976	% Female 1977	% Female 1978	% Female 1979
Agriculture	12	23	17	19
Distributive Education	44	44	52	49
Health	87	73	71	84
Consumer and Homemaking	84	83	83	75
Occupational Home Economics	84	NA*	NA	82
Industrial Arts	5	NA	9	14
Business and Ovvice	75	75	85	66
Trade and Industry	16	17	20	22
TOTAL	57	64	56	51

*Data not avaliable.

Female enrollments had increased in every non-traditional area on Table 7 and decreased in traditional ones.

Table 8 gives information about Black enrollment in 1979 high school programs.

TABLE 8[54]

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF BLACKS ENROLLED IN SECONDARY PROGRAMS, 1979

Program	Total Enrollment	# Blacks	% Blacks
Agriculture	25,754	7,591	29.5
Distributive Education	7,959	2,007	25.2
Health	5,323	2,294	43.1
Consumer and Homemaking	90,853	36,959	40.7
Occupational Home Economics	2,814	1,672	59.4
Industrial Arts	46,990	14,909	31.7
Business and Office	102,236	28,771	28.1
Trade and Industry	49,506	15,112	30.5
Disadvantaged	8,113	4,064	50.1
TOTAL	339,548	113,379	33.4

The percentage of Blacks enrolled in the city's programs is found to be skewed because of the 89 percent total Black enrollment in the schools. Table 9 shows the sex-stereotyping within the secondary business courses, while Table 10 gives the Black enrollment figures in the same courses.

TABLE 9[55]

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MALES ENROLLED IN SECONDARY BUSINESS COURSES, 1979

Course of Study	Total Enrollment	# Boys	% Boys
Business Law	1,181	636	53.9
Career Planning	2,808	1,389	49.5
Business Math	3,692	1,808	49.0
Clerical Practice First Year	1,445	160	11.1
Office Procedures	988	59	6.0
Shorthand, First Year	4,026	123	3.1
All Business Courses	89,553	26,997	30.1

Obviously, courses leading to further academic preparation or managerial jobs were much more popular with males than skill preparation leading to secretarial work. Table 10 shows that Blacks were more likely to take the non-technical courses that would lead to jobs that required more training but promised better opportunities.

TABLE 10[56]

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF BLACKS ENROLLED IN SECONDARY COURSES, 1979

Course of Study	Total Enrollment	# Boys	% Boys
Vocational Office Training(Stenographic)	682	84	12.3
Shorthand, Second Year	351	43	12.3
Advanced Data Processing	107	14	13.1
Business Mathematics	3,692	1,423	38.5
Clerical Practice, First Year	1,445	577	39.9
Record Keeping	1,840	839	45.6
All Business Courses	89,553	26,235	29.3

Table 11 shows sex and race enrollment figures in Area Vocational-Technical Schools.

TABLE 11[57]

DISTRIBUTION AMONG PROGRAMS IN POST-SECONDARY AREA VOCATIONAL-TECHNICAL SCHOOLS, BY SEX AND RACE, 1979

	% of Total Enrollment					
	MEN			WOMEN		
Program	White	Black	Other	White	Black	Other
Agriculture	0.8	0.3	--	0.2	0.06	--
Distributive Education	2.6	5.2	2.8	2.3	3.2	2.2
Health	1.9	1.9	0.5	27.2	22.7	22.8
Home Economics	0.2	1.0	--	2.9	8.8	--
Business and Office	6.7	8.3	11.2	46.7	48.7	46.7
Technical	19.9	6.8	21.8	3.1	0.6	7.6
Trade and Industry	67.8	76.4	63.7	17.4	15.8	20.7

Table 12 compares female enrollment between 1974 and 1979 in non-traditional courses.

TABLE 12[58]

COMPARATIVE PERCENTAGES OF FEMALE ENROLLMENT IN POST-SECONDARY TRADE COURSES, 1974 AND 1979

Course of Study	1974	1979
Auto Mechanics	0.3	2.8
Machine Shop	0.3	4.0
Welding	0.5	3.8
Carpentry	1.0	4.5
Commercial Photography	5.0	36.0
Graphic Arts	8.0	34.0
Drafting Occupations	11.0	27.0
Upholstery	19.0	40.0

Table 13, Continued

Course of Study	% Black Men
Masonry	63.5
Barbering	55.2
Graphic Arts	43.8
Quantity Foods	43.7
Appliance Repair	40.8
Body and Fender Repair	39.1
All Courses	14.1

