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ABSTRACT

The history of the Chicago school system has been parallel to and intertwined with the city's political system, producing a school system which serves a diversity of interests through a multiplicity of programs, with varying levels of effectiveness. Vocational education, in particular, now is conducted in one superior trade school, several excellent vocational high schools, a hierarchy of lesser vocational high schools; and, less effectively, in the city's comprehensive neighborhood high schools. Recently, federal programs, such as the Vocational Education Act and Amendments and the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), have begun to have some influence on the vocational education program in Chicago. As a result, if the Chicago experience can be generalized, two separate systems of vocational education have begun to emerge in the United States. On one side, vocational education is offered by the public schools; is financed through state and local funds; has slowly developed over decades in response to political pressures; and offers a range of instruction to a wide variety of social and ethnic groups. At its best, it provides high quality training to able students who find jobs; at its worst, it provides vocational orientation courses to borderline students who have little interest in education and little expectation of success in the job market. On the other side is a manpower training program provided through CETA, federally financed and closely tied to local political leaders. CETA programs provide second chances for the school's worst populations, but have many organizational and staff problems. A link between the two systems is needed to more effectively serve the low-income, minority groups which neither system seems able to serve effectively, both in Chicago and elsewhere in the country. (KC)

Career Training or Education for Life:

Dilemmas in the Development of Chicago Vocational Education

by

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Vocational education has historically been justified according to two distinctive, if overlapping, sets of understandings about the relationships between schools and society. Many proponents of vocational education, often themselves prominent men of business, have argued that education should provide students with a specific set of skills that will allow them ready access to jobs in agriculture, commerce, and industry.[1] Other proponents, however, most especially educators, reform-minded professionals and some labor leaders, have felt that preparing for a career should be intimately related to more general preparation for life. These two traditions spawned distinct sets of institutional arrangements designed to implement and sustain each view of appropriate vocational education. Those who saw vocational education as career training thought vocational institutions should be segregated from the paraphernalia of the educational mainstream in order to concentrate on the vital task of finding viable employment for the next generation. Those who saw vocationalism as education for life insisted that vocational education institutions be intimately linked to the society's central educational systems.

Neither of these views of vocational education triumphed in the American system of education. Nor have these alternative perspectives been satisfactorily reconciled with another. Instead, they stand as competing strands and traditions, with first one dominant, then the other. The

accommodations that have been reached in practice are especially evident in Chicago, a city where both perspectives have influenced local school policy but where compromise has greatly modified each. Indeed, Chicago's propensity to treat all issues as susceptible to bargaining and compromise has yielded results which cannot be clearly placed into either of the two traditions. Instead, a new compound has been formed, shaped by the organizational interests of those most directly involved in vocational policy-making.

The impact of direct federal policies on the resulting compromise has been minimal. Although recently enacted federal legislation calling for planning, evaluation, market sensitivity, and reduction in sex discrimination in principle call for major changes in practice, they have had only marginal effects. However, in one area -- the manpower training programs funded under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) -- federal policy has been influential. These programs, funded almost entirely by federal dollars, operate within the terms of strict government guidelines. Yet the consequences of these guidelines for the overall system of vocational education services leave much to be desired. Indeed, it might even be said that where federal impact is the greatest its chances for showing success are the least. Curiously, local vocational education policies seem successful because they concentrate in areas where success is likely. Visible federal policies seem to fail because they concentrate in areas where success is improbable. But we hasten toward conclusions too quickly; let us first present the social and political background against which vocational policy in Chicago has developed.

Stability and Change in Chicago's Social and Economic Life

Chicago, once "hog-butcher of the world," has for nearly a century been one of the great manufacturing and industrial centers of the world. With

the completion in 1848 of a canal system linking the Chicago River to the Illinois River, Chicago had the extraordinary good fortune of being located at the juncture of two of the great inland water systems of the United States -- the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River basin (Condit, 1973). Its rate of growth in subsequent decades was so rapid that every railroad sought access to the city's industrial core; and, once these rail lines were fixed, the city's transportation links to East, West, South and Northwest were even more solidly established. Industry diversified, a balanced economy emerged, prosperity ensued, and urban growth was continuous through the 1920s.

Although Chicago's growth since 1930 has been more limited, the economic foundation for the city laid down in the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century maintains a balanced, diversified economy that is the envy of many other older industrial areas suffering acute socio-economic decline. As can be seen in Table 1, the number of persons employed declined by about 170,000 or 11 percent between 1930 and 1970, but the balance among various industrial sectors changed only marginally. Manufacturing continued to provide nearly a third of all employment in the city, and wholesale and retail trade accounted for another one-fifth. The major decline, in Chicago as elsewhere in the United States, was in the percentages employed in personal services; the other area experiencing relative decline was construction. The percent of the work force employed in this area contracted by one-half during the course of the four decades. Areas of relative and absolute growth were the professions and public administration.

Trends in employment opportunities in Chicago can also be observed by looking at changes in the occupational distribution in the postwar period. Once again, the city's economy, as shown in Table 2, seems to have been relatively stable. The percentages of craftsmen, foremen and operatives who

comprised the skilled blue collar work force, changed only marginally between 1940 and 1970. The numbers of clerical workers increased significantly, while sales workers and managers declined by somewhat smaller percentages. The area of greatest growth in Chicago, as elsewhere in the United States, was in the percentage entering professional fields. This segment of the work force increased by more than one-half, growing from just 7.7 percent of the work force to 12.6.

Chicago's economy has been relatively stable since the 1930s, but the same cannot be said for the social composition of its population. The massive immigration of European immigrants which provided the labor supply for Chicago's great growth in the early decades of the 20th Century ended with the Naturalization Act of 1920. Although Chicago remains a city of ethnic groups -- even in 1970, 29.8 per cent of its population was of foreign stock -- foreign immigration in the postwar period gave way to internal migration of blacks from the southern states and of Spanish-speaking residents largely from Puerto Rico but also from Mexico. Whereas the Germans, Irish, Scandinavians, Russians, Italians, Poles, and Czechs accounted for 47.9 per cent of the population in 1930, they comprised only 19.1 per cent in 1970. More details are provided in Table 3. During this same period the black population grew from 6.9 to 32.7 per cent and another 4.4 per cent of the 1970 population was Spanish-speaking (see Table 4).

Although blacks and Spanish-speaking citizens replaced the European ethnic groups living within Chicago, they did not necessarily assume the same positions of employment. Table 5, an index of representation for non-whites for each occupational rank provided in the U. S. Census, illustrates this point. If non-whites comprise the same percentage of those employed in that occupation as they do in the city's workforce, taken as a whole, the index of representation assumes a value of 1.0. If they are found half as frequently in the occupation as in the city's overall workforce, the index falls to .5; if they are twice as frequently found within the occupation as elsewhere, the index rises to 2.0. The table reveals that non-whites have since 1930 been underrepresented in the higher status occupations, including professional, managerial, clerical, sales, and craft work. Concomitantly, non-whites are overrepresented among operatives, service workers, domestics, and common laborers.

These figures clearly identify the occupational disadvantages experienced by non-whites, yet also show some steady improvement over time, especially between 1960 and 1970. The index of representation for non-whites increases substantially for all of the higher-status categories over the course of that decade. This is consistent with other findings that the position of blacks, relative to whites, improved substantially during the course of that decade (Levin, 1979).

Although Chicago's economy is diversified and was fairly stable throughout most of the postwar period, its stability can no longer be taken for granted. According to preliminary reports from the 1980 census a precipitous

population decline of 664,000 or nearly 20 per cent occurred in the 1970s. Although these figures are being challenged, there is little doubt that the numbers of residents seem to have declined by as much in the past decade as they did in the entire preceding forty years. Also, there is ample evidence that, even though Chicago has enjoyed a downtown office boom, commerce and industry are moving out of the central city to suburban areas, smaller towns, and other parts of the country. "Resources for industrial development will remain limited," a prominent Chicago financial officer has conceded, even while insisting that major investments were necessary if current trends are to be reversed (Perkins, 1980).

These pressures on Chicago's economy have left relatively high levels of unemployment within the central city. As can be seen in Table 6, Chicago's unemployment level was 9.1 per cent in 1978, more than 50 per cent above the national average of 6.0 per cent for that year. The spread between Chicago and the country as a whole was even greater for males (9.5 as compared to 5.2 per cent). Black unemployment within the city (16.2 per cent) also was substantially greater than an already disturbingly high 12.2 per cent in the nation as a whole.

When general levels of unemployment are this high, youth unemployment will inevitably be far more severe. Not only is an initial job the most difficult to obtain, but many employers regard teenagers as unreliable and irresponsible. Unemployment among all 16 to 19 year olds ran about 26.0 per cent in Chicago in 1978, and there is every reason to believe that youth unemployment among Chicago minorities approximated 50 per cent of all those actively seeking work. The challenges facing policy-makers in vocational education and youth training was, under the circumstances, exceptionally

great.

Stability and Change in Chicago

Chicago's political relationships during the postwar period have also been a mixture of stability and change. Chicago's Democratic Party organization thrived for many years under the leadership of Richard J. Daley and provided great continuity through most of the period. A stable governing coalition was supported by such diverse interests as business and labor, downtown and neighborhoods, blacks and whites. The party gave what was of greatest concern to each element within the coalition; those outside the coalition were systematically and sometimes coercively discouraged from active political participation (Peterson; 1976). In the 1960s, the largesse from numerous federal programs helped solidify the patronage resources of the party at a time when it was under particularly difficult stress.

Conflicts between business and labor were muted, because the party was able to satisfy the most intense concerns of each. For downtown business interests, City Hall provided unabashed support for urban redevelopment of the central city core. A new sophisticated transportation network, including both expressways and mass transportation capacities, enabled suburbanites to continue working in the "loop". Public investments in an exhibition center, the University of Illinois--Circle Campus, the Civic Center and, most recently, the State of Illinois Office Building, helped generate high demand in the private market for office space, new hotels and luxury residential accommodations along the shores of Lake Michigan. Altogether, downtown Chicago expanded in the 1960s and early 1970s when the core areas of other central cities, such as Detroit, Cleveland, and Newark, were rapidly

decaying. If businessmen prospered as a result of these carefully devised, capably executed policies of the Daley administration, labor unions were also well treated. For one thing, downtown development provided employment opportunities in the buildings and trades industry at a time when the demand for labor in construction was otherwise declining within the city limits (see Table 1). These pro-construction policies were all the more politically significant given the power of craft unions within the Chicago Federation of Labor. In addition, Mayor Daley repeatedly settled wage disputes in the private sector on terms that were generally quite favorable to labor interests. Even more important, the City insisted on paying the unionized trades the wage "prevailing" in the private sector. This meant that public employees usually received the same hourly earnings for year-round, maintenance activities that were being paid private employees for seasonal construction work. Finally, Mayor Daley encouraged the school board in 1966 to agree to bargain collectively with the Chicago Teachers Union, and in subsequent years he arranged settlements that greatly enhanced teachers' salaries and benefits (Grimshaw, 1979). Although these policies would eventually endanger the fiscal well-being of Chicago's school system, the arrangements in the short-run consolidated labor support for the Democratic Party.

As with business and labor, the party organization managed conflicts between blacks and whites by responding to the most urgent concerns of each. Neighborhood transition and race-related crime were the issues of greatest urgency for whites. Whenever integrated public housing, open occupancy laws or school desegregation was proposed, groups defending the racial integrity of existing white neighborhoods quickly formed as a potent political

force. Public officials responded by doing little to increase integrated housing opportunities and virtually nothing to encourage inter-racial contacts among pupils. By the mid-1970s it could still be said that Chicago was the most residentially and educationally segregated of all the nation's major cities (Orfield, 1978).

While school desegregation had a prominent position on the agenda of civil rights activists, for most blacks improved employment opportunities and increased financial assistance were more pressing matters. The Chicago "machine" responded with patronage opportunities for blacks that exceeded public programs in many other cities (Piven, 1971). The new federal programs, including community action, manpower development, model cities, and many others, were all overwhelmingly staffed by blacks. A black political leadership, including William Dawson, Cecil Partee and Wilson Frost, provided a visible sign that blacks were considered a legitimate part of the city's political life. In addition, the city recruited large numbers of blacks to the police force, and black teachers comprised in 1970 well over a third of the teaching force. Blacks may have been less pleased than whites with the policies of City Hall, but the Chicago Democratic Party was unusually deft in maintaining the support of both racial groups. As can be seen in Table 7, Mayor Daley's electoral support steadily increased in white neighborhoods, but its decline in black neighborhoods was far from precipitous.

If the success of the Democratic Party was attributable in part to its capacity to respond to the most urgent needs of each faction, that political style was consistent with its very basis of political organization. Chicago is divided into fifty wards; each ward elects an alderman and a member of the central committee of the two major political parties. Government

bureaucracies are decentralized for administrative purposes, so that each ward committeeman and alderman is able to establish contacts with local administrators. As a result, government programs tend to perpetuate Chicago's strong tradition of community identification and neighborhood self-consciousness. At one time these neighborhoods served fairly distinct ethnic groups, and one still finds areas in the city that are predominantly Slovak, Polish, Greek, and the like. But neighborhood identities have developed quite apart from their ties to specific ethnic groups (though racial divisions in many areas reinforced awareness of neighborhood boundaries).

Taken altogether, the distinctive political traditions of Chicago have produced a political style that emphasizes compromise, bargaining, and deference to particularistic and parochial interests. Programs are not generally evaluated according to whether they are beneficial to the "city as a whole"; instead, their impact on specific groups and neighborhoods counts most heavily. In addition, policies are designed in such a way that there is "something for everyone." If a number of groups are in conflict, the local government typically responds by establishing separate programs for each. As a result, government programs are varied, developing loyalties to particular groups or neighborhoods and recruiting staff in ways that sustain partisan loyalties. Only loose central direction is given to most programs.

These characteristics of Chicago politics and policy-making have undergone some changes in the last few years. Amid the declining cohesion of the Democratic Party in the post-Daley period, politics has become more media-oriented. Mayor Jane Byrne has not established her authority over

the party organization or the government bureaucracies, and she does not command the same confidence in the business and banking communities that Mayor Daley had enjoyed. Labor leaders are disappointed in her failure to keep her campaign commitment to firemen that she would recognize their union for purposes of collective bargaining, and uneasy labor-city truces followed an unprecedented troika of fire, transit, and school strikes in 1980. Moreover, the fiscal difficulties experienced by many central cities have become more visible in Chicago, with unexpected property tax increases required to compensate for revenue shortfalls. Nonetheless, though these changes may have significant short-term political repercussions and in the long run could affect the administration of governmental programs, long-standing practices still influence the shape of most of the city's policies.

The Chicago Public Schools

Certain stabilities also mark the Chicago public schools over the four decades from 1930 to 1970. Most noteworthy was the relatively small change in the numbers of pupils served. As is shown in Table 8, the percentage of the school age population (5-17) attending public schools increased by little more than three per cent, the numbers of pupils in elementary school increased only from 500,594 to 563,032, and the high school student body increased by only six thousand students from the beginning to the end of the period. Also, the figures in Table 9 remind us that only two-thirds of the city's elementary children are educated in public schools; the remainder are educated in parochial or other private schools. Significantly, less than half the city's adolescents aged 13-17 are in the Chicago public schools.

