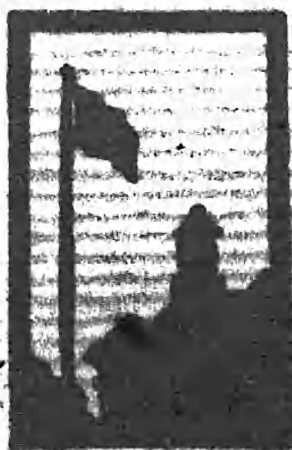


DISTRICT ORGANIZATION AND SECONDARY EDUCATION



BULLETIN, 1932, No. 17

MONOGRAPH No. 8

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DISTRICT ORGANIZATION AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

BY

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WILLIAM H. ZEIGEL, JR.
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NOTE

Fred Engelhardt and William H. Zeigel, jr., coauthors of Parts I and III of this monograph, are specialists in school administration of the NATIONAL SURVEY OF SECONDARY EDUCATION; William M. Proctor and Scovel S. Mgyo, authors of Part II, are specialists in school organization on the Survey staff. Doctor Engelhardt throughout the period of the Survey has held the position of professor of educational administration at the University of Minnesota. Doctor Proctor is professor of secondary education and chief of the division of teacher training at Stanford University. William John Cooper, United States Commissioner of Education, is director of the Survey; Leonard V. Koos, professor of secondary education at the University of Chicago, is associate director; and Carl A. Jessen, specialist in secondary education, Office of Education, is coordinator.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF EDUCATION,
Washington, D. C., January, 1933.

SIR: Within a period of 30 years the high-school enrollment has increased from a little over 10 per cent of the population of high-school age to more than 50 per cent of that population. This enrollment is so unusual for a secondary school that it has attracted the attention of Europe, where only 8 to 10 per cent attend secondary schools. Many European educators have said that we are educating too many people. I believe, however, that the people of the United States are now getting a new conception of education. They are coming to look upon education as a preparation for citizenship and for daily life rather than for the money return which comes from it. They are looking upon the high school as a place for their boys and girls to profit at a period when they are not yet acceptable to industry.

In order that we may know where we stand in secondary education, the membership of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools four years ago took the lead in urging a study. It seemed to them that it was wise for such a study to be made by the Government of the United States rather than by a private foundation, for if such an agency studied secondary education it might be accused, either rightly or wrongly, of a bias toward a special interest. When the members of a committee of this association appeared before the Bureau of the Budget in 1928 they received a very courteous hearing. It was impossible, so the chief of the Budget Bureau thought, to obtain all the money which the commission felt desirable; with the money which was obtained, \$225,000, to be expended over a 3-year period, it was found impossible to do all the things that the committee had in mind. It was possible, however, to study those things which pertained strictly to secondary education—that is, its organization; its curriculum, including some of the more fundamental subjects, and particularly those subjects on which a comparison could be made between the present and earlier periods; its extracurriculum, which is almost entirely new in the past 30 years; the pupil population; and administrative and supervisory problems, personnel, and activities.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

The handling of this survey was entrusted to Dr. Leonard V. Koos of the University of Chicago. With great skill he has, working on a full-time basis during his free-quarters from the University of Chicago and part time during other quarters, brought it to a conclusion.

This manuscript deals with one of the major topics of the Survey, namely, the district organization. No one can understand the district which supports high schools unless he knows the whole history of American education. In New England, cities and towns are authorized to support schools, but even here not every town has a high school. In the South usually the county has control, but the force of democracy has been so strong that generally the county is broken up into small school districts. Recently there have been some trends toward a real State system. Delaware has, in fact, such a system. Maryland has practically accomplished it. There are other States also on the way, notably New York, North Carolina, and Arkansas. Each furnishes an example of a method of approaching State control in education. We believe that until the State government has actual control, all efforts to supply adequate support will be more or less futile.

It happens that California and Illinois present certain peculiar problems of organization. Studies of these situations are included as Parts II and III of this bulletin. In Illinois the township and community high schools have solved the problem of providing high schools, but they have thwarted the reorganization of education effectively and also have increased its cost materially. In California a study of Kern County, one of the counties selected by the staff, shows a curious and complex combination of districts. The largest of these districts, Bakersfield City, contains the Kern County Union High School, which originally served the entire county. Out of it have been created the other districts.

I believe this manuscript is very much worth while and recommend that it be printed as a monograph in the series on the National Survey of Secondary Education.

Respectfully submitted.

WM. JOHN COOPER,
Commissioner.

The SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

DISTRICT ORGANIZATION AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

PART I : DISTRICT ORGANIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES

BY FRED ENGELHARDT AND WILLIAM H. ZEIGEL, JR.

CHAPTER I : THE LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICT AND THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

1. BACKGROUND AND SCOPE OF THE INVESTIGATION

The source of variation in practice.—In the last analysis the legislatures in the various States have virtually plenary power over matters that have to do with the establishment, the operation, the management, and the methods of supporting public secondary schools. In exercising this power, however, the legislative representatives have acted for a local constituency devoted to a fundamental political theory that in reality expressed itself in a determined resistance to anything appearing to interfere with their interpretation of the principle of "home rule," a principle which has been cherished by the people. This philosophy of government, which by no means has led to similar consequences in all States, has had a profound influence on public-school practice and on the degree to which the constitutional mandates of the States in reference to education have been fulfilled. The result is that States can not be classed readily into categories that distinguish the degree to which the people have autonomous control over the local schools nor the extent to which each school system is in fact a working unit in a state-wide organization of public education. The reason is that uniformity in this regard is not necessarily to be found in the States.

The American political philosophy and the methods followed by legislative bodies in conducting their business have obviously induced each State to develop its own peculiar pattern through which secondary-school facilities

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were to be made available within its boundaries. In addition, one can likewise expect that politics, current expediency, prejudice, and local self-interest have functioned as leading determinants in matters which bear so closely on local individual and group interests.

It is not to be implied from the foregoing statements that educational leadership did not exist nor that responsible educational authority failed to appreciate the dynamic characteristics in education and hence failed to create the necessary plans for progressively meeting educational needs.¹ Again in this regard it must be realized that the power of action rested with the people, and that in the American democracy it has taken a long time to bring to a state of realization the principles underlying planning. The needs of the schools were met as they arose and usually in a manner that appeared most expedient at the time. Educational leadership generally awaited public enlightenment before progressive steps were taken. The public secondary schools that flourished during the past century and that are found to-day can not be expected to undergo unchallenged a careful scientific scrutiny of their organization and management nor a critical analysis of their service and of the methods applied in maintaining and supporting them.

Scope of this investigation of school districts and the complexity of the problem.—It is indeed necessary when discussing affairs that relate to secondary schools and that may have state-wide implications to study them in relationship to the organization created for the administration and support of local schools. This observation does not arise from a recognition of things academic but from the supreme educational and economic importance of each administrative unit or division in an efficient State school system.

The student of educational history knows only too well that the failure in the past to follow an admonition of this sort has seriously complicated the public-school problems in many States. The desire on the part of State legislatures to sponsor local initiative and to allow each area of a State

¹ In tracing the history of school districts in New York State, the late Thomas E. Finegan remarked, "The present school district system has been condemned by every State superintendent and commissioner of education from 1844 to the present time." Thomas E. Finegan, *The Township System*, State Department of Education, Albany, N. Y., 1921, p. 4.

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to seek its own solution of the high-school problem created inequalities from the time each State was established, inequalities that have yearly increased in magnitude and complexity. The granting of special privileges to prosperous communities and the tendency of each legislature to meet educational problems by seeking the path of least resistance and by responding to demands with solutions that seemed currently most expeditious gave certain sections within most States advantages over other sections in school matters. These advantages are reluctantly given up. In many local areas the handicaps established in the early history of the State have become so intrenched that plans for relief are most difficult to devise without creating other situations even more serious.

The importance attached to the problems relating to the administration and support of local schools is indicated by the number of States dealing with these issues or faced with them. Every attempt made to redistribute more equitably the burden of local school support in States is confronted by a barrier created by the school district organizations in operation. In many States progress in the development of a more efficient secondary-school system is dependent primarily on a reorganization of the local school district. Of this fact educational leaders have for a long time been aware.

This investigation conducted as a part of the National Survey of Secondary Education has endeavored to consider the problems having to do with the subdivisions created for the maintenance and operation of secondary schools in the various States. The importance of the elementary schools in relationship to secondary-school organization has not been overlooked in the investigation, even though the emphasis of the study has been focused upon the upper division of the school system.

The development of school district organization has been considered in this study with a view to creating the necessary background against which the more recent developments in this field may be displayed and in order that a more understanding analysis may be made of the factors contributing to the establishment of the existing conditions. The investigators are fully aware of the degree to which school district

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problems are unique to each State. It is nevertheless helpful for States that are endeavoring to provide improved schools to know how other States and sections of the country are undertaking to solve their problems.

The manner in which school district organizations have evolved has brought about such a diversity of practice that a classification of States according to school district types is exceedingly difficult. As the reader peruses these pages he will note that few principles have been consistently used as guides by States in adjusting the local school units to the expanding services demanded of the public schools. He will note also the lack of uniformity in nomenclature. A title given to a school district in one State may not be descriptive of a local administrative unit of another that bears the same name.

1. LOCAL SCHOOLS

The origin of the small district.—The colonial attitudes and practices regarding education held sway during much of the first half century of the life of the Union. The impulse that resulted in the creation of the common schools in New England and New York was carried westward as the frontier was extended. During the early stages the Southern States continued to rely primarily on private initiative to supply education.

The district school located within walking distance of its patrons became the underlying unit of school administration and support in most States. In sparsely settled regions the 1-teacher school controlled by the patrons in a very limited area supplied the children of the people means of schooling that were well adapted to the economic and social conditions found there. With the methods of travel available during the early development of the country it was necessary that schools be located within easy walking distance for the convenience of the children. In order to supply the program of education then conceived as desirable within the resources available, a 1-room building and one teacher appeared to all that was necessary.

Development of urban districts.—Until the War of 1812 the States were busy adjusting to a very rapid growth and few

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leaders were aware of the new problems that were being created through territorial expansion, increased wealth, and the growth of urban centers. The schools soon became wholly unsatisfactory, but the established order had become so firmly rooted that little could be done to modify the small 1-room school district. Thus ensued a continued bitter struggle in the legislatures of many States concerning the local schools, their establishment, their support, and their management.

The urban centers that enjoyed rapid growth in population and wealth gave up through necessity, and yet reluctantly, the principle of school management that had assigned to the parents of the children attending a given school practically full control over local educational affairs. District lines within the cities were slowly erased in favor of a unified city school system and central control of public education within the city boundaries.² By pooling the resources of the city, educational facilities for all the people of the municipality could be developed and extended.

On the other hand, the small common-school district with its 1-teacher school as a rule did not grow proportionately in wealth or population to the urban areas. Demands for expansion of educational facilities for the children of the district could be met only by extreme local sacrifices. As would be expected, the result was slow improvement in education in the open country in contrast with rapid progress in urban areas. This condition continued to prevail in many States, in spite of the accepted theory that education is a State function. The legislative representatives for the urban centers realized that the added economic cost of maintaining a minimum educational program for all the children of the State gaged by that supplied in the cities would fall on urban areas.

The legislatures in the various States were confronted with two demands. On the one hand, insistence on the part of the urban leaders that the cities be allowed to develop the public schools as the localities saw fit, and on the other, the insistence on the part of the rural leaders that improvement

² The city of Hartford, Conn., is probably the one remaining example of a city containing 9 elementary-school districts on which is superimposed 1 high-school district.

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could only be hoped for in the country if the State as a whole carried the additional economic burden. When the latter step was taken there ensued a struggle in which the people insisted that there be no interference with their control over the schools, even though the State contributed toward their support. The consequence in most States for more than half a century was a marked difference in educational opportunity with the balance in favor of the cities and towns, a difference still found when schools in the open country are studied.

The district problem as affected by the advent of the high school.—The educational advantages provided in the larger school systems become more markedly pronounced when one reviews the manner in which secondary education has been made available in the various States. When the high school was accepted as a necessary part of a public-school system, the cities in general were in a position to establish the new unit as an extension of education already existing. The small school districts were for obvious reasons unable to do this, and hence a large number of methods were suggested and many new practices were devised, invented, and put into operation to make secondary education at least in theory available to all the children of the State. In many regions one may find the public having little or nothing to say regarding the secondary schools which their children attend, and in practice many young people who do not live in centers of population are virtually denied the opportunity of secondary education. Thus, one finds an interesting paradox: While the people insisted on retaining basic control over their schools, economic and other factors limited their power through the fact that they could afford to operate nothing higher than elementary schooling. Small districts have been unable to support high schools and the people residing within such areas accept for high-school purposes the services of other districts and agencies.

All urban centers have not grown equally in population or in wealth and the ability to maintain a satisfactory system of schools likewise has not developed uniformly. The mental set that persistently fostered the small school district in the open country likewise influenced the insistence that full control of the local schools be retained by the people in the

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villages, small towns, and small cities. With this insistence on local control the educational problems increased in complexity as public-school systems extended the years of schooling. The small high school was admittedly necessary in the beginning, if secondary-school facilities were to be made generally available. Until almost 1920, highways were poor and limited in improved mileage. Transportation costs were prohibitive and geographical barriers created serious obstructions to free movement. High schools had to be established within reach of young people if they were to attend them.

Traditions established under the early régime have become so intrenched that they are removed with difficulty. Local pride, past associations, and the halo enveloping institutions create a support that is embedded in emotions and feelings. These social controls rarely lose their power except in cases of extreme economic necessity. Educational institutions at one time essential and now operated at a marked social and economic loss persist in spite of an inadequacy generally acknowledged, the need for economy, and the desirability of a better school plan for the young people.

3. SCHOOL DISTRICTS AND CIVIL DIVISIONS WITHIN STATES

With some exceptions the subdivisions of a State to which corporate authority for the operation of schools has been granted are called school districts.³ Selected civil divisions of a State such as the county,⁴ the township, the village, the borough, and the city may be designated by law as the unit in which schools are to be maintained. In such cases no separate corporate school district is necessarily created. The general statutes or the town or city charter may specify the functions of the civil authority in reference to school affairs, and these legal documents may also provide a school governing board with specific corporate powers. The civil subdivisions of the State in such cases, it must be remembered, may or may not have a distinct corporate life as a school

³ The only use of the term school district in Massachusetts school law is the one that makes provision for two or more towns to form "a union high-school district, subject to the approval of the department, for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a union high school." General Laws Relating to Education, The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Bulletin of the Department of Education, 1927, No. 4, secs. 14 and 15.

⁴ The parish in Louisiana.

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district. In the instances here referred to the school law of the State applies to all those educational matters that are not specifically covered in the legal instruments fixing the government of the municipality. It can be said that as a rule the school laws of the various States stipulate that, when the civil divisions are to be designated as subdivisions of the State for purposes of school administration and support, they shall be likewise considered incorporated school districts independent in all respects from the civil divisions in which they exist.⁵ Thus, the school district may be a village, a town, a township, a city, or a county.⁶ A school district may comprise a very small area of a State including but a few farms, or it may include a city and a large part of the surrounding open country. The greatest number of school districts comprises those that have been carved out of the States as separate divisions; these do not necessarily include incorporated civil units of the State.⁷

4. CONFUSION OF TERMS IN THE CLASSIFICATION OF DISTRICTS

If one endeavors to include all districts in all the States, it is found difficult to classify them. The very large cities can not in reality be simply classified into one group because of many peculiar local conditions. Many smaller cities are in every respect much like typical towns, villages, and boroughs. Many suburban communities are urban in all the characteristics that relate to public schools. School districts designated in the law as township districts may include only fractional parts of townships. A rural school district specified in law may in reality include a small city or it may comprise a whole county. A community school

⁵ For example, by law it is the "School District of Philadelphia," the "School District of Denver," and the "School District of the County of Kent," and the like. "Each city, incorporated town, borough, or township in this Commonwealth now existing or hereafter created, shall constitute a separate school district." The School Law, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction, Harrisburg, Pa., sec. 101, 1929. The law also makes provision for school districts that are not civil divisions of the State. See sec. 108.

⁶ The township as it exists in New England, New York, and Pennsylvania is more like a town in that a village and the surrounding farm area are incorporated into a civil unit. The western "congressional township" is a geographical division resulting from the survey of the Northwest Territory.

⁷ For convenience in this study the term "school district" is used to designate the corporate subdivisions of a State in which schools are supported and administered. The reader must keep in mind that this term is used in a variety of ways in educational literature. For example, city school boards may divide a city into school districts for administrative purposes; that is, the area contributing children to any one school may be designated as a district (an attendance district).

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district is very likely to be the same as a township school district or a rural school district. The term "consolidated school district" may be applied to an incorporated area that includes a city and the surrounding country, or to the union of several small school systems of the open country; or it may refer specifically to the union of several villages.

The district for the city of New York embraces five counties. The school district of the city of Glasgow, Mont., includes an area of 58 square miles. The unorganized school district of St. Louis County, Minn., covers 3,914 square miles. Likewise, the school districts of New Orleans, Denver, Philadelphia, and San Francisco include the county as well as the city in each instance.

It should be clear that titles, designations, and terms applied to incorporated school divisions of a State do not have the same connotation in all sections of the country. Hence, great care must be exercised in using them when referring to school districts as a class or when discussing school districts collectively as a type.

6. INFLUENCE OF THE CIVIL ORGANIZATION ON THE DISTRICT SYSTEM

In New England, the city and town are the units by which the schools are operated. One familiar with the historical development of these States will readily comprehend why the county could not readily be converted into a school district. On the other hand, in most of the Southern States the county government from the beginning has played a very important part in the management of public affairs. In these States the county or the parish school system is the natural organization to be expected. Many of the Northern States west of the Allegheny Mountains that began with the township as a school district found it necessary during early statehood to break these divisions into smaller units. Subsequently these States encountered great difficulty in all attempts to modify the intrenched small school district. In many of these States progress was made through makeshift adjustments, largely current compromises, that were not permitted by the people to disrupt the underlying organization that was made up of the small ungraded school systems.

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To appreciate fully the problems involved in the school-district organization of any one State one must have well in mind the historical background of present conditions. Few States have been able to approach the issues of school organization through a complete revaluation of the existing district system. In most cases plans initiated for drastic reorganization of local school administrative units have failed. The most significant advances have been made through carefully perfected planning attended by full recognition of the peculiarities to be found within the State. In Louisiana and Utah the people have sought and have supported from the beginning the large parish and county school unit, while in New York, Pennsylvania, and certain other States the people have resisted practically all movements that tended to destroy the small school district. The sociological, political, and economic factors that lie back of and that foster the different types of school districts in these States present fertile fields for research and investigation.

6. SPECIAL HIGH-SCHOOL DISTRICTS

During early statehood legislatures initiated movements in regard to schools that later proved to be distinct handicaps to constructive State planning. Granting special charters to cities and other civil divisions of a State and passing special laws that privileged selected communities in ways prejudicial to the interests of the State as a whole were among the practices that originated many of the educational inequalities now found within the States. Through the special charters municipal authorities were given much control over the public schools—authority that in the long run affects the high schools as well as the elementary schools.

A number of special chartered school districts were also formed in some States. (These charters generally provide for some special form of administrative control or specify powers not granted other school districts.) The special chartered high-school district is not common. An outstanding illustration of this type of local unit is the special chartered high-school district of Princeton, Ill., that created the precedent on which the general township and community

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high-school laws were later enacted. There are other special chartered school districts that include a complete school organization, such as those found in the cities of Albert Lea and Faribault, Minn.; in the town of Malone, N. Y.; and in Bibb and Chatham Counties of the State of Georgia.

CHAPTER II : AVAILABILITY OF SECONDARY EDUCATION WITHIN LOCAL DISTRICTS

1. THE PROBLEM OF MAKING SECONDARY SCHOOLS AVAILABLE THROUGHOUT A STATE

The background.—The initial constitutional mandates of the older States that stipulated a “free system of public education” were conceived at a time when the common school with its limited program was the educational objective in the minds of most people. When the demand for free public secondary schools arose, the school districts were faced with a challenge of their legal or constitutional authority to establish high schools and to support them out of tax receipts.

During the early part of the nineteenth century the academy supplied the facilities for secondary education. For some time those interested in schools were satisfied with the work of these private academies maintained and supported largely through local private initiative. It took some time before public opinion came to demand for all children the secondary-school advantages that were being made available through private agencies for a selected few. The initial effort to democratize secondary education led to the enactment of special legislation permitting the communities making the demand to establish their own locally supported secondary schools.¹ Legislation applying to single communities through special charters was followed by general laws permitting school districts throughout a State to establish and support high schools with incomes from local taxation.

The procedures followed were not uniform in all States. Some school boards assumed that they had the authority to extend the local school offering without the consent of the legislature. In Michigan and in Illinois the action of school boards that made possible the teaching of high-school subjects in the existing schools was challenged by citizens and was taken into the courts. The issue in Michigan passed

¹ The high school of Elyria, Ohio, was chartered in 1830. The Lockport (N. Y.) Union (high) school was established by special act of the legislature in 1847. I. L. Kandel, *History of Secondary Education*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930, p. 445.

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from one court to another and was finally decided through the "Kalamazoo case" in what may be termed a complete vindication of the school boards. In this case the Supreme Court of Michigan (1874) held that a local school board was wholly within its statutory rights in providing secondary-school facilities.²

In general it may be said that few States now have school corporations that are not privileged by law to operate secondary schools. In some States those districts operating elementary schools and those that aspire to make available to the local children work of high-school grade may be required by law to secure the approval of the electorate, to have a minimum taxable valuation as fixed by statute, to have the required minimum potential school population, and to meet the standards set by the State accrediting agency. Even in those States in which any district may operate a high school one should note that local conditions may preclude such an institution or the nature of the standards of accreditation may be such as to discourage the operation of a secondary school of any kind.

At the present time there are about 7,500 districts in New York State that operate elementary schools only. In California, there are 3,183 such districts; in Minnesota, 7,716. There are 10,980 elementary-school districts in Illinois. In States like Maryland, Louisiana, Utah, and Arkansas there are practically no incorporated school districts that operate elementary schools independently of secondary schools.

The problem of availability.—Few States in which the free public school principle had been firmly established and in which local leadership in educational matters had been dominant prior to the Civil War were able to create a system of secondary schools that adequately fitted into the existing district organization. The cities and large towns were able to maintain high schools because the pupil population and the local taxable wealth were suitable for the purpose. Many smaller towns, although unable to support satisfactory 4-year high schools, did provide for some instruction on the

² W. W. Patty, *Legal Basis of the Public Secondary-Education Program of the United States*, 1927, p. 13.

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secondary level. The greater proportion of school districts in the State referred to were obviously unable to support any secondary-school work and hence, as time went on, the public demanded that something be done in order that the young people in all sections of a State be afforded a fair opportunity for extending their education beyond the elementary-school grades. The States approached a solution to this problem in a variety of ways. Many of these are considered in this chapter and the one next following. In the present chapter are considered the efforts within local districts, while in Chapter III are considered a number of additional special provisions.

1. THE SMALL HIGH SCHOOL

When left to their own devices the small school districts in the States in which central control was weak, even though their resources were limited, established secondary education of some sort. The tendency was to follow the pattern that had been for some time in existence for the elementary schools; thus the 1-teacher 4-year high school became rather prevalent in some areas. This movement was curtailed as State authorities awakened to the possible consequences of the small secondary school and insisted upon compliance with minimum standards prepared for high schools. It was not an easy task to keep the local school boards from repeating for secondary education the same history that spread and perpetuated the 1-room ungraded elementary schools. Factors contributing to limitation of the number of very small high schools were the generally accepted secondary-school standards of work demanded by higher institutions and the criteria used in the allocation of the special State appropriations granted for secondary-school support.

In spite of the vigorous attempts made in States to keep the number of small secondary schools to a minimum, the latter have been created in large numbers and have persisted in spite of all the efforts to abolish them. On the other hand, had it not been for the small high school, a large number of young people in small towns and in the open country would have been denied the opportunities of a secondary education.

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This discussion has been presented here in order that the reader may fully appreciate some of the conditions that prevented the revamping of the existing school district system when plans for free secondary schools were being developed. In this same connection it must be recalled that free public schools were in the process of developing for nearly 50 years. It was not until after the initial struggles in the fight for public support of education were over that many of the newer States entered upon statehood and were facing educational problems somewhat different from those that had confronted the older sections of the country.

3. PRACTICES TOUCHING PAYMENT OF TUITION

Tuition academies.—Some school boards saw fit to make use of the private State-incorporated academies for the education of the youth of their communities. Although these academies were developed under private auspices, many had profited by local financial aid of various sorts as well as from State bounties. Many of these schools likewise had the good will of the communities in which they prospered. It seemed sensible, as well as good business, to use these private schools as long as they served satisfactorily the needs of the young people in the community. It was a logical step from the payment of "rates" toward the support of common schools to the payment of tuition by school boards to these private academies.

In Maine and New Hampshire boards of education were privileged by law to pay the tuition of qualified pupils to the private academies chartered by the State. Provisions of the law in Tennessee make it possible for the county school board to contract with private secondary schools in the county. At the present time there are 32 institutions in Maine in which this practice is followed; in this State the maximum tuition rate is fixed by statute.

Fryeburg Academy, Fryeburg, York County, Me., is a unique example of the type of school referred to above. Prior to 1800, parcels of land had been assigned to private academies in Massachusetts by the legislature to encourage the expansion of academic educational facilities. Schools in

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all parts of the State were made eligible to grants of permanent funds from public sources which were sufficient to provide an adequate school. The school at Fryeburg was chartered under this Massachusetts law³ in 1792 and was given 15,000 acres of land.⁴

At the present time this secondary school is administered through a self-perpetuating board of 13 trustees. It is supported by tuition receipts (private and public), gifts, income from small endowments, and State aid. It serves as the high school of the town of Fryeburg and tuition to the amount of \$125 is paid annually by the local school board for each pupil enrolled. Fryeburg Academy also receives tuition pupils (paid for by public funds) from seven other Maine towns and likewise receives pupils from several near-by towns in New Hampshire. Tuition payments in the case of the latter are arranged for through legal contractual agreements.⁵

Other plans for payment of tuition.—Public interest in the private academies did not persist in all sections as in Maine. The people residing in districts in which there were no high schools insisted that some provision be made for their children. Again, in order to forestall the establishment of many unsatisfactory secondary schools, various plans were devised to meet these demands.

New York, Minnesota,⁶ and Missouri provide for State payment of nonresident high-school tuition. These tuition payments are in reality a direct means of State aid to the districts that do not maintain high schools. During the year 1925 New York State paid \$1,171,274 for nonresident tuition. In Minnesota (Table 1) the number of nonresident pupils ranged in 1931 from less than 10 per cent to more than 70 per cent of the school enrollment.

³ Maine was then a part of Massachusetts.

⁴ Catalogue of Fryeburg Academy, Fryeburg, Me., 1920-21, p. 14.

⁵ From correspondence with E. O. La Casca, headmaster, Fryeburg Academy, September, 1931.

⁶ In 1913 the legislature provided that qualified pupils residing in districts not maintaining high schools were privileged to enter any high school of the State tuition free. In 1919 the State assumed the responsibility for the payment of nonresident high-school tuition. When the local school district from which nonresident pupils come levies a tax of less than 3 mills, the tuition payments are deducted from the State aid accruing to the district. See, Minnesota School Law, 1931. The object of this provision is obvious.

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TABLE 1.—*Distribution of high schools in Minnesota according to the percentages of nonresident pupils, 1931*¹

Schools with following enrollments	Percentages of nonresident pupils								Total
	Fewer than 10	10 to 19	20 to 29	30 to 39	40 to 49	50 to 59	60 to 69	70 and more	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Fewer than 50.....	2	7	18	17	15	3	1	1	64
50 to 74.....	8	10	20	20	22	17	2	2	109
75 to 99.....	1	8	9	17	25	14	2	1	72
100 to 124.....		2	5	10	12	9	5	1	44
125 to 149.....	1	2	2	6	17	4	2	1	35
150 to 174.....			3	5	5	7	1		21
175 to 199.....	1	1	2	6	5	1	2		18
200 and more.....	4	1	3	15	3	6	1		33
Total.....	17	26	62	96	114	61	14	6	396

¹ Data from Annual Reports of the State Department of Education, 1931.

In North Carolina tuition payments from public funds are prohibited by constitutional mandate. Children may be permitted to attend schools in other districts without tuition payments wherever facilities are available.

Tuition-payment plans in States in which all incorporated school districts maintain secondary schools must be viewed apart from the plans that prevail in States in which school districts may operate elementary schools, independent secondary schools, or both. In the former group of States legal authority is granted to school boards to arrange with neighboring school districts for the education of those children who can more conveniently attend schools in the other district.⁷ Tuition payments in such cases are arranged for

⁷ "Any resident of any school district in Pennsylvania which does not maintain an approved vocational industrial, vocational agricultural, vocational home economics, or vocational commercial education school or department, offering the type of training which he desires, may make application to the school board of any other district for admission to such school or department maintained by said board. In case said board refuses him admission, he may apply to the State Council of Education for admission to such school or department. The State Council of Education—decision of which shall be final—may approve or disapprove such application. In making such decision the State Council of Education shall take into consideration the opportunities for free vocational training in the community in which the applicant resides, the financial status of the community, the age, sex, preparation, aptitude, and previous record of the applicant, and all other relevant circumstances.

"The school district in which the person resides, who has been admitted, as above provided, to an approved vocational industrial, vocational agricultural, vocational home economics, or vocational commercial school or department maintained by another school district shall pay a tuition fee, to be determined after the same manner provided for the high schools in article 17, section 1711 of the school laws of Pennsylvania, for 1911, entitled 'An act to establish a public-

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by the school boards concerned. School laws in certain States mention specifically that school districts may contract for the education of children with districts in neighboring States where such arrangements appear to be warranted. The school law of Utah is silent on tuition payments.

State laws may require school districts that do not maintain secondary schools to pay the tuition of eligible pupils who choose to attend the nearest high school or who attend the school designated by the school board. In many cases the items that may be included to determine the tuition rate are also designated in the statute, while in some laws the maximum amount that may be charged as tuition is stipulated. Provision is also made in the school law of some States for an appeal to the commissioner of education where rates are judged to be unreasonable or exorbitant.⁸

An interesting development that appears to be gaining impetus is the correspondence school work developed for pupils at the secondary-school level. Certain teacher-training institutions have been offering such services to young people living in localities where secondary-school facilities are not available. In some instances boards of education are defraying the expense of such work. This type of work is in reality a substitute for payments for tuition or transportation.

A summary of the laws on the payment of tuition.—The abstracts and summary of the laws of the several States as they relate to tuition payments are as follows:⁹

school system in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, together with the provisions by which it shall be administered, and prescribing penalties for the violation thereof, providing revenue to establish and maintain same, and the method of collecting such revenue; and repealing all laws, general, special, or local, or any parts thereof, that are or may be inconsistent therewith. If any school district neglects or refuses to pay for such tuition it shall be liable therefor, in an action of contract, to the school district or school districts maintaining the school which the pupil, with the approval of the board, attended." (Amended May 1, 1925, P. L. 418, sec. 7), Pennsylvania School Law, Department of Public Instruction, 1925, Art. XXXIV, sec. 3412.

* "If any pupils are assigned to an adjoining district, the district where such pupils reside shall promptly pay, to the district in which they attend school, the cost of tuition, textbooks, and school supplies only, which shall not exceed that of tuition, textbooks, and school supplies of other pupils pursuing similar courses or studies in the same schools: *Provided*, That the consent of the board of school directors of the district to which the pupils of any closed school are assigned shall be first obtained." (Amended May 18, 1925, P. L. 628, sec. 3), Pennsylvania School Law, Department of Public Instruction, 1925, Art. XIV, sec. 1407.

⁹ This abstract was prepared by Ward W. Keeseecker, specialist in school legislation, United States Office of Education, in connection with his study of Legal and Regulatory Provisions Affecting Secondary Education, also a project of the National Survey of Secondary Education.

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Alabama.—City and county boards of education have authority to reach agreements whereby children in the city may attend the schools in the county and children in the county may attend schools in the city. In case of disagreement the issue is settled by the State board of education. Other nonresident pupils are admitted on terms prescribed by the local board of education.

Arizona.—Tuition of nonresident pupils attending a high school is charged against the school district in which said nonresident pupil resides and the amount is levied and collected in the same manner as other school taxes.

Arkansas.—The county board of education shall have power, upon the petition of any person residing in any particular school district, to transfer the children or wards of such person to a district in the same county or to a district in an adjoining county for school purposes. (Transfer fee, \$2.)

California.—A pupil residing in one district may attend in another district upon terms agreed by the high-school boards of the two districts and if in another county upon the payment of a tuition by his county to the other county.

Pupils may attend high school in an adjoining State: The tuition may be paid by their resident county and raised by a county high-school tuition tax levied by the board of supervisors, on the approval of the county superintendent.

Colorado.—A pupil residing in one district may attend school in another district with the consent of the directors of the respective school districts and upon the payment of a reasonable tuition by the district in which the pupil resides.

Connecticut.—Any town or incorporated school district not maintaining a high school shall pay the tuition fee of any child residing in such district and attending a high school designated by the school committee of the town and approved by the State board of education.

Delaware.—The State board of education has authority to govern the admission of pupils from the schools of one district to the schools of another district.

“For the more convenient administration of high-school attendance in the State and for the convenience and accommodation of high-school pupils of any section, the State board of education is hereby empowered and directed whenever

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and wherever they deem advisable to divide the State, or any section thereof, into high-school attendance districts and to prescribe rules and regulations governing the attendance therein.

"In case a pupil transfers from one school to another in Delaware; (a) he shall be counted as enrolled in the school in which he attends the largest number of days; (b) if he attends the same number of days in each of two or more schools he shall be counted as enrolled in the school which he attended last."

District of Columbia.—Pupils not residents of the District and who do not pay taxes in the District in excess of the tuition charge or whose parents do not reside or are not engaged in public duties therein or pay taxes in the District of Columbia in excess of the tuition charge are required to pay a tuition fixed by the board of education.

Florida.—A pupil in one district may attend school in a special-tax district upon consent of the trustees of the district. A pupil may attend school in another county upon the payment by his county school board of a pro. rata share of expenses estimated by trustees of said school.

(A State board rule recommends county boards of education to adopt a regulation requiring pupils from other States or counties to pay a specified tuition fee to the teacher, to be paid to the county superintendent and reported by the latter to the county board.)

County boards of public instruction of counties bordering on adjacent States may arrange with school authorities of adjoining counties in such States for pupils residing in such Florida counties to enter the schools of said adjoining counties and to pay such tuition therefor as the respective school authorities may agree upon; they may also make arrangement for the transportation of such pupils.

Georgia.—The tuition of nonresident pupils attending school in a local-tax district is fixed by board of trustees in said district.

For pupils attending school in one county and residing in another, the county of residence shall reimburse the other county in the ratio of attendance from the other county to the whole attendance.

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Idaho.—All districts which do not maintain a 4-year high school shall pay tuition for pupils who desire to attend in another district. The tuition shall not exceed the actual average cost per capita of instruction and operation of said high school during the next preceding year.

Illinois.—Upon the approval of the county superintendent any high-school pupil may attend a recognized high school more convenient in some district other than the high-school district or non-high-school district in which he resides, and the district in which said pupil resides shall pay the tuition of such pupil, provided said tuition shall not exceed the per capita cost of maintaining the high school attended.

School directors are authorized to admit nonresident pupils when it can be done without prejudice to the rights of resident pupils, and to fix the rate of tuition of such pupils.

Indiana.—Whenever a child can be better accommodated in a school corporation other than that in which he resides or in a high school in an adjoining State, the school trustees shall grant an order of transfer upon an application of the parent.

Tuition shall be paid for transferred pupils by the school trustees from a special or tuition fund in an amount equal to the per capita cost of education in the corporation to which the child is transferred.

Iowa.—Where resident corporation offers no 4-year high-school course, the pupil may attend any public high school or county high school in the State that will accept him.

The resident corporation shall pay from the general fund to the corporation in which pupil attends a tuition fee not to exceed \$12 per month during the term he so attends, not exceeding four school years, and not exceeding the average cost of tuition in such high school.

Nonresident pupils and those sojourning temporarily in any school corporation may attend school therein upon such terms as the board may determine.

Kansas.—When a community is remote from a high school already in operation the county commissioners shall pay tuition not exceeding \$2 a week or fraction thereof to a convenient high school within the county or in an adjacent county.

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When a county high school can accommodate more pupils than apply for admission, vacancies may be filled by applicants from other counties upon payment of a tuition prescribed by the board of trustees.

Pupils residing in a school district not maintaining a high school with a 4-year accredited course may attend any accredited high school in said county or adjoining county. Tuition shall be paid by a special tax levy in said county. Tuition rate is \$3 per week or fraction thereof.

Kentucky.—Where a pupil does not live within walking distance of a school in the district the school board may, by tuition contract, arrange for said pupil to attend in another district.

Pupils residing outside of city limits are admitted to public schools upon payment of tuition as the board may require.

A pupil may attend the most convenient high school in the county and the county in which he resides shall pay the tuition of said pupil.

Louisiana.—Children for whom adequate schools of suitable grade have not been provided may attend schools in an adjoining parish. The superintendent of the resident parish shall settle monthly for said instruction based upon per capita cost of instruction in the children's home parish.

Pupils may attend a city school if the parish of residence does not provide adequate schools of suitable grade. Parish superintendents shall settle monthly for said instruction on basis of per capita cost of instruction in the schools which operate under the jurisdiction of the parish school board.

Maine.—Any youth who resides with parents or guardian in any town which does not maintain a standard secondary school may attend any approved secondary school to which he may gain entrance whose courses are approved by the State superintendent and the tuition shall be paid by the town in which he resides, said tuition not to exceed \$125 annually per pupil.

Maryland.—When county board of education fails to make joint arrangement for each high-school pupil attending in an adjoining county the board of the residence county pays

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60 per cent of the average cost per high-school pupil of all the counties of Maryland for the preceding year.

Massachusetts.—If town of less than 500 does not maintain a high school it shall pay the tuition of resident pupils attending a high school in another town.

Whenever in the judgment of the department of education, it is expedient that a pupil should board in the town of attendance, the town of residence may pay toward such board, in lieu of transportation, such sum as the committee may fix.

Michigan.—Where the district does not maintain a high school the district board is required to levy a tax sufficient to pay tuition to any high school approved by the State superintendent for pupils who desire to attend. Tuition is not to exceed the per capita cost per year of school attended but in no case to exceed \$60 per pupil per year unless the voters appropriate a larger sum.

The board of a district maintaining a high school may pay tuition of its eighth-grade graduates to some other legal high school, if in the judgment of said board the educational interests of such eighth-grade graduates will be better served.

Minnesota.—For the tuition of nonresident high-school pupils the State shall pay to the school district furnishing such high-school instruction at the rate of \$7 per school month, or major part thereof, for each nonresident pupil for not exceeding 10 months in a school year.

Mississippi.—Children residing in any district may attend school in another district with the consent of the trustees of both districts and of the county superintendent or county superintendents. Tuition is paid by the resident district or by the resident district and county as provided by law.

Missouri.—Where pupils attend high school in another district the board of the residence district makes necessary arrangements with board of the district of attendance.

Free high-school tuition is provided all rural pupils; the State pays \$50 per student and the local district pays the remainder.

Montana.—Trustees of any district, when they deem it for the best interests of pupils, may close their schools and send

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pupils to another district and pay for their transportation and tuition.

Nebraska.—County high-school board of regents may admit pupils from without the county upon payment of tuition as board may prescribe.

Counties where county high school is not maintained furnish \$3 per week or fraction thereof as tuition for pupils attending approved school.

Child remote from local school may attend a more convenient high school in an adjoining State and resident county pays the tuition.

Nevada.—No provision is made for tuition. Some counties provide county high schools and counties not providing county high schools provide aid to establish approved high schools which admit all eligible pupils of said counties.

New Hampshire.—Any district not maintaining a high school or school of corresponding grade shall pay for the tuition of any child who with parents or guardians resides in said district and who attends an approved high school or academy in another district in the State.

New Jersey.—A child living remote from school in residence district may attend in an adjoining district with the consent of the county superintendent, and the residence district shall pay the tuition charged by the other district.

A child who has completed the course of studies in the residence district may, with the consent of the board of education, attend a school of a higher grade in another district and the board of education of the resident district shall pay the tuition charged.

New Mexico.—A tuition, not greater than the average cost per capita, is charged for nonresident pupils. When nonresident pupils, their parents, or guardians pay a school tax in the State the amount of such tax shall be credited on their tuition up to the amount of such tuition.

New York.—Any district may decide by majority vote to contract for the education of all or part of its children in another district.

The State appropriates \$50 per year to each district maintaining an approved academic department, for each

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nonresident pupil attending school in said district from a district not maintaining an academic department.

North Carolina.—The county board of education may permit children residing in a district having not more than 6-month term to attend any school in the county for the full term of such school without payment of tuition; provided, sufficient space is available in the school to be attended.

North Dakota.—A school district not having a full 4-year high-school course pays the tuition of pupils residing in said district attending a standard high school to complete such part of the course as it not offered by the resident district.

The attended district may charge not to exceed \$2 per week for the time such nonresident pupil is in attendance.

Ohio.—Tuition of pupils residing in a district not maintaining a high school and attending in another district is paid by the district of residence.

District paying tuition of students in another district may furnish cost of said child's room and board or part of said cost, provided such amount is less than the cost of transportation and such action is approved by the county board of education.

Oklahoma.—The district board may admit pupils from adjoining districts and base tuition upon previous year pro rata expenses for pupil in the district and the resident district shall make provision for transfer fee in their annual estimate for tax levying.

Oregon.—In counties in which there is no county high school, the county court levies a tax on all property not in a high-school district. Amounts so raised are used to defray tuition of pupils residing in a district in which there is no high school and attending a high school in another district.

Pennsylvania.—Pupils residing in a district in which no high school is maintained may attend the nearest and most conveniently located high school.

In districts in which the course terminates before the end of the twelfth year, pupils may attend the nearest or most conveniently located high school; provided, pupils obtain permission of the school district in which the school is located.

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Pupils attend the high schools in the other districts under the conditions stated above at the expense of the school board of the district in which they reside.

Rhode Island.—The school committee of any town not maintaining a high school shall make provision, at the expense of the town, for the free attendance of its children at some high school or academy approved by the State board of education. The rate of tuition shall not exceed the average cost per capita of maintaining said high school or academy.

South Carolina.—Whenever pupils are transferred to a school district which has a special tax for the support of schools, the pupils may be required to pay, as tuition, an amount not exceeding the per capita portion of operation and maintenance cost of the school to which the transfer is made. (School Law, 1924.)

South Dakota.—A pupil may attend any public high school or State educational institution of the State or an adjoining State furnishing a higher course of study than offered by the home district. The school district in which the pupil is enrolled shall be compensated by the school board of his home district. The tuition shall be the per capita cost per month of schooling for a high-school pupil as determined by the county superintendent, not to exceed \$15 per month per pupil.

When a pupil resides more than 10 miles from a high school in his district the school board shall make arrangements for the schooling of said pupil at a nearer high school in another district or an adjoining State, if a nearer school exists.

Tennessee.—The county board of education collects tuition from pupils from other States at the same rate as the average cost per pupil in its high school.

Texas.—A State appropriation has been made to reimburse any district for the payment of tuition for its resident high-school pupils, provided a local tax of not less than 50 cents for school purposes is levied in the district.

Utah.—Boards of education are authorized to contract for the education of their pupils in schools of adjoining districts and to pay the pro rata cost therefor.

Vermont.—Each school district shall maintain a high school or furnish higher instruction for pupils at a high school within

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or without the State; said district shall pay the tuition of such pupils to an amount not to exceed \$60 per school year per pupil.

Virginia.—Any county not actually conducting a high school, but paying tuition for its high-school pupils in high schools in other counties or cities out of the public funds, shall be permitted to share in the State high-school fund.

A county or city school board is authorized to charge tuition for its resident students attending high school, provided the money derived from taxation and other sources is not sufficient to operate both elementary and high schools free of tuition.

Washington.—Tuition of pupils from a non-high-school district attending a high school in another district is paid by the non-high-school district.

West Virginia.—Boards of education in districts not maintaining a high school or assisting in the maintenance of a county high school must pay the tuition fee of all pupils in the district attending a public high school in other districts or counties or other schools of high-school grade within the county.

Wisconsin.—Pupils residing in a non-high-school district may attend a high school in another district and the tuition shall be paid by the resident district.

Wyoming.—Districts which do not maintain a 4-year high school shall pay tuition for pupils of such district who have completed the course offered therein and who desire to attend high school in another district.