Course of Study	% White Men
Aircraft Mechanics	88.9
Electrical Technology	87.5
Electronic Technology	83.7
Machine Shop	82.9
Electromechanical Technology	81.5
Industrial Electrician	79.7
All Courses	39.1

Although some of these tables seem to show a rise in female enrollment over the years--see, for example, Table 12 in which participation increased in every field cited--the ACLU is sceptical of the state's commitment to sex and race equity. Accusing the state of minimum compliance, the ACLU points out that

> In Georgia in 1979, over one-fourth of the post-secondary students were enrolled in sex-segregated classes; another 53 percent were enrolled in traditionally male or female

These tables show that while there has been some improvement, there are still large indications that traditional roles are being followed.

Finally, Table 13 shows the concentration of white men in the technical courses while all others are more concentrated in traditional, lower paying fields. Technical fields are those which require ability in some advanced mathematics and have high cutoff scores on the entrance, general knowledge test. On Table 13, most of the courses in the fourth section are technical.

TABLE 13[59]

CONCENTRATION OF STUDENTS BY RACE AND SEX
IN PARTICULAR POST-SECONDARY COURSES, 1979

Course of Study	% Black Women
Child Care	55.2
Clerical Occupations	46.8
Dental Assistant	43.0
Licensed Practical Nurse	29.2
Secretarial Occupations	28.8
All Courses	14.8

Course of Study	% White Women
Secretaries	81.0
Medical Office Assistant	70.9
Medical Lab Assistant	67.9
Secretarial Occupations	67.8
Licensed Practical Nurse	67.1
All Courses	30.7

> classes, leaving just a fifth of the students in mixed classes. Two-thirds of the students were in classes with a disproportionate enrollment by race.[60]

The ACLU also states that:

> Georgia's vocational education programs are also race-biased. A comparison of enrollment by race/ethnic lines shows that both Black men and women are less likely to be enrolled in technical courses than Whites or other minorities. Black men take trade courses at a higher rate than White men while Black women are three times as likely to take occupational home economics as are White women. In the high school programs, Blacks are disproportionately concentrated in home economics, health, homemaking and programs for the disadvantaged.[61]

What progress has been made, has been "in spite of educators," who "seem more comfortable following a passive role." The chief culprit in the view of the ACLU is the "indifferent and often hostile attitude toward equity [of] the Georgia Office of Vocational Education." The "focus of sex equity activities at the state level has been on workshops, meetings, and classes to attempt to change attitudes and provide strategies for eliminating bias in the classroom," the effectiveness of which is questionable. Further, the state has, according to the ACLU report, "been able to subvert the mandate" of the 1976 amendments.[62]

The State Office of Vocational Education, which provided the ACLU's statistics, takes a different view of the figures. For example, a National

Organization for Women Legal Defense Fund report places Georgia twentieth among the states for placement of women in non-tradtional roles; the report also ranked Georgia twelfth for average percent of female participation in non-traditional programs. The state is proud of these rankings; the ACLU report headlines that same ranking with "Georgia Lags Behind in Non-traditional Enrollment." The state report's foreword, written by the Associate State Superintendent, Office of Vocational Education states:

> This report, as one product of the requirement of Title II, Vocational Education Amendments of 1976, reflects the fact that vocational education in Georgia is changing. Progress is being made toward achieving equity in a number of areas. First, student enrollments over the past three years reflect a slow but positive growth toward integration of courses by sex. Second, rates of program completion and placement are comparable for males and females. Third, special programs such as CETA and Quick Start are benefiting both male and female stedents. Fourth, the number of females in vocational education at the state level has increased by one-third in the past two years. While this number is still inadequate, it does reflect a positive direction and one with considerable potential for impacting vocational education.[63]

Most of the data in the report tends to support the idea that equity has not arrived in vocational education. The point of contention seems to be over the willingness of the state and school districts to implement futher changes.

Therefore, the attitude of vocational administrators toward sex and race equity is important. In Atlanta, the attitude somewhat supports the

ACLU's negative evaluation. The most often expressed attitude was that these matters are beyond the control of schools. Two high level administrators used the same statement. "We can't change the ideas of society." Another said that "we can't force equity on people who don't want it." One official in the city's vocational education office, when asked about compliance with the 1976 Amendments, gave this timetable. "The laws were passed in '76; it took most of '77 to reach our level. '78 was spent figuring out what to do, and only in '79-'80 has anything been done."[64] Educators at both the high school and technical school felt that attempts to influence students to enroll in non-traditional courses were beyond the authority, and responsibility, of educators. They would allow open enrollment, but not force it.