According to the figures presented in Table 9, the level of school programs seem to have steadily increased over the four decades from 1930 to 1970. While the size of the student body had remained relatively constant, their teachers have nearly doubled in number. Class size fell, and the number of pupils in average daily attendance per teacher declined from a high of 33 in 1931 to 25.6 in 1950, down to 20.8 in 1970. At the same time expenditures per pupil in current dollars increased more than seven fold. In some ways it is even more impressive that in constant dollars the increase in per pupil expenditures from 1950 to 1970 was no less than 260 per cent.

The decade of the seventies was less kind to Chicago schools. For one thing, the pupil population in elementary schools declined to 301,690 pupils in 1979 -- 50,000 fewer than the number attending elementary school in 1931.

Overall enrollment was only 411,234, just 82 per cent of the 1970 total. A more immediate concern for Chicago schools was financial, as the city's fiscal resources became increasingly constrained over the course of the decade. The inability of the Board to fund its debt, "payless paydays" for teachers, teacher strikes, and inevitably, eleventh-hour negotiations among board members, union leaders, bankers, and state and local politicians were the most visible signs of fiscal constraints. Significantly, a new Financial Control Authority with the power to disallow school board expenditures was created by the state. The effects of these changes can be observed in basic school finances. Although the city's expenditures per pupil continued to increase in the 1970s, the growth did not keep pace with change in the cost of living. In constant dollars, the

seventies witnessed a small decline in overall per pupil expenditures. Finally, racial changes in the seventies have increasingly transformed the Chicago schools into a system serving minorities. As early as 1963, when Chicago took its first racial headcount, 46.5 per cent of the school-age population was black. By 1970, this had increased to 55 per cent; in 1979 60.7 per cent were black, 17.2 were Hispanic, 1.9 were Asian, 0.2 per cent were Native Americans, and only 20.0 per cent were non-Hispanic whites.

The political style of the city has affected the way in which the city's schools are administered. Although a political reform of the schools immediately after World War II removed school personnel from direct partisan influences, and even though "reform-minded" members have always been represented on Chicago's Board of Education, the board has always had a majority of members with close ties to the mayor and the Democratic Party organization. In education, as elsewhere, policy response has been aimed at accommodating diverse groups and interests rather than attempting to impose any single "rational" policy on the system as a whole. When the Chicago Federation of Teachers pressed intensely for recognition as the collective bargaining agent for teachers, they were accommodated in 1966 at the recommendation of the mayor before a strike occurred. For several years after recognition was granted, teachers were provided substantial salary concessions because the board -- and mayor -- did not want a strike. Yet, at the same time, the Board of Education did not wish to antagonize the business community or homeowners by asking for an increase in the property tax. Instead, the city relied on increases in state and federal assistance for the schools and on deficit financing to pay its obligations. While these arrangements worked

for several years, they eventually led to a fiscal crisis.

On race issues, the Board of Education generally resisted demands for integration. Although the teaching staff was desegregated under intense federal pressure in the early 1970s, even by 1980 little had been done to modify historical practices of racial isolation. The one program which ostensibly responded to desegregation requirements was developed by Superintendent Joseph Hannon and called "Access to Excellence." This program was supposedly designed to provide many attractive educational opportunities in desegregated settings so that pupils would voluntarily attend racially integrated schools. However, the plan had only the most trivial effects on racial isolation, and, indeed, the overall degree of segregation in the system in 1980 was not much different than a decade earlier.[2] Even the "Access to Excellence" program was all but eliminated by the fiscal crisis of 1979. Very recently, the Chicago school board and the Department of Justice have agreed in a consent decree that the board will soon develop a desegregation plan, but it is still too soon to see what shape this plan will take. Vocational eduacation, never divorced from its surrounding political climate in Chicago, has predictably been affected by each of these contemporary controversies. Indeed, the problems of Chicago education are, in many respects, the problems of Chicago's vocational education as well.

Chicago's Vocational Education: An Historical Perspective

The Pre-World War I Controversy. From the very beginning of the Twentieth Century, many groups and educators in Chicago had advocated some form of occupationally related training, and various groups have had alternative concepts as to how that education should be organized and what the extracurricular content should be. Characteristically, the result of these discussions has not been exactly as any one leader or group would have preferred. Instead, outcomes have reflected the general tendency in Chicago politics to

accommodate conflicting interests through bargaining and compromise.

One of the earliest strong advocates of vocational education in Chicago was the Commercial Club, a group of leading businessmen who had their own group interests clearly in mind. As the chairman of the education committee once observed, "The menace of socialism can be minimized by vocational training that will increase the intelligence and future earning power of our children" (Robinson, 1913, p. 1049). Acting on this assessment of the need for vocational education, the Club proposed a state law which would create: 1) a separate system of vocational education schools; 2) a structure independent of the public schools to administer vocational education; and 3) local boards of vocational education, consisting of the community's superintendent of schools, two businessmen, and two skilled employees.

The Commercial Club's efforts were enhanced by a vigorous campaign for vocational education mounted by Edwin Cooley, Chicago's school superintendent from 1900 to 1909. Cooley's superintendency included active promotion of the establishment of a commercial high school located near the downtown business district. After his resignation from the superintendency, he devoted many years to the active promotion of vocational education, and the major bill to provide vocational training in Illinois became known as the Cooley bill.

Although the Cooley bill was given serious consideration in the state legislature during the years preceding World War I, it aroused the opposition of labor, teachers, leading educators, and reform-minded professional people. While all groups supported the concept of vocational education, they differed over the organizational form such legislation should take. Labor was most fearful that separate vocational schools would be used for indoctrinating schools in anti-union propaganda. As one typographical union

official observed in 1913, "Many union men ... fear that the schools may be turned into what has been bluntly termed 'scab factories'" (Chicago Tribune, 1913, p. 4). School people were concerned that a separate vocational system would divide public education into competing sets of institutions, weakening the power of each. As Ella Flagg Young, Cooley's successor as superintendent, declared:

> Under one head and one authority all great projects have been brought to successful results. To divide the responsibility is to weaken the result. Not from any personal idea, but from an idea for the community's best good, I oppose the ... /Cooley/ bill (Chicago Tribune, 1912, p. 4).

Reformers such as Jane Addams and the City Club of Chicago, a group of civic-minded professional people, were concerned about the extent to which vocational education was dividing one social group against another. Siding with labor, they insisted that any program of vocational education be incorporated within the existing administrative structure of the school system.

This conflict raised at the very beginning of Chicago's consideration of vocational education a central issue which has not yet been clearly resolved in a satisfactory way.[3] Business groups felt that training for employment required learning specific skills that could lead to immediate employment capacities, even if this meant a sacrifice in more general cultural and literary educational experiences. Given this objective, separate administrative structures for vocational education, which could assiduously pursue their assigned tasks, seemed entirely appropriate. Educators, reform-minded professional people and many labor leaders disagreed, insisting that vocational education should be thoroughly integrated with a child's general education. By providing a child direct encounter with specific,

meaningful occupational contexts, educators could awaken his or her curiosity toward larger questions that could only be satisfied in art, science, and language courses.

Both sides could find serious deficiencies in the other's conception of vocational education. The narrow, more occupationally-specific understanding of vocational education ignored the fact that technological changes required continuous changes in specific skill capacities. Moreover, it slotted pupils prematurely into specific vocations when the very purpose of education would seem to be the expansion of new horizons and opportunities. Yet the enthusiasts for relating vocational to general education often were able to develop these links more convincingly in theory than in practice. Schools that provided the full range of courses from industrial arts to higher mathematics ran the risk of offering such a potpourri that no clear definition of purpose ever emerged. Vocational courses often were little more than vague hints as to the kind of practical skills that were needed; general education courses were so "watered down" that they could hardly arouse intellectual curiosity, let alone satisfy it.

The controversies over the purpose, content, and administration of vocational education that were sparked by the Cooley bill would not be easily resolved. But with the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917, the first round in the debate came to an end. The federal government agreed to support vocational education but it would do so only within the context of the existing system of public education. Separate administration and control was put to one side (Cremin, 1961, Chap. 2).

The 1930s debate. Controversy over vocational education broke out in Chicago once again in the 1930s. Two competing understandings of the purpose

and content of vocational education were again expressed. One side was led by Superintendent William J. Bogan, Superintendent of Schools from 1928 to 1936, who regarded vocational education as an extension of general education. Influenced by progressives such as John Dewey and Francis Parker, Bogan believed that the "primary function of the schools is to develop high character, good citizens," and the capacity of the student "to go forth into the unknown confident of his own ability to meet and solve life's problems." As a former principal of Lane Technical High School, Bogan believed that vocational education could help achieve this ideal, provided it concentrated on giving pupils diverse skills that could be used in a multiplicity of contexts. As he said to the NEA convention in 1931:

> The wise businessman expects little in the way of specialization. In certain occupations knowledge of commercial subjects, drawing, shopwork is very useful, but in general the businessman or the captain of industry asks for character, responsibility, initiative, energy, alertness, and adaptability (Proceedings of the 69th NEA Annual Meeting, p. 739).

Quite another view of vocational education was expressed by Bogan's successor, William Johnson, Superintendent of Schools for Chicago from 1936 until 1947. In Johnson's view:

> There is a tremendous swing toward the revamping of our educational structure to the end that vocational and trade objectives shall take the place largely of the traditional cultural objectives. ... It is an endeavor to cater to the needs on the part of our children. It is estimated that 90 per cent of our boys and girls are faced with an economic condition which demands that they be taught skills which fit them for some definite occupation (Annual Report of School Superintendent, 1936-37, p. 265).

Johnson pursued his vocational education objectives through two separate policy initiatives. He first tried to restructure high school education throughout the city by changing its curriculum so that 80 per cent of

the courses would be in vocational education. Labor and teacher response to this plan was intensely negative. The Chicago Federation of Labor objected that this proposal "was inimical to the interests of labor and would tend dangerously toward a rigid class stratification in society by denying students those learnings which would maximize their social and economic mobility" (Hazlett, 1968, p. 137). The Chicago Teachers Union complained that the plan was a "totalitarian effort to force workers' children into the ranks of workers." It was "a direct attack on the American ideal of equal opportunity for all" (Chicago Daily News, 1937, pp. 1-3). The Chicago Teachers Union was also fearful that certified teachers would be replaced by individuals with trade skills but no extensive educational credentials. Even more, they feared the program would be used to extend the patronage resources of the Democratic Party organization. As one teacher leader complained, "The debasing of the school system into an annex of the local spoils system reaches its climax here" (Ibid.). This combined opposition of labor groups and teacher organizations was so intense that Johnson disowned his plan and assured all parties that he was not planning any fundamental reorganization of the school system.

Johnson's second effort to extend vocational education was more successful. He established or expanded three of Chicago's most successful vocational training institutions. In January 1938, he opened a new Commercial High School, the institution that had been anticipated by Cooley decades earlier and which provided career opportunities for potential secretaries and business office employees in an institution located near the central business district. Secondly, he rehabilitated and expanded the city's trade school. This school had been established after World War I as a training

school for disabled war veterans. By 1930 the school had become the major center for apprenticeship training in skilled crafts within the Chicago public schools. Trade union support for its expansion had been secured on condition that the number of apprentices in any given trade would be limited so as not to flood the market with certain types of skilled labor. By 1937 apprentices attending the school included carpenters, printers, photoengravers, sign painters, steamfitters, plumbers, sheet metal workers, machinists, electricians, painters, paper hangers, millinery workers, tailors, metal lathers, and plasterers. The enthusiasm with which the program was accepted by both labor and industry is indicated by the fact that the union sent "co-ordinators" to work half of each day with apprentices, and manufacturers were said to have donated $75,000 worth of equipment and materials in that year. In the next few years Johnson rehabilitated and enlarged the building, and, in the press of the shortages caused by the war, expanded the number of students engaged in the training programs. Another vocational school was also opened during the Johnson years. Once again the educational emphasis was on career training sufficiently specialized so that there was no need for advanced education. Special emphasis was given to programs in printing, aeronautics, the automobile industry, electrical work, carpentry and machine shop. These three schools would eventually become part of the elite of Chicago's vocational education schools.

Administration of Vocational Education

When ideals are put into practice, they must take some organizational shape. The choice between vocational education directly connected to specific careers and vocational education closely coordinated with general education is not just a choice between two abstract conceptions of the relationships between schools and society. The choice also entails a selection between alternative organizational forms. And once an organizational form has been selected, its characteristics have their own policy consequences. For one thing, organizations have an interest in enhancing their prestige and extending their range of operations. Consequently, they often interpret their mandate in ways that allow for institutional preservation and enhancement (Wilson, 1973). The organization also becomes committed to certain operating routines (Allison, 1971). Unless certain regularities govern its internal behavior, organizations are unable to process the information and execute the programs assigned to it. Yet once routines have been adopted, they are not easily modified -- even when changed circumstances would seem to demand organizational innovation.

Organizational behavior in Chicago was also affected by the school board's unwillingness to choose between the two approaches to vocational education we have identified. As we noted earlier, Chicago politics has traditionally emphasized the need for bargaining and compromise, even if this has meant a sacrifice in the rationalization of policy objectives. In the case of vocational education neither the career-bound nor the culturally-linked view of vocational education dominated policy choice. Although some school superintendents (Cooley and Johnson) emphasized the

importance of training for specific jobs, and other superintendents (Young and Bogan) had viewed vocational training as opening a larger cultural world, neither view was accepted unequivocally by the Board of Education. As a result, no single set of institutions perfectly executing either ideal was ever implanted. Instead, organizational structure reflected a compromise between the two approaches.

This compromise is reflected in the Board of Education's provision of vocational education in two entirely different kinds of institutional settings. Some vocationally-oriented instruction was provided in each of the fifty-eight comprehensive high schools, which in 1979 provided the educational setting for 117,422 pupils, 86 per cent of the secondary school population. At least in theory, curricular instruction in these comprehensive high schools combined vocational with general education. Students were expected to combine any vocationally related electives with required courses in languages, sciences and mathematics. Facilities and equipment were rarely designed to provide finished skill training, but were intended to afford extensive introduction to various vocational options. In addition, the school board operated ten vocational high schools, a trade school, an industrial skill center, and a vocational apprentice program. These programs offered instruction to 18,817 students (14 per cent of the secondary school population) in institutions with strong vocational emphases. The board also supervised three occupationally-oriented schools for 571 handicapped students. In sum, the Board of Education has created both schools that especially emphasize vocational education and schools that provide education in the context of a comprehensive school curriculum.

The administrative direction for vocational education also reflects

the uncertain policy commitments of the board. As a reflection of its special commitment to vocational education, the board established within its central administrative offices a special department with responsibility for vocational education. Under the Assistant Superintendent for Vocational and Career Education, professional staff members were charged with the following responsibilities: Practical arts and technical subjects, home economics, health occupations, computer education, business education, and adult education. The department develops both an annual plan and a five-year plan for vocational education to be submitted to the Illinois State Department of Education. Based on information obtained from each school, the department reports to the state the curricular and programmatic emphases for vocational education in future years, and it also accounts for the number of pupils in each of its current programs by race, sex, and special needs. On the basis of these figures, the state allocates state and federal funds for Chicago's vocational education program. The department also has the responsibility for identifying needs for new equipment and capital expansion, and it is consulted in the selection of staff personnel for vocational education programs.