Advantages and disadvantages of plans of tuition payment.—The high-school tuition-payment plans have their strong and weak points. In school districts that operate a complete school system it is sometimes a distinct advantage to be able to arrange for the education of certain children in neighboring districts where such arrangements can be made economically and to the advantage of the children concerned. Where the laws are flexible and when the issues involved are intelligently approached, educational costs may be reduced and the interests of young people living within easy reach of schools in neighboring districts may be protected. The greatest difficulties arise when tuition-payment plans are

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being arranged by city school boards and their neighbors in the open country.

In those States in which the nonresident high-school tuition is paid by the State one will find after a detailed study that the problem is not the same in each State. As pointed out above, when the State assumes the financial burden, an indirect State aid is virtually allocated to the districts not maintaining secondary schools. A desirable outcome of the plan is that it discourages many small districts from attempting to establish their own secondary schools. Through this plan, because of the increase in enrollment due to the non-residents, a much more satisfactory school program can be developed for the local children in many small towns. Since the amount to be paid by the State as tuition is fixed by law, increases in educational costs fall as a rule on the district maintaining the high school. Taxpayers in small school districts may relieve themselves of the tax necessary for the maintenance of a high school by not operating a school and by sending their young people to neighboring schools. As the tuition payment by the State would at all times be more likely to represent the average cost of secondary education in the State, certain school districts would virtually profit through the income from this source while other districts are very apt to lose thereby. In the situations in which a local school district must extend its school plant to accommodate the nonresident pupils an unusually heavy burden may fall upon the local taxpayers.

Economic advantages accrue to the small towns that maintain high schools enrolling large numbers of nonresident pupils. The school makes the community the business and social center for the families and friends of the pupils. The business men appreciate the advantages gained and there is evidence to show that schools in neighboring towns often compete with one another in their plans to attract the youth from the non-high-school districts.

A basic weakness of a practice whereby a State assumes the cost of nonresident tuition is the handicap it places on the consolidation movement. Districts that do not maintain secondary schools are reluctant to join in the support of a high school if the latter service can be secured without local

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taxation. If the proper controls can be set up and if school districts are to be allowed to operate elementary schools only, the information at hand seems to argue for State payment of the tuition of nonresident high-school pupils.

The establishment of the junior high school and the 6-year high school is bringing a new element into the picture. At the present time the States that pay nonresident tuition are paying for pupils of the ninth through the twelfth years. In the reorganized schools it is essential that children entering junior high schools or 6-year high schools from ungraded schools be enrolled at the beginning of the seventh year; otherwise the problems of adjustment become increasingly difficult. If children leave the ungraded schools at the beginning of the seventh year, a very large number of these 1-room schools will have even smaller enrollments than at present. It has been argued that if the States concerned did extend the nonresident-tuition plan to include the pupils of grades 7 and 8 who attend approved junior high schools, the solution of the 1-room school problem would be under way. With the limited facts available the issues involved remain in the realm of debate.

Taxes for high-school tuition purposes.—School laws may be so framed as to authorize the collection of nonresident tuition by special tax levy. In Illinois, those areas of a county not lying in school districts maintaining secondary schools are subject to special taxation. They are called non-high-school districts. In these areas a special high-school tax is collected for the payment of the tuition of pupils residing therein who attend the high schools of the county. In reality the non-high-school district is not a corporate school district, but is given the title in order to define such property in a county as does not contribute taxes directly to the support of a high school.

In Montana, a county may operate a county high school with proceeds from a county tax; in North Dakota also the county may collect a general high-school tax (the plan of levy is fixed in law); the income from the county tax is divided among the various districts which maintain high schools. The tax receipts are in part allocated on the basis of the numbers of pupils enrolled in these schools. The

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size of schools is also a factor in determining the amount a school is to receive—the larger the school, the smaller the quota per pupil. In Montana, the young people in the county residing in districts that do not maintain high schools are privileged to attend any high school in the county.

4. TRANSPORTATION AND DORMITORIES

Development of and need for transportation.—The problems connected with the accessibility of high schools to the young people of a State are highly important for any adequate consideration of the issues related to school-district organization. With the rapid increase in the mileage of improved highways throughout the country and with it the change in attitude on the part of the people toward distances, one can with confidence expect that school transportation will become increasingly important.

No statistical evidence is available showing the extent to which pupils are transported to high school in the country as a whole. In many areas transportation is arranged for on an extensive scale. In most States the reimbursements made from State funds for transportation to consolidated schools apply alike to elementary and secondary pupils. Consequently the data on the numbers conveyed are usually not presented by grade groups.

The extended use of the private automobile by families no doubt has led to the providing of conveyance to and from school to increasing numbers of children. A study made of a random sampling of 100 high schools having enrollments of 400 or fewer in both Wisconsin and Minnesota has brought forth some interesting facts concerning transportation.

Of 4,656 pupils attending 41 high schools in Wisconsin 59 per cent reported that they walked to school regularly. Of 6,212 pupils enrolled in 68 high schools of Minnesota 50 per cent reported that they walked to school regularly. In Wisconsin, 13 per cent of the pupils reported traveling distances of 5 to 10 miles to school; only 3 per cent lived more than 10 miles from school. The evidence gathered shows on the whole that the larger the school the greater the percentage of pupils who walk. In Minnesota 15 per cent of the high-school pupils attended schools from 5 to 10 miles

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from home; only 2.5 per cent traveled more than 10 miles to school. In the schools of Wisconsin studied, 51 per cent of the pupils resided less than 1.25 miles from the school they attended, while in Minnesota 48 per cent of the pupils resided less than 1.25 miles from the high school attended. Only 17 per cent of the Wisconsin high schools report that 80 per cent or more of the pupils walked to school, while only 10 per cent of the high schools studied in Minnesota indicate that more than 80 per cent of the pupils walked.

Some indication of the extent to which pupils walk and the extent to which they are conveyed by various methods to and from school is shown in Table 2. The limited use of the railroad and of the horse and horse-drawn vehicle is worthy of note.

TABLE 2.—*Distribution of pupils in 48 small secondary schools in Wisconsin and in 68 small secondary schools in Minnesota according to methods of travel and distances of residences from school*

Method of travel	Distances from school in miles						Total pupils
	Less than 1.25	1.25 to 1.75	1.75 to 2.25	2.25 to 5	5 to 10	More than 10	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Walking	5,067	405	163	196	12	—	5,843
Railroad	—	—	—	17	43	1	61
Private auto	124	178	363	1,015	864	156	2,700
Bus	133	208	359	697	475	137	2,009
Bicycle	26	16	2	15	5	—	64
Horse or horse-drawn vehicle	4	8	15	36	11	1	75
Other methods	3	—	—	2	2	—	7
Total pupils	5,357	815	902	1,378	1,412	295	10,759

In certain sections of the country it is required by law that boards of education supply transportation for such high-school pupils as reside distances too great to walk to and from school. The minimum walking distance is fixed by statute in some States at 2 miles. If all districts complied fully with the law a financial burden much greater than the districts could afford would result. For this reason the courts have construed transportation statutes rather liberally. The principal basis to court action is that of unreasonableness. A citizen who domiciles his family far from

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the centers of population can not always expect the responsible authority to provide transportation to the schools for his children.

School boards have used many methods to meet the transportation demands of families living remote from school. Instead of operating vehicles in all cases to transport the pupils car-fare is paid or the individual is supplied with a pony or a bicycle or a sum of money is paid the parent who waives all claims for transportation, or the board and room is arranged for in the community in which the pupil is to attend school. Those who have had experience with these practices know the extent to which individual families abuse these regulations. In arranging for the transportation of individuals the greatest care must be exercised if public funds are not to be improperly expended.

Laws on transportation.—Abstracts of the laws relating to the transportation of secondary-school pupils in the different States are as follows: ¹⁰

Alabama.—The county board of education, where necessary, may provide transportation of pupils to and from consolidated schools.

Arizona.—Boards of school trustees are authorized to provide transportation for any child or children when they deem it for the best interest of the district.

Arkansas.—Boards of school directors of any district may provide transportation to and from school when necessary.

Buses are not to be used to transport pupils in another district without the consent of the county board of education.

California.—School boards may provide for transportation of pupils to and from high schools, except pupils living within city limits. Cost shall be deemed part of cost of maintenance.

Upon approval of county superintendent, transportation charges not to exceed \$10 per pupil per month may be paid by the county for pupils attending high school in this or any adjoining State.

¹⁰ This abstract was prepared by Ward W. Keesecker, specialist in school legislation, United States Office of Education, in connection with his study of Legal and Regulatory Provisions Affecting Secondary Education, also a project of the National Survey of Secondary Education.

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Colorado.—Any school district may, by a majority vote of electors, transport children to and from school.

Where transportation is not feasible the high-school directors may pay the board of school children in lieu of transportation.

The board of directors of consolidated districts which contain two or more school districts of the first class, may transport pupils living one or more miles from any school building, whenever it deems it best to do so.

Connecticut.—Any town not maintaining a high school must pay transportation of pupils to approved school. Towns maintaining a high school may authorize the high-school committee to provide transportation to and from school of any pupil or pay whole or part of the necessary cost thereof.

Delaware.—The school budget act for the biennium ending June 30, 1931, authorized 6.3 per cent of the total said budget for the transportation of pupils.

District of Columbia.—Transportation is provided for pupils attending schools for tubercular children and for pupils attending schools for crippled children.

Florida.—Children between 10 and 16 years of age residing more than 3 miles from school are exempt from school attendance unless transportation is provided.

Georgia.—Whenever the county board of education or local district trustees deem it for the best interest of the school, they shall provide transportation of pupils and teachers to and from said school.

Idaho.—By majority vote of electors any common or joint common-school district not included in a high-school district may furnish transportation for high-school pupils residing within the district and attending the nearest high school.

Independent and joint independent district trustees may provide transportation to pupils of the district attending the nearest accredited high school.

Illinois.—The board of education of any consolidated school district or community consolidated school district shall provide free transportation for pupils residing at a distance from any school maintained within such consolidated or community consolidated school district.

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In districts having a population of less than 1,000 the board of directors may provide free transportation for pupils and may permit pupils to attend schools in other districts and furnish said pupils with transportation.

Whenever the number of children between the ages of 6 and 16 years in any district school shall be fewer than six it shall be lawful for the directors of such district to arrange for the transportation of pupils and when necessary provide free transportation for them to a neighboring school.

Indiana.—School trustees are empowered at their discretion to transport high-school pupils.

Iowa.—When there will be a saving of expense and also an advantage to children, the board may provide for the transportation for any child to or from school in the same or in another corporation and the expense shall be paid from the general fund.

Every consolidated school corporation shall provide transportation to and from school for every child living within said corporation and more than 1 mile from school; however, a vehicle is not required to leave any public highway and the board shall designate the routes.

In districts where schools have been closed for lack of pupils, transportation shall be provided for any child residing more than 2 miles from the nearest school.

Kansas.—School boards may provide transportation for pupils living in the district 2 or more miles from the school attended; they shall do so for pupils living 3 or more miles from school, or in lieu thereof shall allow parents of said pupils a sum not less than 15 cents per day for the transportation of their pupils; provided, 25 cents per school day shall be allowed parents or guardians of pupils living 5 or more miles from school.

Consolidated districts shall provide transportation to pupils who live 3 miles from school, or in lieu thereof allow parents of pupils transported by own transportation an amount not to exceed 5 cents per mile, one way, per pupil, and not to exceed \$1 per pupil per day; provided, transportation privileges shall not apply to community high-school districts in counties of over 8,000 population.

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Kentucky.—Board of education shall pay the cost of transportation to and from schools for pupils for whom it makes no provision within the county or city of their residence or in an adjacent county, city, or district within 4 miles of their homes.

Consolidated districts have power to provide transportation by local taxation, or out of county funds, or otherwise.

Louisiana.—Parish school boards may provide transportation for pupils living more than 2 miles from a school of suitable grades.

Maine.—Any town may raise and appropriate a sum for the payment of conveyance or board of pupils attending secondary schools. Provided, children residing on islands within the towns and cities, transportation shall be paid over regular lines.

Maryland.—When average daily attendance in any school for two consecutive terms is less than 12 pupils, said school may be closed by the county board of education and transportation provided for pupils.

When schools are consolidated the county board shall pay when necessary for the transportation of pupils to and from such consolidated schools.

Massachusetts.—Where a town of less than 500 does not maintain a high school a pupil may attend a high school in another town and the school committee shall provide transportation up to 40 cents per day actual attendance. If the school is more than 3 miles from his residence the town may be required to pay up to 80 cents per day of attendance.

Where towns form a union high-school district, transportation may be furnished when necessary.

Children living on islands may be provided transportation to school by the State board of education in cases where local authorities are not required by law to provide such transportation.

Transportation is furnished children living more than 2 miles from school. If the distance exceeds 3 miles but it is nearer to another school, transportation shall be furnished by the school committee to the other school.

When in the judgment of the department of education it is expedient that a pupil should board in the town of attendance,

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the town of residence may pay toward such board, in lieu of transportation, such sum as the committee may fix.

Michigan.—In rural agricultural school districts the board of education shall provide transportation to pupils living more than 1 mile from school. In cases where fewer than six pupils reside on or near any one route, pupils may be boarded by consent of parents at some convenient place if cost is less than cost of transportation.

Minnesota.—A school board may provide free transportation to and from school at expense of the district of pupils residing more than one-half mile from school.

Any school district transporting pupils of the district may transport pupils residing outside the district but attending school within the district upon such pupil presenting himself on one of the regular routes traveled in the transportation of pupils.

To receive State aid a consolidated school district shall arrange for transportation or board of pupils living 2 miles or more from school.

Mississippi.—Trustees of a consolidated school, with the county superintendent, are authorized to provide transportation to and from school for pupils in the district living a distance of 2 miles or more from school.

On petition of majority of patrons the county superintendent and trustees may provide transportation to any other school of such grades as they may designate and pay necessary tuition and other expenses.

Missouri.—Transportation may be furnished by a district to pupils living more than one-half mile from school upon two-third majority vote of taxpayers in district at election called by board of directors upon petition of 10 taxpayers of district.

State aid of \$3 per month per pupil is provided for transportation of pupils living more than 2 miles from school.

Montana.—Trustees of any district, when they deem it for the best interests of the district, may furnish transportation for pupils or provide board, rent, and tuition while attending school.

Nebraska.—Where there are less than 5 children between 7 and 16 years, inclusive, the board may use school funds for

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board or transportation and other expenses of said pupils attending in another district as arranged with board of said other districts.

All consolidated schools are required to furnish transportation for rural pupils.

Board of education of a city or a board of trustees of a high-school district, by a two-third vote of entire board, is empowered to provide transportation to pupils.

Board of trustees of a high-school district by a two-third vote is empowered to contract with board of another district for instruction of pupils in first district and make provision for transportation of said pupils.

Nevada.—The board of trustees or board of education of each city, town, and district may use money from the county fund for the transportation of pupils to and from school.

New Hampshire.—The school board may furnish transportation to high-school pupils when it finds this desirable and shall furnish it when directed by the commissioner of education.

New Jersey.—Whenever in any district there shall be children living remote from the schoolhouse, the board of education of such district may make rules and contract for transportation of such children to and from school.

New Mexico.—No budget allowance for the transportation of pupils shall be made in any school district unless there are at least eight pupils of school age whom it is necessary to transport and no budget allowance shall be made for transportation of pupils residing within 3 miles of the school building.

New York.—Whenever a district contracts with another district for the education of the pupils residing in said district or whenever pupils reside remote from the schoolhouse the inhabitant voters of said district may authorize transportation of such pupils.

The commissioner of education has power in any central district to require said district to furnish transportation to pupils as in his judgment require it.

North Carolina.—Upon the consolidation of two or more school districts into one by the county board of education the said board is empowered to make provisions for the trans-

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portation of pupils in the consolidated district who reside too far from the schoolhouse to attend without transportation.

North Dakota.—If child resides 2 miles from school the board of education, except in consolidated schools, may pay the family whose child or children attend school a sum per day in proportion to the distance from school ranging from 5 cents per day for those living $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles from school to 50 cents per day to those living $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 miles from school and 5 cents per $\frac{1}{4}$ mile per day beyond 6 miles. Provided, the board at its option may (1) furnish vehicular transportation by public conveyance to such family or (2) furnish such family the equivalent of such payment in lodging or tuition at some other public school if acceptable to the family.

Ohio.—Pupils attending a high school maintained in a centralized rural-school district are entitled to transportation. The board of education of any other district may provide transportation to a high school within or without the school district when deemed advisable by the county board of education.

Oklahoma.—Transportation may be provided in ungraded districts if so voted by 60 per cent of voters present at the meeting.

In consolidated districts the board may provide transportation to pupils residing 2 or more miles from school.

Oregon.—School board may provide transportation to pupils residing more than 1 mile from school in the local district when authorized by a majority vote of the legal voters of said district.

District school boards of the first and second classes may provide transportation for pupils when deemed advisable by the board.

A district board may, instead of providing transportation, furnish board and lodging for any pupil when, in the judgment of the board, it may be done at equal or less expense.

Pennsylvania.—Board of school directors in any district may, out of funds of the district, provide free transportation of pupils to and from school.

Rhode Island.—School committee shall provide suitable transportation to and from schools for pupils who reside so

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far from any public school as to make their regular attendance impracticable.

South Carolina.—The county board of education of each county shall designate official routes for the transportation of pupils to and from the public schools to be approved by the State department of education.

There shall be paid for transportation out of the State funds appropriated for the 6-0-1 school law the sum of \$350,000 to the appropriation to the counties of the State on the basis of per pupil per mile of transportation on official routes.

South Dakota.—The board of education of a consolidated school district is authorized to provide transportation of pupils and it shall be the duty of the board to provide and maintain means of transportation for all pupils living more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the school.

Tennessee.—The county board provides transportation for pupils who reside too far from the school to attend without such transportation and when the number of pupils justify and the same is paid for out of the public high-school funds for the transportation of pupils.

Texas.—Trustees of any district may make provision for the transportation of pupils.

Utah.—The minimum uniform educational program outlined provides for the transportation to and from school of all pupils living more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from school.

Vermont.—A school district may provide transportation for its pupils attending high-school grades.

Virginia.—The school board shall provide transportation of pupils whenever such procedure will contribute to the efficiency of the school system.

Washington.—The board of directors is authorized to furnish transportation to pupils.

West Virginia.—The board of education has authority to provide at public expense for the transportation of pupils to and from school.

Wisconsin.—The school-district meeting may authorize the board to provide transportation for all children of school age residing in the district.

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When in the judgment of the board and the parents it is to the advantage of the district and the child, the board may provide board and lodging in lieu of transportation and pay not exceeding \$2 per week for same. The district is reimbursed \$1 per week for child so boarded.

Wyoming.—District boards are authorized to provide transportation to pupils.

Dormitories.—In areas sparsely settled some school districts maintain dormitories for high-school pupils who reside great distances from school. In response to a request for information on this matter authorities in only 11 States reported that school boards operate dormitories. Mississippi reported 46 dormitories and Montana, 19. Other States reported much smaller numbers. In all, 89 dormitories were reported in connection with public secondary schools. They are to be found chiefly in the States in which county high schools hold sway.

Although dormitories for high-school pupils are not maintained in many communities, nonresident pupils in considerable numbers arrange for board and room in town during the school months. Data for 68 high schools in Minnesota show that 17 per-cent of the nonresident pupils secured board and room in town during the greater part of the school year. In Wisconsin 8 per cent of the nonresident pupils in 49 high schools reported that they resided in town during most of the school year. Facts gathered for 26 high schools selected at random in North Dakota indicate that 13 per cent of the 5,193 pupils enrolled in these schools arranged for board and room in the towns where they were attending school.

The dormitory provided in connection with secondary schools is not a new practice. The academy of the earlier days in many instances operated dormitories as part of the school plant. At the present time agricultural high schools, operated in conjunction with the State universities, and those maintained through State support in Minnesota and New York operate dormitories. If one considers the country as a whole, the use of the dormitory as a means of making secondary schools more readily accessible will probably not be greatly extended except in a few States with sparsely settled populations.

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5. COMBINING DISTRICTS TO MAINTAIN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Establishment of "unions" and "joint" school districts.—

Another means of increasing the availability of secondary schools is the "union" or "joint" district. Districts maintaining elementary schools only have been encouraged to join with neighboring school districts in the support of high schools. In several States legal authority has been granted for taking the necessary steps. The board of control is made up of all the members of the school boards involved, a number of persons are selected from among the members to comprise a new high-school board, or members of the new board are elected without regard to their membership in elementary-school boards. The school districts creating the union do not lose their identity. The new boards of the union or joint union high schools have all the corporate powers granted the regular school districts. In practice the union high school is operated independently of the elementary schools in the districts united for high-school purposes.

Although encouragement has been given in some States to bring together several districts to create a high school, particularly to avoid the establishment of additional small high schools, the outcome has not always been satisfactory. In the process of union the districts associated are not dissolved or divested of their basic powers and hence they are merged for high-school purposes only. Occasions have arisen when some minor disagreement has led the people to demand a dissolution of the arrangement and the union high school is then abandoned. There are instances in which the boards of education of underlying elementary-school districts and the board of the union high-school district select the same person as the superintendent. Sometimes in these situations conditions unfavorable to efficient administration have been reported.

Consolidation.—As cities expand their borders small towns and farm areas are engulfed and the schools of the new area become a part of the city school system. In the past, due to poor planning, the process involved much loss, since buildings in the old district near the boundaries were not designed for use by the city into which the district was drawn. City-district planning is now anticipating this

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problem and in most large cities building programs are set up in such a manner as will economically meet building demands as the city expands.

Educational leadership a few decades ago saw in consolidation the solution of the educational problems in the small town and in the open country. Consolidation in States with the county system meant the reduction of the number of schools in the county. Consolidation in States that operated under the small corporate district plan is expected to result in reduction in the number of school corporations. In most sections of the country, consolidation has been slow. In many instances, the failure has been due to too great an enthusiasm and too little knowledge of the economic and social elements involved. The consolidation of school districts in general has made little progress, largely because the initial efforts were concentrated on the reduction of the number of schools as soon as consolidations were effected. In other words, consolidation in the past involved too great a capital expenditure for the school plant and hence excessive increases in tax burden on farm lands.

Some of the most satisfactory consolidations have been those that have occurred in the county school districts in which, over a period of years, large school units have been established throughout the area under the jurisdiction of a county-board of education. These consolidations have resulted in reducing the number of small schools and have enlarged the attendance districts throughout the county, even though no reduction in the number of corporate school systems has resulted. In the main these consolidations have not so generally affected the number of high schools in operation as they have the number of elementary schools.

A movement closely allied to the practice of consolidation that has made some headway is the plan of contracting for the education of the elementary-school pupils. Under this plan small school districts, without losing their corporate identity, arrange with the neighboring larger district to provide the elementary schooling for their children. The result of this plan is virtually a consolidation which operates to build a better articulated school system. Since the arrangements are made yearly under contract, the larger

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school is forced to supply a schooling satisfactory to the patrons from the small districts, otherwise the contract is not renewed for the following year. On the other hand, the school board rendering the services must be prepared constantly to take account of the whims of a fickle public.

The principles underlying consolidation, but applied in a more scientific way, are now being used in the plans of several States to increase the size of the corporate school districts. These will be discussed in a later section of this report.

The economic and social changes that have taken place during the past several decades have reduced the population of many of the small towns and villages. Improved highways provide conditions that permit the transportation of children with safety and comfort over considerable distances in a shorter time than that required to walk to the village school. In the Northern States the improved highways are open during the most severe winter weather. These changes are without doubt a challenge to the present practices that tolerate so many small secondary schools. Careful study of the issues and a well-executed program of public enlightenment in relation to them should result in the creation of a larger school-district unit of support and administration. If a larger administrative unit can be created within the States, the consolidation within each unit can be progressively carried on under trained leadership.

CHAPTER III : SPECIAL PROVISIONS FOR SECONDARY EDUCATION

1. THE COUNTY HIGH SCHOOL

Scope of the chapter.—The foregoing chapter dealt largely with the development of opportunities for secondary education within local school districts. The present chapter has two main purposes. The first of these is to depict the additional provisions for secondary education which have been made in the different States, presumably to increase the availability of and improve education at this level. This is quite logically followed by an effort to give a generalized picture of the development throughout the country by considering the accessibility of secondary schools and endeavoring to group the different types of district provisions for secondary education.

The county high-school plan.—Without making a corporate school district of the county, several States have created a county board of education and have granted it the corporate authority to establish at least one county high school. For example, in Montana there are 20 such schools. In Tennessee where more than one may be established in a county, there are 621 white and 49 colored county high schools. These schools are independent of other school systems of the county and are supported by a county-wide tax. This type of county high school must be differentiated in one's thinking from the high schools that operate in States in which the county is the corporate school division. The latter type of high school is also in a sense a county school, but each is associated with and is an administrative unit within a complete county school system.

The independent county high school superimposed on the elementary-school districts and located at the county seat has rendered valuable educational services in those areas in which the population is small and scattered. Originally, as was the case in Montana, the county high schools were conceived to meet such a situation. As the population in-

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creased and as the villages grew in size, the demand for high schools in other section of these counties became pressing. When other schools were thus established, political and community strife often arose and the larger towns had the advantage and determined the school policies.

County high schools in Tennessee.—The plan through which county high schools may be established in Tennessee is as follows:

In each county there is a county board of education composed of 7 members selected by the county court for a term of 7 years. The law specifically excludes those counties, 12 in number according to Taylor¹, in which the county superintendents are chosen by popular vote and, in addition, Knox and Shelby Counties. The county board of education has authority to control and manage all county public schools previously established or that may thereafter be established.

The county superintendent is chosen biennially by the county court, is ex-officio secretary of the county board of education, and acts for the board in seeing that the school laws are executed. However, about a third of the county superintendents are chosen by the people by popular vote.

The lines of authority may be shown somewhat as follows: At least one 4-year county high school must be established and maintained in every county of the State. The county board of education, however, has the authority to establish one or more additional high schools if it desires, provided that the school funds are sufficient, that no 2-year school be established with fewer than 10 high-school pupils, and that no additional 4-year school with fewer than 30 high-school pupils is operated.

Certain cities and incorporated towns operate systems of public schools independently of county control under the provisions of their charters which were granted by the legislature in past years.

Under certain restrictions, as was reported in Chapter I, the county boards of education have the power to make contracts with the proper authorities of private schools, or with city boards of education whereby the county high school may be conducted in the private or city schools. Eleven

¹ Taylor, J. C., A Study of Tennessee County Boards of Education, George Peabody College, Masters thesis, 1929, p. 8.

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of the counties have entered into contracts with city school systems for furnishing school facilities to a portion of the county children outside the city districts. One county contracts with a private school. The amount of the consideration involved is agreed upon by the contracting parties.

It is possible for counties to maintain a school jointly; this is done at Whitehouse in Sumner County with Robinson County cooperating. At present these counties operate a joint high school which is located just inside the Sumner County line. The elementary school has been built jointly by the two counties. However, Sumner County voted the greater portion of the necessary funds for its construction. The deed to the high school is made jointly to both boards. Both county boards meet jointly in the employment of the high-school principal; both boards contract separately with each teacher employed and state the amount of salary to be paid by each board; and both contribute to the support of the high school located at Whitehouse.

At Columbia, Tenn., in Maury County, is an example of a county system contracting with the city schools for providing educational facilities to county high-school pupils. The city has its own board of nine members chosen by the city council and is entirely independent of county control. The arrangement agreed to by the county of Maury and the city of Columbia is as follows:

- (1) The city furnishes and maintains the plant and pays each month a sum of \$500 toward teachers' salaries.
- (2) Maury County pays \$1,860 each month toward teachers' salaries.
- (3) Each board contracts separately with teachers agreed on by the two boards as teachers are employed. Each board issues a warrant for its share of each teacher's salary. For example, Mr. A. receives from the county, \$167.72 per month and from the city, \$12.28 per month, making a total of \$180 per month.
- (4) Transportation is a matter of county concern because only county pupils need transportation. The total amount spent each year for the transportation of high-school pupils is about \$3,200 but, as there are four 4-year high schools and seven 2-year high schools in the county, there is no way of determining from the available data the amount spent for transporting high-school pupils to the Columbia Central High School.

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P. L. Harned, Commissioner of Education of Tennessee, makes the following comment in regard to the establishment of county high schools in that State.

Each county board of education should make a careful survey of the county in regard to its high-school needs and, consequently, work out a definite program to be followed in the administration of these schools. : : : Such a policy will destroy the present plan followed by many Boards of playing one community against another, or of one board member trading with another to secure the establishment of a new high school.²

The law provides that the superintendent of the elementary schools in the town or city in which the county high school is located can be selected as the principal of the high school as well. The superintendent thus becomes responsible to two separate and independent school boards. One need not point out the difficulties that are likely to arise under such an arrangement. To carry on a program planned to improve the relationships in the elementary schools and the high school in situations of this kind a high order of cooperation is necessary among school boards and school officials who have little or no responsibility to one another. In counties in which this type of organization exists the reorganization of the units of administration is impossible even though it be admitted that the junior high school or a 6-year high school may serve better than the conventional organization the educational needs of youth.

County agricultural high schools.—Legislation was enacted in 1908 in Mississippi that made it lawful for each county board of education to establish a county-wide agricultural high school. In 1910 the county boards were authorized to provide a similar school for colored youth. These schools share in State appropriations if they comply with certain regulations fixing the amount of land, the kind of dormitory, the number of boarding students, and certain educational standards. At the present time (1931) there are 48 such schools. No school has been organized since 1919. In understanding the plan of these schools, it is well to remember that Mississippi is dominantly a local-district and not a county-unit State.

² Annual Report, State Department of Education, Nashville, Tenn., 1929-30, p. 20.

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TABLE 3.—*Enrollment and number of graduates in Mississippi county agricultural high schools*¹

Year ending	Enrollment	Number of graduates
1925.....	7,247	1,438
1926.....	7,656	1,473
1927.....	7,617	1,438
1928.....	² 8,342	1,280
1929.....	³ 7,023	1,308

¹ Biennial Report and Recommendations of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Mississippi, 1927-1929, p. 23.

² Larger schools organized junior colleges and dropped grades 9 and 10.

³ Increase due to number of schools serving increasingly as central high schools.

It appears that some of the larger of these specialized county high schools are developing into junior colleges and are omitting the work of the ninth and tenth years. On the other hand some of the schools are fitting into a program of reorganization of secondary schools and are extending their offerings and thus becoming central high schools comprehensive in character.³

One feature of the plan provides that two or more counties may unite to establish a joint county agricultural high school. In case two or more counties cooperate, the board of trustees is made up of six persons from each county and the county superintendents. These members are selected by the county board of supervisors and the county board of education. These schools are thus removed from the direct control of the people.

It is also possible for counties in Mississippi to establish junior colleges in connection with these agricultural high schools in accordance with the requirements set forth by the zoning committee of the State junior college commission. The commission hopes to limit the number of tax-supported junior colleges to about 12, and has divided the State into districts, stating in effect that it will recognize no others.

An example of a situation in which this plan was carried out is the agricultural high school and junior college maintained jointly by Humphreys and Sunflower Counties. The county agricultural high school at Moorhead, which is in Sunflower County, was established in 1911 under the law of 1910 which first permitted the establishment of these schools. This

³ Biennial Report and Recommendations, State Superintendent of Public Education Mississippi, 1927-1929, p. 29.

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high school now operates grades 10, 11, and 12. All ninth-grade pupils are taught in the high school, with its corps of instructors and as a regular part of its pupil body, but classes are maintained at the pro rata cost per pupil by the Moorhead consolidated school or by other consolidated schools which may elect to send their ninth-grade pupils to the agricultural high school. During 1930 the Moorhead consolidated school paid \$90 per pupil for ninth-grade pupils attending the agricultural high school. The total enrollment for the year ending in 1931 was 217, and the numbers in each grade were: Ninth, 58; tenth, 47; eleventh, 48; and twelfth, 64. The enrollment included also 94 college freshmen and 40 college sophomores.

The agricultural high school and junior college are joint schools, in support of which Humphreys County cooperates with Sunflower County. The funds derived from the co-operating counties amount to about \$120 for each high-school pupil and about \$180 for each junior-college student in attendance. (The law seemingly makes no provision as to the amount of support from each county, and determination of this is left either in the hands of the county boards which enter into the agreement to establish such schools or in the hands of the boards of trustees which govern the schools.)

Moorhead, the location of the school, lies in the heart of the Mississippi Delta country. Agriculture is almost the sole occupation of the residents of the section. The State law providing for these schools specifies that all boys must take agriculture and all girls home economics. Moorhead is a typical Delta town of about 1,500 inhabitants. On the campus at present are eight buildings valued at approximately \$350,000. These consist of the old high-school building, two dormitories together housing about 160 pupils, a shop, a gymnasium, a barn, a poultry house, and a new junior college building. A contract was let in 1931 for the construction of a new dormitory building, including a hospital unit.

Transportation is furnished to about 40 high-school and 20 junior-college students. Transportation, however, is entirely in the hands of the county superintendent and the individual school has nothing to do with it.

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The school receives support from the following sources:

- (1) For pupils in grades 10, 11, and 12, about \$8,000 in State aid, not counting aid for vocational work.
- (2) For pupils of the ninth grade from consolidated schools, about \$2,000.
- (3) For pupils coming from cooperating counties, about \$180 per student in attendance in college and about \$120 per pupil in attendance in the agricultural high school.
- (4) Other counties with pupils in attendance pay on a tuition basis of about \$50 per pupil.
- (5) From State aid, about \$9,000 for junior-college students in attendance. This aid is distributed at the rate of about \$70 per student and is in addition to a flat sum to all junior colleges. In 1930 the legislature appropriated \$475,000 for the support of junior colleges. Of this amount one-half was divided equally among the junior colleges and the remainder was distributed in proportion to average daily attendance of junior colleges.⁴
- (6) Sunflower County raises the remainder of the budget (approximately \$50,000) on a county tax of about 1.5 mills.

These county agricultural schools are undergoing some change. The extent to which an institution of the kind conceived by those who fostered it in 1908 meets the educational needs of the counties in a practical way can not be determined by the data available.

Although the independent county high school met an unquestioned need during the development of the State school systems in certain areas, conditions have changed and some question has been raised as to whether this type of school should and will increase in numbers. Among students of the problem are some who believe that experience points toward the desirability of amalgamating all the schools in a county or in some other larger area into one system with one controlling board of education. The advisability seems most apparent for counties that have already established the county high school and have a small and widely scattered population.

2. THE SEPARATE HIGH-SCHOOL DISTRICT

The States and areas with separate high-school districts.—The development in a few States has emphasized the separate or independent high-school district. In some part this

⁴ General Laws of Mississippi, 1931, p. 408.

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development overlaps on unionization and consolidation described in the final section of the chapter immediately preceding.

In California, Illinois, and to a lesser degree in Wisconsin, separate and independent high-school districts have been superimposed on the elementary-school districts of the State. In the larger centers of population complete systems of schools are in operation. The separate independent township or community high school, or the union high-school district operate largely in the suburban areas, in the smaller towns, and in the open country. Because the problems in California and Illinois are considered in Parts II and III, respectively, of this monograph they will be given no further attention at this point.

The Schools of Hartford, Conn.—The student of education concerned with the organization of districts must not overlook the fact that an interesting history of consolidation could be written for each of the older cities in the country. The process of bringing together the schools within city limits into one coordinated system under the control of one board of education was in many cases accomplished only after a struggle of a number of years.

If data available are accurate, Hartford is the one remaining city in which the high-school district of the city is superimposed on a number of independent elementary-school districts. Within the corporate limits of this city are 9 separate elementary-school districts and 1 all-embracing high-school district. The organization of these separate elementary-school districts dates back to the early history of the town when, in 1761, 2 separate elementary-school districts were authorized by the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut¹ to take the place of the elementary district first organized in 1643.

The town was located on two sides of the "Little River." This made it "impracticable," so the report reads, "to set up schools or schoolhouses in either of the said societies, so as to accommodate the particular members of either respectively." As a result there were established two distinct districts for the purpose of erecting, keeping, and "main-

¹ Annual Report of the Board of School Visitors of the Town of Hartford, 1899, pp. 55-56.

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taining parish schools in the same." Nine years later, in 1770, the north district was divided into two districts, one of which kept the name of North District, the other taking the name of First or Middle School District which was later changed to Brown. This process of creating new elementary districts by subdividing the old districts and by extending the boundaries of the town of Hartford continued until 10 elementary-school districts were established. One of the 10 has since been absorbed by the Northwest district leaving at the present time 9 independent elementary-school districts.

These unit districts are irregular in shape and vary in size, in numbers of children enrolled, and in taxable wealth. Each district chooses a committee of three members annually for the elementary-school district. The schools are supported by a district tax which is augmented by a city-wide tax for the purposes of equalization and by State aid distributed to all elementary schools.

Each district committee selects a district superintendent. Each superintendent is in charge of from 1 to 7 schools. The number of elementary schools maintained by each district is at present as follows: Brown, 1; South, 7; Barnard, 2; Arsenal, 1; Washington, 2; West Middle, 2; Southwest, 2; Northeast, 3; and Northwest, 3. Each school district is in fact a separate system for elementary-school purposes.

The high schools in Hartford are under a city board of education chosen by the voters of the whole city. This board is composed of 9 members, 6 of whom are chosen in one even-numbered year and 3 the next even-numbered year. This board chooses a superintendent of schools for the city as a whole. In general the city board has but little control over elementary schools. Articulation is provided in the following ways:

- (1) Control by city board of education of the course of study taught in elementary schools.
- (2) Determination of the school calendar.
- (3) Textbook selection by the city board.
- (4) The principals' club, which is a voluntary organization composed of the superintendent, the 3 high school principals, and the 9 district superintendents, meets once a month or on call to discuss problems affecting the management of the schools.

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- (5) The city board has charge of and employs all teachers of manual arts, sewing, and cooking, but the elementary-school districts pay their salaries.
- (6) The city board employs an attendance officer who serves for both the high-school district and all elementary-school districts except South which employs its own attendance officer.

Local vocational boards of education.—Although not to be thought of as strictly separate high-school districts, the provision for vocational education under separate local boards is somewhat germane to the present problem and may therefore be mentioned here. When the vocational secondary schools and departments were being inaugurated as parts of the public schools, two States, Massachusetts and Wisconsin, created separate State boards of vocational education. Vocational education in the local schools was to be controlled through these special State boards. Laws were passed creating separate and distinct local vocational boards of education with corporate powers independent of the existing local school boards, assigned in law the responsibility for the public schools. As a result the same city would select two boards of education, each operating under law and exercising corporate authority in reference to the particular schools in their jurisdiction. Wisconsin now alone operates such a plan.

3. STATE-SUPPORTED SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Types of State-supported secondary schools.—During the early period of secondary-school development several States found it advantageous to encourage communities to establish high schools by granting special aid to each community operating a satisfactory school. Although the amounts granted were small,⁶ it was of material help to the small towns operating such schools. As the methods of allocating State funds appropriated for local school support have been modernized, the special aid to high schools has moved toward elimination. The most frequent exception to the rule is the case in which State and Federal funds are granted for agriculture, home economics, and industrial education.

⁶ The amount granted in Pennsylvania to each high school was \$400 a year. The practice was abolished in 1921.

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In some States it is possible to find districts maintaining high schools that receive State funds in the form of tuition payments and other aids amounting to approximately 85 per cent of the total current costs of the school. The rural community vocational high schools in Pennsylvania are a case in point. These schools meet certain special requirements imposed by the State department of education in reference to vocational education and hence are able to apply vocational funds toward the payment of salaries. The result is that a large proportion of the school revenue comes from the State. The schools remain, however, under local administrative control.

The State-supported teacher-training institutions throughout the country maintain secondary schools for experimental and practice-teaching purposes. These schools are operated in connection with State universities and colleges as well as by State teachers colleges and normal schools. Some of these schools are largely State supported, while others divide the burden of cost between the State and the income from tuition and fees. In some cases the State has gone so far as to take over completely the public schools of the communities in which the teachers colleges are operated. The buildings are provided by the State and the high school is maintained cooperatively by a division of the costs between the community and the State.

Agricultural schools at the secondary level are also maintained in many land-grant colleges and universities. These schools may be maintained at the university center or through branch schools located in various sections of the State. In other cases the work is carried on in extension classes. This work is not the same as that carried on through the regular extension division of the State universities. Minnesota operates four such schools, one in St. Paul and three located in smaller cities. New York State operates several agricultural schools.

State secondary schools in Georgia.—The situation in the State of Georgia is an exceptional illustration of the development of secondary schools in connection with the State university. In 1906, the general assembly passed an act providing for the establishment of a State school of agri-

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culture and mechanical arts in each of the 11 congressional districts. These schools were originally branches of the State College of Agriculture of the University of Georgia and the university board of trustees was authorized to exercise such supervision as it believed necessary to securing unity of plan and efficiency in them.

One of the original motives in the establishment of the schools was to place at least one secondary school within reach of the boys and girls in each congressional district. However, the schools have in the main proved to be chiefly local institutions. At present only 5 remain as agricultural high schools. The other 6 have become either 2 or 4 year colleges, and there is much agitation for the abolishment by legislative action of the 5 remaining schools.

The agricultural schools are State institutions for secondary education and as such receive direct appropriations from the general assembly for their support. The nature and extent of this support are shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4.—Sources and amounts of revenue of State schools of agriculture and mechanical arts in Georgia¹

District	United States vocational agriculture	State appropriations	Fees	Room, board, etc.	Miscellaneous	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.....	\$2,455	\$13,128	\$2,578	\$9,954	\$11,653	\$39,768
7.....	1,920	16,272	4,320	18,769	10,203	51,484
8.....	6,022	17,378	416	11,348	4,649	39,813
9.....	1,800	19,828	1,338	7,235	6,292	36,493
10.....	1,665	19,378	473	3,660	972	26,148

¹ Biennial Report, Commission of Education, 1921-30.

Certain illustrative data are at hand concerning one of these schools, the Seventh District Agricultural and Mechanical School. This school is located at Powder Springs about 25 miles northwest of Atlanta. It has an enrollment of 240 pupils, of whom 186 are housed in dormitories. The out-of-town pupils come from 10 States and from 34 counties of Georgia. The staff is composed of a principal and 15 teachers.

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The board of education for this school is composed of 17 members, 1 appointed by the governor from each county in the congressional district for a term of five years. The board has general charge of the schools and the administrative details are left largely to the principal. He makes the budget and is invited by the appropriations committee of the general assembly to appear before it when school appropriations are under consideration. In this way each school is compelled to fight political battles each year, not only for its current support but frequently also for its very existence.

State agricultural high schools in Alabama.—In the State of Alabama the general administration and supervision of public schools is vested in the county boards of education. The cities having a population of 2,500 or more operate under their own school boards. City boards and county boards may cooperate in the use of the city high school for the county pupils. County boards of education may establish high schools or special high-school districts may be created and may vote local taxes for the support of high schools. In addition to the secondary schools that have been developed through this type of control, agricultural high schools have also been established, maintained, and operated by the State. In 1931 there were the following numbers of high schools of each type in the State: City high schools, 28; county high schools, 67; rural high schools, 182; State agricultural high schools, 11; and private secondary schools, 30. This was a total of 328 secondary schools in the State.

The State agricultural high schools in Alabama were originally established as branch agricultural experiment stations. In 1885, the trustees of the Agricultural and Mechanical College were granted the legislative authority to establish and maintain an agricultural experiment station and a branch experiment station at Uniontown in Perry County. In 1903, the law was changed to provide for the establishment of 1 agricultural school and experimental station in each of the 9 congressional districts. These were placed under the control of the governor, the State superintendent, the commissioner of agriculture, and two qualified electors of each district. These schools were supported by State appropriation out of the agricultural fund.⁷

⁷ Alabama School Law, 1907, pp. 234-241.

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In 1919, the designations of these 9 branch agricultural schools and experiment stations were changed to State secondary agricultural schools with the provision that the "State shall appropriate \$7,500 annually for their support."⁸ Since the date of their change in name 2 more schools have been established, making a total of 11 such institutions with an enrollment of approximately 2,500 pupils. (Table 5.)

TABLE 5.—Enrollments in the Alabama State secondary schools, 1929-30

School	Enrollment			
	Local ¹	Nonresident ²	Out of county	Total
1	2	3	4	5
Abbeville.....	111	37	3	151
Albertville.....	338	80	5	423
Athens.....	58	65	—	123
Blountsville.....	99	114	27	240
Cuba.....	60	29	7	96
Evergreen.....	129	72	—	201
Hamilton.....	149	100	—	249
Jackson.....	67	48	5	120
Lineville.....	145	184	6	335
Sylacauga.....	159	76	11	246
Wetumpka.....	138	104	3	245
Total.....	1,451	909	67	2,427

¹ Local pupils are those living within 3 miles of school.

² Nonresident pupils are those living 3 or more miles from school.

An attempt was made a few years ago to delegate the administration of these State agricultural high schools to the county boards of education in the counties in which they were located. This bill failed of passage because local opinion suspected that the next step would be the withdrawal of the \$7,500 of State aid if the names of the schools were changed and the control were made local.