The attitude toward race was much less restrained than that toward sex. Atlanta's school officials, even when white as the Assistant Superintendent and Director of Atlanta Area Technical School are, are very aware of the question of race. Since 87 percent of the total secondary enrollment is Black, the post-secondary Technical school is the best example of problems in this area. Approximately half the students are black; the rest are white with a small infusion of other races. But 70 percent of the full-time day enrollment, students looking for their first jobs, is black, while 70 percent of the part-time night classes, students seeking to upgrade their skills, is white. Further, enrollment in the most skilled courses, aviation and electronics, is 60 to 65 percent white with an exceptionally high percentage of Hispanics and Orientals represented.[65] Again, officials claim a lack of control over what their students wish to do, and are capable of doing--a point to be considered when the Technical school is examined. Everyone believed that sex and race equity was important--although less important than the ability of the schools to prepare any student for a job - but other than publicity of the programs, nobody had a plan to achieve equity beyond what

the state is doing.

All of this report thus far has been objective in nature, relying upon statistics and the opinions of the people interviewed. Only a subjective view can reveal the actual carrying-out of all of these ideas and statistics. To achieve that subjective view, several on-stie inspections were held, one at a comprehensive high school and one at the Atlanta Area Technical School. Both schools are on fairly large campuses within sight of downtown Atlanta. With the exception of an administrative and classroom building at the high school, the facilities are modern and well-equipped. While citing ideal conditions, neither the high school principal, nor the administrators and teachers interviewed were dissatisfied with the physical plant or the shops; tools and equipment are not state of the art in the field but they are sufficient for the programs. Both administrators made claims that their schools were not typical but were above average.

The high school, named George Washington Carver Vocational School when it was the black vocational school in the 1930's, is today named Carver Comprehensive High School. The principal claims that it is the only truly comprehensive high school in Atlanta because it is the only one in which all students must take a five year vocational program in addition to academics, spending at least two hours a day, five days a week in shop. There are thirty-one vocational courses at Carver, and eighth, ninth, and tenth graders must take three vocational courses per year until specializing in the Junior and Senior years. All sophomores are sent to visit businesses to gain first hand knowledge about job requirements and opportunities before they declare their speciality. Even college bound students must take a full vocational curriculum; the principal believes that the "college-bound are going to get their requirements anyway" and that they can pick up some valuable skills on the way. Further, there

are no problems about the relative merit of either curriculum, or of counselors guiding students away from vocational courses, because everyone is in basically the same program, whatever their individual merits.

Only a third of the vocational instructors at Carver have degrees, but the principal likes the present method of hiring and training the teachers described on page 25 of this report. On the other hand, the principal feels that colleges do a poor job of educating other teachers, counselors, and administrators about the value of vocational education, especially in an urban setting.

The student body at Carver is nearly 100 percent poor and Black; approximately 25 percent of its graduating Seniors attend either a technical school, two or four years of college. The other 75 percent, as the principal says, "hit the streets." Because of this fact, the principal sees his, and by extension the high school's, mission to be to prepare the students to face the harsh realities of life with some knowledge and skill. When confronted with the idea that encouraging vocational education to Black students might have the result of denying them the rewards of an academic education including a college degree, the principal pointed to the immediate economic problems facing his students. He was less interested in long-range theory than in short-range problem solving. As is often encountered in a public school system that reserves special powers to the principal, Carver's principal is an activist and near-evangelist for vocational education. He has traveled across country to testify to committees and participate in workshops; he has offered his curricular plans to the four other largest comprehensive-vocational schools in Atlanta without success. But the fact that his program is largely his work and is unique in Atlanta reveals the citywide negative attitude toward vocational education. Even in the other vocational schools, students can

avoid a full vocational curriculum.

But the principal's opinions were limited to his experiences in an inner-city High school. If vocational education is only the first rung on the ladder of upward mobility, what appeal does it have to those already on higher rungs? Besides, to what degree does the vocational program have to be watered down in technical areas such as electronics or aircraft maintenance, to meet the needs of the average, non-academic, poor student? Will the graduates of such a program be prepared only for low level jobs that require little further training, especially in technical areas, or that call for some academic skills, like reading, writing, and arithmetic, for promotion? The principal claimed that these questions were not problems if the full value of vocational studies to the student in the future labor market are studied; then, better students, academically and financially, would appreciate vocational training, and the courses could be designed for the students at all schools. According to the Office of the Assistant (city) Superintendent for Vocational Education, however, there is little chance that Carver's programs will be adopted at other schools. The reality of the city's situation is that not only would the cost of such a plan be prohibitive, but there is little support on the Board or in the community for such a plan. The city's schools will continue to maintain vocational curricula that are isolated from academic programs and, except in a few cases, subservient to them. The Board and the city continue to see academic preparation as the best answer to the problems that Carver's principal cites.