But if the formation of a special department for vocational education reflects the Chicago school board's commitment to separate programming, the limited formal authority given the department indicates the limits of that commitment. The Assistant Superintendent has no formal authority over the principals in either the comprehensive high school or in the vocational high schools. Instead, he can only recommend to the Deputy Superintendent appropriate school level policies. The Deputy Superintendent, in agreement with the recommendation, instructs the Area Associate Superintendent, who

informs the District Superintendent, who then informs the principal of the policy that has been adopted. The formal authority structure, to be sure, is an inadequate representation of actual patterns of communication. The Department of Vocational Education discusses problems and policies with principals of vocational schools and individual teachers much more directly than is suggested by these formal relationships. Nonetheless, the formal organizational chart emphasizes the extent to which vocational education, in theory, is conceptualized as just one component of the general education programs of the schools.

Third, the duality of the school system's approach to vocational education is indicated by teacher credentialing policies. Teachers in the 1930s had expressed great concern that instructors of vocational education could be hired without the academic credentials required of other teachers. In response to these kinds of concerns, the board required that all teachers in comprehensive high schools, even if they taught only vocational courses, be certified as academically qualified. However, teachers in specialized schools that offer vocational courses need only a trade certificate. According to some administrators, this allows the vocational schools to obtain highly trained occupational specialists unavailable to comprehensive schools. But whether or not the vocational schools acquire more promising talent, the ambiguity of school certification policies testifies to the plurality of the influences on vocational education.

Fourth, the state assistance formula which governs the distribution of funds to Chicago and other school districts within the state underscores the multiplicity of the forces shaping the community's approach to vocational education. This

formula is complicated and takes into account many pupil and program characteristics, but one aspect of it is particularly relevant in this context. No pupil can be considered part of a vocational education program and therefore eligible for state assistance unless he or she is participating in a program that can provide a sequence of instruction over several years that is "capped" by advanced courses. In this way, the state has expressed its commitment to a kind of vocational education that leads to the acquisition of a set of immediately useful occupational skills. On the other hand, the assistance is provided to any and all pupils in such a "capstone" program, even though many pupils will never take more than the introductory course. By not rigorously requiring continued progress in the capstone program by most of the pupils, the state allows vocational education to be treated as just a concomitant of general education. The ambiguity with which vocational education is approached reveals itself once again.

Chicago's Vocational Schools

Within the ambiguities of vocational education policy in Chicago, the vocational high school provides the clearest expression of a commitment to provide specialized training for a specific industrial experience. According to some supporters of this alternative, such education should prepare students for useful years of employment in careers related to existing industrial needs. Certain critics counter that this alternative prematurely "slots" some students, usually of working class origins, into "dead-end" jobs. As it turns out, both views are so grossly oversimplified as to be essentially inaccurate. Specialized vocational schools, as institutions;

took a direction poorly anticipated by either their supporters or their detractors. They neither solved the problem of youth unemployment nor did they necessarily "slot" students into dead-end jobs.

To appreciate what has happened, one must understand the competitive environment in which these schools operated. Vocational schools were not established in lieu of comprehensive schools. Nor were vocational schools established in a system parallel to academically-oriented high schools with test scores allocating students between the various types of schools (as has been done in some European countries). No such rationalized policy of vocational, academic, and general education, each for a distinctive segment of the population, ever emerged. Instead, both vocational schools and comprehensive high schools competed for the same clientele.

Survival dictated that vocational schools demonstrate their market value to prospective students. If vocational schools were to lure adolescents away from their neighborhood schools, they had to offer some special incentives. The most enticing attraction was easy access to a relatively secure, well-paid position of employment. Establishment of this incentive required both sensitivity to private sector interests and discretion regarding market employment elasticity. If desirable employment was to be found for vocational school graduates, the schools could not flood the market. Indeed, their very success in training large numbers of the work force could undermine their objective of attracting worthy pupils into their programs.

The continuing paradox provided by the need to achieve equilibrium was illustrated by a new program developed in a recently established well-paid specialization. Since it was the first specialization at the secondary

school level in the United States, the program was of some pride to Chicago administrators. Nonetheless, program administrators closely monitored program growth to avoid flooding the local market with students trained in this area. They have placed a number of constraints on the way in which students are recruited into the program in order to maintain its exclusive flavor.

The logic followed by school administrators in this case applies more generally. If schools are to have programs with good job placement records, they cannot recruit excessive numbers of students into it. In this regard, the school's interests are similar to those of the trade union movement. While unions were seldom if ever hostile to vocational education in principle, they have been concerned that vocational schools might increase the size of the workforce in occupational areas where unions had been able to win relatively high wages. Unions were thus interested in keeping vocational education programs relatively modest in size.

Vocational schools, as organizations, had another interest well worth protecting. Not only did they have to be careful not to train too many pupils in any given specialty, but it was also desirable for them to train pupils in the higher-skilled crafts and trades, which offered greater remuneration and a more stable career. To the extent that a school provided education for a desirable vocation, the school would be popular with parents and pupils and win respect and honor in the community at large. Pursuit of such a goal required that schools build relationships with appropriate industries. In exchange for supplies, materials, equipment and opportunities for on-site instructional experiences, the school could guide program graduates into firms assisting the school. Where student recruitment takes place

through labor unions, the school could assist the union in limiting labor supply. In some cases, vocational schools may not admit a student into a training program unless a job has been secured. This formalizes what otherwise might be a less explicit relationship.

Not every vocational school is able to pursue these strategies with equal success. As a result, a hierarchy of vocational schools has developed within Chicago. The best schools have high admission standards, close contacts with labor and industry, high quality equipment (much of which is donated by industry), and considerable prestige with the Board of Education and the community at large. Other schools have been less successful, but they still are able to recruit students selectively and they have some contacts with certain industries. At the bottom of the hierarchy are schools with pupils not accepted elsewhere; these schools have many of the problems associated with central city education. As one administrator noted, "Our city has some of the best and some of the worst schools; /but/ I think we do an outstanding job meeting the needs of kids who would succeed in any kind of setting."

The Prestigious Schools. One recognizes the elite quality of the most prestigious vocational schools almost immediately upon arrival in the building of these institutions. They feature impressive physical plants and boast modern equipment. Administrators, teachers, and students are enthusiastic about their participation in school programs, and hallways, with their extensive trophy cases and honors displays testify amply to their achievements. Selective admissions procedures are employed in each of these schools, and administrators possess uncommon jurisdiction in making staff decisions. One administrator of an intermediate institution contended:

"There is no way that a Chicago school can expect to compete with a suburban school considering resource differences." Although such assertions are made by many, the most prestigious of public vocational schools in Chicago compare favorably with suburban rivals, particularly in terms of job placement, quality of facilities and equipment, and commitment to high achievement.

Perhaps the most widely known of the four prestige schools visited is a sixty-one year old trade school that has become a veritable Chicago institution. Despite its relocation on three occasions, the school has remained a major training ground for the city's labor force. Presently located in a former warehouse, obtained in1958 and extensively renovated by apprentices with materials provided by unions and industry, the school served approximately 2,100 students in June, 1980. Located near the geographic center of the city, it is open eleven months of the year; for ten of these months classes run from 8:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m. Each vocational program has its own individual requirements, which range from a four-year apprenticeship in carpentry to a two-year course in chef training. Indeed, the school can only in the loosest sense be considered a part of the city's secondary educational program. In fact, 41 per cent of its students enrolled in apprentice programs live outside city boundaries, comprising nearly one-third of the overall enrollment. For many programs a high school diploma or its equivalent is required for entry, and the median student age is 23 years.

The school emphasizes sophisticated, project-oriented instruction, not introductory courses. "They are expected to have the basic skills, we don't see ourselves as responsible for them," explained one administrator. "Ours

is a school of total immersion, where we throw you right into a program." Consistent with this specialized focus, program offerings have changed regularly in response to changing market demands and technological innovations within trades and professions. A butcher training program was recently closed, while a new program in solar energy technology may soon be opened.

Unions and industry provide substantial contributions and overall support to the school. The school is said to receive approximately $1 million in contributions from the private sector each year, and its equipment and overall facilities are superior to those examined in the other vocational schools visited in the city. "They complain sometimes when we ask for something, but they generally give it to us," noted one school administrator in explaining the process of obtaining private support. Even school hallways are lavishly decorated, often serving as practice areas for students gaining instruction in design and decoration; labor costs for these internal improvements, of course, are nonexistent, and many of the materials used are "flawed seconds" donated by school supporters.

Unions also participate on advisory boards, which make significant input on curricular decisions. Moreover, many still select the students they will permit to enter the programs they offer at the school and some require their apprentices to obtain a job commitment before beginning instruction. The Board of Education provides salaries for teachers, while day-to-day administration is left to a director who has staff selection and decision making authority which vastly exceeds that granted to high school principals. Indeed, the director serves as a mediator between

varying interests, including the private concerns and the Board of Education, as well as junior college and federal manpower training programs, both of which are beginning to participate in limited ways in the school's program.

With such diverse participation and unusual administrative autonomy, the director has recruited a strong faculty and developed marketable programs that usually lead to job placement. The school faces some of the restrictions imposed upon other institutions in hiring and firing faculty, and it is under pressure to respond to faculty desegregation guidelines. But unlike most principals who must accept teachers sent from the central office without prior consultation, the director still maintains considerable discretion in staff recruitment. The special legal requirements for vocational education play a role in this regard. While teachers must pass three difficult college classes established for each program and pass a rigorous examination offered by the school, they are not absolutely required to possess a college degree. On the other hand, they must be a member of a trade and be "successfully active for five of the last ten years in that trade," a requirement that generally insures that teachers will be union members. Moreover, the school is allowed certain freedoms in placing instructors on more advanced lanes of the Board of Education pay scale by offering certain exemptions, making teaching a more lucrative venture for outstanding candidates.

Intense, direct exposure to a trade under the direction of experienced teachers produces abundant enthusiasm within the school. Although it houses one of the large student populations in the city and runs an exhaustive schedule, waiting lists are extensive and proposals have been offered by

school officials to obtain additional facilities and expand the current programs. Among students presently participating, 97 per cent attend daily instruction and 90 per cent enter the work force immediately upon graduation.

The school has both trade programs and what are known as open enrollment programs. Trade programs are offered for prospective cabinet makers, millwrights, electricians, machinists, painters, plasterers, pipefitters, decorators, operating engineers, floor coverers, and tool and die makers. Students gain admittance to the trade programs by applying to the union representative responsible for coordinating trade relations with the school. While each union has its own procedures for handling program admissions, in general a high school diploma or its equivalent is required. Open enrollment programs, a growing part of the school's curriculum, are offered in amusement mechanics, auto mechanics, refrigerator and air conditioning, vending machine mechanics, and welding. For these programs students may gain admission merely by applying directly to the school itself. They remain, however, small in comparison to the apprentice programs, and constitute less than one-fourth of total school enrollment.

The trade school has been so successful in training its students and then providing them with privileged access to the job market that the only major issue surrounding it has involved its alleged racial and sex exclusiveness. In 1979, 76.1 per cent of its students were white and 92.4 per cent were male; certain programs had almost exclusively white male participation. According to some minority groups and newspaper accounts, the predominance of whites at the school is due to trade union preference for white applicants. It was in response to these allegations -- and to a cut-off in federal vocational education funds for the school -- that the school initiated its open enrollment program in certain occupational areas. In addition, decisions on admission were

shifted from faculty of specific programs to the central office of the school's director.

Other outstanding vocational schools lack the expansive curriculum, staffing flexibility, and massive private sector support of the trade school, but they do possess many comparable features and offer many individual strengths. Two of these schools are large institutions located on the city's south side, both serving nearly exclusively black student constituencies. Like the trade school, they possess excellent physical facilities and numerous high quality programs. Both have been generously endowed by the private sector, and both offer college preparatory programs, in addition to a myriad of vocational courses and concentrations.

The modern, suburban-like layout of one school, which enrolls 2,500 students, features ample shop and classroom space ideal for instruction in a diverse curriculum resembling that of a junior college. Once a trade school in antiquated quarters, a principal capitalized on the increasing political influence of Chicago's black community by obtaining a new facility that was completed in 1962. With this change, the school gained prestige in both vocational and academic circles. "This school was a comer in the sixties," explained one administrator. "It gained publicity, including stories in national magazines, and the growing image fed on itself."

With its reputation now firmly established, the school employs a formalized admissions procedure not unlike that of many colleges and universities. Extensive promotional and counseling efforts are made. The school ranks its approximately 4,000 applicants on the basis of test scores and reserves most of its 650 places to the highest exam achievers. Certain spaces, however, are retained for students who prove less

proficient in testing, if they are recognized as possessing an outstanding skill, such as in art or music. Indeed, displays around the school unabashedly proclaim student "winners" who range from artists to academics to professional basketball players. The school was the first in the city to institute extensive follow-up studies on its graduates, some of whom now offer financial support and return to participate in various youth motivation programs.

As in other Chicago vocational high schools, students are permitted to experiment with various types of programs during their first two years. Prior to the beginning of the junior year, however, they are required to meet with parents, counselors, and appropriate faculty and administrators to determine a definitive specialized course of study for the final two years. Counseling services are emphasized and well-staffed and undoubtedly contribute to the school's 94 per cent retention rate. In addition, a serious, business-like atmosphere is evident among the students, as course expectations are high and strict disciplinary standards enforced. The building is well-maintained, with some repair and cleaning effort provided by some of the vocational classes.

The school cannot match the extensive private support given to the trade school, but it does utilize a variety of private sector contacts. A number of boards provide formal links to business and industry. The school receives donations from individuals, private firms, and a nearby technological institute. "The support it receives is a function of being relatively successful," noted one school administrator. "It is fairly unique in that respect."

Distinction is also evident in the faculty. Similar to the director,

of the trade school, the school's principal is far more assertive in recruiting and orienting staff than many other city principals. Moreover, most faculty have extensive vocational and industrial experience and participate in staff development projects that include encounter groups and in-service training. The staff is ethnically well-integrated and averages nine years in the school, an unusually high level of stability. "No one leaves this place," noted one administrator.

A similar blending of teaching and administrative talents with excellent facilities and equipment also benefit another equally impressive vocational high school. Despite less competititve admissions standards than the school discussed previously, this school ranks in the top tier of vocational education. The school plant spreads across 11 acres and offers abundant shop facilities for its 3,500 students and features numerous pieces of modern equipment, including large, complex saws and graphic arts materials. The school provides twenty-seven majors and possesses the largest business program of any city school, with approximately 2,000 of its students enrolled in these courses.

Even though designated as a vocational school, the high school has an extensive college preparatory program. The school reports that even though it sends 68 per cent of its graduates to college, its vocational curriculum is designed to prepare students for immediate work force entry with no more than specialized on-the-job training. "We give them the skills, and they have the options," noted one administrator, who asserted that vocational schools should not necessarily be expected to encourage students to enter the work force directly. Especially in the case of minority students,

graduates may wish to capitalize on college educational opportunities unavailable until recently.

Admissions procedures further illustrate the school's high standing in Chicago. To gain entrance students must attain relatively high scores on math and English examinations. While the school's students come mainly from neighboring elementary schools, it has a citywide clientele. This school, like the other prestige schools, features a serious, academic atmosphere; it has a daily attendance average of 91 per cent. A stable faculty undoubtedly nurtures these attributes. Once again, that faculty seems to have been groomed by the school's principal, who has exercised considerable initiative in staff recruitment and retention. An unsuccessful Congressional candidate in the spring of 1980, the principal recently accepted a prominent position as Mayor Byrne's Director of Employment and Training.