The agitation for abolishing the schools as State institutions comes from the fact that the schools are, as may be seen in Table 5, virtually nothing more than county schools in the area served. One of the original intentions in the establishment of these schools was to bring educational facilities within reasonable reach of boys and girls in each congressional district. However, the establishment of nu-

⁸ Alabama School Law, 1919, p. 705.

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merous rural, city, and county high schools has made it possible for many pupils to obtain high-school education without going the greater distance to an agricultural high school.

State vocational schools in Connecticut.—All States in the Union have carried out in practice the principle that, if adequately qualified teachers are to be assured the public schools, the State must plan for the education of persons interested in the teaching profession. The State of Connecticut has extended this principle and has held that the State must protect its industrial welfare and therefore must see that proper schools are provided to train skilled craftsmen and artisans.⁹ The argument supporting this principle is not so very different from that which has justified the State maintenance of agricultural high schools.

The State Legislature of Connecticut of 1909 under chapter 85 of the Public Acts authorized the State board of education to establish free, public day, part-time, and evening schools for instruction in the arts and practices of trades and vocations, and provided funds for the support of such schools. The present statute reads as follows:

The State board of education may establish, in towns best adapted for the purpose, public day and continuation schools, part-time schools, and evening schools for instruction in the arts and practices of trades and vocations and may maintain any such school already established. Said board may appoint and remove teachers and make rules for the management of and expend funds provided for the support of such schools . . . any town in which a school shall have been established or is to be established, under the provisions hereof, may appropriate such sums for maintenance or improvement or construction of such school and for leasing buildings as it may determine.¹⁰

The total estimated expenses annually chargeable to the State on account of all schools approved by the State board of education under the provisions of section 865 shall not exceed \$355,000 for the fiscal years for which such estimates shall have been made.¹¹

The State board of education has established 11 of these trade schools at the following locations: Willimantic, Hartford, Meriden, Middletown, New Britain, Torrington, Bridgeport, Stamford, Putnam, Danbury, and South Manchester.

⁹ Meredith, A. S., *Vocational Education in an Industrial State*, Published in *The Changing Educational World*, Minnesota University Press, Minneapolis, 1930, p. 121.

¹⁰ General Statutes of Connecticut, sec. 865, pp. 300-301.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, sec. 865.

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The New Britain State Trade School may be used to illustrate the type. It was established in 1910 and has developed from a 1-story factory building to a well-equipped 3-story building now housing about 650 pupils. As in the case of all trade schools in the State, the New Britain school is furnished with a building, heat, light, and power by the city in which the school is situated. The State defrays all expenses for salaries, materials, supplies, and the like. The city of New Britain pays approximately one-fourth and the State three-fourths of the total operating cost of the trade school. Tuition is free to all residents of the State and the only cost to pupils is the price of a few personal tools used in the trade selected.

The employment of teaching personnel, the determination of the course of study, the financial support of the schools, and their general control and supervision rest with the State board of education.

The New Britain Senior High School and the State Trade School cooperate closely with each other. Although the two schools are housed separately, the buildings are located on the same block. The curriculums are so arranged that regular high-school pupils may take courses in the trade school toward their high-school diplomas. All industrial work is carried on in the trade-school shop.

Other provision for secondary education on State bases.—Each of several of the Eastern States maintains a nautical school qualifying young men for the merchant marine. These schools are in part of secondary grade. They are controlled directly through the State departments of education. One may likewise find secondary school work carried on in the State institutions maintained for the handicapped, such as the schools for the deaf and the blind. Many of these State institutions are not under the control of the State departments of education. For those attending who are qualified to do secondary work arrangements may be provided in the institution in some cases, while in other cases the pupils are sent to local high schools. Some very interesting problems have arisen in this group concerning the determination of residence and in determining who shall be responsible for the payment of the tuition of these handicapped young people.

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4. PRIVATE SUPPORT OF PUBLIC SECONDARY EDUCATION

The small school district which constituted the unit of school administration in the early part of the nineteenth century unquestionably retarded the development of free public secondary schools. The academy was able to serve a wide range of interests and hence was under the circumstances supported everywhere and became for that period the accepted school of secondary grade—the people's college. In time most of these schools were destroyed in competition with the public schools. Others persisted and to-day remain as well-organized, prosperous, private schools. Some of these, particularly in Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, and in certain Southern States, still retain some contact with the localities in which they exist. Others draw their pupils from wide areas.

A number of the old academies in New England and New York were taken over by the local community to serve as high schools.¹² Many of these schools continue their influence in the sections of the State which they serve. Private gifts in the nature of scholarship funds and libraries and various other donations are monuments to the loyalty which these schools engendered among their alumni and friends in the areas served. Other academies completely lost their identity as they became local high schools.

Franklin Academy, of the town of Malone, N. Y., is an interesting and outstanding example of a private academy which was taken over by a town to become a public high school. It is the sole remaining school of the type in New York State that retains its special charter as granted by the legislature.

In the session of 1867 the New York State Legislature by special enactment created the board of education for the school system in Malone, Franklin County, N. Y. The board consists of 10 members, 5 of whom are elected by the trustees of Franklin Academy, a self-perpetuating body of 20 members. This board of trustees has continued in existence since 1831.

¹² The following high schools in New York State still bear the names borne while they were private institutions: Delaware Literary Institute and High School, Franklin; Franklin Academy, Malone; Leavenworth Institute and Wolcott High School, Wolcott; Middleburg Academy, Wyoming; Mynderse Academy, Seneca Falls.

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The evolution of the unique board of control was associated with the following history of the school:

Soon after the first settlers had erected their crude log cabins, attention was given to the matter of education, with the result that an academy was built in 1806 upon land given by the proprietor of the township, and now occupied as the site of the present high school. The pioneers struggled along the best they could, with an ever-increasing ambition to have an academy properly chartered by the State. This required an endowment, which seemed insurmountable for years, until finally in 1831, after 74 men had mortgaged their farms or homes to raise the necessary amount required, the Regents of the University of the State of New York approved the incorporation of the trustees of Franklin Academy. The school site, which had been held by the judges of the Court of Common Pleas of Franklin County pending the incorporation of an academy, was duly conveyed to the new corporation, and the title is held by that body to-day. Franklin Academy, as other like institutions of the period, was administered separately from the common-school system, which had gradually developed in the meantime. In 1858 four school districts, covering the village of Malone and the adjoining territory, were consolidated by an act of the legislature under the new name of the Village School District of the Town of Malone.

The act provided for five trustees to be elected by the legal voters of the consolidated district, and authorized them to make arrangements with the trustees of Franklin Academy for instruction of the scholars in the district "on such terms and conditions as shall be deemed expedient."

Evidently this arrangement did not prove satisfactory or advantageous and in 1867 the legislature established a board of education for the village school district as above mentioned, giving to the new board the care, management, and control of all of the schools in said district, including Franklin Academy. This act provided that "nothing in this act shall be held in any wise to affect or impair the separate corporate existence of said academy or any rights or privileges appertaining to it as corporation, except as herein expressly provided," and also that said board should have all of the powers conferred on boards of education in school districts of the same type by the general education law of the State.

The trustees of Franklin Academy, commonly referred to as the academic board, continue to function in the following respects: It holds the title to the 4 acres of land on which there has been an academy building since 1806, at first a 2-story wooden structure, built of timbers hewn on the spot, and now a modern high-school building erected in 1930 at a cost of \$600,000. It also holds and administers several scholarship funds, the donors of which considered that body best suited for the purpose. Its only other, but most important, function is

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to elect each year one of its own members to the board of education for a term of 5 years.

Great care is taken in the selection of new members of the academic board in case of death or resignation, and in general only those men are selected who would be competent to serve on the board of education.

However undemocratic this system may be in principle, since the voters may elect but one-half of the membership of the board of education, the fact that differences in religion or politics have never had any influence in the selection of the members of the board or in the management of the schools, due in a large part to the balance between the academic board on the one part and the voters on the other, justifies the continuance of the plan.

Through gifts from alumni of this school a number of scholarships are made available; a field house and athletic field have been built, and a beautiful public library operated under the direct control of the board of education is in the process of construction.¹³

It is easy to understand the step which has led to large gifts to many public-school systems from citizens of the town or city, when one recalls the relationship that existed between the old academies and the public. The history of many school systems is replete with illustrations of the devotion to public education that prevails among those who have achieved wealth and prominence. A large proportion of these gifts are made toward the support of high schools and are presented to provide special services or plant facilities such as the following: Sites for buildings, athletic fields, libraries, stadiums, scholarship funds, gymnasiums and equipment, buildings and equipment, stages and equipment, auditoriums, funds for general school use, private property donated for school use, museums and art galleries, and cooperative support for maintaining vocational schools.¹⁴

Some outstanding examples of liberal gifts to public secondary education that include attractive buildings, grounds, and equipment are those of Chazey, N. Y.; Naugatuck, Conn.; and Winston-Salem, N. C.

I. PUBLIC JUNIOR COLLEGES

A type of school development that has in recent years added to the complications of school-district problems is the junior college. Intensive research would no doubt reveal

¹³ Data supplied by A. E. McClary, member of the board of education, Malona, N. Y., October, 1930.

¹⁴ Engelhardt, N. L. Private Contributions to Public Education in Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania School Journal, 80 : 81, October, 1931.

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the fact that high schools in various sections of the country have for many years past, without designating the provisions as junior-college work, been offering to a select body of students nonaccredited postgraduate courses of junior-college grade. It would be interesting to know the extent to which these courses were accepted by the colleges and the degree to which such practices were violations of the secondary-school law of the States concerned. The first State specifically authorizing such offerings was California.

In 1907, the State legislature permitted high schools to offer postgraduate courses and to collect tuition fees for the advanced service.¹⁵ Other States have followed with analogous provisions in the law, but junior-college work is being given in the public schools of a number of States without specific authorization. Only recently has a supreme court (North Carolina) admitted the power of local boards to establish junior-college work without specific legislative authorization.

In 1931, there were 136 junior colleges operated in 17 States in connection with the local school systems. In these institutions were enrolled 37,662 students. In the period 1922-1931 the number of these institutions on local public foundations has increased three-fold.

Public junior-college services are made available in at least 3 types of organization. Under one type certain work of grades 13 and 14 may be given as postgraduate study in a department within a secondary school. Under another type a school district may organize a separate junior college or may associate the upper grades of the high schools with the first two years of collegiate work to form a secondary school of 3 to 6 years of work. Under a third plan, a separate junior-college district may be incorporated. Each of these practices has been followed to provide locally this upper level of secondary-school instruction.

There is insufficient evidence to indicate which plan of organization will provide junior-college work most effectively and economically. The history of the development of secondary education in the United States would lead one to assume a skeptical attitude toward a plan that would pro-

¹⁵ California School Law, sec. 1681, 1907, p. 94.

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vide a system of junior-college districts superimposed on the present network of districts. There is ground on which to contend that, if the junior college is to become a recognized part of a State public-school system, the best plan would be to reorganize completely the school district system and to formulate corporate units within the State in which complete systems of schools extending from kindergarten through junior college could be operated and maintained.

In 1931 there were 11 States that provided specifically in the school laws for public junior colleges.¹⁶ Ten States had made specific provisions in law for local school systems to provide instruction on the junior-college level. Two States provided for county junior colleges, joint-county junior colleges, or for junior-college districts superimposed on existing school districts. From the numbers reported it may be inferred that in some States more than one type of organization is permissible under the law. Each law specifies the nature of control and support as well as the limiting conditions under which the junior college may be established.

6. ACCESSIBILITY OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Changing needs of accessibility.—Every State has striven to create a system of free public secondary schools that would be reasonably accessible to children living within the State boundaries. Few if any have succeeded. This task has not been easily accomplished in the sparsely settled areas, particularly where the highways are not improved and where the taxable resources are limited.

In the foregoing pages the many plans and devices that are being used to make high-school facilities available to all children have been discussed. Among these are the county schools of various kinds, the State-supported vocational and agricultural schools, the independent high-school districts, the plans followed for tuition payments, the provisions for the transportation of pupils, and the operation of dormitories by boards of education.

It must be remembered that when many of these measures described were first projected and put into practice, the mile-

¹⁶ Joyal, A. E., *Factors Relating to the Establishment and Maintenance of Junior Colleges, with Special Reference to California*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1932, pp. 433-445.

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age of improved highways was limited, the proportion of the school population attending high school was small, and the aims and purposes of secondary education were rather narrow in scope. It would appear quite natural to assume that any plan devised for an organization within any State to meet the demands for secondary education some decades ago may be hardly appropriate to-day and probably even less suitable for the young people who may seek admission to secondary schools in the future. It therefore behooves educational leadership to be as sensitive to the need of constantly reviewing those organization plans that are in operation for maintaining secondary schools in a State as it is to keep the methods of instruction or the courses of study abreast of current requirements.

Areas served by high schools.—No statistics are available that will show the extent of availability of secondary-school facilities in each of the States. That the number of secondary-school units is relatively large, and that a considerable proportion of these are small high schools, are facts well known. The serious educational problems brought about by these small schools have been faced by State educational departments for a number of years. They have been made the subject of special investigation in this survey. (See Monograph No. 6.) No acceptable plan has yet been developed that can be applied in all States to reduce the number of small high schools and at the same time arrange for equivalent accessibility. Yet it is entirely clear that if the aims of secondary education are to be realized, school units must be created in which all pupils may have the services of experienced and competent teachers. The school must be of a size to warrant the employment of a competent professionally educated principal, and the school offering must be of a kind properly to serve the needs of a wide range of pupil interests. It is not necessary to extend this discussion to show that these fundamental attributes of an efficient secondary school are not to be obtained economically when independent schools are operated in small areas in which the resources are very limited and in which only a small number of pupils of high-school age are to be found.

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In this connection it is pertinent to draw once more on the evidence concerning the residential distribution of pupils in certain North Central States. In 48 small Wisconsin high schools selected at random there were only 8 schools in which more than 10 per cent of the pupils enrolled lived more than 10 miles from school. Only 3 per cent of the 4,650 pupils registered in these schools lived 10 or more miles from school. Eighty-four per cent of the Wisconsin high-school pupils studied live less than 5 miles from the school they attend.

Data for high schools in Minnesota tell a somewhat similar story. Eighty-three per cent of the 6,212 pupils attending 68 high schools reside less than 5 miles from school. Sixty-four per cent of these young people reside a distance of $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles or less from the school they attend.

When distances were measured along the railroads, it was noted that 40 per cent of 519 secondary schools of various types in Minnesota are less than 10 miles apart. Of these schools, 79 were at a distance 20 miles or more from the nearest neighboring school. In North Dakota in 30 per cent of the counties the mean distance between high schools is 6 miles or less. These data are for 540 high schools in operation in the State in 1930.¹⁷ In only 15 per cent of the counties is the mean distance between high schools 10 miles or more. Half the high schools in North Dakota are from 6.5 to 9.2 miles apart as measured along the highway.

A study of 194 high schools in North Dakota in 1930 revealed that less than 1 per cent of the 5,111 pupils in attendance resided 10 miles or more from school. Eighty-one per cent of the pupils lived within $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles of the high school attended.¹⁸

The following excerpt from the Wisconsin interim committee report indicates the lack of adequate planning in providing for secondary-school facilities for all the children in a State.¹⁹

¹⁷ Havig, L. V., *Growth and Distribution of Public Secondary Schools in North Dakota*, Master's thesis on file in University of Minnesota Library, 1931.

¹⁸ Havig, L. V., *op cit.*, p. 54.

¹⁹ A plan for Reorganizing Wisconsin's System of Education, Report of the Wisconsin Interim Legislative Committee on Education, Submitted to Legislature in 1931, p. 52.

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A glance at the . . . high-school district map . . . will disclose that less than 19 per cent of the territory of the State is included in the 425 high-school districts. While it is true that children living outside of high-school districts can attend neighboring schools by paying tuition, and there were 25,518 of these in 1929-30, yet there is evidence in the committee minutes showing that these high schools are not so located as to be available to all rural children. In Douglas County there is only 1 high school outside of the city of Superior. This is an unusually large county and there is no other conclusion possible save that a high-school education is being denied to a large portion of our rural children in this and many other counties. There is only 1 high school in Florence and Adams Counties, while there are 2 in Villas, Burnett, Kenosha; and 3 in Langlade, Lincoln, Ozaukee, Sawyer, Iron, and Pepin. Most of these counties are large in size and if sufficient property valuation were available (legal minimum, \$1,250,000), many more high schools would be organized. Bayfield County has 9 high schools, compared to 2 in Douglas, which is adjacent to it. Grant County has 15 and Crawford only 5, Dane has 14 and Green County on one side has 6 and Eau Claire on the other side has 5. There seems to exist no logic by which the peculiarities, either of number, location, or distribution of high schools can be defended; for instance, Grant County has the largest number of high schools of any county (Milwaukee excepted) in this State, yet Grant County is far from being the largest, wealthiest, or the most interested in high-school education.

The evidence available shows that many high schools do not serve large areas. As pointed out, a large proportion of the secondary-school pupils attend schools within walking distance of their homes. In reality few schools fully serve an area included within a circle with a radius of 5 miles. One may venture the statement that the modern improved highways are not used so fully as they should be to transport high-school pupils and to reduce the number of small schools. If the secondary schools in each State extended their services to include areas of from 10 to 15 miles surrounding the schools, many small schools would disappear with probable results in increased efficiency and reduction in taxes.

The basic weakness in the present school-district organization.—The greatest obstruction to the establishment of divisions of a State in which schools may be operated efficiently is the philosophy on which school-district organizations have been erected. The theory that has permitted school districts to be created in which a separate elementary school or an independent secondary school may be operated

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hardly seems sound. If all States could begin with the principle that no incorporated school district could be created unless a minimum and complete elementary and secondary school program can be offered economically within its boundaries, a big step in the solution of the most difficult school problem would have been taken. In this connection the reader's attention is called to the number of States that have large numbers of ungraded school districts. Twenty-four of the twenty-eight States from which data have been secured (Table 6) have school districts that operate elementary schools only or that permit independent secondary schools of one type or another.

TABLE 6.—Number of elementary- and high-school districts in States and the levels of education provided ¹

State	Number of incorporated school districts maintaining—		
	Elementary schools and one or more years of high-school work	Elementary schools only	High schools only
1	2	3	4
Arkansas.....	410		
California.....	30	3,276	236
Colorado.....	83	86	
Idaho.....	209	1,228	24
Illinois.....	467	10,980	510
Indiana.....	752	415	
Iowa.....	1,125	3,745	
Maine.....	210	308	
Maryland.....	24		
Massachusetts.....	227	128	
Michigan.....	673	6,159	
Minnesota.....	391	7,364	
Nevada.....	16	305	9
New Hampshire.....	240	150	
New Jersey.....	170	353	
New Mexico.....	200		2
Ohio.....	1,100	1,200	12
Oklahoma.....	834	4,091	2
Oregon.....	198	1,745	95
Pennsylvania.....	1,106	1,391	
Rhode Island.....	20	19	
South Carolina.....	302	1,514	
South Dakota.....	407	3,036	
Utah.....	40		
Washington.....	267	1,530	50
West Virginia.....	43	5	11
Wisconsin.....	558	7,111	83
Wyoming.....	111	100	11

¹ No data at hand for States omitted. Data reported were submitted by State departments of education during 1930.

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Administrative difficulties arising in a complex school-district system.—It is unfortunate that, as public secondary schools were developed, the whole educational problem in each State was not considered as each advance step was taken. A State public-school system can not function efficiently unless each year of schooling is closely articulated to the year of work that follows. Close articulation is exceedingly difficult of attainment if the elementary school which a child attends is not associated with the high school ~~he~~ plans to enter. Coordination of the work for a 12-year program is made much more complex when part of the children attending high schools have had their elementary education in the same system while others have had 8 years of schooling in an independent ungraded school.

Equalization of tax load can hardly be anticipated in an area in which each of two or more of boards of education have the authority to levy separate taxes for school purposes. One board of education may direct a levy for high-school needs, and a large number of boards may tax parts of the same areas for the support of elementary schools. Since the educational requirements and expenditures of the area are not viewed as a whole, either some division of the system may be handicapped or the tax burden may fall too heavily on property owners in the area because of the combined levy.

The larger the number of school districts and the greater the freedom of districts in determining the kind of schools to be maintained, the more complex becomes the whole problem of support. Variations in ability of local areas to support the schools established increase directly with the number of districts and the kind of schools that are maintained in these districts. Every effort made by a State to equalize the educational cost burden, where the number of districts is large, by increasing the State subventions, intrenches more deeply undesirable conditions, gives certain areas advantages over others, and creates additional unsatisfactory school situations that eventually demand adjustment.

Much might be said concerning the administrative and supervisory complications that arise in States in which all school districts do not operate a complete program of public-

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school work. It is practically impossible in small school systems to provide with the resources available, a staff qualified to give pupils the basic special services required. In areas in which secondary schools are superimposed on independent elementary-school districts, administrative and supervisory staff officers must be duplicated if efficient schools are to be maintained. If the administrative and supervisory services in these districts are adequate the overhead cost becomes excessive.

7. CLASSIFICATION OF PATTERNS OF SCHOOL-DISTRICT ORGANIZATION

Influences on types of district organization.—The forces of circumstances and expediency compelled each State to meet the increasing demand for extending educational opportunity in such a manner as the social, economic, and political conditions at the time permitted. The state-wide demand for publicly supported secondary schools reached its full impetus in certain localities following the Civil War, while in others this issue was not given its proper consideration until the decades just before the opening of the twentieth century.

The development of the elementary-school district system in the States had much to do with the manner in which the States were subsequently divided for the maintenance of secondary schools. The public attitude toward the large administrative unit as it existed in Utah, the parish concept found in Louisiana, the 1-teacher, 1-trustee school district so tenaciously held to in New York, and the town, so symbolic of the chosen administrative unit in New England, represent interests, choices, and traditions that are peculiar to the localities concerned and that become determinants of policies and types of school districts. The private-school development that paralleled the high-school movement also continued to exert an influence on the program for public secondary education for a long period of time.

The history of secondary education in the United States reveals distinct influences of one State on another and the effects are shown clearly in the manner in which secondary-school needs were met in the newer more westerly States. In these it seemed necessary to adapt to a new area a school-district organization that prevailed in Eastern States.

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Studies in the development of the school-district organization reveal a number of factors that appear to have been common to all States. Educational leadership, although alert, was able to effect only slight changes in school-district organization, albeit the need for reform may always have been apparent. The practice of patching up the system and attaching new organizations as educational needs expanded so intrenched the underlying districts in many sections that basic changes, recognized as desirable, seem now impossible.

Responsible authority has not in the past recognized fully the need for keeping the school-district organization flexible. This has resulted from the failure to realize that with an institution as dynamic as education, the machinery for its administration and control should not remain static if efficient and economical results are to be achieved. At the time when States were developing a program for secondary education, conditions were not such as to suggest to the leaders that the problem be studied with a view to evolving a coordinated system of schools that would include for a whole State the 12 years—or, shall we say, 14 years—of schooling. Only in recent years have programs for creating a more desirable division of a State for purposes of support and administration of schools been adequately conceived or presented for a period long enough for the public to become fully enlightened regarding their merits and advantages.

The problems of State aid and support of schools are always present when school-district organizations are discussed. The two issues are inseparable. Plans of State aid in operation have often been responsible for the reluctance in many local areas within States to consider a change in school-district boundaries. Equalization funds have been distributed to school districts that have little justification and as a result have made reorganization practically impossible. The usual plans devised to provide special financial aid to poorer districts have tended to perpetuate undesirable types of school systems rather than to bring about a type of school district large enough to warrant independent existence.

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The groups.—It is clear enough from the evidence presented that the patterns of school-district organization for providing secondary education as they exist to-day are extremely varied. In some States the conditions in this regard are much the same to-day as they were a half century or more ago. In a few localities a complete reorganization has taken place within the past few decades; in others, reorganization is under way. In many States, as pointed out above, the earlier form of school district remains with those that have been added in recent years, resulting in a system that is complicated, confusing, and that can not be other than inefficient and uneconomical. There are also to be found States in which an evolutionary process is gradually bringing about a more desirable type of school district—the evolution evidently being directed to conform to a clear-cut, projected plan.

The many variations in conditions that have already been indicated make a classification of States according to type of school-district organization difficult to arrange. Any prepared classification is subject to criticism because of the many exceptions to the general rule which are to be found in a given State. For purposes of discussion a categorical grouping seems desirable and an attempt is therefore made to set forth the most characteristic of types of State organizations of school districts with the emphasis on the organization planned for operating secondary schools.

A first group would include States that appear to be tending definitely toward a State school system, a plan that is delegating more control and more responsibility for support to the State. Schools are located strategically in various sections of the State, each with its corresponding attendance district; these district boundaries are kept flexible. In this pattern the local control continues to hold sway over certain important matters. Delaware is a State falling in this category.

A second group is made up of the States that have accepted a large school district. In many cases the area chosen is the county. Each school district represents a complete, coordinated, articulated school system from the kindergarten through the senior high school. The large cities in these

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States operate their own complete school systems. Maryland with its 23 counties and the city of Baltimore is one of the best illustrations of this group of States.

Group 3 includes a number of States that approximate but do not quite attain the conditions in the second group. Among these are the New England States in which the cities and towns are responsible for maintaining schools. All towns, however, do not maintain high schools. For example, Massachusetts has 227 cities and towns that operate both elementary and high schools and only 128 civil units in which high schools are not provided. Connecticut has 169 school systems, 86 of these operating elementary schools only. All school districts in this group of States are not necessarily large and there is no doubt further opportunity for school-district reorganization in many of the States that may be included in this classification.

Group 4 is made up of States that differ somewhat from Group 3 in that practically all school districts that can operate a high school of acceptable grade do so, and nearly all of the remaining districts support small, 1-teacher, ungraded, elementary organizations. Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and New York are typical of this group. Minnesota has 533 school districts that maintain more or less complete school systems, although the high schools in these districts are not all 4-year institutions. Minnesota contains also 7,716 small elementary-school systems. The States in this class may, like Minnesota, provide for a complete county unit, of which Lake County is an example as well as for other types of large school districts. These are special cases, however, not disturbing the general pattern of school-district organization existing in these States.

Group 5 is composed of a number of States that have superimposed a system of high-school districts on a small elementary-school district organization. In these States there are also to be found complete systems of schools in the larger cities as well as other special types of school districts to complicate the pattern. California, Illinois, and Wisconsin belong in this group. Detailed studies of the school-district organizations in California and Illinois will be found in the second and third parts of this monograph.

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The sixth and last group contains States that can not be conveniently classified in the foregoing groups. These States have characteristics like those in several of the other groups but may likewise provide for the superimposed locally supported county high school or the State-supported county high school. Some States are in classes by themselves in that practically every form of school district organization is to be found somewhere within their boundaries. In this group are to be found such States as Montana, Georgia, and Tennessee.

CHAPTER IV : PLANS FOR THE REORGANIZATION OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS

1. THE DYNAMICS OF DISTRICT ORGANIZATION

Governmental costs have never before been challenged by so many interests as they have been during the past decade. Students of government after intensive surveys of the civil divisions in certain States report much duplication of services and excessive costs due to the types of governmental organizations that prevail in the county, township, and village. In several States the people at large have shown an interest in these affairs and appear to be willing to consider plans for modernizing the governmental organization in counties and in the townships.

The same forces that are leading the public to the consideration of plans to change the organization within civil divisions of the States will eventually demand change in the educational systems in these States that operate the small school district, and in those States that permit separate school districts in which elementary schools and high schools are independently maintained. It is becoming more and more apparent that governmental and educational costs can not be decreased much below the present levels through salary reductions. If costs are to be materially modified and if taxes are to be decreased, the solution must be through improved organization and management. In other words, economic forces are beginning to focus public attention on the problems that students of government and education have for a number of years been endeavoring to solve. Many changes that have taken place in banking, in merchandising, and in other lines of business have been accepted by the public. These developments in business practices are no doubt being reflected in the general thinking of the people, and the public schools will be again called upon as in the past to apply to the management of public schools the best practices originating in private enterprise.

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Factors like improved highways, changes in means of transportation, social movements affecting population growth, and modern methods of doing business are constantly building up some areas of a State and destroying others. Shifts in resources and population are continuously under way in all States. Many small towns are growing smaller, and cities more strategically located are rapidly extending their boundaries. Areas that once supported many families are practically uninhabited. It is fundamentally unsound to allow local areas to have complete control of the nature of the districts and schools to be operated when changes of the kind referred to are continuously in progress. School-district organization can not remain static and unchanging under such circumstances. Educational problems must be viewed not solely for their local application but must find their solution through studying them in relationship to the State as a whole.

In the past, even though the principle that "education is a State function" was generally accepted, the State's educational program had been considered too largely from the local point of view. It was assumed that the school offering must be adjusted to the prevailing separate administrative divisions, even though there was no justification for many of the school districts in existence. Educational leadership has frequently overlooked the fact that the legislature in creating a school-district system did so to provide the educational services needed at that time, and that the legislature continues to have the power to modify the school-district system in such ways as will provide public education of the type and form needed to-day.

The privilege and responsibility for modifying the nature and boundaries of school districts as social, economic, and educational evolution demands should remain with the legislature. Yet it behooves educational leadership in each State to be prepared to show how this basic issue in educational administration should be met as economic and social conditions within the State are modified and as the program of education is to be extended.

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2. CHANGES IN DISTRICT ORGANIZATION UNDER WAY

The general situation.—On inquiry, 15 of the 45 States reporting indicate that some movement is under way in the State to secure legislative approval for a change in the school-district organization. Among plans reported are those that mention programs that emphasize consolidation, that lead to the formation of nonunion high schools, that contemplate complete reorganization of the school districts of the State, and those that have the county unit of school administration as an aim. In the majority of cases the plans reported involve but slight changes in the present organization to relieve some pressing, long-felt, unsatisfactory conditions.

In discussing these school-district problems it must not be overlooked that during the past several years complete reorganization of the school-district system in some States has taken place. For example, Maryland has reorganized into a school system that includes the city of Baltimore with an enrollment of about 93,000 pupils and 23 county school districts that range in enrollment from approximately 1,000 to 20,000 pupils. The schools within these areas have been progressively improved since the reorganization has taken place. Other States have created an equally sound basic school-district organization on which the schools of the future may be satisfactorily developed.

Some of the more notable developments that are taking place and that are being projected for the modification of school districts in the United States are those in New York, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Missouri.

The New York plan.—For nearly a generation New York State has endeavored to modify the small incorporated school district. In 1917, after years of struggle, the township school law was passed.¹ This law provided for a larger school district and remained on the statute books but one year before it was repealed. This failure in school-district reorganization was the consequence of poor leadership, public misunderstanding, and a distortion of facts by the opposition. The unwise attempt to create out of a noneffective

¹ Finegan, T. E., *The Township School System*, Annual Report of State Department of Education, New York, vol. 1, 1918.

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civil division of the State a corporate school district is exemplified by the township movement in New York.

In 1925 a central school district law which had been enacted in 1914 was revived. This statute provided for the amalgamation of a number of small rural-school districts. During the six years previous to 1931, 138 central school districts had been approved by the Commissioner of Education, 55 of which have been created in the last two years of this period. These new districts have been formed by combining two and in some cases as many as 25 small rural districts. Under regulations these new districts must operate approved schools from grades 1 to 9, inclusive. The State department of education determines whether it is advisable for the district to operate the upper high-school grades or to transport these pupils to other accredited schools.

This plan of approach to the school-district problem has many admirable features as well as certain weaknesses apparent as one views the organization in terms of sound principles of administration. Those who know the history of education in New York State fully appreciate the progress that has been made under this plan and believe that an entering wedge to the solution of the small school-district problem is under way. The new plan at least has avoided the bitter contention, distrust, and misunderstanding that prevailed in the past when reorganization plans were being projected.

The North Carolina plan.—The approach to the solution of the educational problem in North Carolina has been consciously toward a more closely coordinated system of schools. To bring this about the State has assumed the responsibility by taking upon itself the financial burden for maintaining a minimum program throughout the State. Tuition payment in public schools is prohibited by the constitution. Boundaries between school districts have become less rigid through the authority of the State board of control. This body has power to require one school district to provide school facilities for children residing in a neighboring district when in the judgment of the board the plan appears most economical and desirable.

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The Arkansas plan.—The Arkansas plan is conceived on the principle that the State must establish an acceptable minimum educational program that shall be equally available to all the children of the State: The program agreed upon is to determine the nature of the district in which education is to be administered. The plan for fixing the boundaries of the ultimate corporate school district is developed out of a thorough survey of all the counties of the State. In creating the desired school district, county lines may be ignored. No school district is to be perpetuated that can not maintain a complete school system as prescribed in the minimum standards agreed upon. In speaking of the development of this program Doctor Dawson says:

During the past two years a study has been conducted by the division of research and surveys of the State department of education for the purpose of working out a plan of school organization and administration that will provide standard elementary- and high-school advantages for every child in Arkansas and to determine the cost of such plan and the additional revenue the State will need to provide in order to put such plan into operation. Accordingly a detailed study has been made of each county in the State to determine accurate statement of the educational conditions in each county and to set up plans for a school system that will accommodate in the most economical manner the educational needs of the children in each county.

The study shows that in order best to meet the educational needs of the children it will be necessary to reduce the number of school districts from approximately 4,200 that existed in 1929 to at least 307 consolidated districts and to reduce the number of schools from approximately 4,200 to at least 1,786. When budgets were worked out for each of the 307 proposed school districts it was found that 216 of them would not have sufficient funds to maintain elementary and high schools for an 8-month term on the basis of the equalization schedule now set up by the State board of education. A school program of this kind in these 216 centers would require annually \$1,982,000 in addition to their income from an 18-mill tax and the present State apportionment.¹

The Missouri plan.—Secondary education in Missouri will be effected through the county reorganization made possible by the legislation enacted in 1931 following the State survey.² Intensive studies of each county have been made and in the reports of these studies tentative and suggestive plans for

¹ Dawson, H. A., and others, *Financial and Administrative Need of the Public Schools of Arkansas*, Department of Public Instruction, Little Rock, Ark., 1930, p. 1.

² Strayer, G. D., *Director, Missouri State Survey*, Bureau of Publication, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City, 1931.

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reorganization have been prepared. The actual initiation of the program of reorganization will take place following September, 1932, when the county boards of education are appointed. In the meantime the people are being kept informed concerning plans that are being projected in order that they may be fully apprised of the changes contemplated.

CHAPTER V : CONCLUSION

The present report is the composite result of the summary of a mass of accumulated evidence on conditions and practices of the analysis of law, and of the review of impressions created and data gathered during visits to schools and systems and interviews with school authorities. In the limited space available an effort has been made to delineate for the reader a picture that would disclose the most significant issues faced by the States to-day as concerns the school-district organization for secondary education. It has likewise been the aim to indicate the ways and means by which the States are endeavoring to improve public secondary education through changes made in the school-district organization. It remains to give some expression in summary form to certain fundamentals and principles that have appeared constantly to force themselves to the surface while the investigation was under way. It is hoped that the presentation of these apparently basic considerations will stimulate the making of the more intensive studies of the school-district issues that seem still to be required in most of the States. It is hoped also that these statements in summary may serve at least as a partial basis for the set of principles that should guide the States while the organizations for the administration of schools in the subdivisions are from time to time being modified or projected.

The most outstanding limitation to school-district organization as it exists in most States to-day is the apparent lack of planning. Few States appear to have any plan other than that which arises out of the current demand for fiscal relief. This policy may be questioned on the ground that, if public schools are to be efficiently and economically maintained, then the organizational machinery erected to provide educational services must be constantly studied and reviewed in order that the organization may be readapted to provide improved services at greater returns per dollar expended.

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Governmental institutions are difficult to modify; hence, the need for a planned program that seeks a solution as the public reaches the desirable stage of enlightenment. Failure to improve governmental machinery in the past has been due to inadequacies of leadership, a leadership which, in the first place, often took too little account of the need for satisfactory planning, and which, in the second place, did not properly enlighten the populace concerning the issues involved. Educational leadership must realize that it may take several decades of the most careful planning and public enlightenment to bring about desired changes in such aspects of organization as affect the people directly.

Public education is a dynamic institution and must always be kept sensitive to changing conditions. The organization of school districts can not remain static if it is to provide satisfactorily a service that is modified as the social and economic status of the people changes. One of the greatest barriers to educational progress is the idea, so strongly entrenched in many States, that the school-district organization as established is not to be modified.

Among considerations which it is suggested those interested in improving district organization for secondary education should take into account are the following:

If efficient schools are to be economically operated, no area of a State should be created as a school district unless it can produce a school population sufficiently large to warrant the operation of the complete minimum educational program established for the State.

No school district should be allowed to exist that does not have resources sufficient to maintain the complete minimum educational program with such additional assistance as may be allocated equitably to all districts from a State equalizing fund.

Every school district in the State should be of sufficient size to warrant the employment of a professionally qualified superintendent of schools and a supervisory staff.

The type of school-district organization is closely associated with public-school support. Any proposed modification in the plan for distribution of State subventions should be studied in relationship to the school-district organization.

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Since the population and resources in various sections of a State are subject to modification, and since the means of transportation are also constantly improving, school-district boundaries should be made flexible. This is essential if schools are to be conveniently adjusted to the changes that are taking place in the areas which they serve.

Much greater progress in the administration of secondary schools would be made if each State would consider the present school-district organization as experimental in nature. Selected districts might be designated as experimental centers for the study of the advantages and limitations of plans in operation and those that are proposed and to serve as demonstration school systems in order that the people may have the opportunity to visit and to judge from observation the relative effectiveness of different types of school-district organization.

PART II : SCHOOL AND DISTRICT ORGANIZATION IN CALIFORNIA

BY WILLIAM M. PROCTOR AND SCOVEL S. MAYO

CHAPTER I : PURPOSE, SCOPE, AND PROCEDURES

1. NATURE AND PURPOSES OF THE STUDY

Relation of type of district to vertical articulation.—The reorganization of secondary education has made greater progress in the cities than in the rural areas in practically every State. One of the principal reasons for this is that the cities represent larger aggregations of taxable wealth and are thus able to support better school systems on a minimum tax levy. The better organization of education in the cities is usually accompanied by the adoption of such administrative improvements as the introduction of the junior high school and the junior college as features of the reorganized educational program. In the rural areas the existence of many small districts is believed to militate against such educational improvement and expansion. Realizing this handicap the rural sections have been attempting to overcome it by the process of consolidation of small districts into larger administrative areas for all educational purposes.

Progress along these lines in rural areas has, however, been very slow, except in States like New York, and others where special legislation has been enacted.¹ In certain States such as Illinois and California, the prevailing systems of high-school organization seem to interfere with the progress of consolidation of rural areas for educational purposes. In such States, therefore, the traditional 8-4 organization prevails outside of the larger cities, and reorganization with a view to better articulation of the units of the school system has been seriously delayed.²

¹ Central Rural Schools. Bulletin No. 882, Albany, N. Y., Aug. 15, 1927. University of the State of New York Press.

² Koos, Leonard V., and Weersing, F. J., Secondary Education in California, Report of a Preliminary Survey, California State Printing Office, December, 1928, pp. 10 and 11.

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The purpose of the California project.—The purpose of this project of the National Survey of Secondary Education has been to try to discover the extent of the relationship existing between type of organization for high-school education in the State and the progress of reorganization looking to better articulation, to study the current proposals for remedial action, and to record such as appear to hold promise of contributing to an ultimate solution of the State's educational problems.

2. STEPS TAKEN TO ACHIEVE THE PURPOSES

Selection of seven California counties.—In consultation with the State department of education seven counties were agreed upon for intensive study. In selecting the counties to be studied the effort was made to include samples of all types of district organization, except the large city type, as well as all stages of progress in the movement toward reorganization. No county having a large city within its borders was included because the study was to be directed primarily at the problem of lack of articulation caused presumably by the unionization of elementary districts for high-school purposes only. Also every phase of topographical and economic condition, as well as density or sparseness of population, was to be taken into consideration. On this basis the counties chosen were: Kern, Mendocino, Monterey, Orange, San Bernardino, Sonoma, and Stanislaus.

Cooperating agencies.—The agencies cooperating in the investigation have been: (1) The National Survey of Secondary Education; (2) the specialist in school organization, in charge of the project, Prof. William Martin Proctor, Stanford University, and assistant specialist, Scovel S. Mayo; (3) The California Teachers Association through Prof. Elmer H. Staffelpach,³ director of research of the California Teachers Association, and State committee on larger units of administration, A. R. Clifton, superintendent of schools, Los Angeles County, Calif.

³ The California Teachers Association, through the executive committee of its council of education, appropriated \$1,000 to enable the study to be extended to four more counties, than it would have been possible to include with resources otherwise available. Both in the matter of collecting data and preparing this report Dr. E. H. Staffelpach rendered invaluable service.

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Gathering of data.—The steps in carrying forward the work were: (1) Data covering the academic year 1929-30 were collected at first hand by the members of the staff from the county superintendent's office in each of the seven counties. (2) Detailed maps, showing boundaries of all types of districts, elementary, union high school, junior college, etc., as well as salient topographical features, were drawn. During this stage frequent individual conferences were held with county superintendents and other educational leaders in each county. (3) The evidence collected was analyzed and tentative proposals for reorganization into larger areas worked out. (4) Group conferences were next held, to which many educational leaders were invited. (5) With the help of such conferences and applying accepted principles of educational administration to the situations disclosed by the statistical and other information at hand, the staff arrived at the suggested or tentative proposals for reorganization that will be set forth in this report. (6) Since ultimate reorganization can not be accomplished without certain significant changes in existing school laws, a final section indicating the nature of such desirable changes in the California School Code as have been suggested to the staff by prominent California educators was developed.

The scope of the report.—On the basis of evidence analyzed and of the subsequent deliberations, it has seemed best to present a report with the following main aspects of treatment: (1) Present situation in California (Ch. II); (2) detailed presentation of situation in a typical county (Ch. III); (3) proposed reorganization of administrative units (Ch. IV); (4) superintendency areas in seven counties (Ch. V); (5) desirable changes in State school laws to promote reorganization (Ch. VI); and (6) findings and conclusions (Ch. VII).

CHAPTER II : THE PRESENT SITUATION IN CALIFORNIA

Types and number of elementary districts.—There are 2,636 active and 106 suspended regular elementary districts in the State. Of these active elementary districts only 132, or about 5 per cent, are union or joint-union districts. This is in spite of the fact that permissive legislation favoring unionization has been in the school code for many years. Monterey County appears to have made the best showing in the State in the unionization of elementary districts, and yet 30 of its elementary schools, or nearly 50 per cent, are still 1-room, 1-teacher schools. In the State as a whole there are 1,519 of the active school districts, or 57.6 per cent, which employ only one teacher. This illustrates strikingly the slow progress of unionization among elementary districts.

In matters of average daily attendance the same situation exists. One hundred and four districts have fewer than 6 pupils. Seven hundred and fifty-eight elementary districts, or 29 per cent, of the active districts of the State, have fewer than 11 pupils in average daily attendance. The need for more pupils has been known to prompt school trustees to employ teachers who have children of school age in order to bolster the attendance and keep the school from being suspended.

Types and numbers of secondary-school districts.—From 1879 to 1891 secondary schools in California did not receive State aid. This made it necessary for weak districts to unite in order to maintain a high school. In 1891 specific legislation was passed, providing State aid and promoting unionization for high-school purposes only. Thus encouraged union high-school districts were formed until at present there are 233 union,¹ joint-union,² and county high-school districts;³

¹ A union high-school district is one made up of two or more elementary districts which have voted to unite themselves for high-school purposes only.

² A joint-union high-school district is made up of elementary districts some of which are located in one county and some in another county.

³ A county district consists of all the area of a county being in one high-school district and administered by a county high-school board.

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33 city high-school districts;⁴ only 25 single or regular districts;⁵ 2 consolidated high-school districts;⁶ and 16 junior-college districts.⁷ That is to say, 91.4 per cent of all high-school districts in the State are either union, joint-union, county, or large city districts. Only 8.6 per cent are regular or single districts. Hence, with large taxable areas to draw upon for support, the high schools of the State occupy a strategic position.

With nineteen times the area of Massachusetts, California is served by a smaller number of high schools than that densely populated State. Union high-school districts made up of as many as 60 elementary districts which cover half the area of a county are to be found. Many educators are of the opinion that this policy has resulted in one of the best State systems of high schools, all things considered, in the United States. But in spite of this favorable development in the field of secondary education there is also the expressed feeling that there are disadvantages of great weight so far as the entire program of education in the State is concerned.

The commonly reported disadvantages of the prevalent type of high-school organization in California.—Opinions expressed by educators from within and without the State are to the effect that educational reorganization in the rural areas has been retarded by the union high-school district type of organization. These opinions are summarized below and will constitute the hypotheses in the light of which the data collected will be interpreted.