The Atlanta Area Technical School, a post-secondary institution which serves both the city and the surrounding county, has 36 full-time courses and 130 instructors divided into five divisions. According to the director, the administration is top-heavy with titles and 21 full-time administrators, a condition that creates structural problems.[66] To the director, a product

(like all the administrative staff) of the Atlanta school system faculty and staff ranks, management is an important concept. Problems, both internal and those that arise from outside directives like the 1976 Amendments, are handled according to modern managment methods. Twice monthly staff meetings, workshops, retreats, rules and regulations lectures, and time management seminars are all part of the management process. Once again, though, the director denies the necessity of increased professional training for instructors who "with more schooling have less ability to transmit practical goals."

The physical plant "could use a few more machines," but is adequate for the school's mission. Salaries are not adequate, however. Graduating students are better paid than the instructors they left behind at Atlanta Area Technical School. Perhaps because 65 percent of the school's funds come from the state, the director is less concerned with the lack of appreciation for vocational training on the Atlanta School Board than with the "lack of strong leadership for post-secondary education in the state." She suggests that a lobbyist at the state legislature representing post-secondary schools, other than colleges, statewide, would help. Leadership is a key problem because the state "must plan for the technical life of the '80's and '90's, a plan that will demand long-range planning."[67]

The director also defends the emphasis on academics in the elementary and secondary schools because those skills will be universally needed and are not widespread in Atlanta right now as test scores show. Half of the students entering the Technical school are assigned to remedial academic courses,[68] based upon their scores on the Test of Adult Basic Education, which the director feels is biased and inadequate on both race and sex criteria but which "is the best predictor we have now."

One interviewee in the State Department of Education had criticized

the Atlanta Area Technical School's students as "declining in quality over the last decade," a time in which enrollment dropped from a high of 4,500 to the present 3,300 and became increasingly Black. That official also claimed that courses had been watered-down to meet the lowered abilities of the new students. The director denies these charges.

She agrees that the students may be less well-prepared than a decade ago, but she places this in a national context of lower test scores, a trend which may say more about the schools than the students. Another possible explanation for lower levels of competence among Atlanta Area Technical School students is that several junior colleges have been established or enlarged within the past decade in the Atlanta area and two junior colleges have converted to four year colleges; all leading to a siphoning off of some of the better students from the Atlanta Area Technical School. To counteract that trend, the school now has 22 joint enrollment programs with Atlanta Junior College (which shares the technical school's campus). Rather than characterizing the curriculum as watered-dwon, the director refers to the changes as realistic. The average student, aged 26, cannot always stay throughout an entire program, so exit points have been adopted, allowing a student to leave a program at one of several places in a sequence and be guaranteed some marketable skill. He or she can also pick up the program later at mid-point. Several other interviewees--an organized labor representative, a college professor in vocational studies, and a State Department of Education bureaucrat--claimed that there were few, if any, truly technical programs at the Technical School. The director pointed to the aviation and electronics courses as full technical curricula. In addition, she pointed out that each field is monitored by a craft advisory council which advises on job needs and opportunities and guarantees that necessary skills are taught.

Critics claim, however, that true technical courses demand high level mathematics and other science courses that are not offered at Atlanta Area Tech. The aviation and electronics sections produce good repairmen--white repairmen--but not technicians. The disagreement over the nature of a technical education seems to imply varying ideas about the mission of the school. Should it gear its programs for the immediate employment of students with vocational skills, or should it challenge the students and provide instruction in more difficult and longer programs? Presently, the more generally pragmatic approach to solving immediate needs is being used, even at the expense of being criticized for limiting the higher aspirations of some minorities. The director claims that the community supports that approach, but it is obviously antithetical to her expressed vision of the "technical life of the '80's and '90's."