Private sector contacts are not as extensive here as at the two previously discussed schools but those that exist serve a variety of purposes. Two local steel companies run apprentice programs and donate items such as excess scrap metal. Local organizations and businesses participate on active advisory councils. The school administration cultivates these contacts through a series of public relations efforts, including press releases to local and city newspapers and public service announcements for local radio stations. "All you need to turn the schools around is a little publicity," insisted one administrator. "Ten years ago everybody thought the Chicago school system was good. Then leadership changed and other things happened and everyone is negative. People think we're terrible; we're not terrible."

The fourth prestige vocational school visited was established ninety-two years ago by downtown business leaders anxious to develop a training ground for future employees. The school, which even today serves as a major supplier of downtown clerical and office occupational help, possesses a beautiful, superbly-equipped modern campus adjacent to the central business district. Since 1935 it has not offered instruction in college preparatory areas, providing instead a wide range of courses in bookkeeping, business machines, data processing, machine transcription, marketing, stenography, and health occupations. Fifty-seven per cent of the school's teachers are members of the business department.

The school has traditionally been depicted as a secretarial school, but an administrator insists, "We are totally devoted to commercial training." The school enrollment was balanced between boys and girls prior to World War II, but girls have dominated the student body since and comprise over 90 per cent of the students enrolled in 1980. This imbalance perpetuates the secretarial school image. Somewhat selective admissions standards are applied, but are not nearly as competitive as the other schools discussed thus far. Admissions requires completion of two years of high school with an average of "C" or better, with certain general education requirements. Many students enter the eleventh grade with reading levels well below average, and the school encourages extensive course work in English to develop reading and writing abilities. Oral, business-related communication skills are also stressed. Moreover, a strict disciplinary and grooming code is enforced, giving the school a professional demeanor, perhaps unlike any other public school in the city. Students also have ample opportunity in actual work experience with

downtown firms, and 80 per cent of the students are retained by their employers on a full-time basis following graduation. "Many businesses use the school as a replacement for their natural attrition," explained one administrator. Indeed, most of the major business firms located downtown maintain some relationship with the school and its students.

Employment-related instruction and excellent prospects for full-time work upon graduation make the school attractive to students from throughout the city, many of whom commute major distances to enroll. The school drew its 900 students from 52 of the city's 64 public high schools last year. Students who enroll at the school also have the advantage of working in smaller classes and access to one of the fourteen work coordinators. From an administrative standpoint, such staff positions are coveted, in part because they qualify for extended day benefits, which means more capable, experienced people can be hired than for most faculty positions. Although most vocational schools are limited to two or three coordinator positions, this school's extensive training placement program permits an expanded, experienced staff. In these and many other ways, the school has numerous assets that simply go unmatched in the majority of the city's vocational schools.

In sum, Chicago's prestige vocational schools seem to offer as fine a set of educational opportunities as can be found anywhere in public school education. They have excellent facilities and equipment, first-rate administrative leadership, a stable faculty, good relations with relevant industries and trade unions, and attentive students.

While the trade school remains predominantly white, the three other schools were in 1979 overwhelmingly black: 99.8, 99.8 and 78.8 per cent, respectively.

The minority with the most limited access to the best of Chicago's vocational education was the Hispanic community. Only in the commercially-oriented school were they found in percentages roughly equivalent to their presence in the citywide school system. Prestige schools are built slowly and the Hispanic community in Chicago seems too newly formed and too recently awakened politically to have established an elite school for its most able children.

Schools of Intermediate Quality. Educational provision in schools of intermediate quality does not decline precipitously from the high standard provided in the prestige schools. These schools offer diverse programs, possess many fine attributes, and undoubtedly meet the needs of many city students. Nonetheless, when compared to their prestigious competitors, they serve students who perform less effectively on standardized tests, and they have more modest facilities and equipment to offer the students who do enroll. Their internal administration is not as powerful politically and has less influence in making staffing decisions. Moreover, private sector relations are neither as abundant nor as lucrative as the prestige schools. Site examinations included visits to three such schools, none of them showplaces, but all seemingly meeting needs of specific student constituencies. All were represented by administrators and instructors proud of their institutions and programs, and students seemed generally content with their learning situation.

The facilities of intermediate schools definitely testify to their less than elite character. Two of the schools visited have extreme shortcomings in terms of facilities and equipment, while a third has successfully converted a former warehouse into a workable facility, only to be

threatened with relocation to another site.

A north side school which serves a predominantly white constituency faces the most severe obstacle due to facility inadequacy. Shop and classroom space is simply insufficient, and the school must offer a multiple-shift, twelve-period day to compensate for overcrowding of its 1,500 students. Despite these measures, the school still has 60 per cent more students than it has accompanying space during a regular day. A partial result is that some classes are conducted in hallways.

Equipment is comparably deficient, particularly considering a fairly diverse curriculum which includes composition, presswork, machine tool, sheet metal, automotive engine and body repair, computer, electronics, machine drafting, office business machine repair, and business education instruction. Many of the courses teach students to use equipment already considered outdated by industry; dated linotypes are used in graphic arts instruction because modern equipment is not available and 30 year old pulley-run machines are used in machine shops. "We're always playing catch-up," observed one staff member. "With little exception, we're generally behind where we should be if our goal is to train people for jobs that are opening today. Our staff, in many cases, is dying to take a giant step forward."

Nonetheless, the school is able to offer basic instruction in various areas. Although admission is open to anyone in the city who has successfuly completed the eighth grade, the student body primarily represents surrounding neighborhoods and seems satisfied with the school it has selected. While the school claims to have enjoyed consistent success in placing students in employment following graduation, private sector contacts seem minimal. An advisory council existed previously but was dimantled when "everyone

got tired of making recommendations that had no chance of success politically or economically."

Limited private sector support compounded with minimal latitude in self-governance proves restrictive in many ways to the school. In contrast to experiences at the prestige schools, the principal of the school has little input into staff selection; "We get manna or we get dirt: the central office sends teachers to us and we receive," asserted an administrator. His comments were characteristic of virtually all administrators in intermediate and bottom-line schools. Tensions attributable to school system financial cutbacks and concomitant staff uncertainty have only exacerbated these frustrations, as faculty are now less willing to experiment and cooperate. Services have gradually been reduced, and the school has but one counselor for each 400 students. Without private sector provision of equipment and training assistance, the increasing limits on public resources are all the more evident. "Maybe our present school setting, which attempts to create a reality, doesn't do that good a job," noted an administrator. "Perhaps we need a new setting -- in conjunction with industry." At intermediate schools the industry connection still seems a dream away.

Resource limitations for intermediate schools was further underscored by a south side school that serves 1,900 black students and is comparable to the one discussed previously. Housed within a warehouse converted for school usage in 1964, the school lacks the severe overcrowding problem of its north side competitor but features many similar facility and equipment limitations. "We have always felt that the school was shortchanged," noted one staff member, citing inadequate shop, auditorium, and physical education

facilities. The building bears the marks of an institution not designed as a school; only vociferous parental pressure placed on the Board of Education produced fresh painting, dropped ceilings, and new electrical fixtures. Staff members are proud of their ability to work as effectively as they are under such poor circumstances. A "team" metaphor is constantly employed at the school; "We don't have fancy things other schools have, but I'm not sure you need them in order to have a fine school," explained one administrator.

Application is open to any city student, and admission is somewhat selective, although entrance is not as competitive as the prestigious vocational high schools. Approximately 50 per cent of the school's graduates advance directly into college programs, while others opt for immediate entry into the work force. Graduates are required to complete both academic and vocational majors, which encourages exploration of both potential academic and employment options available to each student. Indeed, the school seems to compensate for physical limitations with a diverse curriculum that includes twenty-one major areas of vocational concentration, including music, commercial art, and practical nursing, in addition to more commonplace programs. Yet, facility limitations and dated equipment prevent development of vocational curriculum responsive to technological and market changes. "Our curriculum has been stable, without much change over the past five years," assessed one administrator.

Curricular rigidity, similar to the other intermediate school, is also enforced by central office determination of staff. In addition, the school administrative staff has been significantly reduced in recent months because of school system budget cutting. This renders innovation

and experimentation even more improbable. Private sector input and support has been virtually nonexistent and is unanticipated in upcoming years. The wide residential distribution of the school's student body is cited as one of the main reasons for limited private sector participation, although, as evidenced in other prestige schools, such geographic diversity need not be an impediment. Instead, this intermediate school, comparable with the one discussed previously, simply cannot compete with the prestigious schools that are well-staffed and equipped, and have the most talented students in the vocational programs. The school compensates by promoting as positive an image as possible and rallying its constituency around a theme of resiliency in the face of adversity; parents, for example, participate in regular school council meetings and are tapped regularly as a force to demand more resources from the Board of Education.

The third school of intermediate quality that we visited was designed in the late 1960s as an alternative for males between the ages of 16 and 20 who had been relatively unsuccessful in their previous academic work and seemed unlikely to graduate from high school. This new school attempted to fill gaps left by the Board of Education dismantlement of continuation schools, which were aimed at such constituencies. While it emphasized project-oriented instruction, the school day is evenly divided between academic instruction and work experience or training, much of which occurs outside the school.

The school is located in a converted south side factory building, and is easily accessible by mass transportation, a major asset since the student body of approximately 350 males is scattered about the city. Programs are tailored to meet individual needs, and sculpted by a faculty of-

thirty plus five counselors; according to an administrator, "They have a total commitment to make the place go." The school's first principal was allowed to select one-third of the faculty and screened all additional staff members. Facilities are somewhat limited, but partial compensation is provided by active private sector participants, many of whom establish in-school mini-factories that provide students with relevant work experience and some compensation for their efforts. Such cooperative ventures have been frequent and most impressive, including a rehabilitation project of five neighborhood homes. This unusually successful undertaking received support from the city government, CETA, a local financial institution, and a quasi-public service agency. Other cooperative efforts have included regular internships with a neighboring hospital, rebuilding automobile alternators for re-use, and preparing electronic cables for public use. The school also has an advisory council comprised of business leaders which plays a prominent role in designing curriculum.

The school justifiably ranks among the finest of city alternative institutions for students unsatisfied and unproductive in a traditional school environment, and it is the only one with this specific charge in the public school system. Its relations with the private sector have been extensive, and permitted enormous experimentation despite the relatively short history of the school and the limited experience of its students. Nonetheless, the school suffers from an uncertain future, which undermines further cultivation of private sector relations. The neighboring hospital which has provided such extensive training experience has obtained approval to expand its facility onto the property presently occupied by the school. This has proven a most stunning development both because of the hospital's

previous support for the school and the availability of other hospital facilities within the same general area of the city. The Board of Education, however, has elected not to challenge the hospital expansion. It has agreed to sell the property and find a new site, although one has not yet been determined. In any regard, it is difficult to envision acquisition of a comparable site and redevelopment of private sector support in a brief time period, particularly since present board financial difficulties will limit staff, facilities and equipment investment. The school reopened at its present location this fall, for perhaps the last time, with waiting lists of 400 to 500 students for the 350 places offered. The school testifies to the potential of vocational education instruction for students with unsuccessful academic backgrounds, and the capacity for attraction of private sector support and cooperation in such an effort. Nonetheless, it has not received the support prestigious counterparts might have enjoyed had they been threatened with annexation.

Least Equipped and Able Schools. It would be inaccurate and unfair to label the remaining vocational schools, the lowest tier within the hierarchy of schools and programs, as "dumping grounds." However, there are clearly identifiable schools, which, unlike their prestigious and some intermediary counterparts, are accessible to all applicants and generally instruct students with the least ability, as determined by grades and test scores. Moreover, these schools have the poorest facilities and equipment of the schools visited, have little self-governing capacity, minimal substantive contact with the private sector, and limited counseling and placement services. They do offer a variety of vocational education instruction and

do meet the needs of many students who have little prior skill or likelihood of finding employment. "Many of our kids would be lost in another school, they just wouldn't survive," was a refrain sounded by one administrator and echoed by colleagues in the three schools visited which rank within this lowest level of the hierarchy. The schools claim they provide comfortable places for student growth to occur, insisting that they have coped well under difficult circumstances. They face uncertain futures, in part because dilapidated facilities and low-quality programs have invited consideration of relocation on alternative sites or outright school closure.

Closing is an immediate threat facing one of the schools, located on the south side and serving an exclusively black student body of 650 students. The school was placed on a list of twenty-four buildings scheduled for closing in the fall of 1980, but aggressive parent and community protests convinced the Board of Education to keep the school open for at least one more year. As a result, the school will continue to offer its instructional services but remains unable to obtain necessary funds for renovation because of its precarious status. "I don't think it is a place for kids to go to school, it's probably the worst building in the city," commented one administrator.

Even prior to its placement on the endangered list, the school suffered from deferred maintanance and failure to obtain modern equipment. Several of its shops seem well-equipped, and the school boasts an award-winning furniture construction and repair shop, but the dismal structure limits any hope of rehabilitating the school. Parents and the local community rallied in support after the announced school closing. However, as one administrator acknowledged, "The school has support but it is emotional.

Many have an affinity toward the school, some because they attended it previously. Both tend to ignore the problems, the bad walls, the poor gym, the lack of a pool and the other problems." In addition, private sector support has been limited to some job placement and participation of business and industrial visitors in various seminars. If, indeed, the school is to be dissolved, it is uncertain what options would be made available to its students, many of whom come from surrounding public housing projects and lack the academic qualifications necessary to gain admission into most of the other vocational schools.

Similar dilemmas face another vocational school which contends with facility limitations in serving nine-hundred girls, a plurality of whom are Hispanic. The facility is crowded and serves a student body that would not qualify for many other programs. Financial support for physical improvements is unlikely, not only because of budget reductions but also because plans for an entirely new facility have been considered, with a decision deferred for an indefinite period.

The school is open to all applicants. In 1979-80 its initial class of around 1,000 was trimmed to about 900 after the school year began, as some students elected to attend other institutions. During the course of the year it can be expected that enrollment will decline to 750, with pregnancy a major contributor to the dropout rate. The school offers numerous business courses, including bookkeeping, accounting, general business, shorthand, stenography, and data processing. It also has a cosmetology school and a practical nursing program. Although the curriculum has recently included courses in word processing and mathematics, an administrator observed that "the school's curriculum hasn't changed much

in 15 years." Instead, it consistently emphasizes "the old stereotyped jobs for girls." A former member of the Board of Education provided a similar assessment, and expressed frustration that the vocational school with the largest percentage of Hispanic enrollment emphasized such traditional instruction for girls, compared to the expansive curricular offerings of the prestige vocational schools, whose enrollments are predominantly black and white. Administrators of this school, similar to the ones of the school discussed previously, have no input on staffing decisions. "We have no voice on selection of personnel," explained one administrator. "Our office receives a phone call from the personnel department regarding new appointments -- sometimes before the new teacher arrives." The school appears to have suffered more serious repercussions of morale and staff disharmony from the financial crisis and resulting strike than other vocational schools, and it has had a particular difficulty recruiting reading teachers from its assigned faculty. The school faculty, however, has generally taught at the school for an extended period and administrators report that many have established job placements for students.

Summary. When examined at the school-building level, vocational education, as provided in specialized schools, exhibits a hierarchical structure of service delivery. The most able students study in well-equipped, well-administered schools, supported by private donations, and can find ready access to commerce and industry upon graduation. The least able, least industrious students attend poorly-equipped schools, staffed by less able faculty, and operated largely without private sector support. They cannot be guaranteed employment upon graduation.