It is claimed by competent educators that—

First, too many school trustees are handling school affairs. In support of this contention it is pointed out that every high-school district has five trustees, many city districts have seven, and each single or union elementary district has at least three trustees. There are nearly 10,000 school-board members in the State. It is alleged that such a dual system results in inefficiency, since pride of office

⁴ A city district may be created in the case of cities of 6,000 people or more. Very few such districts have been created where the city had fewer than 50,000 people.

⁵ A single or regular high-school district consists of one elementary school district, which may embrace any kind of city of the sixth class, that is, with a population of fewer than 6,000, except such a city when governed by a charter.

⁶ Consolidated high-school districts are union, joint-union, or city high-school districts to which school districts have been annexed.

⁷ Junior-college districts are city or union high-school districts which have specified assessed valuation, specified average daily attendance of high-school pupils, and have voted to form a district for junior-college purposes.

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and jealousy of prerogatives tend to keep schools from cooperating for the common interest of their students.

Second, it is alleged that great inequalities in educational opportunity result. Research studies have shown that people tend to spend for education almost in direct proportion to their economic abilities. It is claimed that one elementary district will have a 1-room structure with little or no equipment in which pupils are taught by a poorly prepared and poorly paid teacher attempting to give instruction in all grades, 1 to 8. Another district will have a palatial schoolhouse with every convenience and well-trained teachers, giving instruction in perhaps only one-half grade each. In Mendocino County, for example, two elementary districts have assessed wealth of \$1,000 or less per child in average daily attendance, while another district has between \$50,000 and \$100,000 per child in average daily attendance.

Third, inequalities exist in the economic burden for school support. It frequently happens that a district poor in assessed valuation has many children to educate while another district has relatively few children and a large assessed valuation. Neighboring high-school districts in Monterey County illustrate this point. One is a small single district attempting to maintain an up-to-date high school. Its taxes for high-school support are nearly three times as high as those of a neighboring union high-school district which combines a score of elementary districts for high-school purposes, and is thus able to provide the best of secondary training at a minimum tax rate.

Fourth, inefficient use of educational funds is reported. Costs per child in average daily attendance in the elementary schools range from \$40 to more than \$700 per child, and in the high schools from less than \$150 to more than \$450 per unit of attendance. The smaller the school, generally speaking, the higher the unit costs. The cure for this condition would appear to be found in larger units of support for all school purposes.

Fifth, the claim is put forward that poor articulation between elementary schools and secondary schools is fostered by having separate boards of trustees.² Under the union high-school district plan the different governing boards do not work together. Clashes of authority are bound to arise which interfere with a unified educational program from kindergarten through the junior college. If the same members served on both boards the situation would be improved, but Kocs³ found that only 17.1 per cent of the members of the high-school boards were also members of elementary boards. He also found that in two-thirds of the union high-school districts there were no evidences of cooperation in certain important administrative relationships. Those who suffer most from this lack of cooperation are always the children.

² Rivers, Paul L. *Disadvantages of the Dual System of Administration in the Union High School Districts of California*. California Quarterly of Education, 4:122, 12.

³ Kocs, Leonard V., and Weersing, F. J. *Secondary Education in California*, p. 37.

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Sixth, it is charged also that the union high-school district plan interferes with desirable plans for educational reorganization. One of the most serious disadvantages arising from this situation is that the organization of junior high schools, outside of the larger city districts, is made almost impossible.¹⁰ Only five union high-school districts, or about 2 per cent of the 233 in the State, support junior high schools with grades 7 to 9, inclusive.¹¹ In three of the five districts there are located cities of more than 10,000 population. Of a total of 108 separate 3-year junior high schools in the State, only 15, or 14 per cent, were in union high-school districts.

From the foregoing it is evident that in California 3-year junior high schools are not found in the rural union high-school districts. This is probably due to the provisions of the existing law, which require that a junior high school in a union high-school district must come under the high-school board. The elementary boards of the district are unwilling to relinquish control of the seventh and eighth grades. They prefer to organize an "intermediate" school, consisting of seventh and eighth grades only, over which they retain control. While such an organization is superior to an unbroken 8-grade plan, the conditions under which it operates prevent it from achieving the educational results that are possible under a genuine junior high school organization.

The extent to which the union high-school district seems to interfere with desirable educational reorganization appears in Table 1, the data for which are adapted from Bulletin, 1931, No. 20, United States Office of Education, Biennial Survey of Education, 1928-1930, Vol. I, Ch. III, Secondary Education, pages 4-5. From this table it appears that in number of reorganized secondary schools California is tenth in rank, whereas in total population the State ranks sixth, and in per cent that secondary-school enrollment is of population ages 5 to 17, inclusive, it ranks first.¹² Also, in children 14, 15, 16, and 17 years of age attending school it ranks first.¹³

¹⁰ Good, Roy. Junior High Schools in California. California Quarterly of Secondary Education, 6:158.

¹¹ Directory of California Secondary Schools. State Department of Education. Bulletin No. 3, Part I, Feb. 1, 1932, pp. 27-37.

¹² Koos, Leonard V., and Weersing, F. J. Secondary Education in California. Report of a Preliminary Survey, California State Printing Office, 1929, p. 24.

¹³ Research Bulletin of the National Education Association, Vol. X, No. 3, May, 1932. Estimating School Efficiency. Table 7, p. 169.

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TABLE 1.—*Reorganized high schools classified according to type of organization, 1928¹*

States in rank order	Total number reorganized high schools	Segregated junior high schools			Segregated senior high schools			Junior-senior high schools			Undivided high schools		
		7 to 9	Other ²	Total	10 to 12	Other ³	Total	7 to 9, 10 to 12	Other ⁴	Total	7 to 12	Other ⁵	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Ohio.....	372	87	16	103	35	11	46	40	41	81	123	19	142
2. Indiana.....	362	24	13	37	21	16	22	26	34	60	228	15	243
3. Michigan.....	347	51	22	73	43	4	30	74	51	125	98	21	119
4. Pennsylvania.....	336	90	42	132	39	20	59	64	6	70	76	11	87
5. Massachusetts.....	253	111	34	145	44	5	6	8	2	10	28	5	20
6. Alabama.....	238	24	20	44	5	1	6	147	2	149	28	11	39
7. New York.....	213	81	5	86	9	1	10	36	50	86	19	12	31
8. Iowa.....	187	26	45	71	14	11	25	33	60	93	19	9	28
9. West Virginia.....	167	63	13	76	12	2	14	17	3	20	48	9	57
10. California.....	166	89	4	93	32	1	33	21	2	23	17	0	17
23. Illinois.....	82	33	12	45	7	11	18	4	11	15	2	2	4

¹ Adapted from Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1928-1930, Bulletin, 1931, No. 20, Ch. III, Secondary Education, United States Department of the Interior, Office of Education, Table 2, pp. 4-5.

² The 2 most frequent types of "Other" are 7 to 8, and 7, 8, 9, and 10.

³ The most frequent types of "Other" are 9 to 11 and 9 to 12.

⁴ The great majority of junior-senior high schools under "Other" consist of seventh and eighth grades and then 9 to 12, inclusive, that is, the ninth is administered with the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades.

⁵ The most frequent types of "Other" under this caption are 6 to 11, 7 to 11, and 8 to 12.

⁶ Illinois ranks twenty-third in total number of reorganized secondary schools. States between tenth and twenty-third in rank have been omitted.

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In number of junior high schools California ranks ninth and in undivided 6-year high schools it ranks fourth. In every aspect of reorganization progress, except the last mentioned, California ranks far below what the excellence of its general secondary-school showing would lead us to expect.

Reasons for the existing situation will appear as data gathered in this project of the National Survey of Secondary Education are presented in the following chapters. Also the possible lines of future development, as these are envisioned by the educational leaders of the State, will be indicated.

CHAPTER III : THE SITUATION IN A TYPICAL COUNTY

1. THE GENERAL SITUATION IN KERN COUNTY

While the California project, as heretofore suggested, covered seven counties, the limits of printed space available make it necessary to select one county for detailed presentation, and to give the essential findings for all seven counties in a series of summarizing tables. This chapter and Chapter IV are devoted to Kern County. Chapter V covers the summary of findings for all seven counties, and Chapter VI includes changes in State policies and school laws which have been suggested by prominent educators in the interest of better articulation and organization.

Kern County was selected for intensive treatment because it represents almost every type of problem relating to desirable reorganization. This county originally included a county high-school district governed by the county board of education. For one reason or another, parts of the county seceded to form local districts until at present seven high-school districts operate in the county. There is only one junior high school in the county and this is attached to a small high school in the only single district, or regular high-school district. None of the union high-school districts, even the Kern County Union which has within its borders, Bakersfield, a city of 35,000 population, has organized junior high schools. The two junior colleges in the county are of the high-school departmental type, there being no junior-college district in the county. It was felt, therefore, that to give the situation in Kern County in detail, and that of the six remaining counties in summary tables and discussion, would be the most economical use of space, and at the same time would serve to give a fair impression of the entire project and its contribution to the problem of school and district organization in California.

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2. EXISTING EDUCATIONAL SITUATION IN KERN COUNTY

KINDERGARTEN EDUCATION

Districts maintaining kindergartens.—Kindergartens are found only in the larger elementary-school districts. One 5-teacher district in Kern County, namely, Tehachapi, maintains a kindergarten for 30 pupils. This district is an exception, however, rather than the rule. Other districts approximately the same in size do not provide kindergarten opportunities. No elementary district employing 11 teachers or more is without a kindergarten, and only the one district already named, employing fewer than 11 teachers, provides a kindergarten.

Eleven districts maintaining kindergartens employ a total of 28 kindergarten teachers and enroll 1,453 kindergarten pupils. Of these, 9 employ but 1 kindergarten teacher, 1 employs 12, and 1, 7 kindergarten teachers. The minimum kindergarten enrollment is 27 pupils. The maximum enrollment is 771 pupils. The maximum enrollment in a 1-teacher kindergarten is 62 pupils.

Children enrolled.—There are at present approximately 2,450 children between 4½ and 6 years of age in Kern County. Of these 1,453, or about 59 per cent, are now enrolled in kindergartens. However, where kindergartens now exist, by no means all children of kindergarten age attend. More than 300 children between 4½ and 6 years of age residing within districts maintaining kindergartens are not now enrolled. Counting these, it becomes evident that kindergarten education is now available to about 70 per cent of the children of kindergarten age in the county.

Costs of kindergarten education.—Following are the budget items of cost for kindergarten education in the county: General control, \$2,514; teachers' salaries and other expenses of instruction, \$60,799; maintenance and operation of plant, \$23,677; fixed charges and auxiliary agencies, \$14,552; capital outlays, \$46,175. This makes a total of \$147,717, including capital outlay. As already reported, there are 1,453 children enrolled in the 11 kindergartens of Kern County. The average daily kindergarten attendance is 842. If capital outlay is omitted, the cost per unit of average daily attendance is \$120.59. This compares favorably with

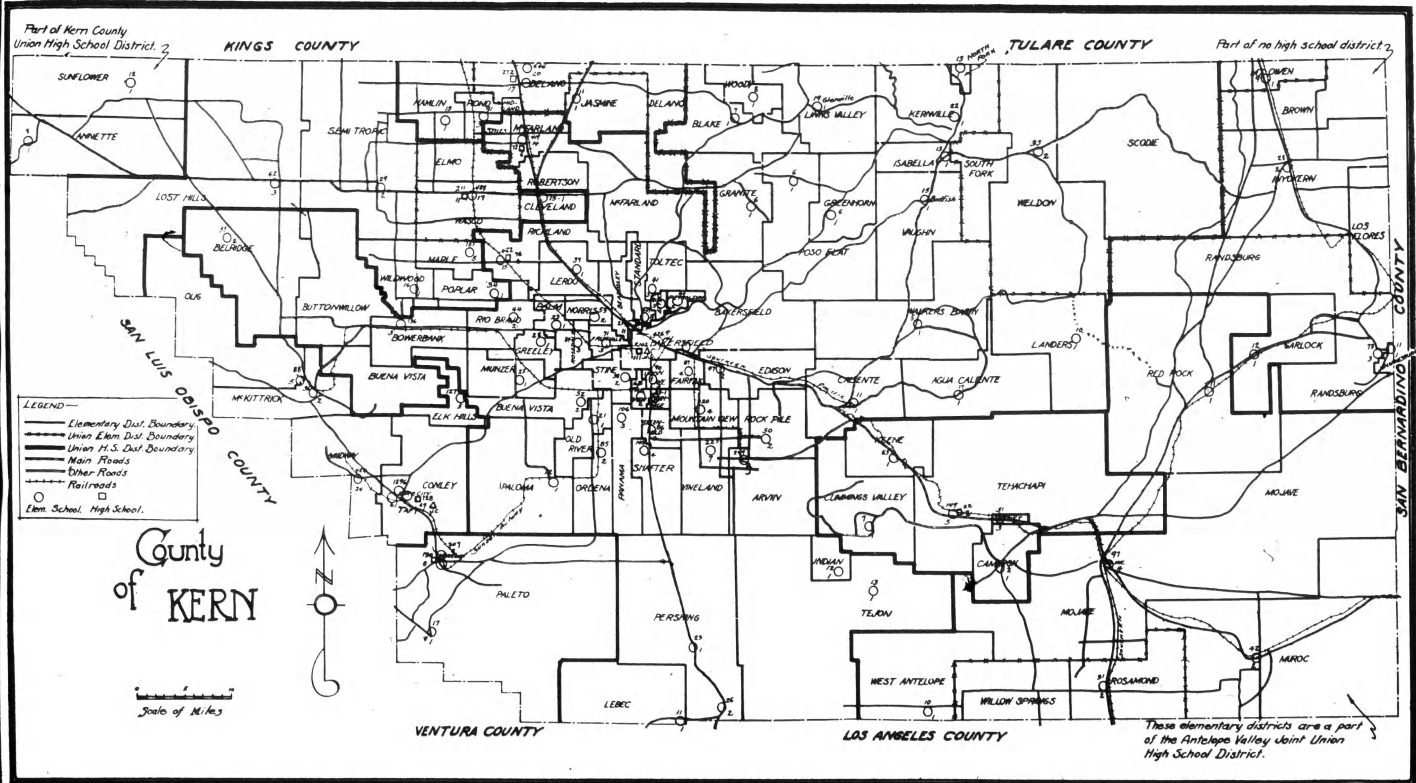


FIGURE 1.—Map of Kern County as at present organized

128458*—88. (Page p. 94.)

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the cost of elementary education for which the cost per unit of average daily attendance in 1929-30 was \$101.75. If the rural districts having 20 or more children of appropriate age added kindergartens, as suggested below, it might raise the average cost per unit of average daily attendance, because in rural areas transportation would need to be provided.

Opportunities for expansion.—If other 5-teacher elementary districts should follow the example of Tehachapi in establishing kindergartens, five additional kindergartens would develop with eligible kindergarten children estimated as follows: Arvin, 51; Vineland, 45; Elk Hills, 24; Olig, 16. Kindergarten opportunities would thus be made available to 162 additional children, raising the percentage, given above, from 70 to 78 per cent. It will be noted, however, that in the case of Olig, the available children of kindergarten age would be fewer than the 20 mentioned in the law.

Summary.—It appears, then, that under present conditions approximately 40 per cent of the children of kindergarten age in the county are not enrolled in any kindergarten. Of this number not enrolled, about one-fourth merely fail to take advantage of kindergarten opportunities now available.

It appears further that if every elementary district employing five teachers in the elementary school should establish a kindergarten, kindergarten opportunities would be made available to an additional 8 per cent of the children of kindergarten age in the county. It is not proposed that every elementary district employing five teachers establish a kindergarten. This figure is used simply as a point of reference, since Tehachapi employing only five teachers supports a kindergarten. The point here made is that if every elementary district employing five teachers or more were to provide a kindergarten, only 78 per cent of the children of kindergarten age in the county would have kindergarten opportunities.

Education at this level appears to be available at present only to children living in the larger communities. This is probably due to the fact that there is no State aid for kindergartens and also to the separate control of elementary and secondary education under the union high-school district organization.

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ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

Elementary districts.—There are 88 elementary districts in Kern County of which 7 are union districts, 39 are districts which employ one teacher only, 17 employ two teachers, and 68, or 77 per cent, employ fewer than four teachers. A county where more than 50 per cent of the districts are 1-teacher and 2-teacher districts offers an excellent opportunity for the study of possible consolidations or unionizations in the interest of educational efficiency and economy.

Elementary-school buildings. (a) *Type.*—There are 136 elementary-school buildings, 63 of which are 1-room structures; 15 have 2 rooms, 10 have 3 rooms, 13 have from 4 to 6 rooms, and 35 have 7 or more rooms, and employ teachers accordingly. Here again the 1- and 2-room buildings predominate, representing 57 per cent of the total number of school buildings in the county.

(b) *Condition.*—Of these 136 buildings, 30 are in excellent condition; 55, good; 29, fair; 16, poor; and 5, very poor. Those scored as "very poor" are all 1-room buildings. One 2-room and one 3-room building are in "poor" condition. The other 14 marked "poor" are 1-room buildings. Ten 1-room and five 2-room buildings are in "excellent" condition. One 3-room building is not owned by the district in which it is located.

Average daily attendance per teacher employed.—As may be seen in Table 2, 31 districts, or 35 per cent, have in average daily attendance fewer than 16 pupils; 43 districts, or 49 per cent, have fewer than 21 pupils in average daily attendance. The extremes occur in 1-teacher districts.

TABLE 2.—Distribution of elementary districts according to the number of pupils in average daily attendance per teacher employed

Number of pupils in average daily attendance per teacher employed	Number of districts	Number of pupils in average daily attendance per teacher employed	Number of districts
5 or fewer.....	2	41 to 45.....	2
6 to 10.....	10	46 to 50.....	0
11 to 15.....	19	51 to 55.....	0
16 to 20.....	12	56 to 60.....	0
21 to 25.....	14	61 to 65.....	1
26 to 30.....	18		
31 to 35.....	8	Total.....	88
36 to 40.....	2		

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The Keene and Cameron districts illustrate the deceptive character of averages. The average number of pupils per teacher in these two districts is 32.5, but the teacher in the Keene district attempts to educate 63 pupils enrolled in all eight grades, while the teacher at Cameron has only 2 pupils.

The influence of the average and median in leveling up extreme differences between individual districts is shown in Table 3. The third column of the table gives the mean and the last column the median number of children in average daily attendance per teacher employed in districts classified with respect to number of teachers employed. For the smaller schools, the median is the more significant figure, since it does not reflect the leveling of the extremes to the same extent as does the average. However, the differences between means and medians are not marked except in the case of the 39 one-teacher schools.

TABLE 3.—Average daily attendance in schools classified by number of teachers employed

Number of teachers employed	Number of districts	Average number of pupils in average daily attendance per teacher employed	Median number of pupils in average daily attendance per teacher employed
1	2	3	4
1.....	39	15	12
2.....	17	22	21
3.....	12	27	26
4.....	4	25	25
5.....	4	26	27
More than 5.....	12	28	28
Total.....	88	26.4	26

The central tendency among 1-teacher districts is an average daily attendance of 12 pupils per teacher, and among 2-teacher districts an average daily attendance of 21 pupils. The average daily attendance per teacher for the entire State is approximately the same as that of Kern County as a whole; that is, 26.4 pupils.

Teachers' salaries.—Teachers' salaries in Kern County are somewhat above those in the State as a whole. Only five

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teachers in the county receive salaries less than \$1,400. That the size of district affects the teacher's salary is obvious from a study of Table 4, which distributes the teachers with respect both to salaries and to the number of teachers employed in the district.

TABLE 4.—*Distribution of elementary school teachers with respect to salaries and size of school*

Type of district ¹	Number of teachers drawing following salaries							Total number of teachers
	Less than \$1,400	\$1,400 to \$1,599	\$1,600 to \$1,799	\$1,800 to \$1,999	\$2,000 to \$2,199	\$2,200 or more	Median salary	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1 teacher.....	1	14	18	4		2	\$1,665	39
2 teachers.....	1	9	8	7	5	4	1,786	34
3 teachers.....		6	12	10	5	3	1,800	36
4 teachers.....		2	5	8	1		1,824	16
5 teachers.....		3	8	6		2	1,774	19
6 teachers.....								0
7 teachers.....			6			1	1,700	7
More than 7 teachers.....	3	76	59	55	100	19	1,864	312
Total number of teachers employed.....	5	110	116	90	111	31	1,800	463

¹ This table is complete for the smaller districts, though some data are lacking for the districts employing more than 7 teachers.

The median salary for elementary teachers is \$1,800 per year. Only six teachers in 1-teacher schools receive the median salary or more, while 174, or 55.8 per cent, of the teachers in schools employing seven teachers or more receive \$1,800 per year or more. Again it appears that size of school and number of teachers employed affect the teachers' salaries in a marked way.

Wealth of districts in assessed valuation.—Figures concerning the financial ability of the elementary-school districts to provide for a suitable educational program, are set forth in Tables 5 and 6. The actual range in assessed valuation per child in average daily attendance is from \$840 in North Fork district to \$140,707 in Granite district. The computed median is \$13,636. If it is true that educational opportunities for the children of a district are relatively in proportion to the assessed wealth back of each child, then Granite district has 167 times the potential power to provide educational facilities for its children that North Fork district has.

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TABLE 5.—*Distribution of elementary districts with respect to assessed valuation per child in average daily attendance*

Assessed valuation per pupil in average daily attendance	Number of districts	Assessed valuation per pupil in average daily attendance	Number of districts
\$1,000 or less	1	\$30,001 to \$40,000	8
\$1,001 to \$5,000	18	\$40,001 to \$50,000	6
\$5,001 to \$10,000	17	\$50,001 to \$100,000	7
\$10,001 to \$15,000	11	More than \$100,000	2
\$15,001 to \$20,000	7		
\$20,001 to \$30,000	11	Total	88

TABLE 6.—*Distribution of elementary districts with respect to assessed valuation per teacher employed*

Assessed valuation per teacher employed ¹	Number of districts	Assessed valuation per teacher employed ¹	Number of districts
\$10,000 to \$20,000	1	\$500,001 to \$600,000	5
\$20,001 to \$50,000	7	\$600,001 to \$700,000	6
\$50,001 to \$100,000	7	\$700,001 to \$1,000,000	9
\$100,001 to \$200,000	23	\$1,000,001 to \$2,000,000	5
\$200,001 to \$300,000	7	More than \$2,000,000	1
\$300,001 to \$400,000	13		
\$400,001 to \$500,000	4	Total	88

¹ The median computed from this table is \$285,714.

The assessed valuation per teacher is probably a better measure of relative ability than is the valuation per pupil. A very poor district may have only a few children, while a wealthy district may have many children. It is when the poor district has many children requiring many teachers and the rich district has few children requiring but a few teachers that the apparent disparity becomes real. The actual range in Kern County with respect to this measure is from \$10,860 in North Fork district to \$2,410,000 per teacher employed in Elk Hills district. These two districts, therefore, afford an excellent illustration of the disparities in ability between districts to provide education for their children.

Unit expenditures for elementary education.—The expenditures, not including capital outlays, per child in average daily attendance and in relation to size of school as indicated by the number of teachers employed, are shown in Table 7. As might be expected, the range, \$37.70 in Keene district to \$869.61 in Cameron district, is greater among the 1-teacher districts. In fact, this range is wide enough to include unit

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expenditures for the entire county as shown by the last column, and in the derived figures at the foot of the table. While the numbers of 4-, 5-, and 6-teacher districts are too small to be significant, it is easily seen that the unit expenditures per child generally grow smaller as the number of teachers employed by the districts increases. The median cost per pupil in 1-teacher districts, as computed from the table, is \$212.50, with the range from \$37.70 to \$869.61, while in districts employing more than seven teachers the median is \$125, with the range from \$79.43 to \$236.28.

It is readily observable that unit costs in small schools are decidedly higher than in schools of larger size. The effect of smallness of school population on unit costs is most pronounced in schools employing fewer than five teachers. Not a single district employing five or more teachers has a cost of more than \$249.99 per unit of average daily attendance, while 14 districts employing fewer than five teachers have unit costs in excess of that amount.

TABLE 7.—Distribution of elementary school districts according to expenditures (not including capital outlays) per pupil in average daily attendance and according to number of teachers employed

Expenditures per child in average daily attendance	Number of teachers employed							
	1	2	3	4	5 ¹	7	More than 7	All schools
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
\$25 to \$49.99.....	1							1
\$50 to \$74.99.....								0
\$75 to \$99.99.....	3	2	5		2	1	4	17
\$100 to \$124.99.....	3	1	3	4			2	13
\$125 to \$149.99.....	4	5	1				2	12
\$150 to \$174.99.....	5	4					1	10
\$175 to \$199.99.....	1		2		1			4
\$200 to \$224.99.....	6	2			1		1	10
\$225 to \$249.99.....	5	1			1		1	7
\$250 to \$274.99.....	4	2	1					7
\$275 to \$299.99.....	1							1
\$300 to \$324.99.....	1							1
\$325 to \$349.99.....	1							1
\$350 to \$374.99.....	1							1
\$375 to \$399.99.....								0
\$400 to \$424.99.....	2							2
\$425 to \$449.99.....								0
\$450 to \$474.99.....								0
\$475 to \$499.99.....								0
\$500 and more.....	1							1
Total.....	39	17	12	4	4	1	11	88
Actual minimum.....	37.70	89.00	79.64	106.62	78.41	82.90	79.43	37.70
Computed median.....	210.42	153.12	104.17	112.50	137.50	125.00	154.55	
Actual maximum.....	869.61	269.61	256.63	118.78	220.30	82.90	236.28	869.61

¹ None reports 6 teachers employed.

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Tax rates in relation to number of teachers employed.—It will be seen from Table 8 that there is a slight relationship between size of district and tax rates for schools, the rates tending to be somewhat heavier in schools employing several teachers. Of the 30 districts supporting tax rates of 10 cents or less, 24 are 1- and 2-teacher districts; of the 51 districts having tax rates of more than 20 cents, 27 are 1 and 2 teacher schools.

TABLE 8.—*Distribution of elementary school districts according to (a) number of teachers employed and (b) tax rate for maintenance in elementary schools*

Elementary school tax rate, in cents	Number of teachers employed							Total districts with given tax rate
	1	2	3	4	5 ¹	7	More than 7	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
0 to 10.....	18	6	4	-----	1	-----	1	30
11 to 20.....	3	2	1	-----	-----	-----	1	7
21 to 30.....	17	8	7	3	3	1	8	47
More than 30.....	1	1	-----	1	-----	-----	1	4
Total as to number of districts.....	39	17	12	4	4	1	11	88

¹ None reports 6 teachers employed.

The tendency toward low tax rates in the 1- and 2-teacher school districts is explained by the fact that each district receives from State and county funds \$1,400 for each 35 pupils or fraction thereof in average daily attendance for as many teachers as their attendance calls for.¹ Many 1 and 2 teacher districts can run their schools on this allowance without levying any local tax whatever. It is on this account that elementary districts refuse to enter into consolidation enterprises where the identity of the district as well as its teacher apportionment would be lost. For this reason unionization for elementary purposes is at present more often feasible than consolidation.

Total elementary costs.—Kern County spent \$1,633,610.23 on its elementary schools in 1929-30. The main items of expenditure were as follows: Teachers' salaries, general con-

¹ See California School Code, secs. 4.761 and 4.772.

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trol, and other expenses of instruction, \$1,227,416; libraries, maintenance of plant, fixed charges, and auxiliary agencies, \$114,522; capital outlays, \$291,672. The total, omitting capital outlays, was \$1,341,938. Average daily attendance in the elementary schools for the entire county was 13,189. This would make the average cost of elementary education for the elementary schools about \$101.75 per unit of average daily attendance. A truer picture of costs, however, is given by the evidence concerning range of expenditures as reported in Table 7, where it appears that the lowest cost in any district per unit of average daily attendance is \$37.70; the median is \$154.55 and the highest is \$869.61. These data indicate clearly the necessity for equalization of costs between districts.

HIGH-SCHOOL EDUCATION

The status of the junior high school.—There exists but one junior high school in Kern County. This junior high school, including grades 7, 8, and 9, is in the city of Maricopa (Paleto district) where both elementary and secondary schools are under one board. It is housed with the senior high school, and thus amounts to a 6-year high school. Grades 7, 8, and 9 have a combined enrollment of 113 pupils, and an average daily attendance of 107 pupils. All junior high school figures are included with the data given on the Maricopa High School in the tables which follow.

The present investigation shows that the articulation between the elementary and high schools in Kern County is about what will be found in other portions of the State where similar conditions obtain. In Maricopa, Paleto district, the organization of a junior high school unit is made possible, without transference of authority from one board to another, by the fact that it is a regular or single district. It is significant that articulation in union high-school districts depends largely on the activities of the county superintendent and his office, or on the purely voluntary basis of agreement between the administrative authorities in the elementary and secondary schools. Obviously this is a condition which can be corrected only under a unified administration having control over both types of schools.

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Number and types of high-school districts.—At present there are seven high-school districts in Kern County as follows: One regular district—Maricopa; four union districts—Kern County, Taft, Tehachapi Valley, Wasco, and two joint-union districts—Antelope Valley and Delano. Data on number of elementary districts included, number of pupils in average daily attendance, and number of teachers employed are shown in Table 9.

TABLE 9.—*High-school districts in Kern County as to types, elementary districts included, pupils in average daily attendance, and number of teachers employed*

Name of district	Kind of district	Number of elementary districts included	Average daily attendance	Number of teachers employed
1	2	3	4	5
Delano ¹	Joint-union.....	10	272	17
Kern County ²	Union.....	60	2,250	130
Maricopa ³	Regular.....	1	190	18
Taft.....	Union.....	5	728	47
Tehachapi Valley.....	do.....	5	23	2
Wasco.....	do.....	8	211	11
Antelope Valley ⁴	Joint-union.....			

¹ The figures in the third column include the members of elementary-school unions separately; thus the Wasco union elementary district consisting of Wasco and Elmo is counted as 2 districts. 5 elementary districts in the county (Garlock, Indian Wells, Valley Union, Johannesburg, Mount Owen, and Randsburg) are not included in any high-school district.

² Supervisors not included in this table.

³ The Delano joint-union high-school district includes 5 elementary districts from Tulare County.

⁴ McFarland and Shafter branch high schools are included in data for Kern County union district.

⁵ Data for the seventh and eighth grades of the junior high school are included in Maricopa high-school figures. Grades 10, 11, and 12 of the senior high school have a total enrollment of 86 pupils, and an average daily attendance of 83. There are also 3 postgraduates enrolled.

⁶ Data for Antelope Valley union high school, located in Los Angeles County, are not included in Table 9.

High-school organization in Kern County is interesting in that it presents a somewhat unusual history. The original high-school unit was the Kern County high-school district which included the entire county and was governed by the county board of education. With the rise of populous centers, chiefly under the influence of the development of the oil industry, a disintegrating process began. There was also a feeling on the part of these new and rapidly growing communities that the county board of education was unresponsive to their needs. This caused them to demand separate high-school districts of their own. Hence the organization of the

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seven high-school districts each of which now has its own high-school board.

The most recent step in this process occurred in 1929, when the Tehachapi Valley union high-school district was formed with a high school in Tehachapi. The Antelope Valley joint-union high-school district, with a high school at Lancaster, is under the control of Los Angeles County. It includes three elementary districts in Kern County, namely, Mojave, Muroc, and Red Rock.

The Delano joint-union district includes five elementary districts in Tulare County, namely, Columbine, Edendale, Earlimort, Pixley, and Richgrove. These districts are important to the joint-union district.

High-school costs.—The cost of high-school education per unit of average daily attendance and in relation to the number of pupils per teacher is shown in Table 10.

TABLE 10.—*Number of pupils in average daily attendance per teacher employed, cost per pupil in average daily attendance, and cost per teacher employed in the high-school districts of Kern County, 1929-30*

District	Number of pupils per teacher	Cost per pupil in average daily attendance	Cost per teacher employed	Total pupils in average daily attendance
1	2	3	4	5
Delano joint-union.....	15.1	\$280.00	\$4,465.09	272
Kern County union.....	17.0	258.69	4,477.34	2,250
Maricopa.....	10.0	434.58	4,587.25	190
Taft union.....	14.8	402.85	6,239.96	728
Tehachapi Valley union.....	7.6	309.32	3,557.14	23
Wasco union.....	17.2	267.49	5,130.86	211
Minimum.....	7.6	258.69	3,557.14	3,674
Median.....	14.95	294.66	4,532.29	
Maximum.....	17.2	434.58	6,239.86	

A comparison of the figures of Table 10 will reveal that unit costs per student are generally somewhat higher in high schools where the average daily attendance is low. Two districts having fewer than 200 pupils in average daily attendance, namely, Maricopa and Tehachapi, rank first and third, respectively, in cost per pupil. Conversely, the largest high school in the county, Kern County union, has the lowest cost per pupil. Costs per student in the Taft union high

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school, the second largest high school in the county, are at variance with the general trend. There may, however, be some relation between cost per pupil in the Taft district and the fact that assessed valuation per pupil is \$95,437, against \$28,167 in the Delano district.

As appeared in the case of the elementary teachers, the higher salaries for high-school teachers are found in the larger high schools. (See Table 11.) There are 42 teachers in the four small high schools of the county. Only 14, or 33 per cent, receive the median salary or more while in the two larger high schools, 87 of the 183 teachers, or 48 per cent, receive the median salary or more. Nevertheless, the cost per teacher in the large high schools is lower than in three of the four smaller schools.

TABLE 11.—Distribution of high-school teachers¹ according to salaries received in the six high schools of Kern County, 1929-30

District	Annual salary										Total number of teachers
	Less than \$1,500	\$1,500 to \$1,699	\$1,700 to \$1,899	\$1,900 to \$2,099	\$2,100 to \$2,299	\$2,300 to \$2,499	\$2,500 to \$2,699	\$2,700 to \$2,899	\$2,900 to \$3,099	\$3,100 and more	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Delano union.....			4	3	2	3	2	1	2	1	18
2. Kern County union.....	1		12	12	12	17	18	30	15	20	133
3. Maricopa.....		1			5	2	4	2	2	3	19
4. Taft union.....				3	5	6	13	13	5	4	49
5. Tehachapi Valley union.....				1					1	1	3
6. Wasco union.....			1	2	4	1	3			1	12
Total.....	1	1	17	21	28	25	40	46	25	30	234

¹ This table includes supervisors as well as teachers. The computed average high-school salary (including salaries of supervisors) in Kern County for the year 1929-30 was \$2,753.39. The median salary was \$2,579.60.

Assessed valuation in high-school districts.—The relative economic ability of the various high-school districts to support secondary education, expressed in terms of assessed valuation per child and per teacher, is shown in Table 12.

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TABLE 12.—*Assessed valuation per pupil in average daily attendance and per teacher employed in the high-school districts of Kern County, 1929-30*

High-school district	Assessed valuation per pupil in average daily attendance	Assessed valuation per teacher employed
Delano joint-union.....	\$28, 167	\$450, 686
Kern County union.....	33, 613	568, 638
Maricopa.....	30, 325	403, 246
Taft union.....	95, 437	1, 417, 923
Tehachapi Valley union.....	99, 810	765, 215
Wasco union.....	53, 160	934, 726
Average.....	46, 959	516, 547
Minimum.....	28, 167	403, 246
Median.....	43, 386	751, 442
Maximum.....	99, 810	1, 417, 923

Wealth per pupil is indicative of the district's ability to support a high school only when the number of pupils is fairly large. For the small high school, as in the case of Tehachapi Valley union (3 teachers, 23 pupils in average daily attendance), such figures are likely to be misleading. Table 12 shows wide variation in this respect. Excluding Tehachapi Valley union, the range in assessed valuation per pupil is from \$28,167 in the Delano district to \$95,437 in the Taft district.

Wealth per teacher is perhaps a truer measure of ability to support schools. However, this measure is likewise at fault in the small high-school district, such as the Tehachapi Valley union; for the reason that modern secondary education is possible only when a faculty of considerable size is provided.

Again ignoring the figures for Tehachapi Valley union in regard to assessed valuation per teacher we find the range to be from \$403,246 in Maricopa to \$1,417,923 in Taft. Reference to Table 10 will reveal that Maricopa has the doubtful distinction of supporting the smallest high school in average daily attendance, not including Tehachapi Valley union, at the highest cost per pupil. Table 12 shows that these high unit costs fall upon the high-school district of the county having least wealth per pupil and per teacher. A glance at the tax rates for maintenance as set forth in Table 14 below will show that these costs occasion the highest high-school maintenance rate, not including bond tax, in the county.

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Transportation and mileage costs.—In order to bring large numbers of high-school pupils together it is necessary in union high-school districts to provide transportation. All the high schools of Kern County (omitting Tehachapi union) combined maintain 49 busses, transport 1,333 pupils daily at an annual cost per pupil transported of \$93.62, and a total cost of \$124,797. (See Table 13.)

TABLE 13.—*Number of school busses in operation, number of bus routes, number of pupils transported, extreme distance one way, extreme time one way, total cost of transportation, average cost per pupil transported, total daily bus mileage, average cost per bus mile in high-school districts of Kern County, 1929-30*

Name of district	Number of busses in operation	Number of bus routes	Average length of routes in miles	Number of pupils transported	Extreme distance one-way any pupil in miles	Extreme time one-way any pupil in minutes	Total cost of transportation	Average cost per year per pupil transported	Cost per bus mile	Total daily bus mileage
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Delano joint-union.....	13	13	21	165	22½	70	11,453	69.41	0.125	550
Kern County union.....	21	22	40	703	36	90	74,068	105.36	.450	892
Maricopa ¹										
Taft union.....	8	8	32	275	23	85	32,000	116.36	.686	258
Tehachapi Valley union ¹										
Wasco.....	7	7	48	190	33	75	7,276	151.58	.104	386
Total.....	49	50	35	1,333	36	90	124,797	93.62	.332	2,086

¹ No transportation.

¹ No data available.

This cost of transportation puts a limit on both elementary and secondary consolidation. The common belief is that pupils should not be transported over routes requiring more than an hour a day each way. It is the belief also that no more should be spent for transportation in the aggregate than it would cost to provide equal elementary or secondary educational facilities nearer the children's homes. The high cost of providing adequate curriculum and laboratory facilities for high-school purposes in small schools, however, justifies transportation costs for union high schools which concentrate better secondary school offerings at larger centers than single elementary districts could possibly offer.

Tax rates, school property, debts, and assessed valuation.—A picture of the financial situation in each high-school district

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of the county is given in Table 14. The highest tax rate for maintenance is in the Maricopa district, which according to Table 12 has the lowest assessed valuation per teacher employed, and the highest cost per unit of average daily attendance. The lowest maintenance tax is levied by Taft union district, which has the highest assessed valuation per teacher. Again it is apparent great differences in assessed valuation per teacher urge some plan of equalization if equal opportunities are to be provided at anything like equal tax burdens upon the districts of the State.

TABLE 14.—Assessed valuation of property, estimated value of school buildings, present indebtedness, tax rate for maintenance, tax rate for bonds, and total tax rates in high-school districts of Kern County, 1929-30

Name of district	Assessed valuation of property	Estimated value of school property	Present debt	Tax rate		
				For maintenance	For bonds	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Delano joint-union.....	\$3,902,845	\$192,256	\$73,000	\$0.66	\$0.14	\$0.80
Kern County union.....	75,628,855	1,894,050	250,000	.62	.09	.71
Maricopa.....	7,661,670	180,500	63,000	.75	.00	.75
Taft union.....	69,478,245	900,000	—	.35	.06	.41
Tehachapi Valley union.....	2,295,635	—	43,000	.48	.22	.70
Wasco union.....	11,216,715	271,500	22,500	.56	.06	.62

High-school budget items.—Kern County in 1929-30 spent on secondary education a total of \$1,345,663, distributed as follows: General control, \$21,410; teachers' salaries and other expenses of instruction, \$718,813; libraries, operation of plant, maintenance of plant and fixed charges, \$215,404; auxiliary agencies (mostly transportation) and laboratory supplies, \$141,731; and capital outlay, \$248,305. Teachers' salaries and other costs of instruction represent 65 per cent of the costs when capital outlay is omitted from the total. Transportation costs, as shown in Table 13, account for an additional 11.4 per cent. Since there were 3,674 pupils in average daily attendance in the county in 1929-30, and the total cost, not including capital outlay for secondary schools, was \$1,097,359, the average cost was \$298.12 per pupil in average daily attendance. The range of secondary-school costs per unit of average daily attendance from \$258.69 to \$434.58 is typical of other counties of the State, although somewhat higher than the average.

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JUNIOR-COLLEGE EDUCATION

Two junior colleges are maintained in Kern County, one at Bakersfield and the other at Taft. Both of these institutions are what is known as departmental junior colleges. This designation covers all junior colleges which are administered as departments by a regular, a union, a joint-union, a county, or a city high-school district. Junior-college opportunities are also available to Kern County students in the elementary districts belonging to the Antelope Valley Union High School, located at Lancaster, Los Angeles County. This high school also maintains a junior-college department.

The Kern County Union Junior College Department had an enrollment in 1929-30 of about 300 students, and an average daily attendance of about 200. The Taft Junior College Department enrolled about 200 students, and had an average daily attendance of about 110.

The costs of the junior-college departments are difficult to estimate, but if the cost per unit of average daily attendance for the high schools supporting junior-college departments is taken as the basis of calculation we find that the junior-college department of the Kern County union costs the district about \$50,000, and the Taft Union High School spent about \$45,000 on its junior-college department. Owing to the typically higher costs of junior-college education, the total amounts chargeable to the junior college are in all probability greater than these estimates. On account of the larger enrollment and other economies of a large school organization, Kern County union district is able to give junior-college privileges to 200 students in average daily attendance, at a total cost of but \$5,000 more than is spent by the Taft union on an average daily attendance of 110 students.

These two junior colleges retain the departmental status, partly because they have large taxable resources and are not dependent on the larger State contribution that would accrue if junior-college district organization could be brought about. Also district organization requires approval by the State board of education and a special election open to all voters within the area to be included in the proposed junior-college district. Suggestions for the possible improvement of the junior-college situation in the county are made in Chapter IV.

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3. TENTATIVE FINDINGS REGARDING THE PRESENT STATUS OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Educational opportunities unequally distributed.—The content of the foregoing pages seems to justify the following tentative findings in the light of the preliminary hypotheses previously stated.

The existence of many small units of administration, particularly of elementary districts, is a factor which makes for inequality of educational opportunity. There are 88 elementary and 7 union, joint-union, or single high-school districts in the county, having a total of about 300 school-board members or trustees. Good ground exists for believing that enlarged administrative areas, requiring the services of only one-tenth as many school-board members would be a distinct advantage.

These small elementary schools and high schools are operated under conditions of extreme variations in numbers of pupils per teacher, amounts of assessed wealth per child in average daily attendance, salaries of teachers, and costs per unit of average daily attendance.

The modern elementary school as well as the modern secondary school is characterized by a broad and enriched curriculum; by well-trained teachers and supervisors; by well-equipped libraries, laboratories, and other facilities which promote "learning by doing," as well as learning by reading and listening only. They are rapidly becoming institutions where well-planned activities play a vital rôle in the educative process. Few of the items that have just been mentioned are possibly available in the 1 and 2 teacher elementary schools or the small 3 to 5 teacher high schools. To the extent that Kern County has such small educational administrative units it affords uneven opportunities for its young people. Particularly is teaching efficiency impaired in these small elementary and secondary schools by the wide range of subjects and grades that one teacher must cover and by the lack of adequate supervision. This condition is due in part to the sparseness of settlement or the rough character of the topography in certain areas. Nevertheless, it is apparent that much yet remains to be accomplished in Kern County with respect to achieving larger administrative units for all purposes.

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Inequalities of elementary and secondary tax burdens.—It is evident from the foregoing data that tax burdens are far from equal in the various elementary and secondary districts of the county. Some districts levy no local taxes for elementary purposes but support their schools entirely on State and county appropriations. Other elementary districts levy the limit of taxes allowed by law for both elementary and secondary purposes. Thus the burden of supporting the schools is very unequally distributed. Thirty elementary districts levy local taxes of 10 cents or less per \$100 of assessed valuation, while four districts levy 30 cents or more. One high-school district levies a local tax of 41 cents for high-school purposes, while another levies a tax of 80 cents. There are also great variations in assessed valuation per child and per teacher which have a bearing on the ability of districts to provide educational opportunities for the children resident in these districts.

Efficiency of educational expenditures.—Wide variations are found in the county in unit expenditures per child. In elementary schools the range is from \$37.70 to \$868.61 per unit of average daily attendance, and in the high schools from \$258.69 to \$434.59. It is true that in cases where education can only be furnished at high cost on account of conditions that can not be controlled, no charge of inefficiency can justly be made. Our American assumption is that education is the right of every child and the accident of location should not be permitted to deprive any group of children of that right, even at high cost. It still remains true, however, that educational costs in many elementary and secondary districts are inexcusably high because administrative authorities will not make adjustments which would result in greatly reduced unit costs. It is the latter type of inefficiency that demands attention before effective educational reorganization can be brought about.