The director alos claimed that non-white enrollment in the most difficult courses was high, although not as high as the total Black enrollment; she also claimed that there was little that could be done to increase non-traditional sex placement. "Our school is unique; the pupils are voluntary and have inputs into their desires from many parts of society. We cannot manipulate them." Thus, the students get what they ask for. "If they want a specific program and try hard, they'll make it." Enrollment then, is a voluntary function of the student. The continued high placement rates indicate the wisdom of the school's courses and the pupil's choices, according to the director.

Vocational Education in Atlanta is in much the same situation today that it has been in throughout the century. The city's citizens and Board of Education see academic education as the primary and best goal of the school

system, whatever individual needs are or the socio-economic status of the mass of students. The Black power structure that replaced the White one in the 1960's does not want to deny academic opportunity to the predominantly Black students; after all, to gain power to open paths long denied Blacks and choose against those paths does seem paradoxical. The implied question is, if vocational education is so important, why isn't it in the suburbs?

Vocational programs are not neglected, however, especially since most of the funding comes from the state and federal governments. Vocational programs get a fair share of Atlanta's educational budget, but they do not get full support in terms of recognition and leadership, areas which are crucial if vocational training is to be seen by students and tax-payers as a complete, viable alternative to academics. The city's vocational educators have dealt with this lack of full support by opting for programs which concentrate on specific job preparation in fields that offer opportunities to students who are, perhaps, academically undereducated.

Race is perceived as a problem in the placement of students in the technical school, but sex stereotyping is accepted as being basically beyond the educator's control, although some improvements have been made over the past few years. Thus, the city seems to meet the mandate of the 1976 Amendments in job-readiness terms, if not entirely in the areas of race and sex equity, although racial equity takes on societal rather than individual overtones in a system so predominantly Black. That is, the socio-economic status of the Black race seems to be more the problem than the placement of individuals. That problem also makes the question of technical versus vocational curricula of secondary importance to the city's school administrators.

The state seems to have some problems monitoring vocational programs despite the requirements of the 1976 Amendments; for example, the 1978-79 statistics are not yet available from the State Office of Vocational Education.

Also, the commitment of the state to racial and sex equity has been questioned, notably by the ACLU.

The two chief complaints from vocational educators, though, were, psychological and managerial. They complained of the low status in which vocational programs are held by most educators and citizens, and of the lack of understanding and of planning for vocational needs in the future.

ATTACHMENT 1
Table 2
ATLANTA PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Vocational Education Work Experience Programs
Statistical Data Analysis by Schools
FY 1978-79