Ethnically, the students attending these schools are largely a cross section of the public school population as a whole. Eighteen per cent are white, and 75.7 per cent are black. However, Hispanics are significantly under-represented in vocational schools; only 5.8 per cent are in attendance and most of these are at a low-quality school serving an all-female population.

This hierarchical pattern seems not to have been anticipated either by those who advocated or those who condemned the specialized vocational school. Both anticipated a system of vocational education rigidly separated from academic schools, uniform in its curriculum, student clientele, and relationship to the marketplace. But vocational schools competed for a place in American education. By luck or by perseverance some schools have won a privileged niche, while others have decayed to the point where declining facilities may force closure, as school enrollments decline. It is no easier to generalize about vocational education than about the comprehensive neighborhood school, which is still the basic institution in Chicago's system of secondary education.

Chicago's Comprehensive Schools

Chicago's comprehensive schools are as varied as the neighborhoods in which they are located. Some are middle-class, academically-oriented, safe schools located in tree-lined neighborhoods far from the heart of this great urban center. Others are dreary, oppressive schools where noon recess invites drugs, vandalism, and violence. Still others are battlegrounds where competing ethnic and racial groups attempt to assert their supremacy over a racially changing community. The large number and great variety of comprehensive schools in Chicago precludes the kind of detailed

attention and analysis that we have given to the specialized schools. Instead we shall have to make broad generalizations about vocational training in comprehensive high schools, recognizing that many exceptions to these patterns obviously obtain.

Each Chicago comprehensive high school offers vocational courses and features a special vocational emphasis, but these offerings tend to be overshadowed by the general curriculum in comprehensive high schools. Within these schools, vocational courses are often described as "dumping grounds" for students deemed unlikely candidates for college preparatory courses or even for admission to specialized vocational high schools. Administrators in comprehensive high schools and in the Department of Vocational Education observed that vocational instruction at the comprehensive school level is often rudimentary in nature because of the limited staff and equipment resources available for dispersal throughout the system. Instruetion is generally designed to provide basic instruction in a specific occupational area supplemented by rotational experiences through other vocations. "Our shops are not truly vocational," observed one comprehensive school administrator, who explained that comprehensive schools recognize their instructional limitations and attempt to work within these parameters.

Technological changes alone make it unlikely that a major city school district such as Chicago's could regularly update vocational curriculum in all of its high schools. Because "fairness" requires that comprehensive schools be comparably equipped, expensive new technologies cannot be financed for all schools and therefore are usually supplied to none. As one administrator explained, purchase of shop equipment is difficult for comprehensive

schools, both because of the expense of individual pieces of sophisticated equipment and the dilemma of equitably distributing the sparse new equipment that is available. (The prestigious schools, by contrast, secure such equipment and material through private donation.)

As a result, advanced skill training is generally not provided in these schools. Instead, general work-related skills are stressed, including introduction to the basic language of specific vocational areas and to the expectations that will be made by employers in certain industries. This is supplemented by some project-oriented training with equipment, although much of this instruction is not directly applicable for a student seeking immediate employment upon graduation.

Clerical and general business courses may be somewhat more thorough in their introductory courses, perhaps because of reliance on more static technologies. At least they can provide graduates with typing and machine transcription skills that might qualify them for immediate employment. "The wisest investment we could make, if the money was available, would be to update all our typewriter labs so that they were entirely electric," an administrator explained. This might be followed by acquisition of new equipment for accounting and data processing courses. At present, the comprehensive schools do feature fairly extensive instruction in computer science. The Board of Education has two-hundred computer terminals dispersed about the city, with at least one in every city high school except one. Yet, courses are generally introductory in nature, and direct employment opportunities are minimal because of high industry entry requirements. Nonetheless, the emphasis on general instruction, such as typing and language art skills, was advanced as the area in which

vocational instruction in comprehensive high schools could be most effective.

Comprehensive high school administrators charged with overseeing vocational programs are expected to make the best of an adverse situation, similar to that encountered in the least able and equipped vocational schools. Staffing flexibility is minimal, facilities and equipment are limited and often outdated, and private sector support and cooperation are largely nonexistent. Moreover, comprehensive school vocational programs are universally identified as repositories for students considered least promising candidates for academic and professional success. Both shop and business oriented vocational courses are described in these terms by administrators familiar with comprehensive high schools.

These programs are further debilitated by staffing guidelines that seem to prevent comprehensive vocational instruction from equalling that offered in vocational high schools. Instructors of vocational education in comprehensive high schools often have little or no work-related experience, and they enter Chicago schools directly from college and university degree programs. Unlike the more seasoned faculty that dominates many of the vocational schools in the city, comprehensive school faculty are often inexperienced in their respective instructional fields and possess relatively few contacts with local firms and industries to establish cooperative relations. "I want people who are professionals in their field first and teachers second. Teachers who have worked are more successful as teachers, they've worked with people, they've managed a shop," explained one central office administrator, who bemoaned the numerous restraints on hiring flexibility. Indeed, this was a universal complaint

offered by vocational education administrators at all levels. Administrators are generally denied incentives to reward and encourage teaching excellence and authority to respond to ineffectiveness and ineptitude.

Cooperation between instructors of general subjects and vocational subjects -- even mutual awareness of program efforts -- appears to be minimal. Numerous individuals conversant with vocational education in Chicago insisted that vocational and general instruction could be tailored to facilitate growth in both areas. English courses, for example, could be sensitive to students with vocational interests, and encourage development of skills helpful to individuals potentially seeking employment in a specific area. Vocational instruction, meanwhile, could be more responsive to basic skill development, and encourage students to cultivate language and mathematic skills within the vernacular of a specific vocational area. "We need to integrate scholastic programs with technical ones," explained one principal. "Some teachers perceive this as a challenge, others see it as a threat." Blending of emphases presently occurs in certain vocational high school programs, particularly among the prestige schools, but it does not appear to occur in the vocational programs of comprehensive high schools. One comprehensive school administrator explained: "Our faculty tend to be very insecure and tend to stay by themselves. All our courses should tie in but they are separate."

Indeed, such discord is particularly evident at the comprehensive high school level where innovation is sluggish and the learning environment is not nearly as attractive as in most vocational high schools. Slow program implementation is characteristic of any administration as cumbersome as the Chicago public schools, particularly when beset by

financial crisis. Nonetheless, belated and half-hearted responses to vocational program requests offered by the dramatically under-represented Hispanic community illustrates the limited emphasis placed on comprehensive vocational programs. Introduction of vocational programs in a predominantly Hispanic high school was repeatedly delayed, and the programs that have been adopted are likened to glorified industrial arts shop experiences by community leaders. "They are superficial in their vocational education instruction," contended one former member of the Board of Education, who equated the new programs with those of other comprehensive high schools. This limited vocational course distribution through neighborhood schools is a particular souce of frustration to leaders of the Hispanic community, whose constituencies have not participated extensively in the vocational high school programs, particularly those offered by prestige schools in the city. "Parents are just trying to exist," said one Hispanic leader, "how are they going to have the time and sophistication to find out how to get a kid into a program in the trade school?"

Program integrity questions notwithstanding, comprehensive high schools also lack the "fortress" image that undergirds many of the vocational high schools. Neighborhood gangs are prominent in certain areas of Chicago and serve as divisive forces in many local comprehensive high schools. Predictably, vocational programs in comprehensive schools are enmeshed in this dilemma, particularly since many of these programs contain many students unlikely to seek advanced education or secure successful entry into the work force. This contrasts sharply with the image of many vocational high schools, which are perceived as "safer" than comprehensive schools.

Students must apply to vocational schools, and, in many cases, commit themselves to a program far more disciplined than those offered in neighborhood high schools. Moreover, they often travel extensive distances from their homes to the vocational school. Since this reduces neighborhood identification with and participation in the school, much of the potential impact of neighborhood gangs is defused. Vocational school administrators consistently stated that this enhances their attractiveness in comparison with their comprehensive counterparts.

Summary. The contrasts between the more prestigious schools and vocational provision in comprehensive high schools account for the continuing debate over the quality and utility of vocational programs. While the better programs are of undoubted value, many, if not most, students do not have access to them. Unchallenged by the offerings in the comprehensive schools that are left, they "drop out" or turn to programs offered by the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act. While urban schools seem to be able to provide high-quality vocational training, they find it much more difficult to provide such training to the less able and less well-motivated of their students. Changing local school capacities in this regard has been an increasingly salient objective of federal vocational policy.

Federal Policy Effects on Chicago's Program

The shape of vocational education in Chicago seems to be far more attributable to the product of local political forces than the outcome of recent changes in federal policy. Although the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 may have justified the establishment of vocational high schools and a continuation school that continues today under a different title, there is meagre evidence that the major vocational education legislation passed in 1963, 1968 and 1976 have led to significant restructuring of local policies and activities. It is always difficult to winnow federal impact from the myriad of other influences on schools, to be sure, and perhaps the federal emphasis on eliminating sex, racial and other inequalities has in many indirect ways changed the orientations of teachers and administrators. But the amount of perceived local policy change that can be directly attributed to recent amendments to the Vocational Education Act is extremely limited.

General Local Awareness of Federal Policies

Until very recently, administrators at the school building level were almost totally unaware of the Vocational Education Act. Only two years ago even the forms which describe the number and composition of pupils in vocational education courses, the very basis of state and federal funding, were prepared in the school system's central office, not at the building site where courses were offered. Under a more vigorous new administrative leadership, Chicago's vocational education office has in cooperation with the state undertaken a number of orientation sessions with principals and other appropriate building-level personnel, explaining to them the purpose

and function of recording the distribution of pupils in vocational education classes. Now most administrators know that the state requires both an annual plan and a report on enrollments in specific programs, though the state still finds too many forms inaccurately and improperly prepared. But if building-level administrators now are learning how to process information required by the state, there is little evidence that federal regulations are affecting their activities in any other way. Even in the central office, where administrators assume the primary burden for reporting plans and activities to the state department, we found little interest in and concern about policies mandated by the federal government. Administrators were generally aware of the forms that they were required to prepare, but treated them as largely irrelevant to the administration's everyday activities. Federal vocational policies, seldom praised or condemned, were regarded as being of only marginal concern to local schools.

In fact, when local administrators were asked about the effect of federal policies on their progams, they generally did not refer to the Vocational Education Act at all. Instead, they discussed teacher desegregation requirements, which sharply curtailed already limited local principal discretion over staff recruitment. One school administrator, when asked to comment on federal policy, said that teacher desegregation policies contributed to staffing instability, and was responsible in part for shuffling seventeen different teachers in one class during a single academic year. Another principal said he was unable to obtain a librarian because he could not obtain a white teacher to fulfill the post; an additional black teacher would have been contrary to federal guidelines because it increased racial separation in the school. Another principal

exclaimed, "We've shuffled once before and many schools have found compliance impossible because of all the other turmoil, meaning that yet another shake-up will be coming soon." Teacher desegregation policies ordered by the Department of Justice have had definite impacts in Chicago; for better or worse, the effect of national policy is felt at the local level.

Implementation of Specific Provisions of Vocational Education Act

Sex Stereotyping. By comparison, the effects of specific provisions of the Vocational Education Act have been miniscule, with sex stereotyping of vocational curriculum a case in point. The Vocational Education Amendments of 1976 place great stress on modifying school practices in this area. The Amendments express a commitment "to develop and carry out such programs of vocational education within each State so as to overcome sex discrimination and sex stereotyping. . . ." Accordingly, the law requires that state education departments assign full-time personnel whose special responsibility is to review and analyze all state vocational education programs for sex bias. National, state, and local advisory councils are expected to include "women . . . who are knowledgeable with respect to the special experiences and problems of sex discrimination in job training and employment." The Act also funds specific programs "to overcome sex bias," encourages research on problems of "sex bias and sex stereotyping," and encourages curriculum development designed to overcome sex bias. If there is any clearly specified policy in the legislation, it is the comitment to reducing sex bias in vocational education.

At the local level we found little evidence that this national commitment was inducing major modifications in local practice and behavior. The paucity of local complaints about state and federal interference in

this area was one indicator that little new was being asked of local officials. Significantly, the three vocational high schools which have traditionally serviced women remained predominantly female in the fall of 1979. The most prestigious of the predominantly female schools did have 77 male students, about 10 per cent of the school's population. However, the other two schools had only three boys between them. In addition, one vocational school was all male, and the prestigious trade school was 96 per cent male. Principals attributed the continued sex stereotyping in many of the vocational programs to a number of factors: girls dislike "loud, dirty work"; boys realize that the income in traditionally female occupations is relatively poor; "boys do not have the fine motor skills that girls do"; schools cannot counteract the influence of the home. To remedy this, some principals have chosen women in traditionally non-female trades to serve as speakers for local assemblies, and some schools have other programs that try to make women aware that there are well-paying trades which are seeking women. This kind of affirmative action, however, occurs infrequently. Compliance with federal requirements is largely limited to the formal opening up of all courses to both sexes, though even here we discovered one school whose catalogues continue to list separate course requirements for boys and girls along the usual sex stereotyped lines. The one concern expressed locally about the effect of federal policy had to do with the most prestigious commercial school for women. Local administrators seemed somewhat fearful that federal regulations might require closing the school down because its population was predominantly female. Although this would seem to be a distant threat, local officials felt it was only ironic that policies

designed to open up employment opportunities for women could close down the most successful program for female vocational training in the city.

Evaluation. The limited effects of federal policy were further evident from the way in which the city and state complied with the evaluation requirements of the legislation. According to federal legislation, evaluation requirements are stringent. The Vocational Education Amendments of 1976 provide that each state must "evaluate the effectiveness of each program within the state being assisted with funds available under this Act." In addition, the legislation asserts that "each state shall evaluate, by using data collected, wherever possible, by statistically valid sampling techniques, each such program within the state which purports to impart entry level job skills according to the extent to which program completers and leavers: 1) find employment in occupations related to their training, and 2) are considered by their employers to be well-trained and prepared for employment."

The demands and sophistication of these legal requirements notwithstanding, evaluation of vocational education programs in Chicago are conducted in accord with traditional approaches and techniques that in the end leave local school officials with almost complete discretion over their own programming. It is true that each school must file an accountability report for every program within that school. However, the accountability report only records the number of students by race, sex, handicap, and whether or not they are economically disadvantaged. This information is necessary to apply the formula for distributing state and federal funds. Also, the state has arranged for a group of evaluators to visit each school once every five years to assess the strengths and weaknesses of the school's

vocational offerings. However, nothing in the evaluation plan requires that the visitors be given information on student skills. Moreover, information from on-site evaluations is not used to determine whether funding should be continued. Instead, local officials are left to determine for themselves whether or not they wish to modify practices in light of reviews by evaluators. Not surprisingly, local officials had few complaints about the evaluation process. As one state official observed, "We have a good working relationship, and are much closer now on a day-to-day basis."

The State of Illinois' own accountability report for the 1978 Fiscal Year provides an insight into the way in which the state has defined its own responsibilities to the federal government under the Vocational Education Amendments of 1976. This 144-page document is a masterpiece of obfuscation which fails to comply even minimally with either the spirit or the letter of federal legislation. Although it does report information on the programs for which vocational dollars were expended, and it does report the specific institutions which received these dollars from the state, there is no way in which a reader can make any determination as to the effectiveness of these programs in meeting federal objectives. For example, the report states that under the basic grants program of the Vocational Education Act (the largest of all vocational education programs), federal, state and local monies were used to "support vocational education programs for all individuals" (Accountability Report, 1978, p. 29). Federal monies amounted to $15.8 million, state dollars were $17.3 million, and local dollars were $243.3 million. It chronicles the number of students served, and the percentage breakdown by race, sex, and educational

level, and also reports that 24 per cent of the students were identified as being disadvantaged and/or handicapped. The State of Illinois does not state here or anywhere else in its accountability report such information as: 1) the number of students, by sex and race, in each type of program; 2) the exact formula by which funds are allocated among institutions and local educational agencies; 3) the kinds of programs that seem most successful in preparing students for employment; or 4) any assessment of the quality of programs for the handicapped.