Reorganization and articulation of units of the school system.—In Kern County there is only one junior high school which is in the Maricopa district and is part of a 12-grade system. Educational reorganization is apparently retarded by the prevalence of the union high-school district. The two cities, large enough to organize on the reorganized plan, Taft

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and Bakersfield, are both integral parts of union high-school districts and thus under dual control educationally, that is, they have elementary boards which employ superintendents whose jurisdiction extends only to the elementary grades, and high-school boards which employ principals who are in no way responsible to the city superintendents of schools. Maricopa district, already mentioned, is the only illustration of a unified system of control in the county. It is a single, or regular, district, but small and weak in financial resources. Its single board of education, however, has jurisdiction over all grades from the kindergarten through the twelfth grade and maintains a 6-6 organization. The high tax rate in this district is not due to the type of organization but to the limited area and the small assessed valuation. To accomplish the desirable purpose of equalization of costs as well as to improve educational opportunities for the children of the county, it is apparent that administrative areas should be large enough to embrace substantial assessed valuations and at the same time include school populations such that the number of pupils per teacher in both elementary and secondary schools will approach reasonable norms.

Interference with desirable projects for reorganization.—The survey staff, in the effort to get at the reasons for the slight progress toward securing larger administrative units for all purposes, discovered several possible explanations for the existing situation.

If the existing union high-school district was proposed as a feasible unit for consolidation, one objection frequently raised was that the high-school board would then administer all schools and the high-school principal would become superintendent of the new area. It was claimed that such a situation would militate against the welfare of the elementary schools. If consolidation for all purposes was suggested the answer would almost invariably be that elementary districts would lose their identity and also lose the money now appropriated per teacher by State and county. Since many 1-teacher elementary districts pay all expenses from State and county funds they would be less well off from a taxation standpoint in a consolidated area than in their present status. Again, if it was suggested that a junior high school should be or-

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ganized in the union high-school district, the reply was that in order to do so the elementary districts would have to give up jurisdiction over the seventh and eighth grades and pay to the high-school board, which would have control of the junior high school, a sum in tuition equal to the cost of educating children in the first six elementary grades. That this is an effective bar to educational reorganization in Kern County is shown by the fact that there is only one small secondary school which begins with the seventh grade and embraces grades 7 to 12, inclusive. As has already been said, this sole example of a reorganized secondary school in the county (Maricopa) is in the only single or so-called "regular" district in the county, having one board in control of all grades.

Again, if a union of several small elementary districts was proposed as a means of securing larger units for elementary purposes, the reply would be that the local districts wanted their own schools; that social and racial differences among district populations made cooperation impossible; or, that controversy as to where the unionized school should be located was an effective bar to progress along this line. The importance of this factor is illustrated by the fact that although legal sanctions have been available for many years there have been only seven union elementary districts formed. This constitutes about 8 per cent of the total number of elementary districts in the county. There is a general feeling among schoolmen in the county that very little progress toward either further unionization for elementary purposes or consolidation for all purposes will be possible until marked changes have been made in existing laws governing elementary and secondary education, and also until substantial inducements are made in the form of State equalization funds, or bonuses, to be paid to such districts as accomplish desirable reorganizations,

CHAPTER IV : PROPOSED REORGANIZATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

1. NECESSITY FOR APPLICATION OF A TRIAL SOLUTION

Summary of weaknesses.—The tentative findings at the end of Chapter II appear to indicate that the weaknesses of the existing situation might be summed up as follows:

- (1) Marked inequalities exist in the educational opportunities open to children in the different districts both elementary and secondary.
- (2) Financial burdens, in the form of taxes for support of education, are very unequal.
- (3) Small units of administration seem to involve great differences in unit costs and consequent inefficiency in the management of educational finances.
- (4) Poor articulation is found between the various units of the school system on account of the existing dual plan of control which involves two types of governing boards.
- (5) Desirable reorganization to eliminate the weaknesses revealed is made very difficult due to existing legal enactments, as well as because of local social and political conflicts of opinion and interest.

It is not the province of this report to make hard and fast recommendations. Its purpose is primarily to set forth the facts and to indicate possible solutions in the light of those facts, leaving the final working out of the ultimate solution to the people of the counties concerned or of the State through state-wide remedial legislation. Nothing in this report, therefore, should be construed as committing the Office of Education or the National Survey of Secondary Education to any particular plan or policy. Where plans or solutions are indicated herein it simply means that they have been suggested by educators on the ground who are familiar with existing conditions, and are set down for what they may be worth when taken in conjunction with other possible plans.

Unionization and consolidation as possibilities.—Two possible plans for meeting the situation in Kern County have been put forward by persons familiar with the conditions. One plan hinges on the procedure of *unionization* of the elementary districts within the existing union high-school

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districts. If this could be accomplished there would be a union elementary board to handle all elementary problems, and a union high-school board to handle secondary-school problems. By a process of electing the same persons to the two boards a satisfactory measure of coordination could be achieved. This has been done in the case of the Fort Bragg union high-school district in Mendocino County. All but 2 of the 19 elementary districts of this union high-school district have been brought together by the process of unionization and annexation. Three members of the high-school board have been elected to the elementary board, and the two boards unite in employing a district superintendent over all schools. A junior high school has been organized, many of the 1-room elementary schools have been consolidated into 3- and 4-room schools, and the educational offerings have been greatly improved in the process. At the same time unit costs have been reduced, and the district is able to meet all building needs on a pay-as-you-go policy.

The difficulties attending the formation of elementary district unions are so great that, as previously pointed out, only about 5 per cent of the elementary districts of the State at large, and only 8 per cent of the elementary districts in Kern County have, up to date, been unionized. Thus, voluntary unionization has been confined to small areas where conditions were particularly favorable. The application of the idea to larger areas seems thus far to have had slight appeal to the voters concerned. One reason for this is probably related to the lack of financial incentives offered by the State. Another reason often given is that, even after unionization such as that accomplished in the Fort Bragg area has been brought about, the dual system with two boards still persists. This renders very difficult the task of coordination.

The other procedure frequently mentioned is *consolidation*. This requires that *all* the elementary districts lying within a union high-school district vote to form a single consolidated district for all purposes under one board of education. The existing laws permit this to be done and all State and county funds that would have been apportioned to the individual districts are allotted to the consolidated areas. The chief

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obstacle to the formation of consolidated districts, coterminous with existing union high-school districts, lies in the necessity that all the elementary district boards must approve the project, and it must then carry by majority vote in every district concerned or fail for the entire area. The fact that there have been no consolidations in Kern County and only a negligible number in the entire State seems to indicate that the permissive legislation without monetary incentive has accomplished practically nothing toward desirable educational reorganization.

In view of the fact, therefore, that unionization has resulted in only modest improvements in elementary situations, and that consolidation under existing laws seems to be unwieldy on account of the severe conditions which must be met to accomplish it, some other solution must be found.

Superintendency areas suggested.—After consulting with the educators of several counties as well as other educational authorities in the State, it was decided to suggest, as one possible way out, the organization of *superintendency areas*, without reference to present union high-school district lines, and also to indicate the type of legislation that would be necessary to make such reorganization possible. The fact that the superintendency area plan was applied to Kern and the other six counties does not carry any inherent guarantee that it is the only feasible working plan. It was selected as a tentative solution simply to see if, when applied, it seemed to have the promise of overcoming the stated weaknesses in the existing situation. Whatever virtue the suggested plan proves to have must be found in its own merits, if it has any, and not in the fact that it happens to have been the one among many other possible plans that was selected for trial application in this project of the Survey.

The exact proposals as they apply to Kern County with the estimated outcomes in increased educational efficiency, decreased costs, and equalization of tax burdens will be set forth in the remainder of this chapter. The results of applying the same formula to six other counties and the desirable changes in State laws in the interest of better articulation and reorganization will be found in Chapters V and VI.

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2. SALIENT CHARACTERISTICS OF PROPOSED TRIAL SOLUTION

The proposed trial solution involves the technique of the consolidation method but contemplates larger areas than those represented by existing union high-school districts. It involves State cooperation in the form of bonuses to be paid to each district in reimbursement for a part of the cost of transportation and new buildings. It also involves the distribution of State equalization funds in such a way as to promote the organization of larger administrative areas, instead of encouraging small districts to remain in status quo as the present law regarding distribution of the State school fund seems to do. The proposed solution also suggests the desirability of changing the present constitutional provision regarding the percentage of State and county money which must go toward the payment of teachers' salaries.

As a tentative proposal for carrying out the idea of superintendency areas, Kern County has been divided into four such areas administered within the county and a fifth area comprising the districts now belonging to the Antelope Valley union high-school district of Los Angeles County. Figure 1, presented earlier, shows Kern County as it is to-day. Figure 2 shows the county as it would be if the superintendency area idea should be carried out at some future date. Data compiled on the situation represented in the second map are here-with presented to illustrate just how such a proposed re-organization would affect the educational situation in the county.

3. ELEMENTARY EDUCATION UNDER SUPERINTENDENCY AREA PLAN

Under the existing plan all elementary schools in the county except in the Maricopa district are on the 8-grade plan. Under the proposed plan there would be 30 districts in the county, representing more than 85 per cent of the school population on the 6-grade plan.

The distribution of superintendency areas would be as shown in Table 15. The Kern and Taft areas, being the most densely populated areas of the county, have the bulk of the school enrollment of the county. The schools that would still remain on the 8-grade type of organization are those so situated as to make consolidation with other units impracticable.

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TABLE 15.—*Number of elementary districts with schools of 6 and 8 grade organization*

Grade	Area I (Kern)	Area II (Taft)	Area III (Delano)	Area IV (Wasco)	Total districts
1	2	3	4	5	6
Six.....	19	4	3	4	30
Eight.....	21	3	0	3	27
Total.....	40	7	3	7	57

Since the number of teachers employed per school has considerable bearing on enrichment of curriculum and teaching efficiency, the data presented in Table 16 will be of interest. It will be seen that the total number of districts in the county would be reduced from 88 to 57. Also that the greatest elimination would take place among districts maintaining 1- and 2-teacher schools. Whereas there are now 56 such schools, under the proposed area plan there would be 29, or only 51 per cent as many. Through the elimination of 1- and 2-teacher schools there would be a net saving of 23 teachers in the elementary schools of the county.

TABLE 16.—*Distribution of elementary districts according to the number of teachers employed in proposed superintendency areas and under present situation*

Number of teachers employed	Area I	Area II	Area III	Area IV	Total proposed	Under present situation
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.....	18	1		3	22	39
2.....	6	1			7	17
3.....	7	1	1	2	11	12
4.....	3				3	4
5.....	1	1			2	4
6.....						
7 (or more).....	5	3	2	2	12	12
Total.....	40	7	3	7	57	88

Size of school has a bearing upon teaching efficiency and unit costs. The extent to which the reorganization would influence this factor is shown in Table 17. The median elementary district under present conditions has 41 to 50 pupils, while under the proposed reorganization the median number of pupils in average daily attendance per district

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would be 61 to 70. The fact that there would be only two districts less which have 1 to 10 pupils is due to the isolated character of these small schools. These schools could not be combined with those of other districts on account of topographical difficulties and they could not be suspended without depriving many children of educational privileges.

TABLE 17.—Distribution of elementary districts according to number of pupils in average daily attendance—by superintendency areas

Number of pupils in average daily attendance	Number of districts with given average daily attendance					
	Area I	Area II	Area III	Area IV	Total	Under present situation
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5 or fewer.....	1				1	2
6 to 10.....	7			1	8	9
11 to 15.....	6			1	7	17
16 to 20.....	2	1			3	3
21 to 25.....	1			1	2	4
26 to 30.....	1				1	1
31 to 35.....	2				2	2
36 to 40.....	1				1	2
41 to 50 ¹	2				2	6
51 to 60.....	1	1			2	6
61 to 70 ¹	1		1	2	4	3
71 to 80.....	1				1	3
81 to 90.....	5				5	5
91 to 100.....	1	1			2	3
101 to 200.....	3	1			4	10
201 to 300.....	3				3	4
301 to 400.....	0	2	1	1	4	0
401 to 500.....	1				1	2
501 to 700.....			1	1	2	2
701 to 1,000.....					0	2
1,001 to 2,000.....		1			1	0
2,001 or more.....	1				1	2
Total.....	40	7	3	7	57	88

¹ Present median.

² Reorganized median.

The proposed reorganization contemplates the material increase of elementary schools enrolling only grades 1 to 6, inclusive. Not only would teachers have fewer grades to instruct, but the groups of children would be more homogeneous, with the older and more mature seventh-grade and eighth-grade children in the junior high schools. The effect that such reorganization would have on the assessed valuation back of each elementary child in grades 1 to 6 is shown in Table 18 by areas.

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TABLE 18.—*Estimated assessed wealth per pupil in average daily attendance, grades 1 to 6, inclusive*

Consolidated district	Assessed wealth per pupil in average daily attendance
Area I.....	\$9,984
Area II.....	32,011
Area III.....	8,554
Area IV.....	13,453

It will be recalled by reference to Table 5 that the range in assessed valuation per child under existing organization is from \$840 to \$140,707. In the proposed superintendency area plan the lowest valuation per elementary child would be \$8,554 per unit of average daily attendance in the Delano area and the highest \$32,011 in the Taft area. Thus, the equalizing effect upon the wealth per child of the large areas becomes evident.

4. SECONDARY EDUCATION UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCY AREA PLAN

Types of schools under the plan.—Under the present form of organization there are six high schools located in the county and one outside which serve Kern County students. Three of these are 4-year institutions, grades 9 to 12, inclusive; one, Maricopa, is a 6-year institution, grades 7 to 12, inclusive; and two are combined high schools and junior colleges, grades 9 to 14, inclusive.

As shown in Table 19, the county would, under the reorganized plan, have seven 3-year junior high schools, grades 7 to 9; six 4-year junior high schools, grades 7 to 10; one 6-year high school, grades 7 to 12; three senior high schools, grades 10 to 12; and two junior colleges, grades 13 to 14. Thus would secondary education on a reorganized basis be available to practically every student in the county. The location of these secondary schools is shown on Figure 2, according to the symbols given under "Legend" on the map.

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TABLE 19.—*Distribution of secondary schools by types of organization according to proposed areas*

Grades	Area I	Area II	Area III	Area IV	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6
7 to 9.....	4	2	1		7
7 to 10.....	2	2	1	1	6
7 to 12.....				1	1
10 to 12.....	1	1	1		3
13 to 14.....	1	1			2
Total.....	8	6	3	2	19

Size of schools and number of teachers.—The manner in which reorganization on the proposed plan would affect size of school and number of teachers employed per secondary school is shown in Tables 20 and 21. From Table 20 it appears that 7 of the 19 secondary schools would have from fewer than 20 up to 100 students. Five of these would be 3-year junior high schools, including grades 7 to 9. Two of them would be 4-year junior high schools, including grades 7 to 10.

TABLE 20.—*Distribution of secondary schools according to number of pupils in average daily attendance*

Pupils in average daily attendance	Number of schools by areas				
	I	II	III	IV	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6
20 or fewer.....	1				1
21 to 50.....	1	1			2
51 to 75.....	2				2
76 to 100.....	1	1	1		3
101 to 200 ¹	1	1	1	1	4
201 to 300.....		1	1	1	3
301 to 400.....	1	1			2
401 to 500.....					
501 to 1,000.....		1			1
1,001 to 1,500.....					
1,501 to 2,000.....					
2,001 or more.....	1				1
Total.....	8	6	3	2	19

¹ The median secondary school would have 161 to 200 pupils in average daily attendance.

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TABLE 21.—*Distribution of secondary schools according to the number of teachers employed*

Number of teachers	Number of schools by areas				
	I	II	III	IV	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.....	1	1			2
2.....	2				2
3.....	2				2
4.....		1	1		2
5.....	1				1
6 to 10 ¹		2	2		4
11 to 15.....	1			2	3
16 to 20.....					
21 or more.....	1	2			3
Total.....	8	6	3	2	19

¹ The median secondary school as to teachers employed would have 6 to 10 teachers.

Also according to Table 21 the schools having fewer than six teachers would be found among the 3 and 4 year junior high schools. In most instances these smaller junior high school units would be in the same building with the first six grades, thus not calling for separate buildings for such small units.

In every instance the senior high schools and the 6-year junior-senior high schools would have an average daily attendance of more than 200 students and a teaching staff of more than 11 teachers. For a senior high school it is claimed that six teachers constitute the minimum staff which can offer a reasonably adequate program of studies. The reorganized areas would not have any senior high schools with fewer than 11 teachers; hence, they would be able to offer modern type curriculums and educational opportunities.

Ability to support secondary education.—The assessed wealth that would be back of each student in the secondary schools in each of the proposed areas appears in Table 22. It is not possible to compare the assessed valuation per pupil in average daily attendance of Table 22 with the data given in Table 12 for the reason that Table 12 includes only grades 9, 10, 11, and 12, while Table 22 includes grades 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12, representing a much larger average daily attendance and hence a relatively lower valuation per unit of average daily attendance. The great inequalities between individual districts are, however, ironed out.

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TABLE 22.—Estimated assessed wealth per high-school and junior high school pupil in average daily attendance—grades 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12

Superintendency area	Total assessed valuation	Estimated total number of high-school and junior high school pupils in average daily attendance	Assessed wealth per unit of average daily attendance
1	2	3	4
Area I.....	\$65,196,210	3,982	\$16,331
Area II.....	83,613,095	1,603	52,160
Area III.....	8,554,935	522	16,388
Area IV.....	13,681,890	554	24,696

Tax rates in the proposed areas.—Combined costs and tax rates for elementary and secondary education by areas is shown in Table 23. From this table is seen the total school budget necessary for all school purposes, not including capital outlays, according to the areas shown on Figure 2. The tax rates necessary to raise the balance after allowing for contributions by State and county are also shown.

TABLE 23.—Total estimated school budget for elementary and secondary schools combined for all purposes other than capital outlays, estimated income from State and county sources, estimated amount to be raised by district taxes, estimated district tax rate necessary for elementary and secondary school purposes (bond and building taxes not included)

Superintendency areas	Assessed valuation	Total school budget necessary less capital outlay	Income from State and county	Amount to be raised by consolidated district tax	Tax rate necessary
1	2	3	4	5	6
Area I.....	\$65,196,210	\$1,549,703	\$309,706	\$729,998	1.13
Area II.....	83,613,095	970,511	320,970	649,540	.77
Area III.....	8,554,935	191,503	107,864	83,640	.98
Area IV.....	13,681,890	265,738	122,016	143,721	1.05

At present the lowest combined rate in any district in the county is 15 cents per \$100 of assessed valuation and the highest is \$1.72, with an average of about 82 cents. The maximum rate among the proposed areas, as shown in Table 23, is \$1.13 in the Kern area, and the minimum is 77 cents

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in the Taft area. The average rate for the four areas is 98 cents. Thus, it will be seen that the proposed plan levels out the tax rates notably, but that the average rate has been raised somewhat over the present situation. The extremely high and the very low tax rates disappear.

It should be remembered, however, that the tax rates shown in Table 23 cover costs of greatly improved facilities both in the field of elementary and secondary education. The schools would have been completely reorganized. In addition to improved educational facilities would come substantial economies in administrative and instructional costs. It should be borne in mind further that better educational facilities secured for the same outlay are in reality entitled to be counted as substantial economies.

Junior high schools.—The extent to which the proposed reorganization would supply junior high schools to Kern County has already been discussed in connection with Tables 19, 20, and 21. Thirteen such schools would be provided—seven including grades 7, 8, and 9; and six including grades 7, 8, 9, and 10. There would also be one junior-senior high school including grades 7 to 12. We have already reported also that the junior high schools thus provided for would make junior high school education available to more than 85 per cent of the seventh-grade and eighth-grade pupils of the county.

Junior colleges.—The proposed reorganization calls for the creation of a county junior college with a board in charge of all junior-college education in the county. This would mean that all the assessed wealth of the county would be behind junior-college education. It would also mean that the State would bear a larger percentage of the cost than it now does under the high-school department type of organization which obtains in the Kern County and Taft union high-school districts.

The county junior-college board could maintain two colleges as at present located at Bakersfield and Taft and arrange with the Antelope Valley Union High School and Junior College to take care of students from West Antelope, Rosamond, and Muroc districts, which now belong to that joint-union district. If necessary dormitories could be

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maintained for students living too far from either junior college to be accommodated by daily transportation. Another suggestion regarding the junior colleges is that district junior colleges be organized in Areas I and II. Each of these areas would then receive \$100 per student in average daily attendance from the State, and be entitled to receive from the areas not having junior colleges tuition representing the difference between cost per unit of average daily attendance and State reimbursement for all students attending junior college from their areas. Under such district organization each area having a junior college would have a junior-college board of its own.

1. SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF PROPOSED REORGANIZATION

A trial solution.—Without presuming to recommend the reorganization of Kern County into four administrative areas as a final solution, the staff on this project applied that formula as a trial solution to see what, if any, improvements in the present situation would result therefrom.

Superintendency areas were suggested with a full understanding of the difficulties that would be encountered in carrying out this or any other proposed method of educational reorganization. Likewise it was pointed out that the present school code would have to be amended before much progress toward a final solution could be made.

Within the limitations as stated a brief summary can be offered of the financial and educational advantages that might be expected to follow the proposed plan or some similar plan of reorganization of the county into larger administrative areas.

Advantages that would accrue to elementary education.—Eighty-five per cent of the pupils of the county would be found in elementary schools enrolling only grades 1 to 6, whereas, at present only one small district in the county has such an organization.

The total number of elementary districts in the county would be reduced from 88 to 57, and the total number of districts with 1-teacher and 2-teacher schools would be decreased from 56 to 29. Thus, there would only be 51 per cent as many small school districts as at present.

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The median elementary school district would have 61 to 70 pupils as against 41 to 50 as at present, thus bringing down unit costs and improving pupil-load per teacher.

Extremes of district ability to support education would be equalized by the larger areas since the least wealthy area would still have an assessed valuation of \$8,554 per child in average daily attendance while the richest would only have \$32,011.

Advantages to secondary education.—At present there are six high schools located in the county and a joint union high school immediately outside the county; only one of these is on a reorganized basis. The four proposed superintendency areas would support 19 secondary schools, 13 of the 3- or 4-year junior high school type; 1 of the 6-year type; 3 of the senior high school type; and 2 of the junior-college type. These schools would bring reorganized secondary schools within reach of practically all the children of the county and would afford an enlarged offering.

The 4-year junior high schools, the senior high schools, and the junior colleges would each have teaching staffs of more than six teachers and student bodies of more than 200 in average daily attendance, thus insuring modern facilities at reasonable costs.

There would be an equalizing of the assessed wealth behind each secondary-school pupil. On account of the increased number who would be designated as secondary pupils under the reorganized plan, the actual average wealth behind each secondary pupil would be less than under present conditions, but since the number counted as elementary pupils would be smaller by the same number, that is, the seventh-grade and eighth-grade pupils, this would mean a desirable equalization as between elementary and secondary education. At present the amount spent on secondary-school pupils is out of proportion to the amount spent on elementary-school pupils. Larger administrative areas and elimination of dual control would tend to cause pupils at the two levels to receive a better articulated training program without the extreme differences in quality that obtain at present.

General considerations.—Under the proposed superintendency area plan with one board over all schools in each area,

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there would be a unified school budget and one tax levied for all local school purposes, after deducting expected State and county contributions. In Kern County the high and low extremes would be eliminated. At present a district tax of \$1.72 on \$100 of assessed valuation is the highest and 15 cents is the lowest local tax. Under reorganization \$1.13 would be the highest and 77 cents the lowest. Although the average for all areas would be somewhat higher, the brand of education purchased would be considerably better and there would be substantial savings for the county as a whole.

The proposed superintendency area plan, whether or not it is the one that will finally commend itself to Kern County schoolmen and patrons, seems to offer at least one approach to the elimination of existing weaknesses in the county's educational program. It is herein set forth simply as a tentative solution. The foregoing treatment of the situation may suggest other and better solutions or possible refinements and improvements of the techniques applied.

CHAPTER V : SUPERINTENDENCY AREAS IN SEVEN COUNTIES

1. THE KINDERGARTEN SITUATION IN THE SEVEN COUNTIES

When the tentative proposals for improving educational conditions with respect to articulation and desirable reorganization are applied to six other California counties in addition to Kern County, results similar to those found for that county are obtained. The following pages will discuss the data gathered from these other counties in a manner analogous to the procedures used in connection with the Kern County data. The other counties included are Mendocino, Monterey, Orange, San Bernardino, Sonoma, and Stanislaus. Maps indicating the limits of the proposed superintendency areas for these counties are shown as Figures 3 to 9. To the extent that the data tell the same story as for Kern County, it will be an indication that the suggested idea of superintendency areas is perhaps a promising one and deserves further study and wider application.

It was found that 57 districts in the seven counties were maintaining kindergartens and that there were 140 teachers and 3,874 children in average daily attendance, with an average of about 28 pupils per teacher. The total cost of kindergarten instruction for the seven counties was \$366,268.17, with a maximum cost of \$120.59 per unit of kindergarten average daily attendance (Kern), a minimum cost of \$62.33 (San Bernardino), and a median cost of \$100.30 (Mendocino).

Kindergarten education was found to be confined almost exclusively to the cities and larger towns. It was only in rare instances that districts employing fewer than 10 teachers maintained a kindergarten. It is estimated that if certain changes can be brought about in the kindergarten law, the reorganizations by superintendency areas would make possible the offering of kindergarten education in rural schools having at least five elementary teachers. This would make the kindergarten available to more than 80 per cent of the children of the various counties instead of only 70 per cent as at present.

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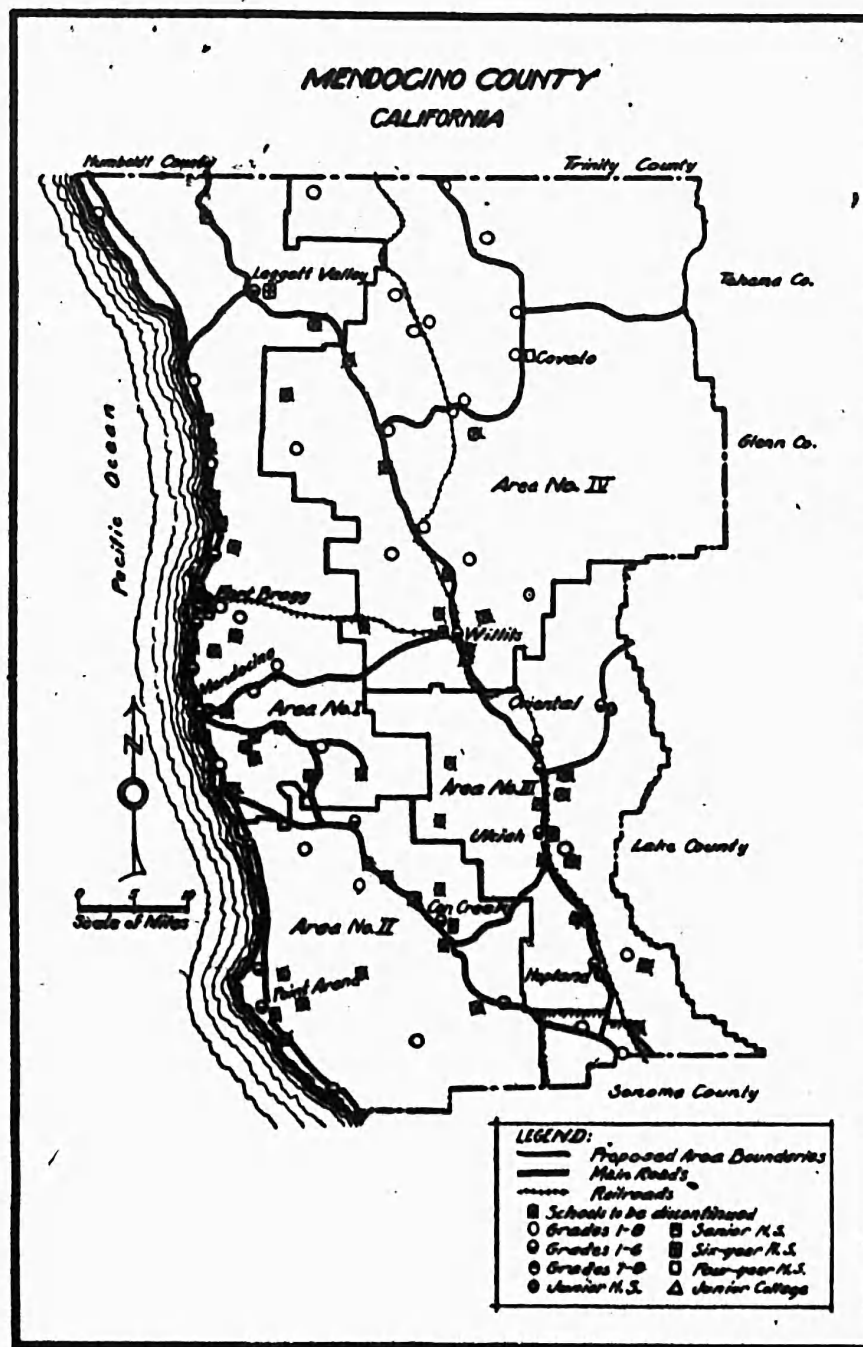


FIGURE 3.—Mendocino County superintendency areas

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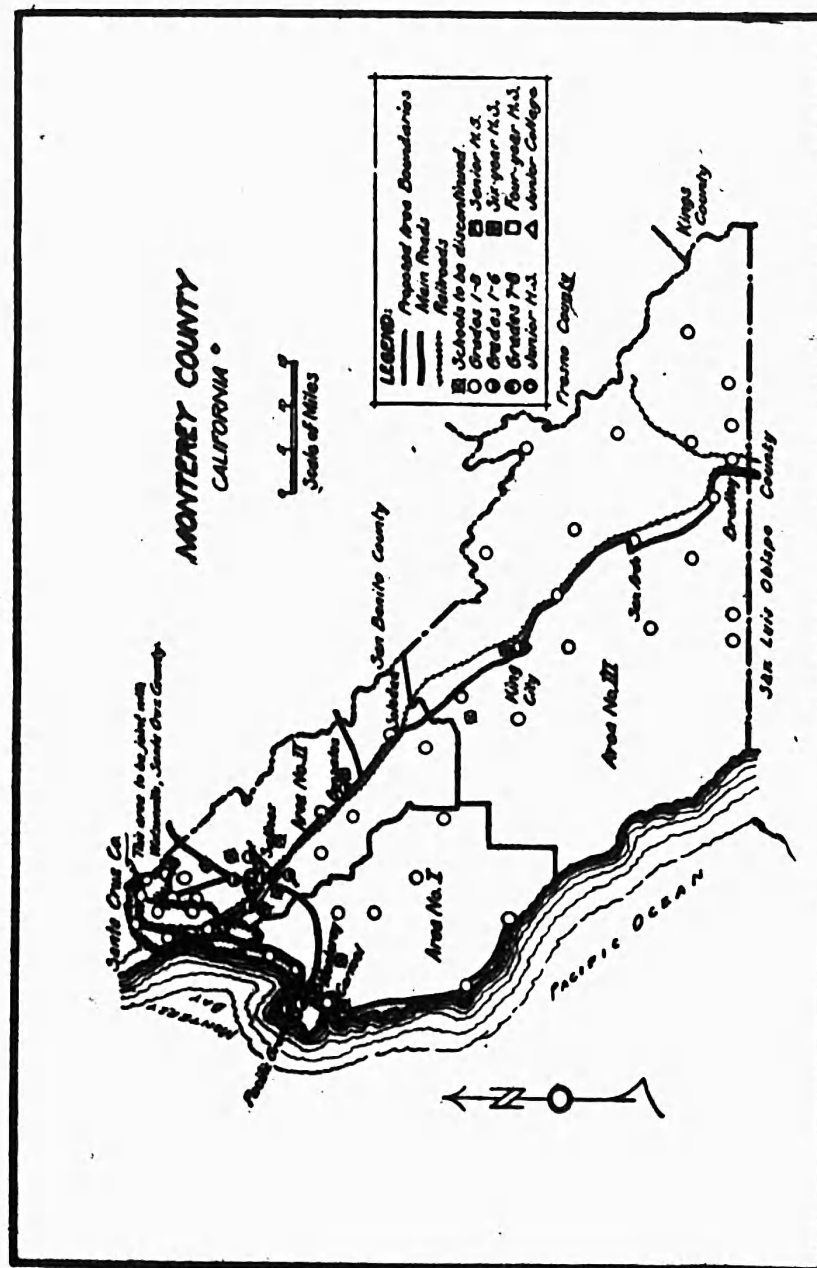


FIGURE 4.—Monterey County superintendency areas

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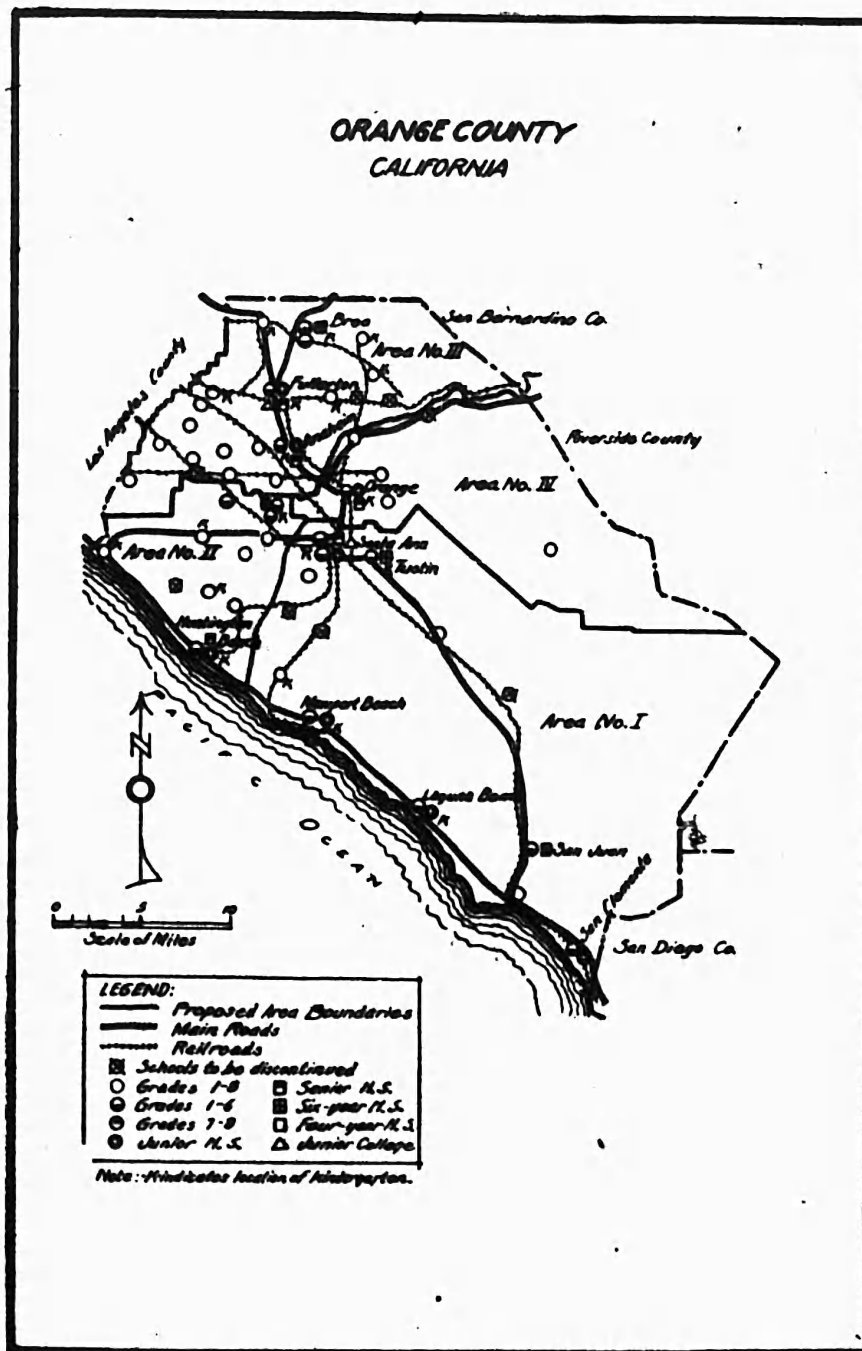


FIGURE 5.—Orange County superintendency areas

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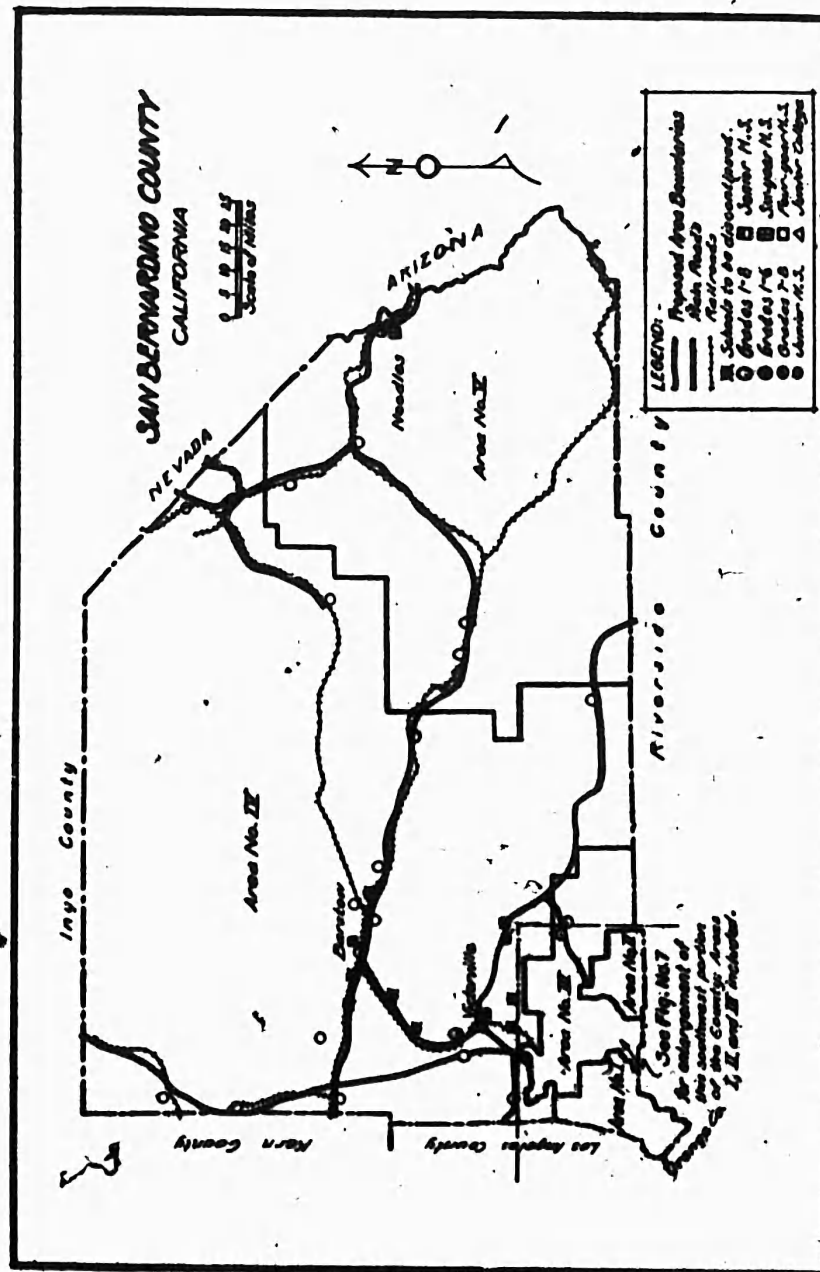


FIGURE 6.—San Bernardino County superintendency areas

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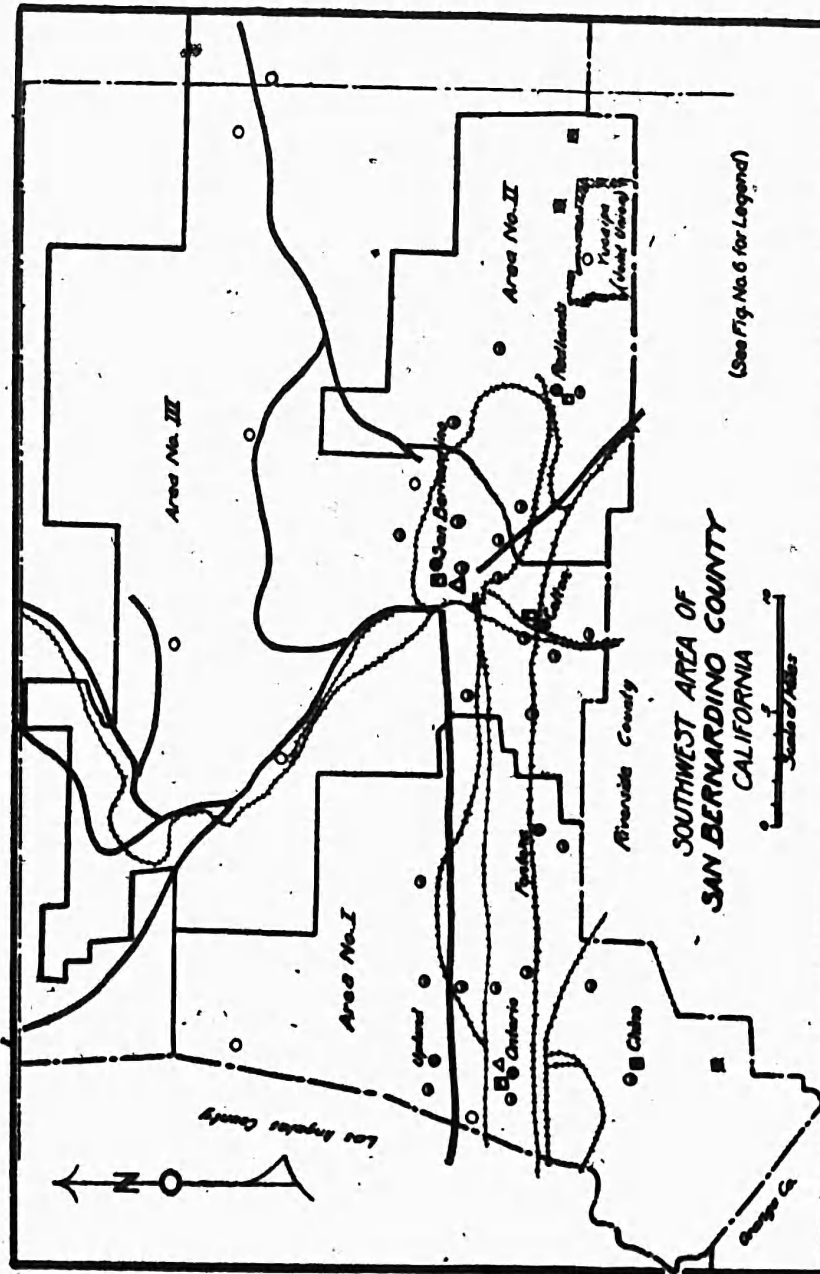


FIGURE 7.—Enlargement of superintendency areas I, II, and III of San Bernardino County

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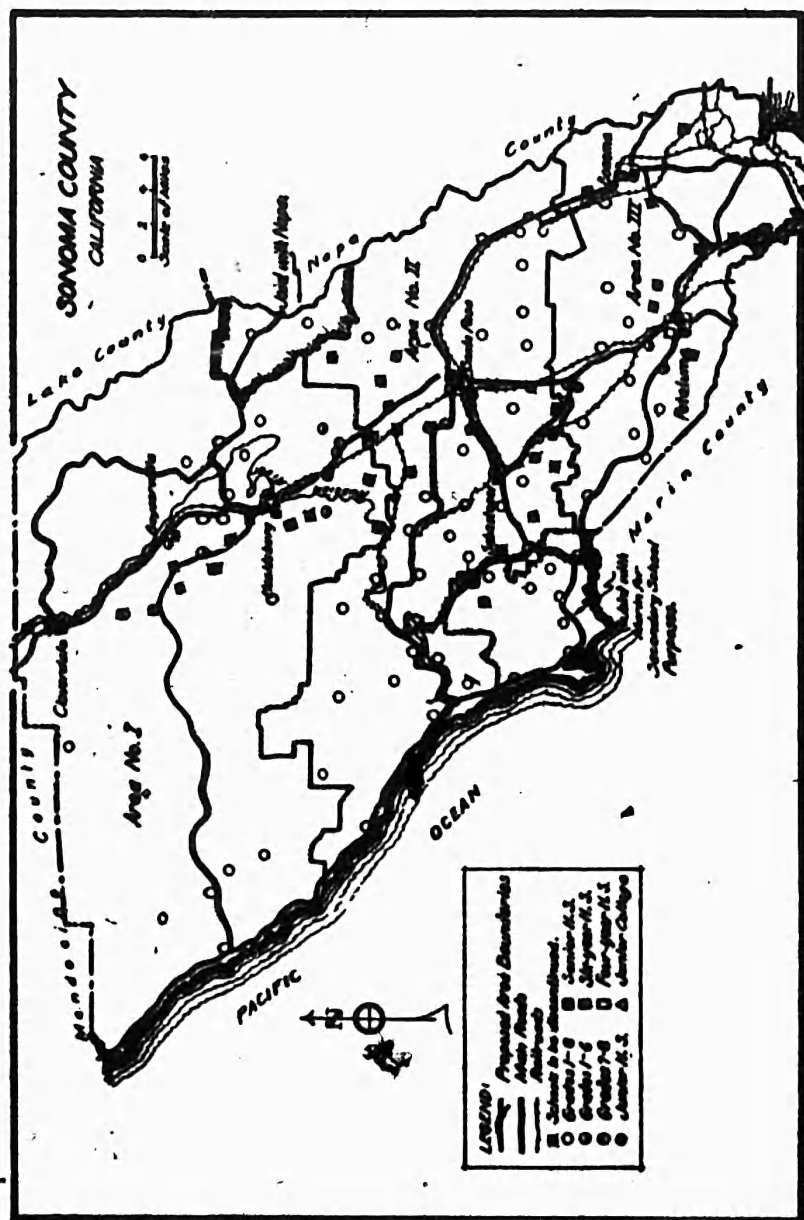


FIGURE 4.—Sonoma County superintendency areas

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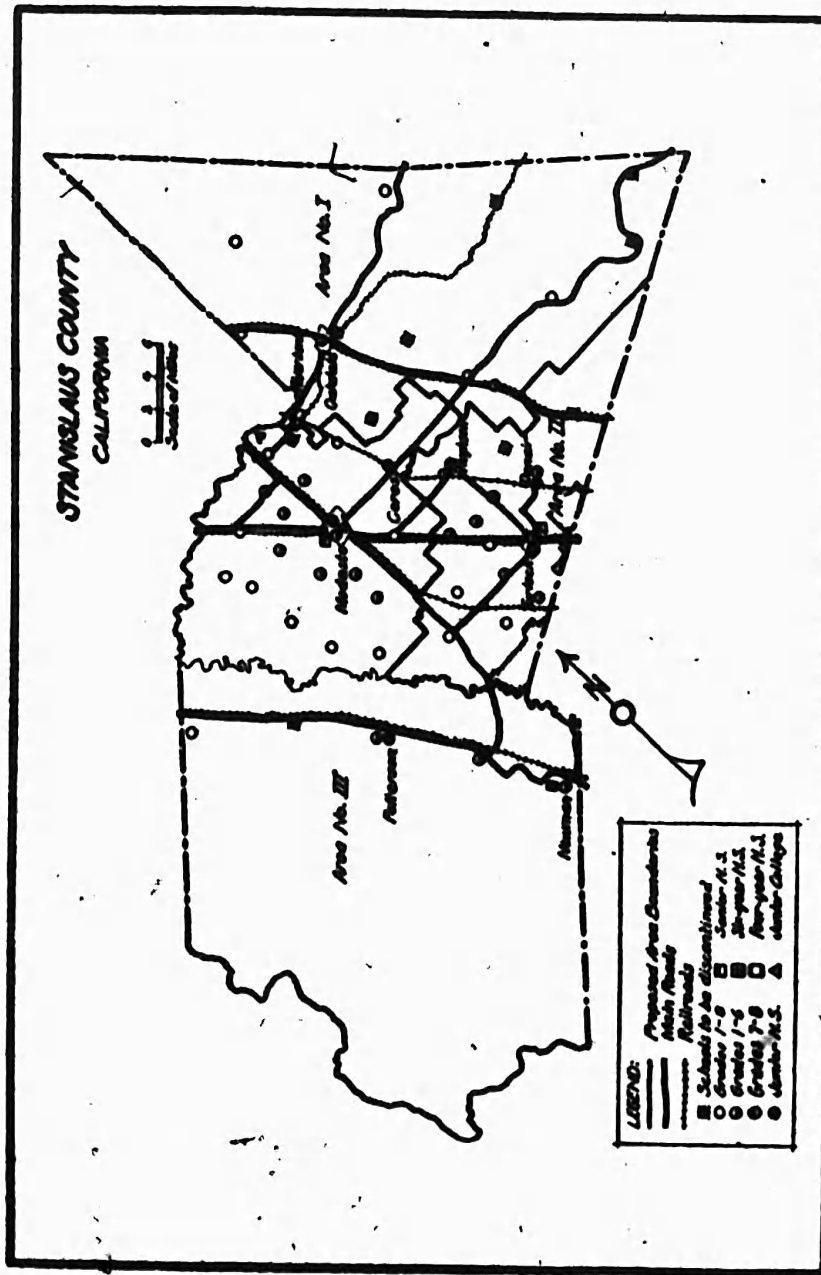


FIGURE 9.—Stanislaus County superintendency areas

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1. ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

Reduction in number of teachers.—The number of schools employing different numbers of teachers per school is shown for each of seven counties in Table 24. The proposed reorganization would result in the elimination of 147 teaching positions. If we take the average salary of full-time elementary teachers in the State of California as \$1,789,¹ this would mean an annual saving in teachers' salaries of \$262,983. However, estimates on the basis of average annual salary in the seven counties concerned would indicate a saving of approximately \$200,000. For more accurate estimates by areas in each county, see Table 27. When to teachers' salaries is added the saving on upkeep of many small schools, it can be appreciated that the proposed reorganization presents possibilities for real economies. It should be remembered, however, that savings in teachers' salaries and upkeep on small buildings is offset to a considerable extent by additional costs in transportation and new buildings. These items will appear in subsequent tables.