SCHOOL:	PROGRAMS	Child Dev.		C.V.A.E.		D.C.T.		D.E.		I.S.W.E.		O.S.C.		V.O.T.		Y.E.D.T.P.
Archer	#1	118	1.	297	1.	0	1	134	1	40	1	110	1.	74	1	87
	2.	49	2.	93	2.	0	2.	102	2.	40	2.	58	2.	58	2.	87
	3.	15	3	20	3.	0	3	19	3.	10	3	21	3.	18	3	10
	4	266	4.	2.71	4	0	4.	2.77	4.	281	4	2.81	4	300	4	281
Bass	1	0	1	170	1.	0	1.	0	1	39	1	0	1.	77	1	73
	2.	0	2.	67	2.	0	2.	0	2.	39	2.	0.	2	72	2	73
	3	0	3	27	3.	0	3	0	3.	10	3.	0	3	23	3	10
	4	0	4	326	4.	0	4	0	4	281	4	0	4	331	4	281
Brown	1	21	1.	148	1.	0	1.	195	1	39	1.	0	1.	121	1	83
	2	21	2.	69	2.	0	2.	159	2	39	2.	0	2.	121	2.	83
	3	125	3	18	3	0	3	15	3	10	3	0	3	20	3	10
	4	281	4	2.81	4.	0	4	2.81	4	281	4	0	4	281	4	281
Carver	1	123	1	0	1.	89	1	151	1	39	1	126*	1	50	1	90
	2	31	2	0	2	84	2	36	2	39	2	6*	2	37	2	90
	3	15	3	0	3	23	3	26	3	10	3	20	3	19	3	10
	4	268	4	0	4	290	4.	281	4	281	4	265	4	293	4	281
Douglass	1	0	1	0	1	140	1	104	1	36	1	0	1	97	1	0
	2.	0	2	0	2.	140	2	96	2	36	2	0	2	77	2	0
	3	0	3	0	3.	25	3.	20	3	10	3	0	3	27	3	0
	4	0	4	0	4.	283	4	285	4	281	4	0	4.	288	4	0
E. Atlanta	1	45	1	174	1.	169	1.	0	1	39	1	0	1	48	1	0
	2	13	2.	60	2.	121	2	0	2	39	2	0	2.	42	2	0
	3	18	3.	22	3	22	3	0	3	10	3.	0	3	24	3	0
	4	281	4	281	4	288	4	0	4	281	4	0	4	288	4	0
Fulton	1	110	1	105	1	0	1	98	1	50	1	0	1	100	1	0
	2	18	2	15	2.	0	2.	82	2	50	2.	0	2.	83	2	0
	3	10	3	20	3	0	3	28	3	10	3	0	3	23	3	0
	4	281	4	285	4	0	4	300	4	281	4.	0	4	300	4	0
George	1.	87	1	152	1.	104	1	126	1.	36	1.	0	1	93	1.	0
	2	16	2.	24	2.	76	2	87	2	36	2.	0	2	84	2.	0
	3	10	3	18	3.	28	3	25	3	10	3	0	3	23	3	0
	4	273	4	2.81	4.	2.85	4.	281	4	281		0	4	2.98	4	0
Grady	1	0	1	145	1.	0	1.	88	1.	39	1	0	1	110	1	0
	2	0	2.	72	2.	0	2	80	2	39	2.	0	2.	110	2.	0
	3	0	3	22	3.	0	3	20	3	10	3	0	3	18	3	0
	4	0	4	2.91	4.	0	4.	2.88	4.	281	4	0	4	320	4	0
Harper	1	93	1.	0	1.	0	1	105	1	39	1	0	1	98	1.	0
	2	15	2	0	2.	0	2	98	2.	39	2	0	2.	94	2.	0
	3	20	3	0	3	0	3	20	2	10	3	0	3	20	3	0
	4	276	4	0	4.	0	4.	281	4	281	4	0	4	283	4	0
Murphy	1	39	1	0	1.	99	1.	129	1	39	1	0	1.	63	1.	0
	2	31	2.	0	2.	77	2	100	2.	39	2.	0	2.	62	2.	0
	3	15	3.	0	3.	27	3	28	3	10	3	0	3	17	3	0
	4	285	4	0	4	2.85	4	285	4.	281	4	0	4.	287	4	0

(#) Definition of numbered data:

1. No. of students enrolled.
2. No. of students employed
3. Avg. wkly. hrs. each student works
4. Avg. hrly. salary earned