The report does include information on the percentage of students graduating from vocational education programs who are unemployed. It states that unemployment levels of graduates of secondary programs was 4.7 per cent; postsecondary, 2.4 per cent; and adult programs, 7.7 per cent. These compare with statewide unemployment rates in Illinois of 21.5 per cent for 16-17 year olds, 14.8 per cent for 18-19 year-olds, and 10.8 per cent for those 20-24. While these figures suggest that vocational education is an astounding success in the State of Illinois, in fact, they probably mean nothing at all. We are not told in the accountability report how the employment experiences of graduates of the program are obtained. In the schools that we visited we discovered no carefully conducted study to determine career experiences of program graduates. Instead, we were told that obtaining this kind of information bordered on the impossible. Principals and guidance counselors have discovered that graduates of vocational education programs are often reluctant to fill out detailed information on their employment experiences. It seems that the worse their experiences, the less likely they are to respond to questionnaires. Indeed, schools often lose contact with many of their

graduates altogether. Since none of these difficulties are even mentioned in the Accountability Report, the reliability of the figures reported would seem to be highly dubious.

The Accountability Report also summarizes some of the conclusions of the evaluation teams that visited around one-fourth of the state's programs. Once again, the information is of virtually no utility whatsoever. The report informs us that "students and staff surveyed were highly complimentary of the services provided," that "occupational education staff in the secondary and post-secondary institutions in the state are well qualified," that 93 per cent of administrators rated "the level of board support" for their program as "high to average," and that "the importance of LEA-CETA articulation is being recognized by local agencies" (Accountability Report, 1978, p. 12). The only critical observation had to do with guidance services for disadvantaged and handicapped students, which evaluation teams suggested could be improved through "inservice training." Clearly, on-site evaluations often yield qualitative information that usefully supplements quantitative information on student performances. But neither in the Accountability Report nor in conversation with state officials did we find evidence that the qualitative information obtained by evaluation teams was being carefully reviewed to strengthen overall state vocational education policy. Instead, results were used in a self-justificatory manner by the state agency in its report to the federal government. Significantly, there is no mention in the Accountability Report -- nor did we obtain any such information in our interviews in Chicago -- that state officials were using evaluations to secure higher levels of local compliance with state and federal objectives.

Advisory Councils. The 1976 Amendments required that each funding recipient "establish a local advisory council to provide ... advice on current job needs and on the relevancy of courses being offered. ..." (90 STAT. 2176). The Amendment called for broad participation in these councils, including members of the general public and experts in specific vocational areas germane to the program.

Like other central points of the legislation, the council requirements have had virtually no visible impact on Chicago. Advisory councils have long been active participants in governance of Chicago vocational programs; some patchwork councils may have been grafted onto schools to universalize their presence, but the most effective ones were developed well in advance of federal endorsement of them. "Our council has been very helpful," said one vocational school principal whose council has been in place since the early 1970s. "A lot of councils are imposed on schools, but ours has been designed to meet our needs." Symbiotic council-vocational school relations are evident in other institutions as well, and have historically been advantageous to numerous Chicago schools, particularly prestigious ones. Indeed, while the federal legislation stresses a primary role of curricular advisement, Chicago school advisory councils have focused on equipment donations to schools, internships and eventual jobs for students. Predictably, advisory councils at the least able and equipped schools are largely perfunctory.

Differences in the roles played by local advisory councils tend to undergird the hierarchical rankings of vocational schools. The schools most widely praised for high competence of instruction and quality of overall program consistently prove to be those with well-established

linkages to the private sector. Two of the prestige schools previously discussed have attained citywide prominence as training centers that regularly supply numerous city firms with workers, and these have close communications with the private sector. Other cooperative ventures have included several multi-party agreements in which the schools provide students, private firms offer training expertise and equipment, the federal government (often through CETA) contributes funding, citywide public service organizations lend administrative skills, and local financial institutions underwrite certain expenditures. While such programs emphasize individual training, they also produce tangible results, such as the comprehensive rehabilitation of five west-side homes and a downtown instructional facility.

These success stories indicate how valuable industry cooperation is for successful vocational education. As a city financial leader recently wrote: "School administrators must join business leaders in identifying long-range needs. Together, they can provide the kind of quality education that will make graduation a natural stepping-stone to full-time productive employment" (Perkins, 1980). At the same time, successful programs are those best able to build contacts with the private sector. In general, business and industry join with schools to provide high-quality equipment and programming only when the school has already established an outstanding set of offerings. The relationship is not unlike that of the proverbial chicken and egg problem; the two go together but which comes first is difficult to ascertain.

Schools without fervent private sector support are more likely to have their councils dominated by parents. This is not as attractive to individual school administrators as securing lucrative cooperative agreements that could bolster a school's prestige, but it still proves politically helpful at times. Two vocational high school principals testified to the efficacy of disgruntled parents in obtaining additional resources

from the Board of Education. Organized parental action can focus attention on glaring problems and can produce surprising results. Parent-led council achievements have included obtaining approval for extensive building improvements in one vocational high school and securing a delay in school-closing for another. Parents, no matter how devoted and astute politically, however, are unable to cultivate the detailed private support available to more prestigious vocational schools.

Administrative Structure. The limited impact of federal policy on local vocational education is perhaps best exemplified by the formal administrative structure within the Chicago public schools. Nationally, major changes in vocational education policy have occurred since the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 was replaced by the Vocational Education Act of 1963, as amended in 1968 and 1976. In general, federal emphasis has moved away from training for specific vocations -- agriculture, home economics, industrial, commercial, health, and the like -- in favor of training specific categories of individuals -- disadvantaged, women, handicapped, and racial and linguistic minorities. As Gentry has observed, "The emphasis changed in the 1963 Act from programs to serving special target groups of people ..." (Gentry, 1979, p. 42). If this has happened in Washington and to some extent in Springfield, there is still little formal organizational evidence that comparable changes have occurred in Chicago. The administrative subdivisions within the city vocational education department continue to be programmatic: practical arts and technical subjects, home economics, health occupations, computer sciences, business, and adult education.

Fiscal Policies. Although Chicago administrators were generally unaware of and uninterested in federal vocational requirements, this was much less true of Illinois fiscal policy under the Vocational Education Act. Central office administrators expressed considerable concern about the formula which the state used to disburse state and federal vocational funds.

Local officials were disturbed by the fact that even though Chicago schools serve a predominantly low-income, minority population, the system still does not receive aid under the Vocational Education Act at a level commensurate with the city's share of the state school population. While the city has approximately 25 per cent of the state's public school population, and over 21 per cent of the public school population at the secondary level, it received only 14 per cent of the federal vocational education dollars spent in the State of Illinois in 1979 (see Table 10). Chicago received additional federal monies in 1979 and may have improved its relative position, but the city still appears to be poorly rewarded in the statewide competition for federal vocational dollars.

Predictably, the formula by which resources are allocated is extraordinarily complex. First, the State of Illinois classifies vocational programs according to whether they provide skill training for specific occupations. The highest funding priority is for programs that have such skill training; occupational orientation courses have lower priority. Next, programs are evaluated according to whether or not they are training students in areas where there is great market need and according to the costs of providing the program. Once these factors are taken into account, individual programs are weighted according to the local school districts'

assessed valuation per student, the number of low-income families or individuals in the district, the presence of a special organizational structure serving two or more districts, the provision of training for the handicapped, the provision of services for the disadvantaged, and whether or not the program is a new one.

Although Chicago would seem to benefit from the factors in the formula that give special weight to low-income families, services to the disadvantaged, and training for the handicapped, any advantages gained by these elements in the formula seem to be more than offset by the fact that resource allocations are also pro-rated according to the market need for the occupational training and the level of skill training provided. According to administrators in Chicago, the state regards many of the more marketable programs within the city to be relatively low priority in terms of total state market need or program cost. Given the difficulty of ascertaining the exact market demand for occupational specializations, Chicago officials wonder whether these decisions have an anti-urban bias.

In addition, Chicago officials object to the way in which the state determines whether local programs consist of "orientation and exploration classes" or whether they provide occupational skill training. To insure the direct relevance of training for subsequent employment, the state gives priority to the funding of skill-training classes. To maximize their eligibility for federal and state funds, local officials throughout the state attempt to maximize the number of programs which they can claim offer skill training. However, state administrative practice gives non-Chicago school districts an unusual advantage which on the face of it seems difficult to justify. All districts except Chicago are allowed to designate any program as a skill training program, if anywhere within the district there is provided continuous instruction "capped" by courses designed to provide occupational skills. For

example, if introductory courses in woodworking are provided in all of a district's high schools, and if one of the high schools provides a skill training program in carpentry, then all pupils in all woodworking programs in all the district's high schools are considered to be part of a skill training program. However, this administrative policy is not applied to Chicago. Even if a skill training program in carpentry is provided somewhere within the city, even in a neighboring district, all students in woodworking programs throughout the city cannot be considered as part of that skill training program. Only the students in the high school -- or, at most, in the one or two schools under the same district superintendent's jurisdiction -- are counted as participants in a skill training program. As a result, Chicago must provide duplicative skill training programs in each of the 27 administrative jurisdictions of the city in order to have an offering that permits high priority state funding. Since such duplication would be expensive and inefficient, Chicago has fewer students in programs given high priority funding. And Chicago, as a result, receives a relatively low percentage of the federal vocational dollars spent in Illinois.

The effects of state regulations affecting the allocation of federal resources are significant. Especially in light of Chicago's fiscal crisis, the shortage of vocational education resources adversely affects what local officials can achieve. However, except for a handful of central office administrators, most officials within the school system seem generally unaware of the nature and consequences of the funding formula. Only in the last two or three years has the central office encouraged broad participation in preparation of state documents. At the school level only a few principals recognized that different programs had different priorities and that by guiding

pupils into the higher priority programs the school system could obtain more funds. Even if principals were better informed on this question, it is unlikely they would change their guidance programs. Since any increase in state and federal monies goes to the school district as a whole, not to any specific high school, there is little reason to believe that a principal could obtain more resources for his or her school by channeling pupil behavior according to state priorities. State policy, then, does not affect course offerings within schools in any observable manner. Instead, courses are offered, pupils enroll in them, and administrators tally up the results for submission to the state. Chicago then receives whatever resources to which it is entitled. If state and federal fiscal policy is supposed to provide incentives to guide behavior in specific directions, we found little evidence that such objectives were being achieved in Chicago. As one state administrator observed, "We find little change in local program offerings in response to state assessment of market demand for various kinds of training."

Limited Impact of Federal Policy: Some Explanations. The reasons for a limited federal impact on local vocational education policy are multiple. In the first place, federal allocations for vocational education are only a small percentage of total state and local expenditures. In 1978, federal expenditures under VEA amounted to 7.6 per cent of total Illinois state and local expenditures for these programs (Accountability Report, 1978, p. 121). Although exact figures specifically for Chicago were not obtained, local officials estimated that the percentage share of vocational education expenditures in 1979 paid for by the federal government was below 10 per cent. If federal vocational education policy were significantly affecting

local practice, it would have to be the proverbial tail wagging the dog.

The way in which vocational education funds are distributed make such wagging highly unlikely. Under the 1976 Amendments, most funds are distributed among the states according to a pre-established formula that is based largely on the population size of each state in certain age categories. Within the State of Illinois the funds are also apportioned by a pre-established formula, whose complexities are discussed above (Accountability Report, 1978). Pre-established formulas minimize discretion available to state and federal officials and maximize autonomy of local administrators. At both state and federal levels, funds are either allocated according to the formula or withheld subject to local compliance. Without the flexibility to vary resource allocation according to the extent to which local officials are vigorously pursuing national objectives, vigorous enforcement of national policy objectives becomes more difficult (Orfield, 1969). Indeed, the minimal effects of federal policy under the Vocational Education Amendments were largely anticipated in an early analysis of the legislation prepared by Thomas Anton. Simply by reading the legislation Anton reached the conclusion that "the conversion to analytic policy planning among the states will be slow and ... some states probably will not approach that conversion within the time frame of the 1976 Amendments" (Anton, 1979, p. 17).

Furthermore, vocational education funds are allocated among the states on a matching basis. For every federal dollar spent under the basic grants program, states and localities must allocate a similar amount. While this insures that local governments are genuinely committed to a federally funded program and reduces the fiscal burdens of the federal

government, it also means that federal objectives must roughly coincide with state and local objectives. Where the two conflict, federal objectives cannot be pursued too assiduously without jeopardizing state and local willingness to match indigenous resources. If policies with respect to evaluation and sex stereotyping in vocational education were too stringent, many localities might prefer to forego federal funds under the Act rather than allocate matching local resources for programs found distasteful. Indeed, some Illinois localities presently refuse vocational funding, because the perceived costs of complying with regulations are greater than the few fiscal resources they gain.

The two-step process by which the federal government distributes funds further impedes the effectiveness with which the Department of Education can insure their implementation. Federal funds are distributed among the states. It is the state's responsibility to then allocate the funds among school districts, community colleges, and other institutions of learning. State guidelines are interpretations of federal regulations, and state enforcement depends on the eagerness of state officials to pursue national policy objectives. In practice, state officials seem to identify more with the interests and concerns of local school officials than with national policy objectives. Moreover, in Illinois the state department of education has historically been a very weak office. Although it has sometimes energetically pursued policies such as school consolidation and curriculum innovation in rural areas, it has traditionally left large urban centers to their own devices. Withholding of vocational funds to local districts has been limited to basic administrative failures, such as inability to meet report deadlines. In fact, a state officer for

vocational education could recall only one instance in which federal funding was withdrawn for more substantive reasons: the perceived racial exclusiveness of Chicago's trade school, which the state regarded as contrary to Title VI provisions of the Civil Rights Act. When an open enrollment program that recruited more minorities was inaugurated, vocational funds were once again released. In fact, relationships between Illinois and Chicago vocational education officials are marked by cordiality and mutual respect. "We feel that we will be getting much better information from Chicago now that they have included individual schools in the data gathering process," said one state administrator. "We have a good working relationship with Chicago and are now much closer on day-to-day matters than we were several years ago." The state interprets federal guidelines in ways that are as lenient for local administrators as possible; when it prepared its own accountability report for 1978 to the federal government, it made no mention of specific instances of local malfeasance or non-compliance but instead justified any and all operations throughout the state as operating within federal expectations.

To speak of the processes of policy implementation as two-step is, of course, itself a gross oversimplification of the process that actually occurs. Slippage in national policy objectives occurs not only as the state reformulates national concerns, but at various local steps as well. By focusing much of our research attention on vocational education at the school-building level, we were able to identify perceptions and activities at the very level where services were being delivered. For federal policy to affect activities at this level, they have to be transmitted from Washington to Springfield, from Springfield to the Chicago Department of

Vocational Education, from the vocational assistant superintendent to many other administrators and district superintendents, and, finally, to principals and teachers in individual schools. The slippage in this process was substantial. Shared perceptions were rare among various levels of the so-called chain of command. At the school level there was scarcely any awareness of a Vocational Education Act at all. Many school-building personnel were simply unaware of the federal presence in vocational education. Federal impact on local vocational programs, in turn, remains largely insubstantial.