TABLE 24.—Distribution by counties of elementary schools on the basis of number of teachers employed under present organization and under proposed reorganization

County and plans	Number of teachers employed									Number of teaching positions saved*
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more	Total	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Kern:										
Present.....	63	15	10	7	4	1	1	35	136	
Proposed.....	30	13	8	7	4	3	1	38	113	23
Mendocino:										
Present.....	65	8	4	4	0	0	0	3	94	
Proposed.....	28	12	5	1	1	0	0	3	50	34
Monterey:										
Present.....	30	15	2	1	4	1	1	8	62	
Proposed.....	21	13	2	1	4	1	0	10	52	10
Orange:										
Present.....	3	3	3	5	5	1	3	19	42	
Proposed.....	0	0	2	5	5	1	3	19	35	7
San Bernardino:										
Present.....	26	6	8	4	1	2	2	13	64	
Proposed.....	17	5	9	4	1	2	2	15	55	9
Sonoma:										
Present.....	78	20	8	2	7	1	0	5	121	
Proposed.....	30	7	7	4	6	1	1	6	63	58
Stanislaus:										
Present.....	11	20	9	1	2	1	2	2	54	
Proposed.....	4	21	9	1	2	1	8	9	49	5

* Total saving in number of teachers under superintendency plan, 147.

¹ California Schools, 3 : 143, April, 1932.

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Extent of elimination of small schools.—The manner in which reorganization will result in the elimination of small schools is shown in Figure 10. Under present organization there are 365 1-room and 2-room schools in the seven counties. Under the proposed reorganization there would be only 210, a reduction of 155, or 42 per cent. The counties where reorganization would bring about the greatest changes are seen to be Sonoma, Kern, and Mendocino, in descending order. The counties least affected would be Orange, Stanislaus, San Bernardino, and Monterey, in ascending order. The situation in Sonoma County is especially notable, where there are 98 1-teacher and 2-teacher school districts. From Table 24 it will appear that there are only 121 districts in the county, hence 81 per cent of the county's elementary districts are of the 1- and 2-teacher varieties. Reorganization would reduce these to 37, a difference of 61 districts, or 62.2 per cent. Among the counties surveyed Monterey had made the greatest progress in actual number of elementary-district unions, and Sonoma the least.

Equalization of ability to support elementary education.—Assessed valuation per child in average daily attendance under present conditions ranges from \$709 in one district of Mendocino County to \$140,707 in a Kern County district. These extremes would be equalized in the proposed superintendency areas so that the lowest valuation per unit of average daily attendance would be from \$2,430 in one area of San Bernardino County to \$25,609 in one of the areas of Kern County.

Since, however, assessed valuation per teacher employed is a better measure of ability to support education than the assessed valuation per unit of average daily attendance, the situation in that regard is presented in Table 25, where the data for each county by proposed superintendency areas may be found.

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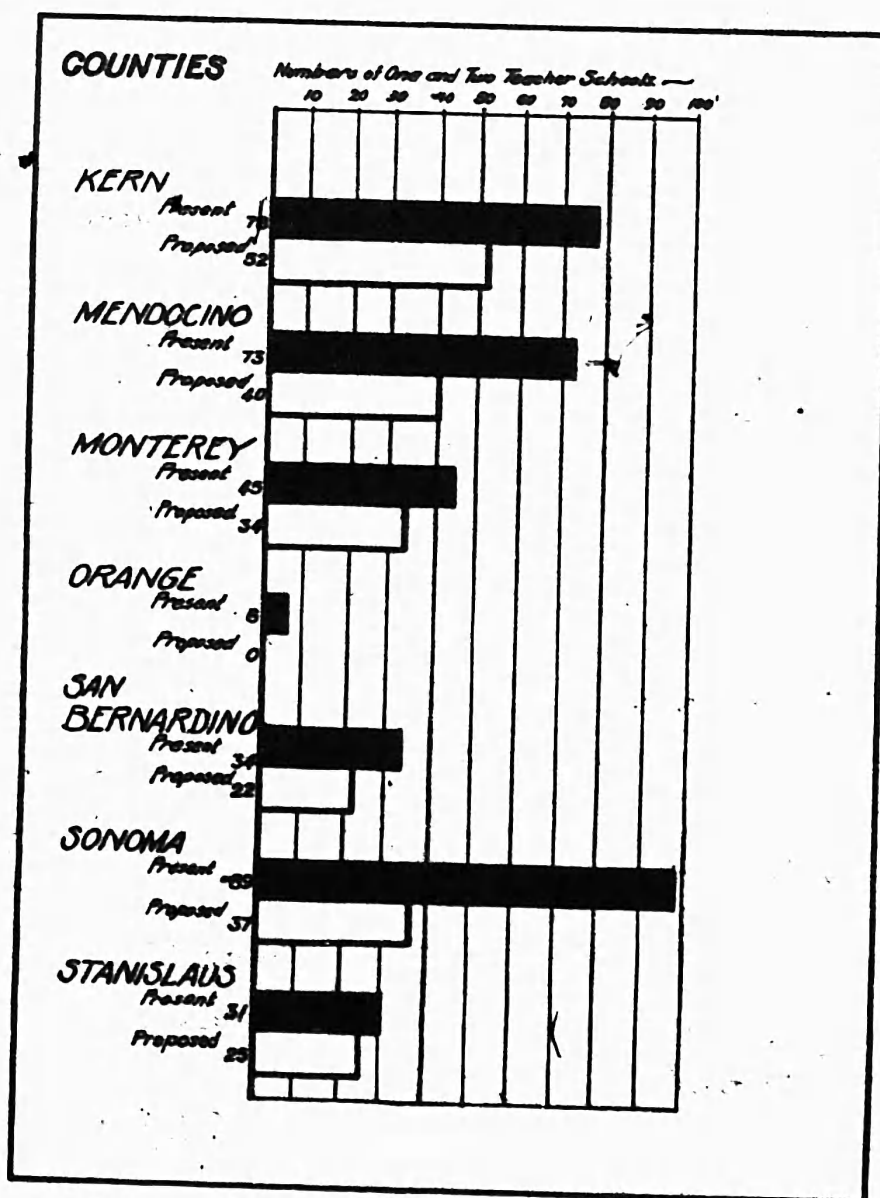


FIGURE 10.—Reduction in number of 1- and 2-teacher schools under proposed plan of superintendency areas

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TABLE 25.—Estimated assessed valuation per teacher employed in proposed administrative areas, elementary schools

Area	Assessed valuation per teacher by counties						
	Kern	Mendo-cino	Monte-rey	Orange	San Ber-nardino	Sonoma	Stanis-lauss
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I.....	\$237,077	\$202,751	\$181,900	\$263,787	\$151,040	\$177,727	\$219,429
II.....	708,585	278,319	192,562	350,502	262,201	207,597	200,000
III.....	225,129	204,703	215,000	265,994	166,760	295,000	249,584
IV.....	265,089	172,022		231,136	160,220		
V.....					68,161		
Lowest.....	225,129	172,022	181,900	231,136	68,161	177,727	200,000
Median.....	261,058	203,741	192,562	264,891	151,040	207,597	219,429
Highest.....	708,585	278,319	215,000	350,502	262,201	295,000	249,584

The lowest valuation per teacher at present (Table 26) is found in an elementary district of Kern County. It is \$10,860. The highest is found in that county also and is

TABLE 26.—Lowest, median, and highest assessed valuation per elementary school teacher by districts in the counties under present organization

Assessed valuation	County						
	Kern	Mendo-cino	Monte-rey	Orange	San Ber-nardino	Sonoma	Stanis-lauss
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Lowest.....	\$10,860	\$15,900	\$39,640	\$45,683	\$16,500	\$14,105	\$44,680
Median.....	285,714	114,287	176,001	314,296	161,540	144,445	192,001
Highest.....	2,410,000	549,190	865,800	1,424,774	882,385	628,805	859,730

\$2,410,000 per teacher employed. Under reorganization as shown in Table 25, the lowest valuation per teacher would be \$68,161 in Area V of San Bernardino County and the highest would be \$708,585 in Area II of Kern County. A distinct measure of equalization is apparently achieved by the proposed area plan. These data are graphically illustrated in Figure 11.

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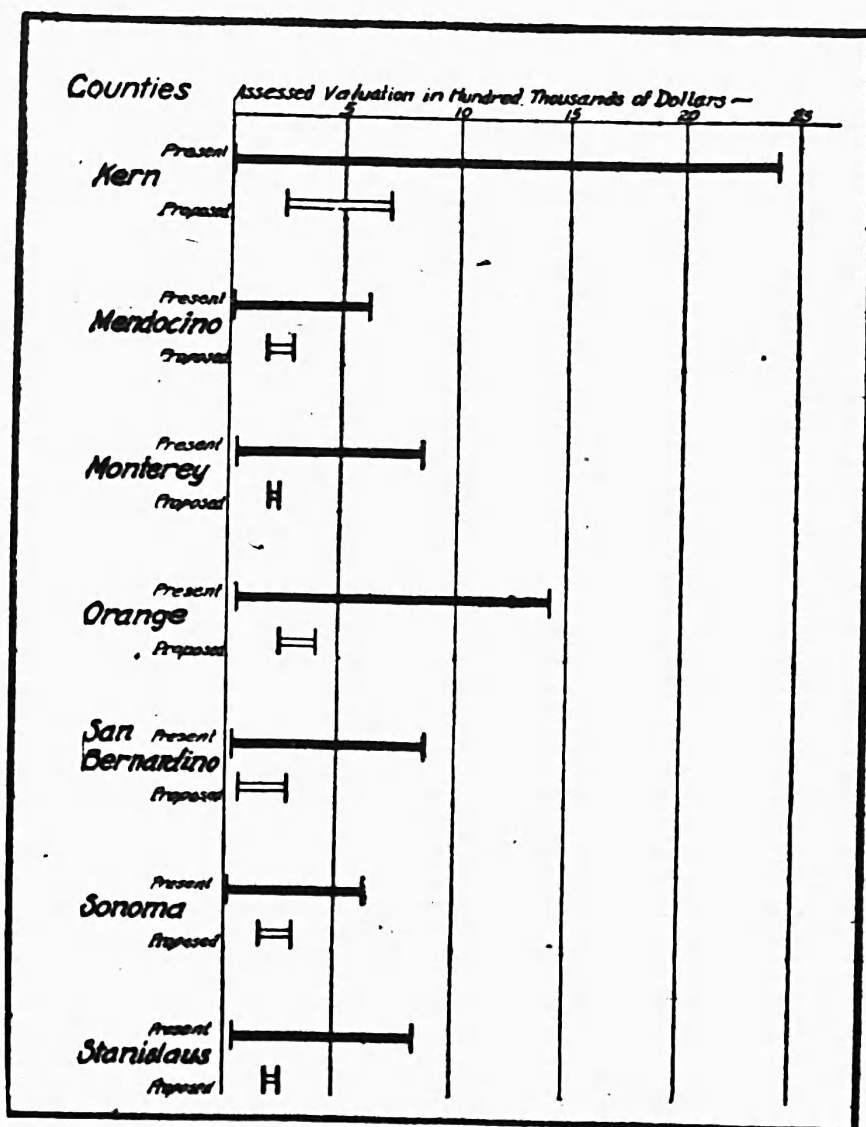


FIGURE 11.—Highest and lowest assessed valuation per teacher employed in the elementary schools, by districts in the counties. Present range compared with the estimated range under proposed reorganizations

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Estimated economies in elementary school costs.—As previously intimated, there would be a substantial saving in elementary teachers' salaries due to the elimination of 147 teaching positions through consolidation of small 1- and 2-teacher schools and elimination of the operating costs for the buildings not required under reorganization. These savings are shown by areas for each county in Table 27. The greatest gross saving on account of teachers' salaries and operating expenses would be in Kern County and the least in Stanislaus County. The total gross savings from these economies in the seven counties would be \$199,045.

TABLE 27.—*Estimated yearly savings in teachers' salaries and operating costs for elementary schools in proposed administrative areas*

Area	County						
	Kern	Mendo- cino	Monte- rey	Orange	San Ber- nardino	Sonoma	Stanis- laus
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I.....	\$48,720	\$16,855	\$3,800	\$8,000	\$1,700	\$6,000	\$6,800
II.....		10,419	19,500	6,500	3,400	12,000	1,700
III.....	4,565	7,900	3,800	5,000	1,600	9,000	3,400
IV.....	3,050	9,686		1,750	6,000		
Total.....	54,335	44,760	27,100	21,250	12,700	27,000	11,900

Against these savings, however, would have to be charged the additional costs of transportation and new buildings made necessary by desirable consolidations. What these added items of service would cost is set forth in Table 28. Additional transportation costs would be greatest in Kern and Sonoma Counties and least in Stanislaus and San Bernardino Counties. This is due in part to the fact that Kern and Sonoma Counties offer the best opportunities for consolidation of elementary districts that now have small separate schools. In both Stanislaus and San Bernardino the population is already gathered into fairly populous centers, while great areas of land are entirely unoccupied. Figure 12 illustrates the data presented in Table 27 and the added costs of transportation shown in Table 28.

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TABLE 28.—*Estimated yearly additional transportation and building costs for elementary schools by proposed administrative areas*

Area	Estimated additional costs by county						
	Kern	Mendo- cino	Mon- terey	Orange	San Bernar- dino	Sonoma	Stanis- laus
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I							
Building.....	\$3,400	\$800		\$450		\$710	\$30
Transportation.....	21,295	9,000	\$2,000	4,000	\$750	7,100	795
II							
Building.....		600	175	310		200	400
Transportation.....		6,400	17,500	3,100	900	19,800	3,425
III							
Building.....		790		450	165	120	620
Transportation.....	1,350	7,900	1,800	5,500	1,650	11,200	6,200
IV							
Building.....	200	320			540		
Transportation.....	2,800	3,200		1,750	5,440		
V							
Building.....							
Transportation.....							
Total:							
Building.....	3,600	2,510	175	1,200	705	1,030	1,100
Transportation.....	25,445	20,500	20,500	14,350	8,740	28,100	10,420

Since building costs which would total \$10,320 can either be met by adding a 15-cent building tax to current budgets or by bonds which spread the cost over a period of years, these can not be charged against the budget of any particular year. Transportation costs, on the other hand, are current costs and would have to be deducted from estimated savings in teachers' salaries in order to arrive at the net savings. From Table 27 it appeared that there would be a gross saving in teachers' salaries of \$199,045. Deduction from this amount of the additional cost of transportation (\$154,055) would leave a net saving of \$44,990.

The estimated cost of additional transportation, \$154,055, is very generous. If the added number of bus miles required had been multiplied by the average cost per bus mile for the State as a whole, that is, about 32 cents, the result would have been \$137,433, and the net saving would have appeared as \$61,612. The counties surveyed, however, presented peculiar difficulties in topography and road conditions. Hence, the effort was made to estimate the costs more nearly

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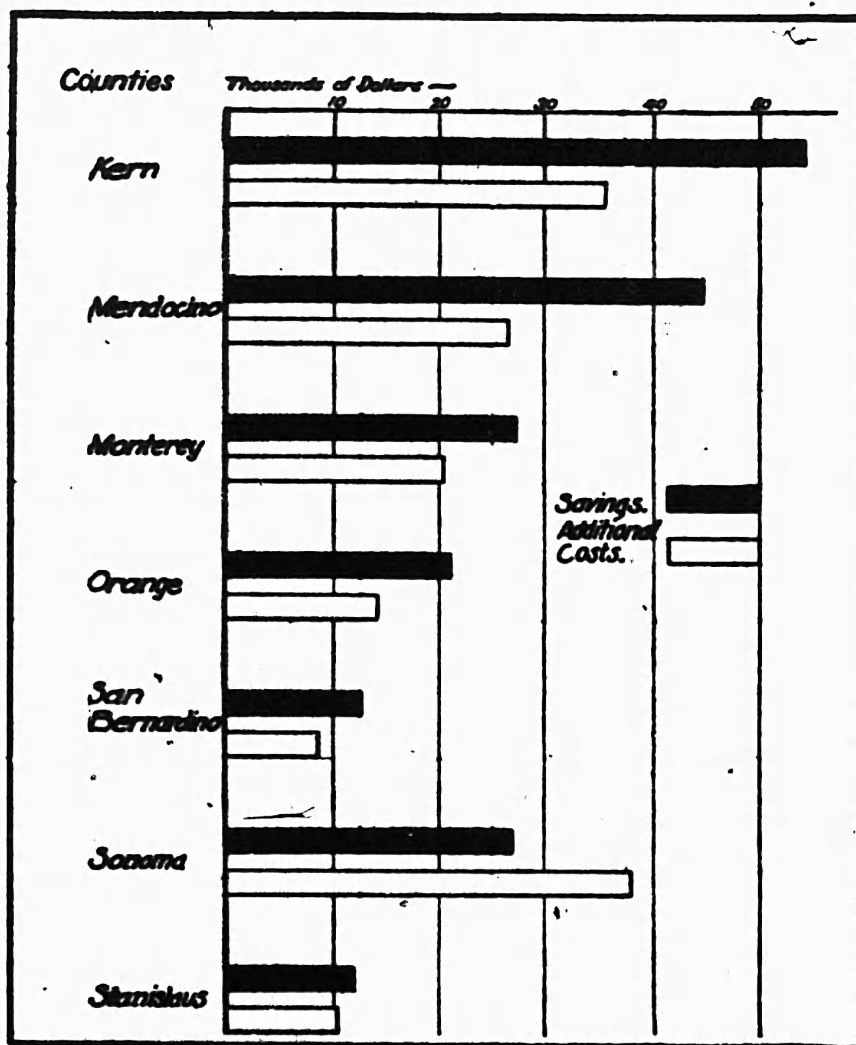


FIGURE 12.—Estimated yearly savings in teachers' salaries and operating costs compared with additional costs for transportation in elementary schools under proposed reorganizations

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as they would actually be in the areas studied. It was felt that, under the circumstances, an overestimate was preferable to an underestimate. Since the estimated extra transportation costs included conveying seventh- and eighth-grade pupils to secondary schools, the figures here given represent practically the entire additional transportation costs of the proposed reorganization.

2. SECONDARY EDUCATION

Number and types of secondary schools.—One of the alleged defects of the prevailing type of school organization in California is that it has retarded the development of 3- and 4-year junior high schools, as well as junior-senior high schools, making the conventional 4-year high school, including grades 9 to 12, the predominant type of secondary school outside the cities. Figure 13 illustrates this tendency and reveals how the proposed reorganization would tend to change it. It will be noted that, whereas under present conditions there are 46 conventional 4-year high schools, there would be only 1 under the proposed plan. Likewise, where only one 6-year high school, the type particularly adapted to small towns and rural areas, now exists, there would be 22 under the proposed reorganization. At present there are only six 3-year senior high schools. Under reorganization there would be 21. Of 4-year junior high schools there is at present none, and there are but eleven 3-year junior high schools in the seven counties. Under reorganization there would be 15 of the 4-year and 31 of the 3-year variety. The only areas in the seven counties that would lack secondary-school facilities of reorganized types would be the remote and sparsely settled sections. However, these districts would belong to superintendency areas where they would receive more scientific supervision than at present, and in certain centers dormitories would be maintained so that children of secondary school age and standing could be accommodated at nominal cost to their parents.

Junior colleges.—There would be no change in the number of junior colleges. However, the type of organization would be changed from departmental to either the district type or the county junior-college type. If the county type should be adopted there would be a junior-college board in each county,

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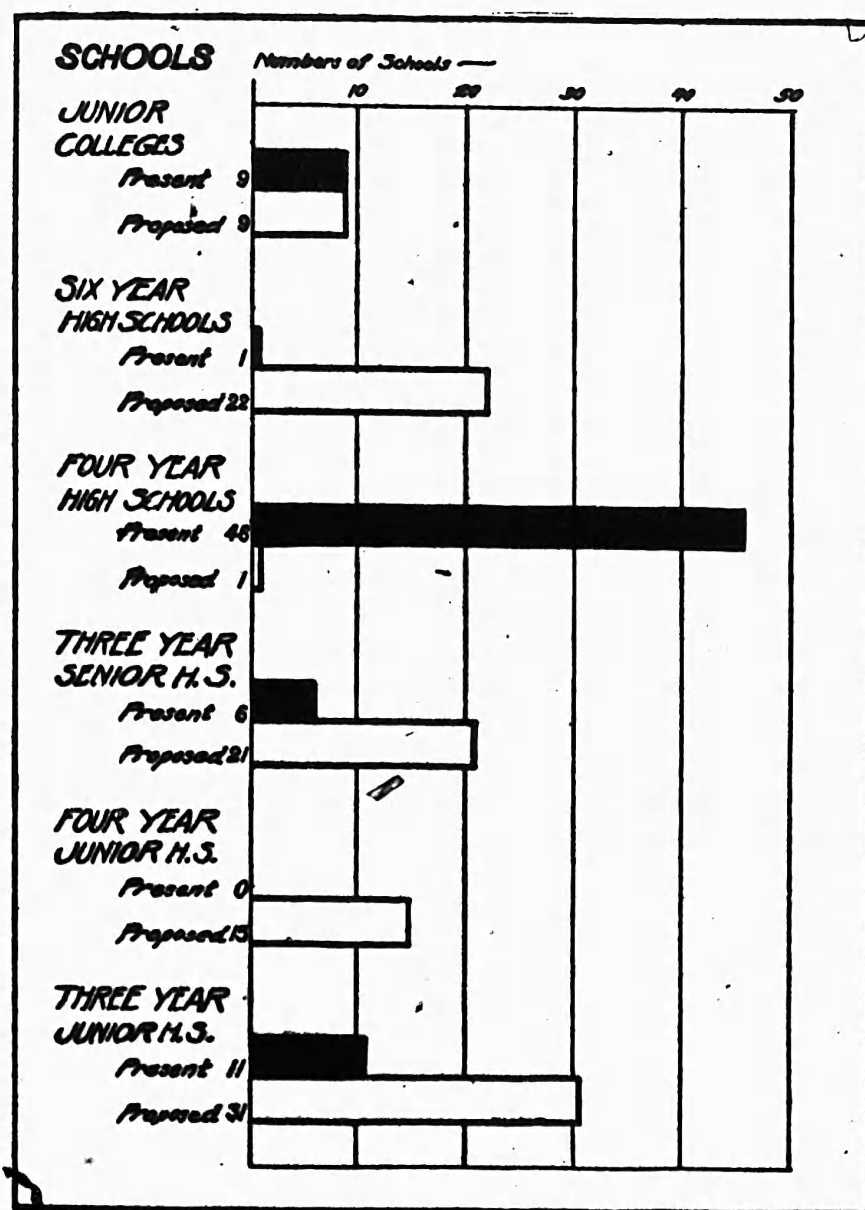


FIGURE 13.—Numbers of secondary schools of each type under present and proposed plans

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except in Mendocino County.¹ This board would maintain junior colleges at the present locations or elsewhere, as educational requirements might dictate. The advantage of the county type or organization for the junior colleges would be that they would not only receive State aid, but would have all the assessed wealth of the county behind them for purposes of local taxation. This would enable them to offer better and more varied curriculums than it is now possible for them to do. However, there are many obstacles in the way of achieving county junior-college districts. District junior colleges in the larger superintendency areas with State aid and ability to assess tuition covering costs beyond State reimbursement, and having all education from kindergarten through junior college under one board would offer a more unified type of administrative control and permit reorganization on the 6-4-4 or other plans fostering integration of junior college with later high-school years.

Secondary-school budget items.—Reorganized secondary education in the seven counties would cost a total of \$6,622,481. This estimate is based on the actual expenditures for 1929-30, plus estimated additional costs for transportation and capital outlay and minus the estimated savings by reason of consolidation and unified control. The percentages of the total budget in each county that would go to various items of the budget in each county are shown in Table 29.

There is a surprising uniformity in these percentages when it is considered that the counties selected are in different parts of the State and represent a wide variety of social, economic, and topographical conditions. General control calls for from 2.7 to 4.4 per cent; salaries and other instructional costs, from 49 to 58.3 per cent; library and laboratory supplies, 2.1 to 3.6 per cent; operation and maintenance, from 8.6 to 14.3 per cent; transportation, from 6.2 to 14 per cent; and capital outlay, from 13.8 to 23.1 per cent of total budget. The total secondary-school budgets for each county on which the above percentages are based are as follows: Kern, \$1,316,960; Mendocino, \$276,678; Monterey, \$482,658; Orange, \$1,807,802; San Bernardino, \$1,381,841; Sonoma, \$686,464; Stanislaus, \$680,078; total, \$6,622,481.

¹ Economic considerations at present make any type of junior college inadvisable in this county.

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TABLE 29.—Percentages of total estimated budget for secondary schools assigned to the various items

Budget item	Percentage by counties							Average per cent
	Kern	Mendo-dino	Mon-terey	Orange	San Bernar-dino	Sono-ma	Stanis-laus	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
General control and fixed charges.....	2.7	2.9	4.2	3.5	4.4	4.3	3.5	3.6
Teachers' salaries and other costs of instruction.....	52.0	54.4	56.7	49.0	56.2	58.3	56.3	54.7
Library and laboratory supplies.....	2.3	2.1	2.5	3.6	3.0	2.2	2.6	2.6
Operation and maintenance.....	13.0	12.8	9.2	14.3	14.1	8.7	8.6	11.2
Transportation and other auxiliary expense.....	14.0	14.0	13.0	6.5	6.2	9.3	8.0	10.2
Capital outlay.....	16.0	13.3	14.4	23.1	16.1	17.2	21.0	17.7
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The averages given in the right-hand column of Table 29 probably represent a fair cross section of secondary-school budget items for the State as a whole. The only exceptions would probably be in the items covering transportation and capital outlay. Since the proposed reorganization calls for considerable additions to transportation routes and also for a considerable outlay for new buildings, these items are perhaps out of line with the general run of high-school districts. Inspection of data from a random sampling of union high-school districts would lead to the conclusion that teachers' salaries and other instructional costs consume on the average about 65 per cent of the budget; transportation, 7 to 9 per cent; and capital outlays, about 10 per cent annually. Under the circumstances the estimated budget items may be said to conform rather closely to probability.

(Ability to support secondary education.—Assessed valuation per pupil in average daily attendance would, in proposed areas, range from \$7,370 in Area V of San Bernardino County to \$87,382 in Area II of Kern County. At present the range is from \$6,512 in San Bernardino County to \$127,067 in Orange County.

Assessed valuation per secondary teacher employed is equalized to the extent shown in Figure 14. The lowest

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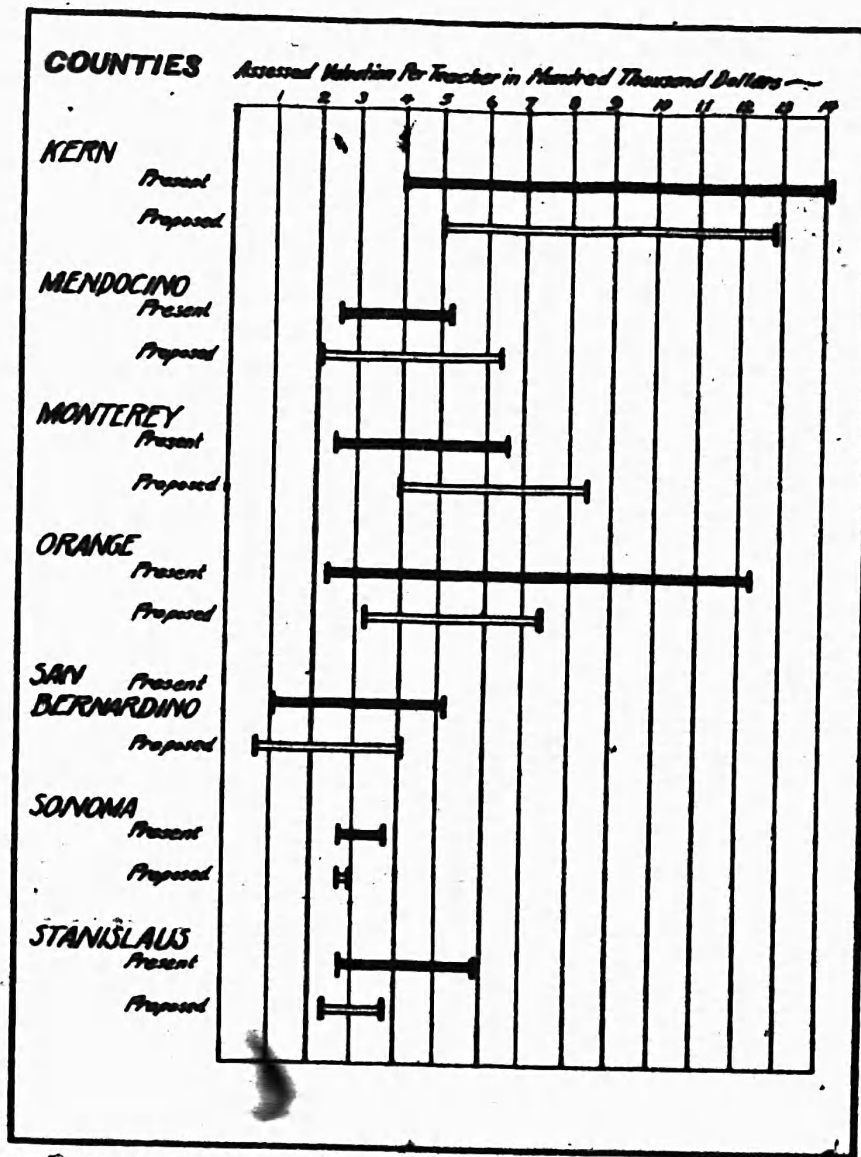


FIGURE 14.—Highest and lowest assessed valuation per teacher employed in secondary schools by districts as at present compared with estimated highest and lowest assessed valuation per teacher in proposed areas

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assessed valuation per teacher under the proposed reorganization, \$67,161, would be found in Area V of San Bernardino County. This is the same area having the lowest valuation per unit of average daily attendance. The highest, \$1,286,355, would be in Area II of Kern County, which is the same area with the highest valuation per unit of average daily attendance. The same two counties provide the highest and lowest assessed valuations per teacher under present organization. However, the extremes are not so great under the proposed superintendency area plan and superior educational advantages would tend to be available to students in the proposed areas on account of the change from dual to unified administrative control.

Leveling of tax burdens for secondary education.—Not only were great differences found in assessed valuation for elementary and secondary purposes, but also local tax burdens were found to vary from almost nothing to the legal limit for maintenance, building, and bond purposes. Figure 15 brings out these contrasts in secondary-school tax levies for the seven counties under the present organization. The lowest tax levies for secondary-school purposes range from 10 cents on \$100 of assessed valuation in a Mendocino County high-school district to 73 cents in a San Bernardino district. The high tax rates range from 80 cents in a Kern district to \$1.25 in a San Bernardino district. San Bernardino County has the distinction of having the highest among the low tax rates as well as the highest among the high tax rates for secondary-school purposes. This is probably due, at least in part, to the fact that the Southern Pacific and other railroads have great shops in the county, but pay all their taxes to the State on gross income. This leaves San Bernardino County with a relatively low assessed valuation for local taxing purposes, but a large school population for which to provide. This county stands as one of the best illustrations of the need for a larger State equalization fund, to be distributed in such a way as to provide desirable improvements in administrative set-up or organization.

✱ The effect of the proposed reorganization on tax rates for secondary-school purposes is shown in Table 30. This table gives an idea of the relative assessed valuations of the seven

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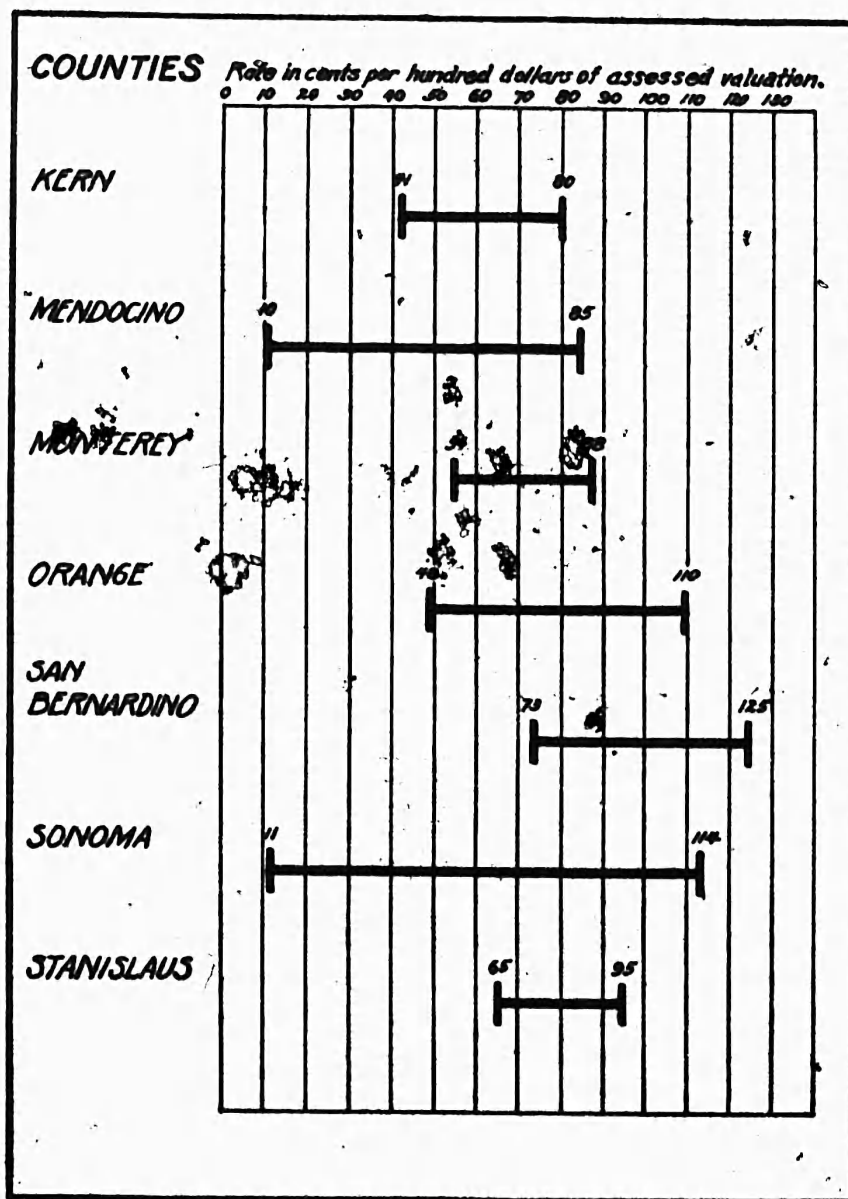


FIGURE 15.—Extremes in tax rates for secondary education in seven California counties under present conditions

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counties. Likewise it shows the estimated amount that each county would have invested in secondary-school buildings under the proposed reorganization. When calculation is made of the percentage that the estimated amount invested in secondary buildings is of total estimated assessed wealth in each county, we find the following: Kern and Mendocino would have 2 per cent of assessed wealth invested in secondary-school buildings; Orange and Stanislaus would each have 3 per cent; Monterey and Sonoma would each have 4 per cent; and San Bernardino would have 5.3 per cent.

TABLE 30.—*Assessed valuation of real and personal property, estimated value of secondary-school buildings, estimated average tax rates for bonds, estimated average tax rates for maintenance, and average totals of estimated tax rates for secondary schools by counties under proposed reorganization*

County	Assessed valuation of real and personal property	Estimated value of secondary-school buildings	Estimated average tax rates for bonds	Estimated average tax rates for maintenance	Average total of estimated tax rates
1	2	3	4	5	6
Kern.....	\$171, 046, 130	\$3, 438, 306	\$0. 10	\$0. 75	\$0. 85
Mendocino.....	24, 924, 550	548, 250	.22	.61	.83
Monterey.....	50, 115, 788	2, 130, 000	.05	.73	.78
Orange.....	173, 274, 410	6, 000, 000	.16	.68	.84
San Bernardino.....	79, 535, 085	4, 209, 763	.25	.75	1.00
Sonoma.....	44, 915, 800	1, 816, 978	.19	.54	.73
Stanislaus.....	54, 867, 805	1, 664, 102	.31	.49	.80

San Bernardino's burden both as to current taxes and bonds for buildings would seem to be unusually high. A partial explanation of the situation was offered in the preceding paragraph. If the estimated tax rates for the seven counties as shown in Table 30 are compared with the present extremes as shown in Figure 15, it will be observed that, while tax rates for secondary education in some counties would be somewhat higher than at present, there would be a general equalization. When also it is remembered that these rates are for a completely reorganized type of secondary education, including additional buildings and transportation, the possible advantages of the unified system of administration become more apparent.

Combined elementary and secondary expense budgets and tax rates.—When all the items of cost for both elementary and

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secondary education are combined into one budget and a tax levied on a large area, after deductions have been made for amounts received from the State, the equalizing effect on tax rates is apparent. Reference to Figure 16 will bring out this point in a striking manner. The bars representing *low* and *high* under the *superintendency area* plan show in every county a tendency to approach equal length, whereas the bars representing *low* and *high* under the *present* or single elementary-district or union high-school district plan, show wide extremes. This means that property located in one district must bear a crushing load of local school taxation, whereas property located in another district in the same county may pay only a nominal sum in school taxes.

An example may be cited. If a person owned property assessed at \$1,000 in the Kern County district having a combined tax rate of 56 cents on \$100 of valuation, he would pay a tax of \$5.60. If his property happened to be located in the district having a total tax of \$27.10 per 100 of assessed valuation, he would be paying \$27.10 as a tax. Under the proposed plan he would pay \$10.70 or \$14.50, respectively, in the two districts aforementioned. If he happened to own property assessed at \$1,000 in each district aforementioned, his total taxes for school purposes under present conditions would be \$32.70 and under the proposed plan, \$25.20.

Such a condition can not be considered satisfactory either from the standpoint of the taxpayer or the schools. Whether, therefore, the solution lies in the direction of superintendency areas like those suggested in this report, or in some other direction, the data presented in this report emphasize the desirability of finding *some* remedy which will remove the apparent defects in the existing situation.