*First qtr. only

Attachment 1, Continued

Table 2, Continued

SCHOOL:	PROGRAMS: Child Dev.		C.V.A.E.		D.C.T.		D.E.		I.S.W.E.		O.S.C.		V.O.T.		Y.E.D.T.P.	
N. Fulton	1.	0	1.	0	1.	0	1.	0	1.	39	1.	0	1	0	1.	0
	2.	0	2.	0	2.	0	2.	0	2.	39	2.	0	2.	0	2.	0
	3.	0	3.	0	3.	0	3.	0	3.	10	3.	0	3.	0	3.	0
	4.	0	4.	0	4.	0	4.	0	4.	2.81	4.	0	4.	0	4.	0
Northside	1.	0	1.	133	1.	0	1.	161	1	38	1.	0	1.	87	1.	0
	2.	0	2.	62	2.	0	2.	143	2.	38	2.	0	2.	67	2.	0
	3.	0	3	21	3	0	3.	20	3.	10	3.	0	3.	19	3.	0
	4.	0	4.	2.85	4.	0	4.	2.85	4.	2.81	4.	0	4.	3 03	4.	0
Price	(#)1.	0	1.	0	1.	0	1.	0	1.	38	1.	0	1.	30*	1.	84
	2.	0	2.	0	2.	0	2	0	2.	38	2.	0	2.	26*	2.	84
	3.	0	3.	0	3.	0	3.	0	3	10	3.	0	3.	20	3.	10
	4.	0	4.	0	4.	0	4.	0	4.	2.81	4.	0	4.	2.85	4.	2.81
Roosevelt	1.	0	1.	141	1.	0	1.	128	1.	39	1.	0	1.	125	1.	85
	2.	0	2.	14*	2.	0	2.	112	2.	39	2.	0	2.	116	2.	85
	3.	0	3.	20	3.	0	3.	23	3.	10	3.	0	3.	25	3	10
	4	0	4.	2.81	4.	0	4.	2.85	4.	2.81	4.	0	4.	2 85	4.	2.81
Smith	1.	12	1.	216	1.	163	1.	0	1	40	1.	55	1.	73	1	87
	2.	12	2.	45	2.	158	2.	0	2.	40	2.	22	2.	56	2.	87
	3.	20	3.	13	3.	18	3	0	3.	10	3.	23	3	20	3	10
	4.	2.75	4.	2.85	4.	2.90	4.	0	4.	2.81	4.	2.71	4.	2.98	4.	2 81
Southwest	1.	0	1.	0	1.	0	1.	85	1.	38	1.	0	1	49	1.	0
	2.	0	2.	0	2.	0	2.	81	2.	38	2.	0	2	46	2.	0
	3	0	3.	0	3.	0	3	27	3.	10	3	0	3	22	3.	0
	4.	0	4.	0	4.	0	4.	2.81	4.	2.81	4.	0	4	2.88	4.	0
Sylvan	1.	0	1.	0	1.	0	1.	104	1.	39	1.	0	1	95	1.	0
	2.	0	2.	0	2.	0	2.	81	2.	39	2.	0	2.	85	2.	0
	3.	0	3.	0	3.	0	3.	25	3.	10	3.	0	3	25	3.	0
	4.	0	4.	0	4.	0	4.	2.93	4.	2.81	4.	0	4.	2.88	4.	0
Therrell	1.	0	1.	82	1.	154	1.	124	1.	35	1.	0	1.	76	1.	0
	2.	0	2.	33	2.	138	2.	87	2.	35	2.	0	2.	63	2.	0
	3.	0	3.	16	3.	18	3.	18	3.	10	3.	0	3.	18	3.	0
	4.	0	4.	2.81	4.	2.88	4.	2.88	4.	2.81	4.	0	4.	2.95	4.	0
Turner	1.	0	1.	0	1.	0	1.	64	1.	39	1.	67	1.	43	1.	0
	2.	0	2.	0	2.	0	2.	64	2.	39	2.	65	2.	32	2.	0
	3.	0	3.	0	3.	0	3.	18	3.	10	3.	15	3.	25	3.	0
	4.	0	4.	0	4.	0	4.	3.23	4.	2.81	4.	2.81	4.	2.65	4.	0
Washington	1.	0	1.	0	1.	245	1.	167	1.	39	1.	0	1.	108	1.	81
	2.	0	2.	0	2.	240	2.	149	2.	39	2.	0	2.	104	2.	81
	3.	0	3.	0	3.	27	3.	25	3.	10	3.	0	3.	22	3.	10
	4.	0	4.	0	4.	3.16	4.	2.96	4.	2.81	4.	0	4.	2.91	4.	2.81*
West Fulton	1.	15*	1.	0	1.	153	1.	132	1.	39	1.	25	1.	108	1.	0
	2.	8*	2.	0	2.	129	2.	116	2.	39	2.	0	2.	92	2.	0
	3.	10	3.	0	3.	20	3.	20	3.	10	3.	0	3.	19	3	0
	4.	2.65	4.	0	4.	3.15	4.	3.00	4.	2.81	4.	0	4.	3.00	4.	0

NOTES

1. Annual Report of the Board of Education (1885) 9 and 17, and Atlanta Board of Education Minutes (June 22, 1899), hereafter cited as Board Minutes.
2. Board Minutes (January 1, 1908) and (December 26, 1901).
3. Ibid.
4. Marvin Lazerson and W. Norton Grubb, American Education And Vocationalism (New York: Teachers College Press, 1974), p. 17.
5. Ibid, p. 17.
6. Board Minutes (January 9, 1919).
7. Melvin W. Ecke, From Ivy Street to Kennedy Center: Centennial History of the Atlanta Public School System (Atlanta: Atlanta Board of Education, 1972), 41, 59-60; and 75-6.
8. C.S. Parrish, Survey of the Atlanta Public Schools (May, 1914, reprinted by the Atlanta Board of Education, 1973), 24-6.
9. Board Minutes (August 30, 1918).
10. George D. Strayer and N.L. Engelhardt, Report of the Survey of the Public School System of Atlanta, Georgia (New York: Division of Field Studies, Institute of Educational Research, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1921-22), Vol. II, 241, 246-48.
11. Lazerson and Grubb, p. 17.
12. Henry Reid Hunter, "The Development of the Public Secondary Schools of Atlanta, Georgia 1845-1937," Ph.D. dissertation, George Peabody College 1937, reprinted by the Atlanta Public Schools, 1974), 157.
13. Ibid
14. Ecke, p. 227.