Central-office administrators in Chicago are, of course, hardly indifferent to federal funding for local vocational education. They even developed new admission policies for their prestigious trade school when the old ones were deemed discriminatory by state and federal officials. They recognize, however, that federal funding is at best supplemental. Moreover, the city's Department of Vocational Education is aware that the federal government also invests in alternative manpower training programs that have only peripheral relationships to the Chicago public schools. These alternative programs in fact enjoy more elaborate federal support than is provided the public schools through the Vocational Education Act.

Comprehensive Employment and Training Act

When the Smith-Hughes Act first established vocational education on a nationwide basis, educators, businessmen, and labor leaders participated in a national discussion of the proper relationships between school and work. Forty years later when the federal government considered once

again the most effective way of educating people for work, a comparable debate never took place and the outcome was determined by default. Urban schools no longer had the public esteem they once enjoyed, and reformers chose to establish new institutions for training individuals for work. Any pretence that vocational education provided anything more than immediately valuable employment skills was put securely to one side.

The creation of a new system of urban vocational education parallel to that provided by the public schools was not taken in any one carefully calculated decision. Instead, federal policy-makers backed into new "manpower development" programs haphazardly, on an experimental basis, and without much thought for the long-range consequences of their actions. The first signal that a new national policy was beginning to emerge was the formation in 1961 of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime. This body launched a number of experimental programs designed to provide alternative opportunity structures for low-income youth in the hope that these would alleviate delinquency and the worst forms of gang life (Ohlin and Cloward, 1960; Morris and Rein, 1967). Very quickly, these programs began placing particular stress on employment training and job placement.

While these experiments were suffering the "growing pains" of early childhood, federal policy makers began planning President Lyndon Johnson's much heralded "war against poverty." In early 1964, two constraints had sharply defined the way in which this domestic "war" was to be fought. First of all, early conferences with the President's Council on Economic Advisors had made clear that budgetary considerations precluded any major increases in welfare benefits or low-income assistance programs. Secondly,

the heated debate over aid to parochial schools had prevented the passage of any general aid to education; therefore, no poverty monies could be provided for educational instruction for children between the ages of five and sixteen. With the educators engaged in a fratricidal dispute, poverty policy almost inevitably gravitated in a direction anticipated by the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency. The greatest poverty resources were concentrated on manpower training and development programs, most of which were conducted outside the public schools. Programs included Neighborhood Youth Corps, Job Corps, and a host of local community action training programs organized by newly formed groups in low-income and minority neighborhoods.

The Economic Opportunity Act provided a new model for vocational education without ever being required to defend the theoretical rationale for its policy. In its wake followed an entire series of additional governmental programs that promoted manpower development and training, model cities, community development, and other causes too numerous to mention. In fact, these programs became so multifaceted and complex that it was in this policy area that Richard Nixon's argument for decategorization and decentralization proved most persuasive. The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973 (CETA) consolidated many of the manpower training and other employment programs into a single over-arching, locally-directed program.

With the passage of this legislation, the full implications of this catch-bag of public policies became apparent: a new set of public institutions, competing with the public schools, was providing instruction that apparently led directly to employment. What reformers and educators

had most feared in the period prior to World War I had come into being in the early sixties. Riding the crest of a civil rights movement, a war on poverty, and a concern for high level of minority unemployment, policy-makers with little attachment to urban school systems founded an alternative system of vocational education.

Groups and organizations who perceived benefits from these new institutional forms were multifarious. Federal policy-makers recognized that newly created employment centers heavily dependent on federal funding were much more sensitive to federal guidelines than were well-established school systems. Local government officials, pleased that these new monies for manpower development were more directly subject to their direction than most school money, eagerly backed these new government programs. In more than one city, CETA programs enhanced patronage resources of local politicians. This was particularly true in Chicago where federal funds were quietly subsumed into city coffers and distributed to groups deemed "worthy" of support. Minority groups, who in many cities have found access to prestige forms of vocational education difficult at best, embraced the availability of an alternative. Their enthusiasm was further enhanced by many urban CETA programs' tenedencies to hire their own administrators from minority group members. Finally, politically active community organizations were often able to use resources from these programs to sustain group activities.

Although school officials did not initially regard these new programs as a serious challenge to their control of vocational education policy, the full political strength of interests associated with CETA became evident in the course of the creation of the newly established Department of

Education. When educators tried to define CETA programs as among the policies that properly fell within the domain of this new department, they met great resistance from the Department of Labor. With strong support in Congress, the Department of Labor successfully defended itself against the claim that CETA provided vocational education that was properly the responsibility of educational professionals. Labor's success in maintaining CETA as a separate program even after the creation of a Department of Education has meant institutionalization at the national level of two separate systems of vocational education, each with its own set of principles justifying programming and curriculum.

When two separate organizations have overlapping sets of responsibilities, legislators frequently mandate that they coordinate their activities so that cooperative, supportive interactions yield efficient service delivery. In the case of CETA, Congress, in various sections of the legislation, explicitly called for "co-ordination" between vocational education and CETA. For example, the law states that the State Employment and Training Council shall identify "in coordination with the State Advisory Council on Vocation Education ... employment and training and vocational education needs ... and assess the extent to which employment and training, vocational education, ... and other programs assisted under this and related Acts represent a consistent; integrated, and coordinated approach ..." (92 Stat. 1931-32).

Actual relationships between agencies with overlapping sets of responsibilities will in fact often be very different from that indicated by such legislative mandates. Because the two organizations are serving similar clientele with apparently comparable services, they find themselves

in a competitive relationship with one another. Fearful that the other will win more public support, each debunks the value of the competitor's service while trying to inflate the value of its own. Especially in the early years of competition, friction and conflict are likely to prevail over easy adjustment and smooth cooperation.

In Chicago the natural jealousies between two rival organizations have generally not risen to a level of overt conflict in public media. The existence of a strong political organization with a distaste for conflict has dampened controversy. Even with the fragmentation of city politics in the past few years, "the city's old boy network remains alive and well," according to one administrator. Another observer commented, "Unofficial weekend meetings have stopped but these people (department heads, federal appointees, and other prominent officials) get together at every social function. If not that, someone connected to someone else in the federal government offers help at the right time, especially if it won't hurt the person who has to make the sacrifice. Then, everybody marches out together and says something like, 'We all want to help the schools.'"

Given this traditional low-conflict style in Chicago, higher level administrators in both organizations emphasize cooperative relationships. Both the previous and the current Superintendent of Schools have publicly encouraged school system cooperation with CETA. Although he did not attend CETA council meetings himself, the previous superintendent was a council member and did send a representative to such meetings. One CETA administrator explained that the school superintendents "have recognized the frailties of the program and the potential abuses of it, but have supported

it thoroughly." A CETA official with extensive public school exposure concurred: "The Board is very fortunate to have such a close relationship with CETA public service employment, especially because many major school systems in the nation receive no funding whatsoever. ... the schools received employees they would not receive otherwise and workers receive training they would not receive elsewhere."

But beneath the highest administrative levels, conflict and competition between the two organizations is fully apparent. Most school officials knew little and cared less about CETA programs. Many contended that the law does not allow them to inform any enrolled student about the availability of the CETA training programs, regardless of potential applicability of training. They generally complained about the quality of any CETA workers assigned to work in the public schools -- unless the school administrator was able to select one of his or her own students for a CETA-paid position. They regarded CETA dollars as wasted money, paying exorbitant funds for programs that included stipends to trainees. We found no school-building-level administrators who showed any awareness of vocational programs being provided by CETA outside the public schools. For the Brahmins in the school system, CETA programs seemed simply "untouchable." Given these attitudes toward CETA, it has been difficult to translate formal cooperation into substantive programs. School administrators, of course, are not the sole sources of intransigence. CETA administrators were equally uncharitable with regard to the public schools. They claimed that they were educating those that the schools had "failed."

Some thaw in the icy relations between CETA and the school system has been evident of late, illustrated by new found school system willingness

to explore a program whereby CETA provides supplemental funds for low-income students who attend the city's prestigious trade school. As one CETA administrator observed, "We spent two years trying to convince them that we could help but nothing really happened until the Board realized the extent of its financial difficulties.

The fiscal crisis, indeed, has brought about a number of changes. Chicago's school officials are now more willing to explore ways in which CETA resources can be used to support programs previously paid for out of school funds. For one thing, the schools have agreed to become the CETA agent for a program teaching English as a Second Language. But if the schools now embrace greater cooperation, CETA administrators, not surprisingly, are raising obstacles of their own. They adamantly opposed participating in a "fire sale" of expensive vocational programs that they feel the public schools are now trying to peddle elsewhere. Claiming that CETA is now perceived to be an attractive repository for a number of vocational programs the school system can no longer afford, they are reluctant to "bail out the schools." Although accommodations may be reached, they may not be on terms pleasing to the schools. "We feel that increasingly we can state the terms of the agreements," said one administrator. "The Board may be in enough of a bind to make concessions."

CETA's suspicion of the public schools is only to be expected under the circumstances, but as long as CETA attempts to mount programs on its own, it will have difficulty acquiring the prestige necessary to make them valuable tools for gaining employment for their students. Given CETA-s low-income clientele, securing prestige for its training programs will continue to be difficult. According to federal guidelines, participants in CETA programs must be unemployed residents who are members of a

family either receiving welfare payments, eligible for such payments, or otherwise of low-income. These limits stigmatize CETA as a welfare program that serves only those who have not been successful elsewhere.

CETA skill centers provide clients instruction in secretarial, clerical, mechanical, medical, electronics, and computer skills, programs that overlap substantially courses provided in the public schools.[4] Unlike the public schools, CETA provides an allowance of $3.10 per hour for the time trainees invest in the program. To emphasize the separateness of CETA programs from those of the public schools, classes are labeled "modules," and they are offered on a year-round calendar basis rather than in quarterly or semester divisions.

Although these differences may have some symbolic value, the programs suffer from at least as many of the difficulties as one encounters in vocational programs within the comprehensive schools. While modern equipment seems to be in abundance, the same cannot be said for highly qualified personnel. Skill center teachers are required to have six contact hours each day, and no time is reserved for class preparation. This problem is compounded by faculty salaries that are unable to compete with junior college, trade school, and many high school programs. As a result, faculty "burnout" occurs regularly, often after two years of teaching. Counseling also suffers heavily because of work load pressures and inadequate compensation, and is an enormous problem because the program relies greatly on effective counseling for placement and advisement of individuals with significant training needs. "CETA is designed to get the cheapest training possible, and the goal may just not be realistic," conceded one administrator. "There are federal monies available for

classroom things, for the skill training, but the knowledge gained in the classroom is not all that is important. We just don't have sufficient staff to respond to student needs in the way we should be able to."

CETA does not enroll as many participants in on-the-job as classroom training, partly because of the reliance that the former places upon private sector employers willing to train CETA workers. On-the-job placement requires an agreement for an employer to train CETA participants and be reimbursed by the agency for "extraordinary training costs." Training usually lasts about six months, and trainees are expected to perform as regular company workers, for which they receive salary and benefits comparable to other employees. Eligibility standards are similar to those established for classroom training programs.

CETA programs have had as much difficulty in establishing profitable relationships with private business firms as have the less prestigious vocational programs in the public schools. Many firms seem to wonder whether CETA trainees have learned the requisite work skills, and, as a result, most CETA employment positions have been within the public sector. Congress recently has tried to rectify this arrangement by creating private industrial councils and by giving tax credits to firms who hire individuals enrolled in CETA or comparable training programs. One CETA administrator was encouraged by this development: "Private institutions," he said, "simply don't want to mess with the government; they say that once you let them in you never get them out, and they're right. They don't want paperwork, and they don't want government inspectors snooping around their shop floor. But they will respond when an incentive is offered, and I think this might work very effectively. It means that businesses can save

some bucks and our people can do more than move leaves around for a few months." Although the observation was expressed in optimistic terms, it pointed to difficulties with CETA programs at present. Although businessmen will become involved with prestigious vocational education programs, they want less to do with new programs serving a low-income clientele. Perhaps tax incentives will change the pattern, but this is only a hope, not a finding.

Summary. CETA programs clearly developed in response to significant educational needs. Their offerings were structured and were aimed at low-income, minority, urban youth who were poorly served -- or served not at all -- by the long-established vocational programs. By operating outside traditional classroom settings and by offering financial support to trainees, they attracted a clientele that might otherwise not have been serviced at all. Yet, CETA programs thus illustrate the kind of training that emerges when institutions separate from general education provide the transition from school to work. When such institutions concentrate their services on that segment of the population where unemployment is the greatest, they have difficulties in establishing working relationships with other, more solidly established government agencies. Moreover, the number of student contact hours for teachers is high, teacher salaries are relatively low, relationships with industry are difficult to sustain, and, in all probability, successful placement of graduates in stable positions of employment is difficult. Manpower training programs have many of the difficulties that analysts of a separate system of vocational education had anticipated generations earlier. Whatever difficulties the public schools have had in overcoming problems of youth unemployment, manpower training programs separate

and apart from the public schools have failed to provide easy solutions.

Conclusions

If the Chicago experience can be generalized, two separate systems of federally supported vocational education have begun to emerge in the United States. On one side, vocational education is offered by the public schools. It is financed largely through state and local funds, it has slowly developed over many decades primarily in response to local political and economic pressures, and it offers a range of instruction to a wide variety of social and ethnic groups. At its best it provides high-quality training to able students who find secure places in the market. At its worst, it provides vocational orientation courses to students who have only a borderline interest in any form of formal schooling. Both the best and worst seem largely unaffected by federal commitments to vocational education. Even though the federal government supports ten per cent of the programming and despite its detailed written standards affecting such things as sex and race equity, participation by citizens and private industry, and programmatic evaluation, these requirements have only modest policy consequences at the local school buildings where services are being delivered.

On the other side is a manpower training program provided through CETA, a newly created institution dependent on federal financing, closely guided by explicit federal policies, and generally linked to local political leaders. While CETA provides a second opportunity for obtaining vocational skills for those who had not learned adequate skills in secondary schools, CETA programs, at their best, have numerous organizational problems. They have difficulty sustaining high-quality staff, are subject to constant political and organizational changes, have weak relations with

private industry, and seem to have great difficulty in securing employment for graduates of their programs.

When the public sector provides two separate systems of service delivery to differing social groups in the society, it is difficult for programs serving low-income groups to provide high-quality service. Political, economic, organizational, and social factors all conspire to make such segregated institutions almost inherently unequal. As much as the federal government has attempted to reduce segregation in other contexts, vocational education policies seem to have had contrary effects. For example, the ascension of CETA as predominant trainer of low-income and unemployed individuals in Chicago coincided with the denouement of Chicago Public School System continuation schools, which were geared toward "problem" students. This has alleviated some public school responsibility for high dropout rates, as CETA has emerged as unofficial receptacle for individuals who fail to obtain employable skills through public schools.