1. SUMMARY OF TENTATIVE FINDINGS

Kindergartens.—In the seven counties 57 districts maintain kindergartens with an average daily attendance of 3,874 children and a median cost per unit of average daily attendance of \$100.30. Kindergarten education is confined to the cities and large towns, very few being found in districts with fewer than 10 elementary teachers. If consolidation of rural schools made it possible to maintain kindergartens in every

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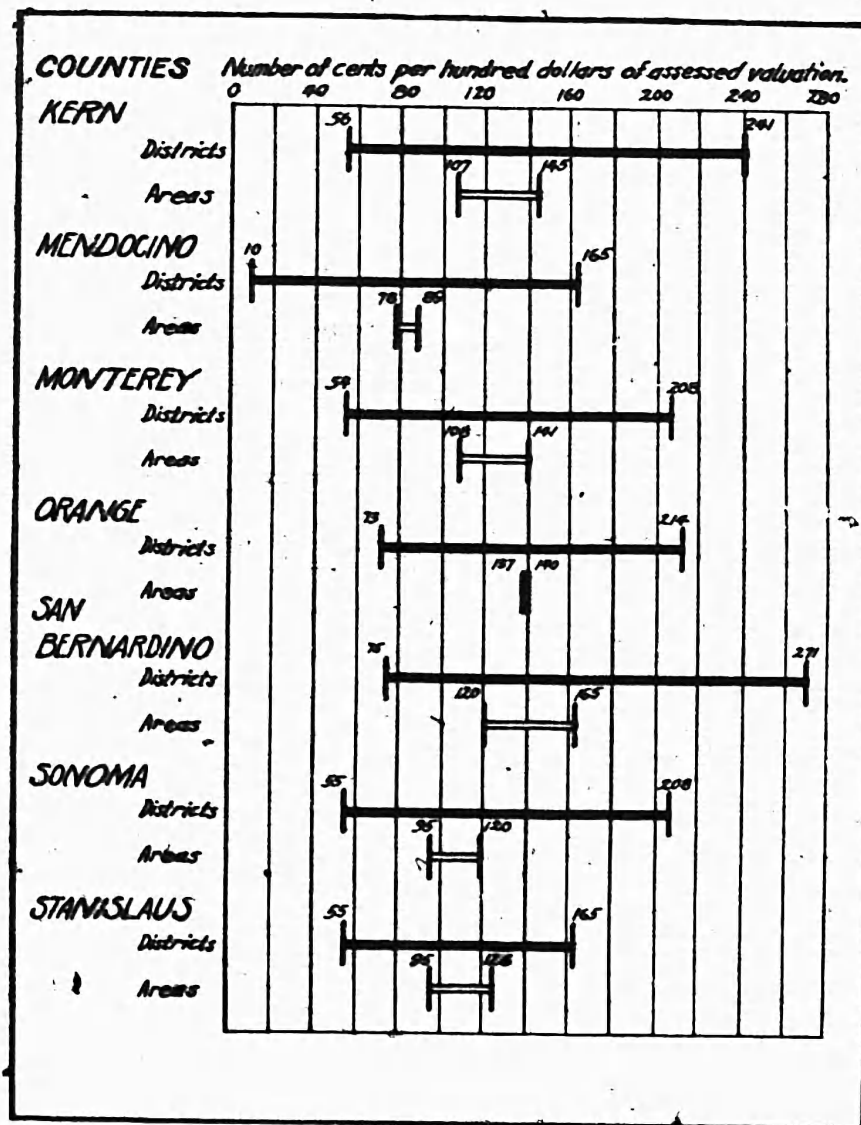


FIGURE 16.—Extremes in combined tax rates for elementary and secondary education in present districts and in proposed areas

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school employing a minimum of five teachers such training would be made available to more than 80 per cent of the children in the counties studied.

Elementary education.—Application of the suggested superintendency area organization to the seven counties would make possible a reduction of 155 1-teacher and 2-teacher schools, and of 147 teachers employed. In one county, Sonoma, there would be a reduction of 62.2 per cent in the number of such small schools.

Equalization of ability to support elementary education would be accomplished by leveling the present extremes so that the lowest valuation per unit of average daily attendance would be \$2,430 instead of \$709, and the lowest assessed valuation per teacher would be \$68,161 instead of \$10,860.

Economies in elementary education, effected through the elimination of 155 1-teacher and 2-teacher schools with their operating costs and a net reduction of 147 elementary teachers, would bring about a gross saving of \$199,045, and a net saving of about \$45,000 after additional transportation and supervisory costs have been deducted. A majority of the elementary schools in the seven counties would be on the 6-grade basis. Only remote and inaccessible districts would remain on the 8-grade plan, and these would have better supervision by reason of being under an area superintendent and controlled by one board of education for the entire area.

Secondary education.—The effects of the proposed reorganization would be most evident in the secondary schools of the seven counties. From the predominant 8-4 type of organization the shift would be to the 6-3-3 type and the 6-6 type of organization, with one or more county junior colleges in each county to head up the secondary-school system. Only one conventional 4-year high school, including grades 9 to 12, would remain in these counties.

Budget items for secondary-school expenditures would remain in about the same proportion as at present, except that relatively larger percentages would go to transportation and capital outlay, and relatively smaller percentages to teachers' salaries than under present conditions.

Capacity to support secondary education would be equalized under the superintendency area plan both as to assessed

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valuation per unit of average daily attendance and per teacher employed. There would also be a leveling of tax burdens. Extremes of very low and very high taxes for secondary education alone or for the combined elementary and secondary budgets would be ironed out. The general level in some area would be somewhat higher, but on the whole there would be material reduction.

Every item of evidence brought out in connection with the study of Kern County to the effect that the superintendency area plan was probably tenable as a suggested method of bringing about better articulation of the various units of the school system has been verified and reinforced by the data presented covering the seven counties. This should not be taken to mean that the superintendency area plan is the only feasible plan, nor yet the best plan that might be proposed. It simply means that as an experimental proposal it has resulted in bringing to light the possibilities for marked improvement in the present situation, and has given something of an idea of at least one possible way of approaching the solution of the problem.

Evidence has been presented to show the need for some plan of unification of administrative control, as well as for better articulation of the units of the school system. It has also been shown that the objectives are attainable in at least one way. The next task will be to suggest necessary changes in existing laws and the general character of new legislation that will be necessary to hasten the attainment of these desirable goals. Chapter VI will discuss these changes in considerable detail.

CHAPTER VI : PROPOSED CHANGES IN STATE POLICIES AND SCHOOL LAWS

1. SOURCE OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS

If the tentative conclusions drawn from the data set forth in the preceding chapters are fairly sound, it follows that steps should be taken by those interested in education in California to bring about changes that would eventually result in eliminating the greatest defects in the present situation. There are so many complications, legal, social, political, and financial, however, that no one formula could possibly cover the case. It is not reasonable to suppose that a condition which has developed over a period of more than a half century can be straightened out by one grand gesture of reform. The probability is that it will require at least 10 years of planned effort to accomplish complete articulation and reorganization. There are, however, certain first steps, which if taken, would, in the opinion of many leaders of educational thought in the State, open the way for ultimate and satisfactory reorganization on a sound basis.

The suggestions that follow belong to the same category with the tentative hypotheses adopted as the basis for gathering the data concerning the seven counties which have been set forth above. They are not made as final pronouncements. They represent nothing more than a summary of the suggestions that have come to the staff in charge of this California project from those familiar with local and State conditions and are given for no more than they are worth. These suggestions must stand strictly on their own merits if they are to commend themselves to legislators and schoolmen interested in bringing the California school system to the highest possible point of efficiency. They can not demand attention as coming from some high authority outside the State.

Keeping the foregoing statement as to source and authority in mind, it may be helpful to record some of the suggestions that have come to the members of the staff during the course of their efforts to get at and interpret the facts.

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2. STATE SUPPORT OF KINDERGARTENS

It has been brought out in connection with data relative to kindergarten education in Kern County as well as in the seven counties combined, that at present kindergarten education is practically denied to rural children. If the idea of larger administrative areas is ultimately adopted it would result in larger central elementary schools where kindergartens would be feasible. Since there will be additional costs for transportation with teacher supervision in transit for children of kindergarten age in rural areas, it has been suggested that kindergarten average daily attendance should be included with elementary average daily attendance in determining amount of State aid.

At present kindergartens are entirely a district charge for which local taxes may be levied up to 15 cents on \$100 of assessed valuation. There does not seem to be justification for restricting kindergarten privileges to children who live in cities, hence the suggestion that the kindergarten should be adopted as an integral part of a unified school system and placed on the same footing, so far as State aid is concerned, with elementary and secondary education. Such a change of policy would tend still further to equalize the burden of school support as well as to promote educational articulation.

3. REDEFINITION OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Present complications.—At present there is in California a "no-man's land" between elementary and secondary education which complicates both educational and financial procedures and very materially interferes with educational reorganization. This condition has long been recognized by educational authorities of the State. One of the clearest statements of the situation has been made by a member of the staff of the State superintendent of public instruction:¹

The establishment of a junior high school requires the prior approval of the electors and of the school boards of the individual elementary school districts comprising the union high-school district. A reorganization of the present cumbrous system of administrative units, which would result in a comparatively small number of districts, each of the "consolidated type," with inclusive responsibilities relative to both

¹ Morgan, Walter E. Chief of division of statistics, in Ch. XIV, The Junior High School. Proctor and Ricciardi, Stanford University Press, 1930, p. 263.

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elementary and secondary education, would materially further the development of junior high schools in rural areas.

Not only is there the difficulty pointed out in the foregoing quotation of "selling" the junior high school idea to all the elementary-district board members and a majority of the electors in a given union high-school district, but there is the further complication of conflicting definitions of elementary and secondary education. Section 3.222 of the California School Code reads:

The high schools of the State shall be designated as 4-year high schools, junior high schools, senior high schools, and evening high schools.

Again, in section 3.760 one finds:

The course of study for day elementary schools in districts maintaining junior high schools shall embrace six years of instruction, and in districts in which junior high schools are not maintained, such courses of study shall embrace eight years of instruction.

Thus the legislature apparently intended to classify junior high schools as secondary schools and it might be assumed that the provisions for State support would apply to junior high schools as well as to 4-year and senior high schools. However, section 4.772 of the code provides:

The school superintendent of every county must apportion all State and county money for the elementary grades of his county . . . as provided by this article.

The use of the word "*grades*" instead of schools has caused the county superintendents to interpret all eight grades, whether the seventh and eighth are in junior high schools or not, as elementary grades. This means that the provision requiring the raising of a county secondary-school fund of \$60 per pupil in average daily attendance in the high schools does not apply to the seventh and eighth grades of junior high schools. This very materially cuts down the State and county support of junior high schools and makes the junior high school idea harder to sell, both to the elementary school and to the union high school district boards.

The situation is further complicated by sections 3.260 to 3.264, which provide that elementary-school boards may pay tuition to the high-school district for children above

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the sixth grade who attend a junior high school within the union high-school district of which a given elementary district is a part. Commenting on the anomalous situation thus created Morgan says:²

While the junior high school plainly is intended to be created as a secondary school, the contradictory provisions of the law have resulted in an ambiguity as to the status of this institution, and this ambiguity has made the junior high school part elementary and part secondary in character. The repeal of those sections of the law, responsible for this ambiguity, should be effected together with the amendment of those laws governing the apportionment of State and county funds so that the junior high school will be recognized as a high school, and entitled to the full support of a high school. Such legislation would be very simple and would do much to stimulate the development of junior high schools in rural areas, as well as in union high-school districts embracing large towns and cities.

Morgan's suggestion is concurred in by Arthur Gould,³ assistant superintendent in charge of secondary schools of Los Angeles:

Since the State and the county give their support to school districts separately for elementary attendance or high-school attendance, reports on attendance must be kept separately. (For seventh and eighth grades and ninth grades in junior high schools.) In other words, although the expense of conducting a junior high school is comparable to that of conducting a high school, . . . neither State nor county, in its subsidy to the high-school district, recognizes as high-school attendance that major portion of the junior high school attendance which is in the seventh and eighth grades. . . . Certainly some law should be added which will recognize all junior high school attendance as high-school attendance, with State and county support given on a high-school basis.

Thus it will be seen that a new legislative enactment which would define elementary education as covering the span from kindergarten through the sixth grade, inclusive, and secondary education as covering the span from the seventh grade through the fourteenth, and providing State aid on a graduated basis, relatively in proportion to the cost at the different levels, would greatly simplify the present confused legal situation. It is claimed by its advocates that it would also lighten the financial burden on real and personal

² Ibid, p. 271.

³ Gould, Arthur. In Chapter XIV, *The Junior High School*. Proctor and Ricciardi, Stanford University Press, 1930, pp. 262-263.

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property and tend to encourage larger administrative areas for all school purposes.

The regional junior-college proposal.—As has been pointed out in the summary for the seven counties, the junior-college needs for these counties could probably be met by the organization of county or joint-county junior-college districts. However, it is recognized that district junior colleges in the larger superintendency areas with appropriate State aid and empowered to collect tuition covering costs above State reimbursement might prove to be more flexible than county junior colleges, and lend themselves more readily to reorganization on the 6-4-4 plan now being worked out at Pasadena, Ventura, and Compton, or on some other plan fostering integration of junior college with later high-school years. For the State as a whole it is urged that regional junior-college areas should be set up,⁴ after survey by the State department of education and that in each such area there should be a junior-college board empowered to maintain junior colleges wherever educationally and financially desirable and feasible. Eells estimates that 37 such areas would provide junior-college facilities that would bring junior-college education within 20 miles of all but a few high-school districts of the State. This proposal has not yet been subjected to critical examination, but it is an indication of the direction of thought regarding this important branch of the public-school system. The idea back of the proposal, that is, larger areas and more adequate financial support and supervision, is at least worthy of serious consideration.

The junior college seems to have established itself as an integral part of the public-school system of California and must be given a place in any thoroughgoing plan for reorganization. Its strongest claim for public support is not, however, as a separate collegiate-type institution, but as a community institution on the highest secondary level, performing all its functions and articulating administratively and educationally with *all* the school units below as well as above. Whatever changes are made in the present plans for support of public junior colleges should take account of the

⁴ Eells, W. C., and Walter, Arthur. Unpublished report to State Survey of Higher Education, Carnegie Foundation, Henry Suzzallo, director.

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essential character of the junior college as a community institution.

4. POSITIVE LEADERSHIP FOR A STATE PROGRAM DESIRABLE

It is claimed that one chief reason for the slow progress of reorganization is that it has been left entirely to local initiative. This is not in the least a reflection on the State educational authorities. It means simply that there is no machinery at present through which the State department of education can take the initiative in such matters. Except in the fields of Smith-Hughes vocational education and certain other special types of education, where State aid is given on conditions which must be met by the districts participating, State elementary and secondary school funds are distributed on a basis of teachers employed, average daily attendance, or number of years of high-school work offered; no conditions as to size of administrative units or educational offerings must be met to secure the State aid. A number of suggestions have been made which the members of the staff feel are at least indicative of the present trends of thought and hence are worthy of being recorded.

A State equalization fund.—One of the most persistent suggestions, and one which has been subject to study and report by a number of State educational organizations, particularly the California Teachers Association, has to do with a State equalization fund. In the data gathered for this report there have emerged many striking examples of inequality between both elementary and secondary districts in their ability to support an adequate educational program. It has also been seen that a distinct trend toward equalization would be accomplished by the organization of larger administrative areas. The difficulty of accomplishing such desirable reforms under existing conditions has been previously pointed out.

The pressure of taxes for school support on real and personal property has been especially acute during the current economic recession. In certain districts of Mendocino County, for example, where the lumber industry has suspended operations, more than one-half of the taxes are delinquent. Assessors are reducing valuations in line with deflation of property values, and other difficulties of a similar

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nature are forcing school boards not only to economize but to look about for the means to maintain their schools on even a minimum educational standard.

The existing emergency has brought forward as a major issue a larger State contribution to education. Six agencies which have been working independently for some years have recently come together to work out a common plan of attack upon the problem.⁵ At a recent meeting in Sacramento it was agreed to propose an amendment to the State constitution to be voted on as an initiative measure in November. This amendment would increase the State contribution to elementary education from \$30 per child in average daily attendance as at present to \$70 and the high-school aid from \$30 to \$100 per student in average daily attendance, the latter amount to take the place of the State's \$30 per high-school pupil and the county's \$60 per pupil in average daily attendance. The adoption of the proposed amendment would require the State to appropriate \$27,100,000 more to elementary education and \$17,250,000 more to secondary education than at present. It has been suggested that the \$44,350,000 of new money required of the State could be raised by the legislature through levying a State income tax or a selective sales tax, or both such types of taxation.

The proposed amendment is mentioned here neither in indorsement nor in opposition, but merely to show that the problem of financial support for the schools of the State is receiving attention and that serious and definite steps are being taken looking to a solution. If such a fund as outlined in the proposed amendment is secured, it is to be hoped that a portion of it, at least, would be allocated to the stimulation of the organization of larger administrative areas. This could be done in the form of a special bonus to all areas which should succeed in achieving reorganization so as to bring all school units, from the kindergarten through high school or junior college, under one board of education.

The New York plan for central rural schools.—As evidence of what State leadership and financial incentives can accomplish in stimulating the organization of larger administrative

⁵ The State Grange, the Farm Bureau Federation, the Real Estate Association, the California Teachers Association, the Association of County Supervisors, and the State Department of Education.

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areas the New York plan is also suggested as a possible solution to the California problem:

The New York statute^{*} provides that areas organized as central rural schools shall receive from the State the same apportionments and quotas which a union free school district is entitled to receive and in addition thereto the district quotas, additional teachers' quotas, and equalization quotas as provided for under sections 491, 491-a, and 491-b of the education law, for each of the districts included in such central school district, in the same amount and under the same conditions as though such central school district had not been established and as though a school had been maintained in each of such districts included within such central school district. Such central school district also receives a transportation quota equal to *one-half* the sum paid for the transportation of pupils, . . . and a quota known as a building quota, which is equivalent to *one-quarter* of the sum actually expended for the erection, enlargement, or remodeling of a school building in such district.

The State commissioner of education outlines the procedure under which such districts may be formed. In general it is required that the proposed district shall consist of a group of existing districts around a natural and logical center, and shall include all of the territory that reasonably may be included therein. Such districts must include such resources in population and taxation as to be sufficient to insure well-organized graded instruction in both elementary- and high-school-subjects.

The districts desiring to organize a central rural district secure petitions outlining the boundaries of the proposed district, its bonded debts, taxable resources, and other detailed facts. Either the electors in a majority of the districts to be included, or a majority of all electors in the proposed district must favor the reorganization. When the commissioner of education receives this petition he sends out an examiner from his office to check up on facts, meet the people, and report back to his office. If satisfied with the value of such a district he proceeds to issue an order laying out the district. A school meeting of electors residing in the proposed district is then held and a formal vote taken on the establishment of the central rural school. If favorable, the meeting proceeds to elect a board of education of five mem-

^{*} Bulletin, University of the State of New York, No. 882. Albany, N. Y., Aug. 15, 1927, pp. 2-6.

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bers. This board has jurisdiction over all schools in the central rural district. It becomes in fact a rural consolidated district, or as it is called in New York State, a "central rural school."

The effect of the above law has been very marked. The assistant State commissioner in charge of secondary education, Dr. George M. Wiley, reports that more central rural schools have been organized in New York State since 1927, when this law was passed, than for the 20 years prior to that date. The office of the commissioner of education is having a hard time at present to keep up with all the demands for the investigation of proposed central rural areas. It is Doctor Wiley's opinion that the relatively small amount of State aid provided in the way of one-half the cost of transportation and one-fourth the cost of new buildings has had more to do with stimulating these districts to desire consolidation than any amount of permissive legislation, without the bonus feature attached, could possibly have done.⁷

Application of the New York plan to the California situation.—As has previously been suggested, local communities are slow to act on matters such as consolidation of school districts, especially when local interests, political and social considerations, and natural conservatism are mingled in the discussions. When to these unpredictable influences are added the legal complications, such as conflict in definitions of elementary- and secondary-school jurisdictions, tax problems, control of seventh and eighth grades, necessity for tuition, loss of teacher apportionments when elementary districts smaller than entire union high-school districts are consolidated, and finally when State aid is apportioned to junior high schools on a two-thirds elementary basis, it is easy to understand why progress toward consolidation has been so slow in California. It is claimed by advocates of reorganization that any permanent solution must wait on a "long-view-ahead" type of State program. It is claimed also that this State program should not only embody the idea of securing larger amounts of State aid for elementary and secondary schools, but that this additional State contribution should be made in such a way that it would help to remove

⁷ Correspondence and personal conferences between Doctor Wiley and one of the writers.

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the existing weaknesses, such as undesirably small administrative units, inefficiencies in expenditures due to high costs in small units, inequalities in tax burdens, and lack of articulation between the various units of the school system due to dual methods of control now prevalent, all of which defects have been shown to exist in greater or less degree in every county included in the survey.

State and county educational reorganization commissions.—Various methods have been suggested for the accomplishment of this aggressive leadership of the State department of education. Perhaps the plan that has been most frequently put forward is that of having a State educational reorganization commission appointed by the State superintendent of public instruction. This commission might consist of two experts in the field of educational administration selected for occasional service to act as consultants with three members of the regular staff of the State department of education—possibly the chief of the division of elementary education, the chief of the division of secondary education, with the assistant superintendent in charge of the division of statistics as chairman.

Assuming the enactment of enabling legislation outlining procedure for the encouragement of superintendency areas, this State commission could collaborate with commissions set up in each county in solving the reorganization problems of the various counties. The county commission, being a local body, could take the initiative. As soon as a group of districts indicated a desire to come under the provisions of the reorganization or superintendency area act, the county commission could gather all the necessary data regarding assessed wealth, probable average daily attendance, transportation problems, educational advantages and disadvantages, etc., and forward these findings with their recommendation to the State department of education. The State department through its educational reorganization commission could study the data submitted, make first-hand investigation and report its findings and recommendations to the State superintendent of public instruction. If the recommendations were favorable to the organization of such a district the State superintendent could order an election, and, if

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the electors approved by majority vote, the district would be established and could proceed to elect a board of education to have control over all schools within the newly-established area. Such new areas would then be entitled to all State apportionments previously received and would in addition receive State aid for all junior high school pupils, including seventh and eighth grades on the high-school basis, either \$30 State and \$60 county as at present, or on the basis of \$70 per elementary and \$100 per high school student in average daily attendance as proposed under the constitutional amendment sponsored by the six organizations just mentioned. Also, following the New York plan, the reorganized districts would receive from the State additional apportionments equal to reimbursement for *one-half* of their transportation costs, and *one-fourth* of their capital outlay for new buildings or remodeling old buildings.

If in addition to these apportionments the reorganized areas could have the advantage of a second constitutional amendment, also being sponsored by the six organizations supporting the equalization fund amendment, it would be possible to apply all moneys saved in teachers' salaries to the general educational needs of the reorganized areas. This second proposed amendment provides that 75 per cent of the money provided by the State for elementary-school purposes and 70 per cent of that provided for secondary-school purposes must be applied exclusively for payment of teachers' salaries. At present 100 per cent of the State's apportionment and 60 per cent of the county apportionment must go for teachers' salaries. This means that amounts saved by unionization or consolidation at present on account of elimination of unnecessary teachers can not be utilized for other educational purposes. This feature of the present law has been an important factor in preventing unionization and consolidation. The proposed second amendment is, therefore, another evidence that the educators of the State are seeking to take the preliminary steps leading to ultimate reorganization.

Some idea of the effect of such proposals as have been set forth can be had from (1) the application of the *one-half* transportation and *one-fourth* capital outlay reimbursement

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provisions of the New York law to the California system and (2) the application of the proposed amendment to the State constitution increasing State aid from the \$30 for elementary and \$30 for secondary school funds on the average daily attendance unit basis to \$70 for elementary and \$100 for secondary. The differences in percentages of load to be

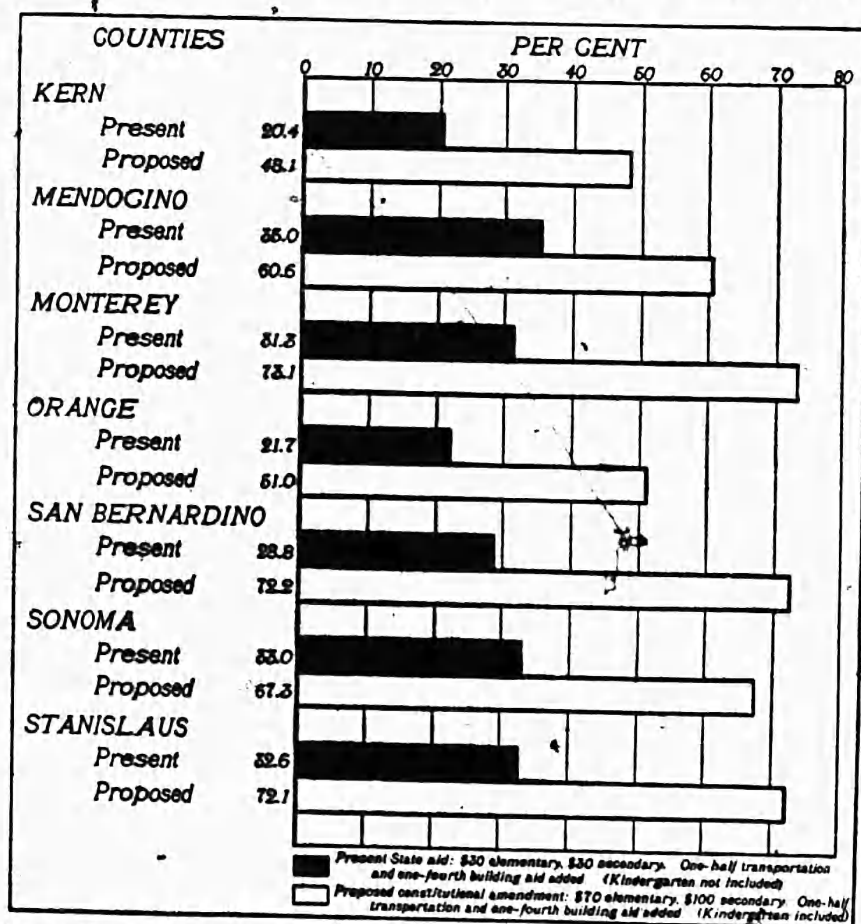


FIGURE 17.—Percentages of total cost of schools borne by the State under the present plan and under the proposed constitutional amendment (State aid on New York plan for transportation and buildings included in all percentages)

carried by the State on the one hand and the local district and county on the other hand are brought out in Figure 17.

When only present State aid is taken into account, even with the additional bonus for transportation and buildings, the counties would receive from 20 to 35 per cent of the funds for their educational budgets from the State. If reimbursement was on the basis of the proposed State amendment,

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plus the one-half transportation and the one-fourth building bonus for reorganization stimulus, the counties, as shown in Figure 17, would receive from 48.1 per cent reimbursement in Kern County to 73.1 per cent reimbursement in Monterey County. The essentially rural counties, without any large cities, such as Mendocino, Monterey, San Bernardino, Sonoma, and Stanislaus, would receive a higher percentage of reimbursement than Kern and Orange Counties. There would undoubtedly be marked relief in taxation on the personal and real property, which, although it represents less than 25 per cent of the income of the people of the State, bears 85 per cent of the taxes for educational purposes and 67 per cent for all governmental purposes.⁸ The problem, of course, would be to raise the \$45,000,000 additional State money to make this proposed contribution possible. Whether or not the proposed amendment can muster sufficient support to carry a state-wide initiative election does not concern us here.⁹ It is presented because six interested organizations sponsor it as a step toward equalization and ultimate improvement of the educational system of the State.

⁸ Morgan, Walter E. In address before League of Women Voters of Los Angeles, May 31, 1932, on High Cost of Education, reported in the Los Angeles Times, for June 1, 1932, in Part II, p. 8, col. 4: "Most of the expense of the educational system is borne by real and personal property. Sixty-seven per cent of all governmental costs is borne by real and personal property. Education is conceived as a State function, and yet the State bears less than 15 per cent of the cost."

⁹ The proposed amendment was defeated at the polls in November 1932, but similar proposals are before the 1933 California Legislature.

CHAPTER VII : SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. DISCOVERED CONDITIONS

It is not necessary to recapitulate here the details of this entire report. Each chapter has been summarized and those summaries are sufficient for the data presented. All that is necessary at this point is to call attention to certain rather definite conclusions to which the data gathered seem to point.

1. It seems to have been established that educational articulation of a vertical nature has been very difficult to achieve outside the large city districts.

2. This lack of articulation has been most evident in the slow progress of educational reorganization, again outside the cities, a fact attested by the small number of junior high schools to be found in union high-school districts.

3. The prevalence of union high-school districts has promoted a dual educational system around which conflicting laws have accumulated until it is very difficult to secure a unified educational procedure and program.

4. Owing largely to this dual control the system of small elementary districts persists to the extent that there are nearly 3,000 such small administrative units remaining in the State.

5. Little progress has been made in the unionization of elementary districts or the consolidation of all elementary districts within union high-school districts, although permissive legislation has been on the books for many years and many county superintendents have worked diligently to accomplish such amalgamation.

6. This condition has resulted in great inequalities of costs and of educational opportunities. Great inefficiencies in school finance, owing to excessively small units, have been prevalent, and such conditions persist.

2. SUGGESTIONS FOR REMEDY OF DISCOVERED CONDITIONS

During the progress of the survey those engaged in the work met many schoolmen throughout the State as well as

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officials and educators in the counties included in the project. As the result of these discussions and conferences certain tentative hypotheses relating to possible solutions were applied to the situations discovered to see if improvements would result. The one finally applied to all seven counties was that of enlarged administrative or superintendency areas. The counties were divided into suggested areas and the data rearranged to fit the conditions that would result from such reorganization. Among other things the following advantages were brought out for such areas:

1. Such areas would accomplish a measure of vertical articulation, because all schools and educational services within each area would be under one board of education and one superintendent.
2. Such consolidated areas would be able to provide kindergartens, junior high schools, junior colleges, regular elementary schools, and high schools (in the small proportion of instances where conditions seem to warrant operation of these older types), and unified curriculums from the kindergarten through the junior college, thus fostering both horizontal and vertical articulation.
3. Economies were shown to be possible under unified control both in the elimination of small school units and unnecessary teachers. Unit costs in large schools were shown to be markedly lower than in small schools.
4. Definite measures of equalization were shown for the superintendency areas, since assessed wealth per child and per teacher would be more evenly distributed under the proposed arrangement. The great extremes were eliminated.
5. The number of reorganized secondary schools possible under the larger areas would be greatly increased, as would the elementary schools having only six grades. Conversely the number of conventional 8-grade elementary schools and 4-year high schools would be materially reduced.
6. Tax burdens were shown to be more evenly distributed and costs equalized by being spread over larger areas. Hence, it appeared that the reorganized program could be achieved at a substantial saving even under existing laws. With suggested changes greater economies and savings could be attained.

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3. PROPOSED MEANS OF ATTAINMENT

Again, instead of inventing solutions of their own, the staff at work on the project sought to discover the measures which California educators were proposing to apply to the situations in the State. Among those suggested and here described were:

1. State support for kindergartens in order that this type of training might be made available to rural as well as city children.

2. A redefinition of elementary and secondary education, so as to clear up existing confusion which interferes with reorganization. State officials and prominent educators were quoted along these lines.†

3. A proposal for regional junior colleges or larger supporting areas for existing junior-college districts and the definite recognition of the junior college as an integral part of a 14-year public-school system.

4. The creation of a State equalization fund, a portion of which should be used to stimulate reorganization on some basis of larger administrative areas. The proposed amendment to the State constitution sponsored by six civic bodies was cited in this connection.

5. The possibility of applying the New York "central rural school" plan to the California situation was set forth.

6. State and county educational reorganization commissions were also described as among the possible devices for carrying out the proposed educational reforms.

7. Possible effect of application of suggestions was shown. The burden of taxation now borne by real and personal property would be relieved by the proposed amendment up to almost three-fourths in certain rural counties. Also reorganization would probably be materially stimulated.

In all proposals and suggestions herein contained the effort has not been made to promote specific ideas or plans for reorganization of education in the State of California. The only purpose has been to set forth the facts as they were found. Whatever remedial suggestions have been recorded have been presented either as tentative proposals to see if they would bear application to the situation and would point to possible solutions, or have been drawn from current pro-

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posals which those interested in education in California are themselves discussing. If among those recorded some happen to have intrinsic merit, their presentation may help toward the ultimate solution. The purpose of those at work on this project will have been accomplished if the data presented make issues somewhat clearer, provoke discussion, and help to make clear the direction in which improvement lies. The specific manner of attaining the desirable goals is not important, but the desire to make progress and to throw light on the road toward the goals is all-important. It is the necessity for reform in the direction of better articulation and greater school efficiency which the staff of the Survey hopes has been demonstrated. The educational leadership of California may safely be trusted to find the way to ultimate accomplishment of the necessary reforms.

PART III
SCHOOL AND DISTRICT ORGANIZATION
IN ILLINOIS

BY FRED ENGELHARDT AND WILLIAM H. ZEIGEL, JR.

CHAPTER I: LEGAL BACKGROUND AND GROWTH OF
TOWNSHIP AND COMMUNITY HIGH SCHOOLS

1. THE PROBLEM IN THIS REPORT

In the general treatment of school districts in Part I of this monograph the uniqueness in the development of secondary schools in States like California and Illinois was pointed out. In these two States, and in a lesser degree in certain others, systems of secondary schools were created by superimposing on the elementary-school districts a number of independently incorporated high-school districts.

The present report was planned to set forth the salient characteristics of those districts that are designated township and community high schools in the State of Illinois. Such elements as time, funds at hand, and space available set the limits of this special investigation. The data on which this report is based were secured from published reports, unpublished studies, inquiry forms returned by the schools represented, and the first-hand visiting in the State of a limited number of community and township high schools and school systems maintaining all 12 grades.

Specifically, the report of this project begins by tracing briefly the historical development of the special types of high-school districts found in Illinois. This is followed by a comparison of the organizational situation in the township and community high-school districts visited with that in an equal number of comparable districts maintaining unit systems, that is all grades of public-school work. The aim of the comparison is to illustrate characteristics of the schools in such districts and to develop, as far as possible in a limited study, suggestions pointing to possible improvements in district and school organization.

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1. THE LEGAL PROVISIONS FOR TOWNSHIP AND COMMUNITY HIGH SCHOOLS

The legal platform of education in Illinois.—The present constitution of Illinois, adopted in 1870, sets forth in Article VII, section 1, the educational platform for the State: "The general assembly shall provide a thorough and efficient system of free schools whereby all children of this State may receive a good common-school education."¹ The meaning of the term "common-school education" has been a matter of controversy and has been defined by the supreme court of the State in terms that make it clear that the general assembly has the authority, within the constitutional limits, to provide for the establishment, support, maintenance, and operation of township and community high schools.²

The first township high school.—The first township high school in the State was organized at Princeton in 1867. Agitation for a secondary school began as early as 1865 when a town meeting was held to discuss the advisability of establishing a high school for the whole township. The general assembly passed a bill legalizing the establishment of a township high school at Princeton in February, 1867.³

General township high school.—The success of this form of high-school district organization led to the enactment of the first general township high-school law in 1872.⁴ Provision was then made for the establishment of a township high school in any school township or in two or more adjoining townships.

Amendments to this law made in 1889, 1891, 1897, 1901, and 1905 resulted in creating eight types of township high-school districts as follows:⁵ A school township; two or more adjoining townships; two or more adjoining school districts; parts of adjoining townships; the remainder of a township,

¹ School Law of Illinois (1928), p. 4.

² Powell v. Board of Education, 97 Illinois 375 (February, 1881). Russell v. High-School Board of Education of District No. 131, 212 Illinois 327, Oct. 24, 1904.

³ For a detailed account of the establishment of this school see: (1) Smith, L. W., *Illinois' High Schools*. Department of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois, Springfield, Ill., 1917. (2) Hollister, H. A., *The Township and Community High-School Movement in Illinois*, U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1917, No. 35. (3) Althaus, C. B., *The Distribution of the Tax Burden of Township and Community High Schools in Illinois*. Illinois Agricultural Association, Chicago, 1927.

⁴ Laws of Illinois, 1871-72, p. 713.

⁵ Laws of Illinois, 1889, p. 161; 1891, p. 190; 1897, p. 295; 1901, p. 206; 1905, p. 374.

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a part of which had organized into a township high school; a school district having a population of 2,000 or more; a city and a township; part of a township divided by a navigable stream.

Early community high schools.—The first community high-school law was passed in 1911 and provided two methods by which this form of school district might be incorporated. The methods outlined in the law are as follows:

Any school township that contains a school district having a population of 1,000 or more and not exceeding 100,000 inhabitants, may be organized into a high-school district by submitting the proposition to a vote of the people at a general or special election.

The inhabitants of any contiguous and compact territory, whether in the same or different townships, upon a petition signed by at least 50 legal voters and an affirmative vote in such territory, may establish a township high school.⁶

Five years later the entire law of 1911 was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Illinois.⁷ In 1917 the general township high-school law of 1909 was again amended to provide for the establishment of community high-school districts "about a community center which should have sufficient territory, assessed valuation, and prospective high-school pupils to form a satisfactory and efficient high school."⁸ The law made it mandatory that the county superintendent consider the number of prospective high-school pupils and the form, size, and valuation of the district. If in his judgment the petition did not meet the requirements of the act, it was referred back to the petitioners. The supreme court in 1919 declared the section unconstitutional because it gave legislative power to the county superintendent.⁹

In 1919 the general assembly approved another amendment to the act of 1909 to replace the law of 1917 which had been declared unconstitutional. This act provided for the establishment of a community high school in any compact and contiguous territory, whether in the same or different townships.¹⁰ Two years later, in 1921, this law was upheld by the supreme court. The law was again amended in 1923

⁶ Laws of Illinois, 1911, p. 505.

⁷ People ex rel. Kane et al. v. Weis et al., 275 Illinois 581, December, 1916.

⁸ Laws of Illinois, 1917, p. 738.

⁹ Kenyon v. Moore, 287 Illinois 233, April, 1919.

¹⁰ Laws of Illinois, 1919, p. 908.

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to give the circuit court in term time, or the judge of such court in vacation time, power to call or refuse to call, at his discretion, an election to determine whether a high school should be established. This was held unconstitutional by the supreme court of the State in 1924,¹¹ so that at the present time it is mandatory that the county superintendent order an election for the purpose of voting for or against the proposition of establishing a community high school.¹²

During the period 1925 to 1929 the general assembly found it necessary to pass a number of validating acts to correct defects in the law prescribing the organization and control of township and community high schools. At the present time township high schools may be organized in areas defined by law by petitioning the township treasurer and through a vote of the electorate. Community high schools may be established in any contiguous and compact territory through a proper petition requesting the county superintendent to call an election.¹³

Non-high-school districts.—All territory in a county not included within a township high-school district or a district maintaining a recognized 4-year high school is designated a "non-high-school district." A tax is levied in this area the income from which provides for the tuition payments of all pupils of the area attending recognized high schools. The non-high-school district is without corporate powers.

Control of schools.—The control of the township and community high schools is vested in a school board of five members. The authority of these boards is the same as that granted the boards of common-school districts.¹⁴

Provision is made in the law for modifying the boundaries of these districts by annexation, by creating new districts, or by detaching territory. The high-school districts may also be dissolved through a specified process of law. In each case the electorate concerned must approve the proposed change in status.¹⁵

¹¹ North v. Board of Education. 313 Illinois 422, October, 1924.

¹² The School Laws of Illinois, 1928, p. 39.

¹³ The School Law of Illinois, 1928, pp. 36, 39, and 40.

¹⁴ The School Law of Illinois, 1928, p. 41.

¹⁵ The School Law of Illinois, 1928, p. 741.

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3. THE GROWTH OF TOWNSHIPS AND COMMUNITY HIGH SCHOOLS

Althaus states¹⁶ that the educational interests of Illinois have become much confused, especially since 1916 when the supreme court declared the law of 1911 unconstitutional. The supreme court has very definitely called attention to this confusion in one of its decisions in which it stated:¹⁷

Much of the confusion with respect to the organization of high-school districts has risen by reason of many overlapping and interlocking provisions of the school law with respect to high schools. Since the revision of 1909, the legislature has enacted seven separate and distinct laws authorizing as many varieties of high-school districts. Two of these acts have been held unconstitutional, but we have in force several acts covering the same subject that might be easily and much more intelligently covered by a single act. This confusion has been greatly augmented by the careless and willful omission of many of those who have initiated the move to establish such districts to follow the plain requirements of the law. In 1917 two validating acts were passed to cure defects in the organization of high-school districts, and in 1919 another. In 1921 it took six validating acts to take care of the irregularities in organizing high-school districts.

In 1920 there were 200 township high schools and 838 high schools of various kinds in the State. In 1930 there were still 200 township high schools. The community high schools did not grow rapidly until after 1920. There were 3 community high schools in 1918, 26 in 1920, 274 in 1921, and 279 in 1930. In 1920 there were 226 independent high schools, that is, high schools in township and community high-school districts. This was 27 per cent of the total number of accredited high schools. By 1930 the number of these independent schools had mounted to 479, which was almost half the 956 accredited high schools in the State.

There is some evidence that strong opposition to the community and the township high schools has been brewing among the people residing in the rural areas of the State. In many instances as a protection the taxpayers have voted themselves into a community high-school district, not for the purpose of building and operating a school, but rather for the purpose of paying the tuition of eighth-grade graduates to high schools already established. In addition, since the present laws permit the school systems operating 12

¹⁶ Althaus, C. B. Op. cit., p. 20.

¹⁷ People v. Young, 301 Illinois 67, 1921.

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years of schooling to levy a higher tax rate than formerly, there is reason to believe that fewer areas of the State will resort to the community or the township high-school organization as a means of increasing revenue for the support of local public schools.

CHAPTER II : CONDITIONS IN SELECTED DISTRICTS AND SCHOOLS

1. THE DISTRICTS AND SCHOOLS STUDIED

Conditions governing selection.—Reference has already been made of the fact that only a limited number of schools in Illinois were visited, that the time available for making the visits was brief, and that the space available for presenting the material is small. In consequence, comparisons have been made among a small number of selected schools, not so much to indicate the status of these institutions as to discover the types of problems arising because of the nature of the district and school organization. Furthermore, because of the small number of schools studied, the conditions presented should not be interpreted as being fully representative of all community, township, or unit systems. (The unit system, as the term is used, is a school district that maintains both elementary and secondary schools.) For the purpose of making these comparisons the following high schools were visited and evidence gathered concerning them:

1. The community high school of Woodstock, McHenry County, and the New Trier Township High School in Cook County.
2. The community high school of Downers Grove, Du Page County, and the township high school located in Mendota, La Salle County.
3. The high schools in the cities or towns of Barrington in Cook County, East Aurora and West Aurora in Kane County, and Dixon in Lee County, all of which are in unit systems.

These schools were selected in an attempt to secure fairly comparable systems not only with respect to the size of the high-school enrollment and number of high-school teachers, but also with respect to the size of the elementary-school enrollments and number of teachers in the unit systems and in the underlying elementary-school districts in township or

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community districts. It is admitted that the systems chosen are not comparable in all respects, but they are enough alike to serve the need for pointing out the similarities and differences resulting from the various types of organizations.

The general setting of the districts and schools.—Before proceeding to a description of the setting of certain districts represented in the comparison, it should be helpful to report on the distribution of township and community districts in the State as a whole. The number of community and township high schools in the different counties (Table 1) ranges from none in eight counties to 17 in McLean County. The average number per county is 4.7. Although township and community high schools are found in all but eight counties of Illinois, the greatest numbers are found in the northern half of the State. The types and numbers of high-school districts in the various counties are illustrated by the counties in which the township and community high schools chosen for this study are found.

TABLE 1.—*Distribution of counties in Illinois, 1930, according to the number of township and community high schools*

Number of schools in county	Number of counties	Number of schools in county	Number of counties
0.....	8	8.....	5
1.....	13	9.....	2
2.....	10	10.....	3
3.....	14	11.....	2
4.....	7	12 or more.....	16
5.....	14		
6.....	11	Total.....	102
7.....	7		

¹ In two counties there are 14, in one 15, and in one 17 community and township high schools.

Du Page County.—Eleven township and community high-school districts and one elementary-school district maintaining four years of high-school work are found in Du Page County. Of the 11 community and township high-school districts, 2 are township high-school districts located wholly within the county, 4 are community high-school districts located entirely within the county, 3 are community high-school districts which maintain no secondary schools but which vote taxes for the purpose of paying the tuition of

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the eighth-grade graduates to reorganized schools, and 2 are community and township high-school districts parts of which lie outside of Du Page County.

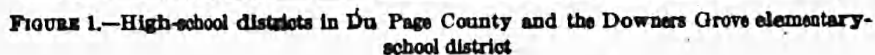
In addition to the 12 high-school districts, 2 comparatively large areas of the county are unorganized. These areas, which taken together constitute the non-high-school district of the county, are shown in white in Figure 1.

La Salle County.—The Mendota Township High School is located in the northwest corner of La Salle County. (Fig. 2.) The county has entirely within its limits 5 township high-school districts, 5 community high-school districts, and 6 unit-system districts which maintain 2, 3, or 4 years of high-school work. In addition to the aforementioned high-school districts there are 3 other community and 2 other township high-school districts which are in part in La Salle County and in part in adjoining counties. However, in spite of the large number of community and township high-school districts in the county, the total area included within their boundaries is considerably less than the area of the non-high-school district. Several sections of the county are rather inaccessible to reorganized 4-year high schools, both from the standpoint of distance from such schools and the type of roads over which pupils are compelled to travel.

McHenry County.—Although no township high-school districts have been organized in McHenry County, 8 community high-school districts lie wholly within the county and 3 others have been organized whose boundaries extend into adjoining counties. One consolidated elementary-school district maintains 4 years of high-school work. The non-high-school district of McHenry County is comparatively small and consists of three widely separated areas of the county.