15. See for example, Ecke, pp. 190, 197, 300, 306, 225, 228, 232, 236, 240, and 252. Between 1907 and 1936, total expenditures exceeded receipts nine times, between 1946 and 1971, eight times. In the twenties and thirties, local banks and businesses had to advance money for January paychecks on a regular basis, resulting in the request by the Mayor for teachers to voluntarily forego one monthly paycheck in 1931 and 1932. Ecke points out (on p. 314) in 1952, the school board solicited funds from the PTA "since the school system never seemed to have all the funds it needed to do all the things it wanted to do."
16. See Ecke, pp. 228-233, 236-237, 250-255.
17. Deveraux McClatchey, Atlanta City School Board Meeting Minutes (Atlanta: Office of the Secretary (July 1947), vol. 29, p. 82.
18. Ecke, p. 401.
19. Ecke, p. 401.
20. Ecke, p. 412.
21. Ecke, p. 412.
22. Ecke, p. 427.
23. Personal interview with Nancy Bailey, instructor in Vocational and Career Development Department of Georgia State University, September 10, 1980.
24. Statistical Report (Atlanta City Schools, 1980), p. 46.
25. Personal interviews with Betty Campbell, Director of Atlanta Area Technical School; Marion Corsett, teacher at the Technical School; Nancy Bailey, instructor at Georgia State University, Department of Vocational and Career Development; John Lloyd, State Department of Education; and Dr. Morris Hogans, Principal of Carver High School. Dates: Campbell, September 11, 1980; Corsett, September 10, 1980; Bailey, September 10, 1980; Lloyd, September 9, 1980 and October 10, 1980; Hogans, September 22, 1980.

26. Ibid. especially Campbell and Hogans, those directly in charge of the teachers.
27. Ibid., Lloyd and Bailey. Bailey's job entails, among other duties, preparing non-degreed teachers to meet the certification requirements.
28. Ibid., especially Campbell and Hogans.
29. Ibid., Campbell.
30. Vocational Education Annual Report (Atlanta Public Schools, 1979), p. 7.
31. Ibid, pp. 2-4, 10.
32. Georgia State Plan... (Department of Education, 1978), p. 166.
33. Ibid., p. 167.
34. Report on the Georgia Vocational Education Plan (University of Georgia, 1980).
35. "The Atlanta Public Schools Pupil Performance and Expenditure per Pupil." in The Atlanta Constitution, March 23, 1979, p. 3C, and "A Comparison of Metro Atlanta School Systems," Atlanta Journal-Constitution, April 21, 1979, p. 1B.
36. "The State of the South" (Southern Regional Council, 1980), cited in the Atlanta Journal Constitution, April 27, 1980, p. 22A.
37. "A Comparison...," p. 1B.
38. "Pupil Performance...," p. 3C.
39. Statistical Report, p. 42.
40. Ibid., p. 41-45.
41. Digest of Educational Statistics 1979 (HEW: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979), p. 87.
42. Statistical Report, p. 48.
43. Morris Hogans, interview, September 22, 1980.
44. Curits Henson, interview, September 16, 1980.
45. Hogans interview.

46. Ibid.

47. Digest of Educational Statistics, p. 87.

48. Atlanta Public Schools' Statistical Studies, 1968-1969 and 1978-1979.

49. Second Monday (Atlanta Area Technical School Newsletter, September 8, 1980).

50. Wiley Simpson, Director of State Planning and Operations, Office of Vocational Education, personal interview, November 7, 1980.

51. "Purpose of a High School Program" (Georgia State Department of Education, 1980), distributed at annual meeting of Georgia Vocational Association, Aug. 1980.

52. Ginney Looney, The Unfulfilled Promise of Vocational Education: A Look at Sex and Race Equity in Georgia (Vocational Education Monitoring Project: ACLU, Atlanta, 1980), pp. 5-6.

53. Ibid., p. 10.

54. Ibid., p. 11.

55. Ibid., p. 12.

56. Ibid., p. 12.

57. Ibid., p. 16.

58. Ibid., p. 16.

59. Ibid., p. 17.

60. Ibid., p. 56.

61. Ibid., p. 56.

62. Ibid., p. 57-58.

63. Report on the Status of Males and Females in Vocational Education in Georgia (Vocational Equity Unit, Office of Vocational Education: Atlanta, 1980.), p. 2.

64. Interview with Henson and Campbell.

65. Interview with Corsett.

66. Interview with Campbell.

67. Interview with Campbell.

68. Interview with Campbell.