We have no way of knowing whether or not existence of two competing systems of service delivery has aggravated youth unemployment in urban centers. The growing level of unemployed minority youth could well be attributable to other factors, including large numbers in the age cohorts recently entering the labor market, high minimum wages and other restrictions on labor utilization, competition from foreign industry, especially in manufacturing sectors where low-skill labor has traditionally been employed, general urban employment base decline, persistent racism, and overall declines in the rate of increase in economic productivity. Yet, the increased differentials between white and non-white youth employment that have occurred in recent years is a cause for social as well as economic

concern. If dual systems of vocational training have not created the problem, they seem to have done less to alleviate it than their proponents had hoped.

A practicable policy solution to this dilemma is not easily devised. Federal policies which attempt to modify programmatic and curricular practices at local levels through complex evaluation and review processes seem to have only marginal effects, especially when funds are distributed among localities according to some predetermined formulae that have little to do with the quality of local service provision and extent of local program need. Perhaps the most effective federal legislation would address not the curricular questions, private-sector cooperation through advisory councils, or specific types of evaluation but concentrate instead on the composition of student bodies within specific schools. If Chicago's experiences are not atypical, it would appear that local vocational education programs tend to generate status hierarchies that become self-perpetuating. When these hierarchies lead to racial exclusiveness, as in the case of Chicago's trade school, then federal policy has been used as a lever to alter local practice. Perhaps similar efforts could be made to reduce class segregation as well. If CETA-like monies could be used to open up vocational education opportunities for low-income students in high-quality training programs operated by well-established, enduring education institutions that had stable relations with the private sector, they might be more effective in reducing minority youth employment.

Indeed, certain Chicago vocational education programs demonstrate that high dropout rates and low employment are not necessarily inherent in low-income, predominantly minority communities. The most talented students are ably rewarded with promising programs. Unfortunately, such

programs are not sufficient in number and largely fail to respond to needs of students lacking high achievement test scores and familiarity with apprentice program requirements.

Although we found predictable hierarchies in most of our research, one outstanding anomaly stood out: the industrial skill center which caters to a constituency of anticipated dropouts. "A bridge can be built -- is being built -- from the /skill center to the trade school/," said one former skill center administrator. "The /trade center has/ received many students from the /skill center/ who would not have continued, who would not have turned in this direction, without the experiences they had here." The testimony was provided in a magazine interview over four and one-half years ago by an administrator who subsequently rose from skill center principal to trade school director to Assistant Superintendent for Vocational Education.

Good intentions and federal regulations notwithstanding, such "building of bridges" remains exceptional and unlikely on any grand scale. The federal government will not dismantle nor should it deny the respective missions of the prestigious programs. But federal efforts could emphasize and facilitate the overlap of existing tiers, while bolstering the less prosperous partners in the present Chicago vocational education equation.

Table 1. Employed Persons by Industrial Sectors, Chicago, 1930-1970

	% of Total Employed				
	1930[a]	1940[b]	1950[b]	1960[c]	1970[d]
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing and Mining	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3
Construction	7.0	3.9	4.1	3.8	3.7
Manufacturing	33.1	34.1	36.1	33.5	32.0
Transportation, Communication and other Public Utilities	11.6	10.0	10.5	8.7	8.1
Wholesale & Retail Trade	18.4	22.9	21.3	17.9	20.0
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	4.8	5.4	4.9	5.2	6.4
Business & Repair Service	--	2.6	2.9	3.9	4.1
Personal Services	12.0	8.5	5.8	4.8	4.2
Entertainment & Recreation	1.2	1.1	1.0	0.7	0.6
Professional & Related Services	5.9	6.8	7.2	9.3	15.0
Public Administration	2.0	3.5	4.2	4.5	5.5
Industry not available	3.7	1.0	1.8	8.5	15.0
Total % Employed	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.1	99.9
Total Employed Persons (n)	1,558,949	1,352,218	1,614,122	1,501,731	1,387,903

SOURCES: 15th Census of the U.S. Population, Vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 652.
16th Census of the U.S. Population, Vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 644.
17th Census of the U.S. Population, Vol. 2, pt. 13, pp. 305-306.
1970 Census of Population, Vol. 1, Sec. 1, p. 442.

[a] For ages 10 years and older.

[b] For ages 14 years and older.

[c] For unspecified ages.

[d] For ages 16 years and older.

Table 2. Employed Persons by Occupation, Chicago, 1940-1970

Occupation	% of Total Employed			
	1940[a]	1950[a]	1960[a]	1970[b]
Professional and Technical	7.7	8.9	9.1	12.6
Managers, Proprietors, and Administrators	8.2	8.7	6.0	5.2
Clerical Workers	18.9	19.8	20.3	24.2
Sales Workers	8.6	7.2	6.3	5.9
Craftsmen, Foremen	14.2	15.2	12.9	12.7
Operatives	22.0	23.4	20.7	21.3
Service Workers (except Domestic)	10.9	9.8	9.2	12.0
Domestic Workers	2.6	1.3	1.2	0.7
Laborers (non-farm)	6.5	5.7	4.6	5.0
Farm Laborers and Managers	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1
Not Reported			9.6	
Total % Employed	99.7	100.0	100.0	100.1
Total Employed (n)	1,352,218	1,598,707	1,591,731	1,387,908

Sources:

16th Census of the U.S., Vol. 3, The Labor Force, pp. 874-878.
Hauser and Kitagawa, op. cit., p. 8.
1960 Census of Population, Vol. 1, Pt. 15, p. 309
1970 Census of Population, Vol. 1, Pt. 15, Sect. 1, p. 433.

[a] 14 years and older.

[b] 16 years and older

Table 3. Population of White Foreign Stock in Chicago,[a] 1930-1970.

Country of Origin	% of Total Population				
	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
United Kingdom and Canada[b]	6.1	4.1	3.3	2.5	1.6
Germany	11.2	8.6	6.3	4.6	3.0
Ireland	5.0	4.0	3.4	2.4	1.7
Scandanavia[c]	5.8	7.2	5.8	3.9	2.5
U.S.S.R.	5.0	7.2	5.8	3.9	2.5
Italy	5.4	5.4	4.7	3.8	2.9
*****[d]					
Mexico	--	0.5	--	1.3	2.4
Poland	11.9	10.6	8.7	7.3	5.7
Czechoslavakia	3.6	2.7	2.2	1.4	0.8
Other Countries	10.2	7.4	6.0	6.1	7.3
Total % Foreign Stock	64.8	55.2	45.0	36.0	29.8
Total Population (n)	3,376,435	3,396,808	3,620,962	3,550,404	3,362,947

SOURCES: 15th Census of the U.S. Population, Vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 638.
16th Census of the U.S. Population, Nativity and Parentage of the White Population, p. 73.
17th Census of the U.S. Population, Special Reports: Nativity and Parentage, p. 78.
18th Census of the U.S. Population, Vol. 1, pt. 15, p. 356.
19th Census of the U.S. Population, Vol. 1, pt. 15, p. 338.

[a] Includes foreign born, foreign or mixed parentage.

[b] Includes England, Scotland, Northern Ireland, French and English Canada.

[c] Includes Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.

[d] The countries listed above are common to Atlanta, Chicago, and San Francisco.

Table 4.

Non White and Spanish-Speaking Population, Chicago, 1930 - 1970

Population Category	% of Total Population				
	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
Black	6.9	8.2	13.6	22.9	32.7
Chinese	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3
Japanese	N.A.	N.A.	0.3	0.3	0.3
Spanish-speaking	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	4.4
Total Non White	7.1	8.3	14.1	23.6	34.4
Total Population (n)	3,376,435	3,396,808	3,620,962	3,550,404	3,366,957

SOURCES: United States Census 15, Vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 363.
United States Census 16, Vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 114.
Local Community Fact Book for Chicago, Philip M. Hauser and Evelyn Kitagawa, 1956, p. 6.
United States Census 18, Vol.1, pt. 15, p. 107.
United States Census 19, Vol.1, pt. 15, pp. 105 and 382.

Table 5. Representation of Whites and Non-Whites in Occupations, Chicago, 1940-1970

Occupations	Index of Representation							
	White				Non-White			
	1940	1950	1960	1970	1940	1950	1960	1970
Professional and Technical	1.03	1.03	1.10	1.12	.49	.40	.55	.67
Managers, Proprietors and Administrators	1.04	1.10	1.16	1.18	.32	.28	.31	.57
Clerical Workers	1.04	1.07	1.08	1.03	.31	.50	.65	.92
Sales Workers	1.04	1.09	1.16	1.15	.36	.34	.32	.56
Craftsmen, Foremen	1.04	1.07	1.11	1.08	.26	.51	.52	.77
Operatives	1.01	.95	.95	.90	.91	1.63	1.20	1.28
Service Workers (except domestic)	.93	.78	.64	.85	2.12	2.13	1.66	1.40
Domestic Workers	.68	.54	.37	.38	5.27	4.42	3.33	2.74
Laborers (non-farm)	.93	.78	.64	.85	2.04	2.63	1.93	1.43

Sources: Local Community Fact Book for Chicago, 1950, Philip M. Hauser and E. Kitagawa, U. of C. Press, p.8.
16th Census of the U.S., Vol. 3, The Labor Force, pp. 902-903.
1960 Census of Population, Vol. 1, Pt. 15, pp. 309, 352.
1970 Census of Population, Vol. 1, Pt. 15, Sect. 1, pp. 443, 490.

Table 6.

Rates of Unemployment in Chicago and in United States, 1978

	Total	Men	Women	Men & Women 16-19	Black & Other	Hispanic	Black & Other 16-19
United States	6.0	5.2	7.2	16.1	12.2	9.1	36.5
Chicago SMSA	6.0	5.4	6.7	15.0	14.6	8.2	(43.7)[a]
Chicago Central City	9.1	9.5	8.6	26.0	16.2	NA	(48.5)[a]

SOURCES: U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment and Unemployment During 1979: An Analysis.
U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Geographic Profile of Employment and Unemployment: States, 1978; Metropolitan Areas, 1977-78.

[a]Estimated by assuming the ratio of unemployment in Chicago to U. S. levels of unemployment is the same for young blacks and other minorities as it is for the black and other workforce, taken as a whole.

Table 7.

Mayor Daley's Percentage of Vote in Chicago Mayoral Elections

	Black Wards	Nonreform White Wards	All Wards (= 50)
1955	. . .	. . .	54.9
1959	. . .	. . .	71.4
1963	84.1	44.0	55.7
1967	83.8	68.6	73.1
1971	74.8	72.1	70.1
1975 (primary)	49.7	65.8	57.8
1975 (general)	88.5	78.6	79.5

SOURCE: .Peterson, 1976, p. 33.

Table 8. Average Daily Attendance in Public Schools as a Percentage of School Age Population, Chicago, 1930-1970

	Elementary School[a]		High School[b]		% ADA of Total School Age Population	% School Age Population of Total City Population
	% ADA	Age Cohort (n)	% ADA	Age Cohort (n)		
1930	70.9	500,594	34.2	229,543	59.4	21.6
1940	67.2	406,343	63.3	208,274	65.9	18.1
1950	58.2	421,160	54.8	157,053	57.3	15.9
1960	62.2	539,685	50.3	183,761	59.2	20.3
1970	69.0	563,032	48.1	235,265	62.8	23.7

SOURCES: 15th Census of the U.S., Vol. 2, p. 743.
16th Census of the U.S., Vol. 4, pt. 2, p. 610.
17th Census of the U.S., Vol. 2, pt. 13, p. 231.
18th Census of the U.S., Vol. 1, pt. 15, p. 79.
19th Census of the U.S., Vol. 1, pt. 15, p. 137.
ADA taken from Monthly Reports of School Statistics, Proceedings, Board of Education, City of Chicago, for the relevant years.

[a]School age = 5-13.

[b]School age = 14-17.

TABLE 9.

Average Daily Attendance and Per Pupil Expenditure, Chicago Public Schools, 1930-1970

Calendar Year	Average Daily Attendance			Per Pupil Expenditure in Constant[a] and Current Dollars							
	Number of Teachers	Average Daily Attendance	ADA per Teacher	Elementary		Jr. High		High School		Total[b]	
				Constant $	Current $	Constant $	Current $	Constant $	Current $	Constant $	Current $
1931[b]	13,115	433,231	33.0							255	166
1935	12,734	435,094	34.2							336	197
1940	13,796	404,808	29.3							239	143
1945	12,321	330,502	26.8							330	254
1950	12,916	331,029	25.6							273	281
1955	13,692	372,505	27.2	285	327			425	487	319	365
1960	16,529	427,894	25.8	344	435			481	608	403	510
1965	20,768	491,786	23.7	367	494			496	668	459	618
1970	24,194	502,778	20.8	510	845			752	1246	715	1186
1979	25,514	411,234	16.1	635	1940			753	2300	670	2045[c]

SOURCES: Monthly Reports of School Statistics, Proceedings, Board of Education, City of Chicago, for the relevant years.

Data on per pupil expenditure computed from Annual Financial Reports, in Proceedings, Board of Education, City of Chicago.

NOTES: a. 1947-1949 = 1.00.
b. Data for 1930 is not available. 1931 has been used.
c. Figures for 1979 obtained from Staff of Board of Education, and strict comparability with previous years cannot be assured.

Table 10.

Chicago's Share of Federal Vocational Education Dollars Spent in Illinois, Fiscal Year 1978

	Expenditures in Chicago	Expenditures in Illinois	Chicago's Percentage of Illinois' Federal $
Basic Grant Allocation to Secondary Schools	$1,822,278	$12,368,560	14.7%
Basic Grant Allocation to All Institutions	2,963,140	18,631,528	15.9%
All Non-discretionary Allocations	3,590,776	25,702,042	14.0%

Footnotes

1. We have been assisted in the preparation of this paper by John Gent, Carol Peterson, and, especially, by Sandra Prolman, who interviewed numerous school officials and helped prepare a preliminary analysis of the data.

   Numerous documents and interviews related to Chicago vocational education provided the primary information sources for this paper. Apart from specific sources cited in the text, we examined the annual and five-year vocational education program plans and accountability reports of the State of Illinois as well as various other background materials generously provided by school and CETA officials. Various offices of the Chicago Board of Education and Mayor's Office of Employment and Training, and archival materials from the Citizens' Schools Committee, also provided valuable information. Interviews were conducted with nearly forty local experts on vocational education, including vocational high school principals and associate administrators, state and city vocational education department administrators, representatives of various federally-sponsored training programs, former board of education members, vocational high school teachers and students, and representatives of private organizations sponsoring training programs.

2. Whites in Chicago are less racially isolated than they were in 1970, but there has been little change in the degree of racial isolation among blacks. Only 28 per cent of white students were in schools more than five per cent black in 1970; in 1979, 62.1 per cent of white elementary pupils and 63.9 per cent of white secondary pupils were in schools with at least 25 per cent minority populations. Even so, only three per cent of blacks in elementary school, and eight per cent of blacks in secondary school attended schools with more than 35 per cent white enrollment. In 1970, 4.7 per cent of the city's black pupils were in schools more than 50 per cent white. (The 1979 data is from Board of Education, October, 1979; 1970 data is from Peterson, 1976, p. 143.)

3. We are not the only ones to have observed this tension within the vocational education movement. Kett (1979) states: "The sharpest dispute was whether vocational education should train young people in specific occupational skills or provide them with a vocational orientation and general concepts about industrial processes . . . . This disagreement led to a related dispute over whether vocational education should be administered separately from general education . . . . (pp. 134-35).

4. Information on CETA centers is limited by resources available for this research. Although we believe that the generalizations in the text are accurate, they are based on smaller numbers of observations than were made of vocational education programs carried out by the Board of Education.

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