Lee County.—The Dixon school district, located in the northwestern part of Lee County, maintains a school system of 12 grades. Lee County has entirely within its limits 2 community high-school districts, 1 township high-school district, and portions of 4 other community and township high-school districts. In addition to the township and community high-school districts there are 6 unit-system districts, which maintain, in addition to 8 elementary grades, 2 or more years of recognized high-school work.

DU PAGE COUNTY, ILL.



DISTRICT ORGANIZATION LA SALLE COUNTY, ILL.

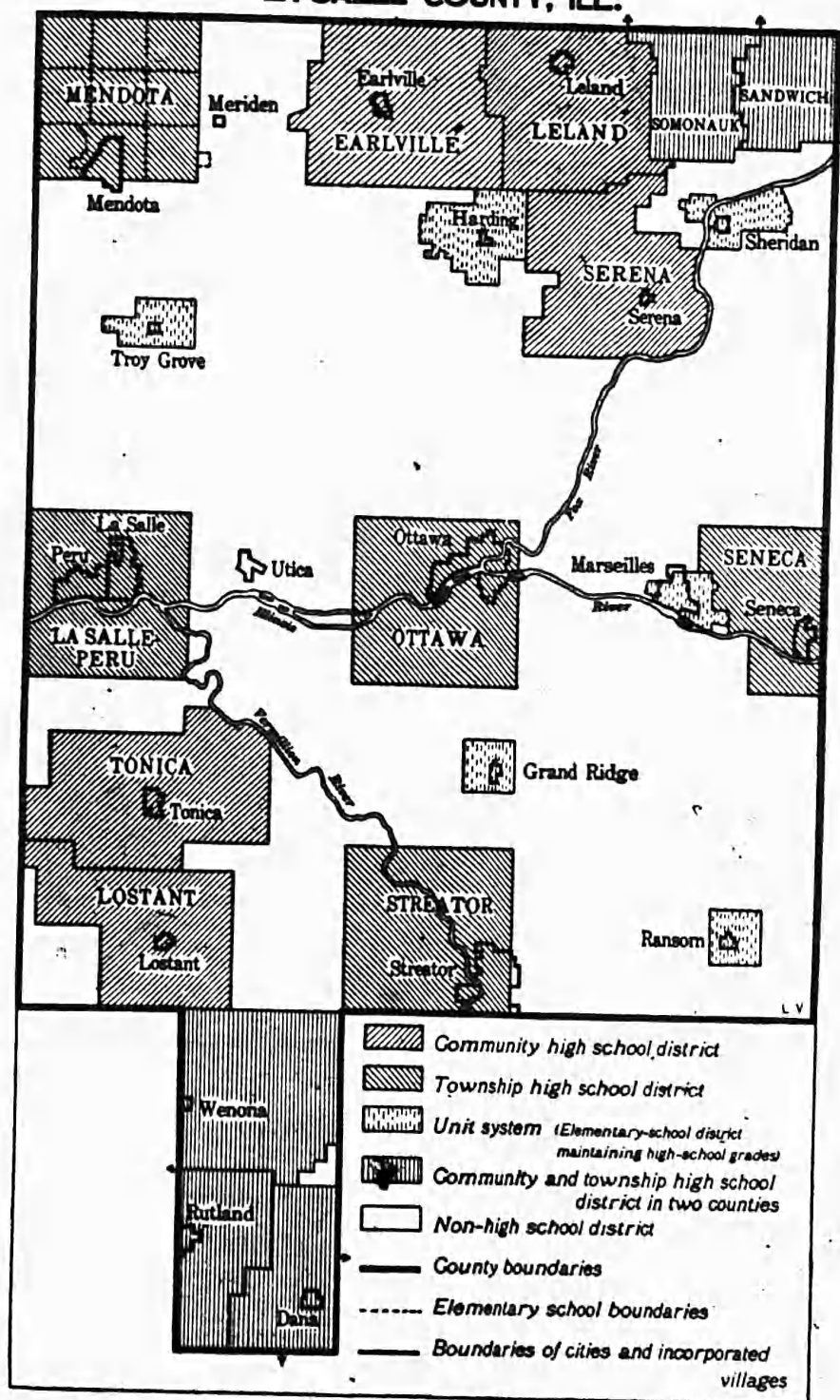


FIGURE 2.—High-school districts of La Salle County and the elementary-school districts underlying the Mendota Township high-school district

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As in La Salle County, 4-year secondary schools are inaccessible to pupils residing in certain portions of the county. Particularly is this true in the central and western sections of

McHENRY COUNTY, ILL.

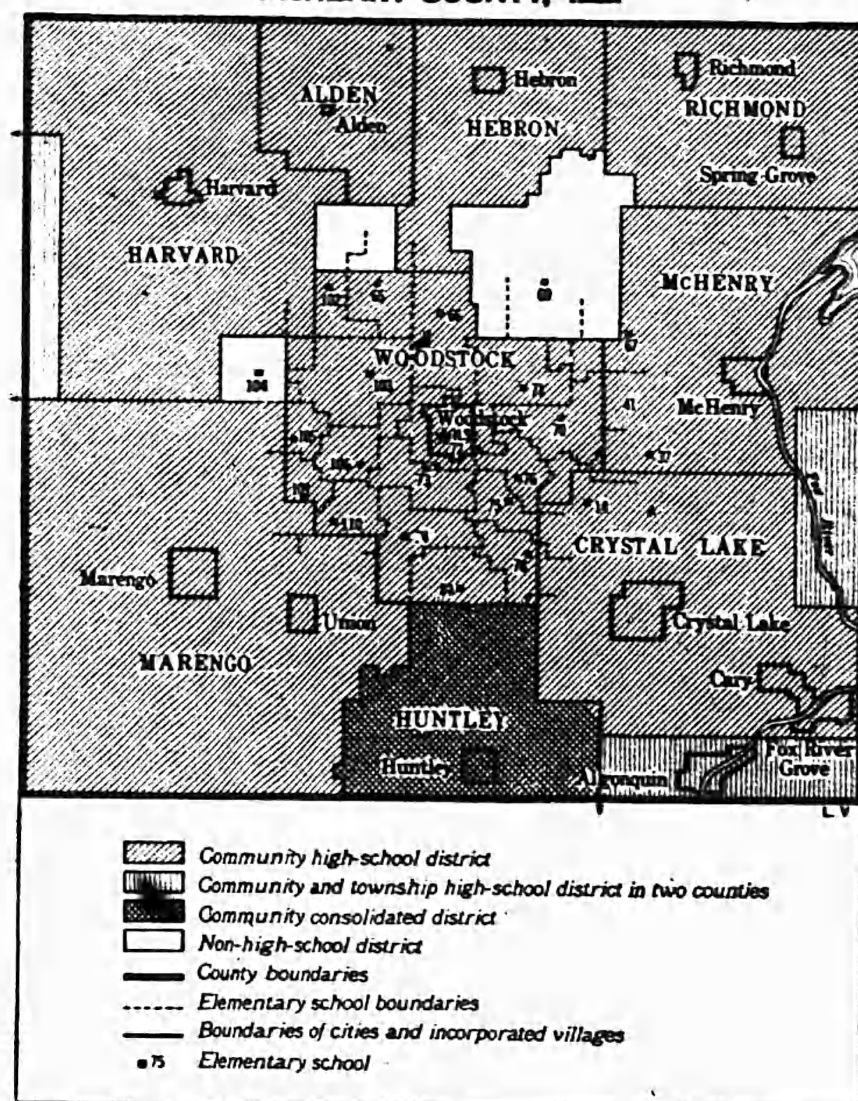


FIGURE 3.—High-school districts in McHenry County and the elementary-school districts underlying the Woodstock community high-school district

the county where some pupils must travel 10 or more miles over poor roads to the nearest 4-year secondary school. Only about a third of the county is included in school districts maintaining recognized high schools.

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1. THE SIZE OF THE HIGH-SCHOOL DISTRICTS AND NUMBERS OF UNDERLYING ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL DISTRICTS

High-school districts vary widely in area. Althaus¹ reports that the areas of 210 townships and community high-school districts in 1923 ranged from about 10 to 110 square miles. He found that the average size of these districts was about 48.7 square miles. The township and community

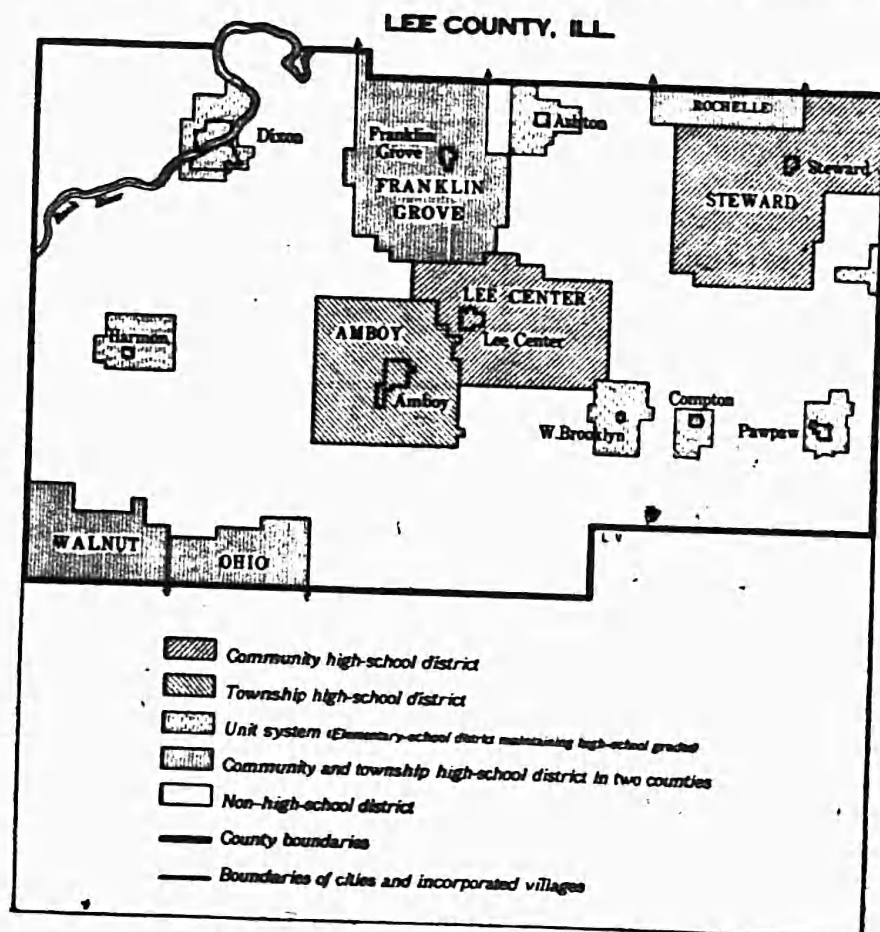


FIGURE 4.—High-school districts in Lee County

high-school districts of the present report likewise vary considerably in area. (Table 2.) The community high-school district of Downers Grove contains only about 5 square miles as compared with about 76 square miles for the Woodstock community high-school district. The unit-system districts in this study cover areas ranging from 3.4

¹ C. B. Althaus. Op. cit., p. 26.

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to 9.5 square miles. In some instances the high-school district does not even include all the city represented. However, the establishment of the community high-school district has enabled school authorities, until 1930, to levy in the same area and on the same assessed valuation twice the amount of taxes which might be levied for all school purposes in a common-school district even when the latter maintained a high school.

TABLE 2.—*Approximate area of township and community high-school districts and the number of underlying elementary-school districts included*

School and district	Approximate area in square miles	Number of underlying elementary-school districts			
		Wholly within high-school district	More than one-half within high-school district	More than one-half outside high-school district	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6
Township high schools:					
Mendota.....	36.0	9			9
New Trier.....	16.2	5	1		6
Community high schools:					
Downers Grove.....	5.0		1		1
Woodstock.....	76.0	8	9	6	23

The situation at Woodstock (Fig. 3) is entirely different from those described above. The community high-school district illustrates very well the nature of underlying and overlapping school districts. The community high-school district of 76 square miles was superimposed on 23 elementary school districts around Woodstock irrespective of the boundaries of these districts. As a result, within the community high-school district are found 8 common-school districts entirely inside the limits of the high-school district and 15 other common-school districts which lie in part within the high-school district and in part outside. This situation with respect to the overlapping of high and elementary school boundaries is presumptive of difficulties in articulation and may later stand as an obstacle to the conversion of these high-school districts into districts including unit-school systems of 12 grades, if or when effort toward such a change is made.

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An example of a congressional township organized into a township high-school district is provided in the situation at Mendota. The township high-school district, with one minor exception, is coterminous with the congressional township. Within the district are nine common-school districts laid out so as to be almost equal in area and so that the boundaries of the township high-school district are coterminous with the boundaries of some of the underlying common-school districts.

The New Trier Township high-school district, located in Cook County, is an example of the township high-school district in an urban area. The district contains about 16 square miles of territory and has within it two rural elementary-school districts and four elementary-school systems of considerable size in the cities of Glencoe, Winnetka, Kenilworth, and Wilmette. The small size of the township high-school district and the excellent roads and railway service in this section of the State make the high school easily accessible to nearly all who live within the district.

3. ADMINISTRATIVE, SUPERVISORY, AND TEACHING STAFFS

Members on the staffs.—In the schools visited, differences in method of organization impose differences in types of administrative, supervisory, and teaching personnel. In the high-school districts where no joint relationships exist between the high school and the underlying elementary-school districts, there are no subject supervisors who may devote a portion of their time to each school level. Table 3 shows how the eight systems differ in make-up of administrative, supervisory, teaching, and clerical staffs.

The number of part-time or full-time supervisors ranges from none to 8; the number of regular classroom teachers ranges from 8 to 95; and the equivalent number of persons employed as clerical assistants ranges from 2 devoting about half time to high-school work to 7 employed for full time.

In certain community and township high schools, as in the case of Downers Grove, Mendota, and Woodstock, the superintendents of the elementary schools in the towns in which these schools are located, are also responsible for the high schools. In these situations it is conveniently possible to employ supervisors to serve the schools at both levels. The

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joint employment of personnel by community or township high-school districts and elementary-school districts constitutes an attempt to overcome the difficulty in articulating the two levels and to reduce the cost of supervision and administration within these systems.

TABLE 3.—*Number of administrative officers, subject supervisors, secondary-school teachers, and other employees in the school systems visited*

School and district	Super- visors ¹	Princi- pals	Assist- ant prin- cipals	Direct- ors of re- search, deans, and others	Total admin- istrative and super- visory ²	Teach- ers ³	Clerks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Township high schools:							
Mendota.....	4		1		6	14	0.5
New Trier.....		1		5	7	95	7
Community high schools:							
Downers Grove.....	3	1		1	6	22	1
Woodstock.....	5	1			7	15	.5
Unit school systems:							
Barrington.....	3				4	8	1
East Aurora.....	7	1		1	10	42	4
West Aurora.....	8	1	1		11	27	1
Dixon.....	4	1	1	2	9	24	1

¹ Supervisors may teach part time in high schools and supervise or teach part time in the elementary grades.

² Includes the superintendent.

³ Classroom teachers include all who teach for half time or more.

⁴ Termed an assistant superintendent.

⁵ This clerk devotes time to both elementary and secondary school levels and serves as secretary to the board.

Salaries of teachers.—The average annual salaries paid elementary-school teachers range from \$1,192 in Dixon to \$2,201 in the elementary-school districts underlying the New Trier Township High School district. The average annual salaries paid all regular classroom teachers in the secondary schools range from \$1,776 at Mendota to \$2,970 at New Trier. The monthly salaries paid high-school teachers in Downers Grove, Woodstock, Mendota, Barrington, and Dixon vary less than \$160. In the other schools considerably higher salaries are paid.

A fairly close agreement exists among the ranks of the various systems in the average annual salary paid secondary teachers and the ranks of these systems in assessed valuation, number of secondary-school teachers, number of pupils, and average salary paid to teachers in the elementary schools.

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Two outstanding exceptions are found to this generalization. Dixon, which has a fairly large assessed valuation, pays low salaries both to elementary-school and to secondary-school teachers, whereas Barrington, with a small assessed valuation, pays relatively high salaries. In general, however, the valuation of the district, the size of the district, and the proximity to Chicago are more important factors than the type of school district in determining the salaries of teachers.

4. SIZE OF CLASS AND TEACHING LOAD

In the smaller schools teachers devote nearly the whole day to regularly assigned duties, whereas teachers in the larger systems have more unassigned time. In addition, teachers in the four community and township high schools appear to have a greater proportion of their time unassigned than do high-school teachers in unit systems.

Secondary-school classes vary considerably in size in eight systems studied. (See Table 4.) Some classes have as few as 1 or 2 pupils, while others have as many as 50. The average number of pupils per class ranges from about 20 to 30. Small schools have a smaller average class size, probably due to the fact that it is impossible in these schools to offer advanced subjects and still have large class enrollments.

The average size of class for the community and township high schools was found to be 26.1. The average for the unit systems, 27.1, was only slightly higher. This small difference even for a limited number of systems probably indicates that factors other than types of school districts are more potent in determining class size.

Classes in the 1-room rural elementary schools underlying the Mendota Township High School and the Woodstock Community High School (Table 4) average only about 12 and 19 pupils, respectively. The largest average number of pupils per room is reported in East Aurora and the smallest in Woodstock. The average class size for the city elementary schools underlying the four community or township districts is 31 and the average for the elementary schools in the 4-unit systems is 34. This difference, if it holds true for a larger number of schools, is suggestive of more crowded conditions in the city elementary schools. This may be

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TABLE 4.—Class size and teacher load in pupil-minutes per week in certain schools and districts in Illinois

School and district	Class size ¹				Pupil-minutes per week ² for high-school teachers	
	High school		Elementary schools			
	Range	Average	City districts (average)	Rural districts (average)	Range	Average
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Township high schools:						
Mendota.....	8-36	22.4	28.6	12.1	11,170-45,530	27,873
New Trier.....	6-36	27.1	30.2	-----	10,000-31,080	23,567
Community high schools:						
Downers Grove.....	14-40	27.7	36.1	-----	6,200-48,070	31,116
Woodstock.....	8-40	21.7	28.0	19.3	11,000-37,200	28,630
Unit school systems:						
Barrington.....	1-34	20.1	38.2	-----	13,225-37,663	28,106
East Aurora.....	10-48	29.4	40.3	-----	19,740-64,200	31,504
West Aurora.....	1-45	28.5	28.1	-----	6,600-40,000	28,147
Dixon.....	16-42	28.4	28.6	-----	17,200-50,400	27,780

¹ Class size was computed by excluding all classes in music and gymnasium.

² The number of pupil-minutes per week was computed for only full-time high-school teachers, excluding those of music and gymnasium.

³ This figure is the average class size in the cities of Winnetka, Wilmette, and Kenilworth.

partly owing to the fact that the financial resources of unit systems have been more limited than in the township or community districts.

Some teachers in the schools visited have teaching loads as low as 6,200 pupil-minutes per week; others have as high as 64,000. Even within the same school the range in number of pupil-minutes per week varies greatly. Differences between the heaviest load and the lightest load in a school range from about 21,000 pupil-minutes for the New Trier Township High School to a difference of about 45,000 pupil-minutes per week in East Aurora.

The data tend to indicate that an inverse relationship obtains between the load of high-school teachers and the size of school. The average number of pupil-minutes per week for the four largest of the selected schools is 26,686 as compared with an average of 29,251 for the four smallest schools.

The difference in average number of pupil-minutes per week for township and community high-school teachers and for the high-school teachers in unit systems is more significant than comparisons for schools of different sizes. The average

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load for teachers in township and community high-school teachers is 25,925, and for the teachers in the unit systems, 29,394. The difference of about 3,450 pupil-minutes per week in favor of township and community high schools tends to indicate that teachers in them have considerably lighter pupil loads than do high-school teachers in unit systems. However, no great dependence can be placed in this generalization because few schools were studied and because the township and community high schools visited were some what larger than were those of the unit systems.

5. FACTS CONCERNING PUPILS

Retention.—Although the schools included in this study differ considerably in total secondary-school enrollment (Table 5), the holding power in these schools, as indicated by the distribution of pupils by grade groups, does not differ materially. In West Aurora and Dixon the number of pupils in grade 9 is less than in grade 10 and in the New Trier and Mendota Township High Schools the number of pupils in grade 9 is not much larger than in grade 10. This is somewhat unusual because the number of ninth-grade pupils usually markedly exceeds the number of tenth-grade pupils.

TABLE 5.—Number and percentage of pupils in each grade in certain high schools in Illinois

School and district	Grade										Total number
	9		10		11		12		Postgraduate		
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Township high schools:											
Mendota.....	101	29.7	95	27.9	72	21.2	66	19.4	6	1.8	340
New Trier.....	571	27.4	560	26.9	471	22.6	480	23.1			2,082
Community high schools:											
Downers Grove.....	208	33.3	180	28.8	129	20.6	104	16.6	4	.6	625
Woodstock.....	122	35.7	78	22.8	79	23.1	42	12.3	21	6.1	342
Unit school systems:											
Barrington.....	75	33.0	59	26.0	46	20.3	44	19.4	3	1.3	227
East Aurora.....	457	33.5	405	29.7	288	21.1	196	14.4	19	1.4	1,365
West Aurora.....	194	26.6	220	30.2	169	23.2	136	16.7	9	1.2	728
Dixon.....	167	23.5	188	26.5	171	24.1	165	23.2	19	2.7	710

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Nonresident pupils.—Legal provision is made in Illinois whereby eighth-grade graduates may attend any recognized high school and have their tuition paid by the tax collected in the non-high-school district in which they reside. If a township high-school district has been organized to prevent its incorporation into some other district, or, if it does not maintain a secondary school, it may levy a tax on the assessed valuation of the district for the purpose of paying the tuition of pupils attending recognized high schools. A pupil living in a high-school district and attending some other high school, even though it may be much more convenient to him, must pay tuition unless he is able to secure the approval of the county superintendent of schools to attend the school.

The enrollments of Mendota Township High School and Dixon High School include 28 per cent of nonresident tuition pupils. In each of the other schools the percentage of nonresident high-school pupils is less than 18 per cent.

It is obvious that, in school districts operating unit systems, all high-school pupils living in the district at the same time live in what operates for them also as an elementary-school district. Downers Grove is an example of a situation in which the elementary-school district is practically coterminous with the high-school district and practically all high-school pupils living in the high-school district also live in the single underlying elementary-school district.

The New Trier Township High School district is an illustration of a different sort in that the school is located in a populous region where several towns lie adjacent to each other. The school is located in the Winnetka (elementary-school) district close to the Kenilworth boundary. Wilmette has the largest elementary-school enrollment of districts within the high-school district. Of the total number of pupils living in the New Trier high-school district, only about 28 per cent live in the elementary-school district in which the school is located.

The percentage of pupils who come from outside the elementary-school district is about 30 per cent at Woodstock and almost 38 per cent at Mendota. These data indicate that, even though the high-school districts may include a

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considerable amount of territory tributary to the community center, the schools draw their pupils chiefly from the villages in which they are located. These conditions are not wholly due to the relative distribution of population in these areas.

In a study of the allocation of the tax burden in the township and the community high-school districts in Illinois, Althaus² reports that the underlying elementary-school districts contribute nearly 40 per cent of the total school population and of the elementary-school enrollment, only about 30 per cent of the secondary-school enrollment, and more than 50 per cent of the high-school taxes. Since these figures are averages, the proportion of the high-school pupils furnished by many underlying school districts may be assumed to be smaller than the central tendency reported. In many instances rural districts are in all probability bearing a larger proportion of the cost of secondary schools than the wealth of the districts or the number of pupils from rural territory attending the community or township high schools would justify.

Distance which pupils travel to school.—In all eight schools studied, excepting Mendota, nearly 75 per cent of the pupils live within 2 miles of school. In Downers Grove and in East and West Aurora the percentage of pupils living within 2 miles of school is more than 90. In Woodstock, Mendota, and Dixon pupils are drawn from a considerably wider area over roads that are frequently difficult to traverse in bad weather. About 15 per cent of the pupils in these high schools live more than 5 miles from school. None of the independent (township and community) high schools studied makes provision for the transportation of pupils.

6. THE FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF THE SCHOOLS

Tax rates in these districts.—In unit systems controlled by one superintendent acting under a single board of education only one tax levy is made on the assessed valuation of the district. This levy must suffice for all educational purposes and for both elementary and secondary schools. In township and community high-school districts the school boards in control of the high school and of the several underlying

² Carl B. Althaus, op. cit., pp. 37 and 71.

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elementary schools tax separately the property of their respective districts. Thus, the residents of each underlying elementary-school district pay a school tax for the support of two different districts and systems.

In Downers Grove, where the high-school and the elementary-school districts are almost coterminous, the same persons support two school systems, the elementary and the secondary. The valuation of the high-school district at the time of visitation was \$6,200,000 and was just \$200,000 less than the total taxable valuation of the underlying elementary-school district. The residents of Downers Grove pay a total school tax of approximately \$4 on each \$100 of assessed valuation.

In Mendota the problem is unlike that just described, since each of nine elementary-school districts supports its elementary schools according to its ability and desire. Eight of the districts are strictly rural in character, had an average assessed valuation of \$251,269, and levied taxes ranging from 28 to 58 cents on every hundred dollars assessed valuation. The other elementary district includes the village of Mendota. The assessed valuation in this district was \$3,684,536 and the total elementary-school tax levy was \$1.47 on each \$100. The high-school district overlaps these nine elementary-school districts and had an assessed valuation of \$5,692,371. A tax of 67 cents on each \$100 was levied for the support of the township high school. Persons living in the village paid school taxes of 69 cents for high school and \$1.47 for elementary schools. Persons living in the rural districts also paid school taxes of 67 cents for high school and in addition the tax levied in their respective elementary-school districts.

The same general conditions exist in the Woodstock community high-school district, except that there are 23 underlying school districts, 15 of which lie in part within and in part outside the high-school district. The residents of each rural-school district paid elementary-school taxes ranging from 45 to 111 cents on \$100 in addition to the high-school tax of 92 cents. It does not subtract from the complexity of the whole situation to know that in a number of elementary-school districts some of the residents pay

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school tax to the community high-school district and others in the same districts pay taxes into another high-school district or into the non-high-school district.

The total taxes for schools (both elementary and secondary) paid by residents of Mendota, Woodstock, Downers Grove, and New Trier high-school districts amounted to \$2.14, \$2.30, \$4, and \$2.22, respectively. The total tax rates for the four unit systems represented were as follows: Barrington, \$3.31; Dixon, \$1.38; East Aurora, \$2; and West Aurora, \$2.38.

A comparison of tax rates for 47 towns and cities in northwestern Illinois indicates that the average of the tax levies in underlying elementary-school districts is \$1.19 and the average of the tax levies in the community and township high-school districts was 83 cents. The total tax levy on persons residing in township systems was \$2.03 as compared with \$1.74 for unit system.

A similar comparison for 30 somewhat larger cities throughout Illinois shows that the average total tax levied in unit systems amounts to \$1.78. In the cities with separate elementary- and high-school districts the average tax is \$1.64 for elementary districts and \$1.23 for high-school districts. This brings a total of \$2.87 for both districts. It is apparent that residents of cities included within township or community high-school districts in general pay more for educational purposes than do persons living in cities maintaining unit systems. The comparison does not, of course, take into account the type of educational facilities provided.

Bonded indebtedness.—The laws of Illinois limit the amount of bonded indebtedness for all types of school districts. To rely heavily on a comparison of the bonded debt of the school districts without a detailed report on the school buildings would be highly misleading. The buildings in these systems vary considerably in number, date of erection, state of repair, and serviceability. There is also a great difference in the original cost of the school plants.

The average per pupil bonded indebtedness, as of June, 1931, was as follows for the various types of schools repre-

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sented in this study: High schools in township or community high-school districts, \$476; elementary schools in township or community high-school districts, \$263; total for all schools within township or community high-school districts, \$330; total for schools of unit systems, \$115. Not only was the per pupil indebtedness greater in community and township high-school districts than in unit systems, but the per pupil indebtedness in the elementary schools within the township or community high-school districts was also in excess of the total for the unit systems. It is admitted that the inclusion of the New Trier district with its large assessed valuation greatly affects this condition, but even when it is omitted from the computations the average per pupil indebtedness in the unit systems is considerably lower than in the township or community high-school districts.

School expenditures for 1929-30.—The cost data available are such that it is impossible in the unit systems to separate the elementary-school expenditures from the secondary-school expenditures. For this reason comparisons with the unit systems have been made by adding the elementary-school expenditures in the township and community high-school districts to those for the high-school districts. This gives the total combined costs for both elementary and secondary education in the districts chosen for comparison. These costs are reported in Table 6.

The total per pupil costs for elementary and secondary education range from \$77 in Dixon to \$225 for schools of New Trier Township. The average cost for the township and community high schools (not reported in the table) is \$192, as compared with a cost of \$107 for the four unit systems. Investigation including a larger number of districts would be needed to justify broad generalizations on the differences found. Inferences from the evidence presented are suggestive, but not conclusive.

Many township and community high schools were organized in order to obtain more money for schools. However, now that the general assembly has made provision for the unit system to levy an additional tax, unless the township and community high schools can justify, under the present conditions, higher per pupil expenditures by showing pro-

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TABLE 6.—Per pupil costs in certain districts of Illinois for elementary and secondary schools combined

Name of district	General control		Instruction		Operation		Maintenance		Auxiliary agencies		Fixed charges		Total current expenditures	
	Cost	Per cent of total	Cost	Per cent of total	Cost	Per cent of total	Cost	Per cent of total	Cost	Per cent of total	Cost	Per cent of total	Cost	Per cent of total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Township high schools:														
Mendota.....	\$6.77	7.3	\$95.92	71.8	\$15.45	16.6	\$3.10	3.3	\$0.96	1.0	(1)		\$93.20	100.0
New Trier.....	14.16	8.6	115.06	69.9	22.86	13.9	7.02	4.3	4.22	2.6	\$1.19	0.7	164.51	100.0
Community high schools:														
Downers Grove.....	4.76	5.4	58.18	66.1	15.06	17.1	7.19	8.2	1.79	2.0	1.05	1.2	88.05	100.0
Woodstock.....	7.45	5.6	77.05	68.7	19.37	17.2	5.34	4.7	1.41	1.3	1.45	1.3	112.07	99.8
Average township and community high schools.....	11.17	8.0	96.98	69.5	20.47	14.7	6.62	4.7	3.27	2.3	1.10	.8	139.61	100.0
Unit school systems:														
Barrington.....	10.54	10.9	68.99	71.1	12.64	13.0	3.65	3.8	1.15	1.2	(1)		96.97	100.0
East Aurora.....	2.21	3.0	55.17	75.4	10.81	14.8	3.12	4.3	1.21	1.7	.63	1.9	73.15	100.1
West Aurora.....	4.08	4.4	62.88	67.8	12.39	13.5	3.71	4.0	8.08	8.8	1.40	1.5	92.04	100.0
Dixon.....	3.79	5.4	53.44	76.9	8.60	12.4	2.60	3.7	.09	.1	.94	1.4	69.46	100.0
Average of unit systems.....	3.48	4.4	57.46	73.2	10.89	13.9	3.20	4.1	2.68	3.4	.84	1.1	78.55	100.1

¹ No data.

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portionately better educational facilities, better instruction, and better educational outcomes, it would appear that money is being needlessly spent in supporting two educational systems within the same relative areas.

The evidence concerning costs of general control is especially significant. The average per pupil cost for general control in the four systems organized as independent secondary schools is \$11.17 as compared with \$3.48 for the four unit systems. The costs for general control in the unit systems constitute 4.4 per cent of the current expenditures as compared with 8 per cent in the community or township systems. Whereas, the total per pupil current expenditures in the four township and community high-school systems exceed a similar per pupil item in the four unit systems by about 79 per cent, the percentage of difference in cost between the two types of systems for general control amounts to 221 per cent. The logical explanation of the higher per pupil cost is the existence of two boards of education and two administrative staffs. The difference would be even greater were it not for the fact that in Mendota, Woodstock, and Downers Grove one superintendent is employed to serve both school systems. It appears that a large portion of the increased per pupil costs for schools under the community or township form of organization is devoted to general control and maintenance.

CHAPTER III : DISTRICT PROBLEMS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN ILLINOIS

1. ADVANTAGES CLAIMED FOR TOWNSHIP AND COMMUNITY HIGH-SCHOOL DISTRICTS

When the plan for operating the township and the community high schools in Illinois was first established it was believed that certain advantages were latent in these types of school districts and that the difficulties encountered in attempting to modify the common-school districts would be circumvented. The following statements represent a recapitulation of the advantages claimed for the township high school in early publications on the subject.¹

1. By increasing the size of the district, adequate resources for maintaining good schools without excessive cost were provided, in that an adequate population would encourage the provision of better teachers, better building facilities, and a more broadly organized school.
2. The plan centralizes the legal control of the high school in a small board enabling its members to devote exclusive attention to the development of secondary education. The board is not distracted by giving a portion of its time to elementary problems.
3. It makes possible the inclusion of the taxable wealth of nonresident landowners, industries, and mining properties which may be located just outside the village.
4. It enables elementary-school districts maintaining grades 1 to 8, inclusive, to levy taxes and in addition provides that overlapping high-school districts may levy an equal tax. The effect of this provision (until 1931) was practically to double the funds available for educational purposes as compared with unit systems.
5. It greatly increases facilities in the State for preparing reasonably well-qualified teachers for the rural schools.

¹ Hollister, H. A., *The Township and Community High-School Movement in Illinois*, U. S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin 1917, No. 35, p. 28.

Smith, L. W., *Illinois High Schools*. Department of Public Instruction, Springfield, Ill., 1917, pp. 29-30, 231.

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6. It offers the best method of providing free high-school privileges, as it involves the participation of all classes in the management and maintenance of schools.

7. By covering territory naturally tributary to the high school, it furnishes a strong community center for carrying forward the educational interests outside the regular school program, and prepares the way for complete consolidation of the rural schools into larger school districts.

It has been contended by some that the purposes which may have been significant in the original establishment of these schools no longer operate and that the community and township system is in need of revision. It is admitted that the community and township high-school organization gives a greater volume of population than a common-school district and makes possible better-equipped buildings and a more broadly organized school. It is admitted that the districts of township, community, and community consolidated schools make possible the inclusion of property of nonresident landowners, industries, and mining companies just outside the village. It may be that the present situation provides a better foundation for a complete consolidation of all rural schools into larger school-district areas when such a movement is initiated.

8. THE BURDEN ON RURAL DISTRICTS

No doubt large units have made possible more adequate resources for secondary education than would otherwise be available. However, the problem should also be considered from the standpoint of its effect on elementary education. Although high-school districts have been increased in size, common-school districts have remained much as they were except that the rate of taxation of their inhabitants has almost universally been increased.² While it is admitted that a larger unit has been created for secondary-school purposes, the movement does not make comparable provisions for elementary schools or foster any type of integrated system within the township or community high-school districts.

² Reeves, Floyd W., *The Political Unit of Public-School Finance in Illinois*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1924, p. 34.

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Althaus was cited in an earlier chapter as reporting that the rural districts within township and community high-school districts have approximately 38 per cent of the total population and of the school population, 41 per cent of the elementary-school enrollment, only 30 per cent of the high-school enrollment, and only 22 per cent of the estimated income. It is therefore significant that these elementary districts also have more than 60 per cent of the assessed valuation, and pay 56 per cent of the high-school taxes. Even though a considerable proportion of the assessed valuation in rural districts may lie in farms of wealthy nonresident landowners, in rich industries, mining or railroad properties, county officials in Illinois are almost, if not entirely, unanimous in agreeing that property such as mines, factories, and commercial buildings, as compared with property such as farms and dwelling houses, is greatly underassessed.³

3. COOPERATION BETWEEN HIGH-SCHOOL AND ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Staff relationships.—Probably no one will argue that hindrances to effective articulation lurk in a situation in which elementary schools and secondary schools are independent of each other. Authorities in many community and township high schools in Illinois are attempting to bring about more cooperation and better articulation between the elementary-school and secondary-school levels. In Downers Grove, Woodstock, and Mendota the boards of education for the elementary schools and the high school jointly select a superintendent to serve both levels. In addition, the teachers of physical education, music, and manual arts are employed jointly and serve at both school levels. In Woodstock and Downers Grove, although there are two separate boards of education, one of the five members of the high-school board is also a member of the elementary-school board. He serves as a connecting link between the two boards on matters affecting both school systems.

The staff of the Woodstock Community High School makes an effort to aid rural teachers with their classroom problems. The superintendent of the Woodstock Community High

³ Althaus, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

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School visits the underlying rural elementary schools at least twice a year in order that the teachers may feel that they are a part of the community high-school system. Some faculty member of the community high school cooperates with the rural schools in giving standardized achievement tests, in scoring the tests, in interpreting the results, and in indicating diagnostic possibilities. If requested, these persons will give demonstration lessons to rural teachers. One may question the ultimate educational returns of such informal supervisory service to rural schools by high-school teachers, even though one may desire to approve the motive that creates the cooperation.

Guidance to eighth-grade graduates.—In order to provide better guidance for eighth-grade graduates entering the New Trier Township High School, early each spring the Otis classification test is given to classes of the eighth grade in contributing schools. The data are used for the purpose of classifying the entering freshmen. Some time after the administration of these tests personnel cards are sent to each school for information concerning each eighth-grade graduate. The eighth-grade pupils are interviewed twice by the deans or some other administrative officers of the high school for the purpose of supplying the pupils with desirable and necessary information concerning the curriculums, methods of registration, and the like. Preregistration is held in the spring.

Regular admission to the New Trier Township High School is based on a regular certificate of graduation from an eighth grade. Last year a new plan was put in operation by means of which pupils whose work in the elementary school does not warrant a regular certificate or who are not likely to succeed in the regular high-school course will be given a special certificate which will admit them to the high school for the purpose of taking work in a curriculum designed especially for them.

Other means of improving articulation.—In addition to the methods of cooperation mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, the superintendents of the New Trier Township High School and the various underlying elementary schools meet once each month for the purpose of discussing general school

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problems of interest to all. At Woodstock a rural-school library of 475 volumes is being maintained for the use of the rural schools. Last year the high-school district board donated \$100 to buy new books and plans to continue this policy in order to increase the number of volumes and expand the usefulness of the library. The library at present consists chiefly of supplementary reading books which are loaned to the elementary schools without charge.

At the New Trier Township and the Woodstock Community High Schools pupils of the underlying elementary-school districts are at times invited to the high schools to witness some of the activities.

In many township and community high schools facilities are frequently used jointly by schools at both levels. In Downers Grove the high-school auditorium is used for elementary-school activities and the elementary-school gymnasiums are used for the high-school physical education classes for girls.

4. JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL REORGANIZATION IN ILLINOIS

Under the present laws of Illinois practically no possibility exists in township and community high-school districts for establishing a secondary school other than the 4-year high school. The State superintendent of public instruction has said:⁴

It is pretty generally conceded . . . that the law creating township and community high schools . . . is an obstacle in the way of forming junior high schools in this State. It seems clear that these legal provisions do obstruct the 6-3-3 plan of organization . . . However, it is permissible for elementary-school districts to transport their seventh and eighth grade boys and girls to township and community high schools and pay their tuition. But the facts . . . show that in the districts where there is a unit organization some progress has been made toward arranging the 12 years of work according to this (6-3-3) plan. The data show that 66 of the 503 school districts having boards of education have an organization which they call a "Junior High School." Of the 66, only 10 have the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades included in the junior high school. The other 56 have the work departmentalized in the seventh and eighth grades only.

At the time of gathering the evidence for this report, only 19 of the 44 junior high schools with grades 7, 8, and 9 in

⁴ Blair, F. G., *The Junior High Situation in Illinois*. State Department of Public Instruction, Springfield, Ill. Circular No. 249, 1931.

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Illinois were outside Chicago. Organizations of grades 7 and 8 were called junior high schools in 47 systems and organizations including grades 6, 7, and 8 were designated as junior high schools in 11 systems.

Although the elementary-school district has the legal authority to maintain one, two, three, or four years of high-school work, the revenue which it is able to derive from its limited power of taxation is usually inadequate to maintain properly schools of junior or senior high school level or to pay the tuition of seventh- and eighth-grade pupils. On the other hand, the township or community high-school district, though provided with greater resources, can not legally expend money for school purposes below the ninth grade. Furthermore, even if the elementary-school districts should take it upon themselves to maintain junior high schools they would have to do so without exceeding the present tax limit, and continue to bear the same burden in supporting the township or community high school which would still have to maintain grade 9 and could in no way aid in the support of the junior high school system. It would be legal for the community or township district to transport its ninth-grade pupils to and pay their tuition in junior high schools maintained by elementary-school districts.

During the visits to schools in Illinois it was observed that the schoolmen of the State are by no means agreed as to whether or not they desire legislative enactment which will permit the establishment of junior high schools. Any legislation which would place the junior high schools definitely under the control of either the elementary schools or of the high schools will be strongly opposed by persons connected with education at the other school level. A plan which would enable the township or community high schools to become senior high schools and establish one or more "feeder" junior high schools would likewise encounter serious opposition. It appears that any legislation along these lines in the near future must be of a permissive nature that will enable one or more underlying elementary-school districts to make an agreement with the township or community high school for the support and control of the junior high schools. An alternative much to be preferred would

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be the integration of high- and elementary-school districts into districts that would bring about unit systems.

6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

It is evident from this study that a complicated school-district organization has grown up in Illinois because of the legal provisions that have created subdivisions of the State for school support and administrative purposes that overlap one another and that serve different groups of pupils from within the same areas. It is likewise evident that traditions have been established and that local and personal advantages have accrued during the years of development that may be stumbling blocks to any attempt to formulate a basic reorganization of the system in vogue.

It is readily admitted that the community and township high-school form of organization has made it possible for districts practically to double the rate of taxation for educational purposes within a given area. A law was enacted in 1931 permitting school districts maintaining the complete 12 years of schooling to increase the levy for the support of their schools. Thus, while the possible advantage of the larger taxable area for high-school purposes remains, the fact that unit districts can now levy additional taxes will withdraw much of the incentive for cities to vote themselves into community high-school districts.

In general, it appears that the chief advantage of the township and community form of organization lies in the fact that it creates larger school districts for secondary education. On the other hand, the chief disadvantage is the economic one by which the system of taxation places on rural districts a disproportionate tax burden. Educationally, the plan makes no provision for articulation between the two major school levels and many difficulties are encountered in attempts made to coordinate courses of study, to provide supervision, and to eliminate duplication of equipment, supplies, and administrative officers.

Public high schools in Illinois may be maintained by those elementary-school districts that are able and willing to bear the expense, by consolidated or community consolidated school districts, by township high-school districts, or by

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community high-school districts. During the decade from 1911 to 1921 the number of township and community high-school districts increased from about 50 to 475 and the number of high schools maintained by elementary-school districts decreased from 469 to 407. However, during the decade from 1921 to 1931 the number of community and township high schools has remained almost constant and the number of high schools maintained by elementary-school districts has increased to 477.

Community and township high-school districts have been established by the voters of given areas and have been superimposed on from 1 to more than 30 elementary-school districts, to some extent, regardless of the boundaries of common-school districts. The resulting situations are suggestive of a variety of unnecessary administrative difficulties and may later hinder any form of reorganization that endeavors to convert the high-school districts into districts operating complete school systems.

The data presented in this report indicate that the teachers in the township and community high schools receive higher salaries, have more free time, and have smaller classes and lighter pupil loads than teachers in the unit systems. The high-school buildings in the township system appear in general better than those in unit organizations. The costs per pupil for overhead and operation are from 107 to 256 per cent higher in the township and community systems than in the unit system.

Any generalization based on the limited data presented here may well be questioned, but there is sufficient evidence to indicate that a school system that superimposes its secondary-school districts on its elementary-school districts creates many vexing and complicated educational problems. This comment is not new to students of education in Illinois.⁵

⁵ Morrison, H. C., *The Financing of Public Schools in the State of Illinois*; Reeves, F. W., *The Political Unit of Public-School Finance in Illinois*. Reports published in the Educational Finance Inquiry Series, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1924.

The following masters' theses also bear on the problem: McNely, E. J., *The Township High School of Illinois in 1929*, The University of Chicago, 1930, 250 pp. Miller, E. G., *The Cost of Education in Township and Community High Schools*, University of Minnesota, 1931, 150 pp. Newenham, R. L., *The Community High School in Illinois*, University of Chicago, 1930, 163 pp. Tibbetts, K. K., *The Financial Condition of the Public Schools at Wheaton, Ill.*, University of Chicago, 1931, 125 pp.

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Certain significant observations suggest themselves as one summarizes the results of the studies that bear on this subject. Evidently schools operated under a school-district organization like that described in these pages distribute the burden of cost very inequitably on the taxpayers in rural and urban areas. The overhead cost of administration, supervision, and operation in the areas operating the independent high schools, as has been pointed out, appears unnecessarily heavy. Further investigation in this field, such as studies relating services rendered to costs, would be essential in order to ascertain more specifically the outcomes of such large expenditures for general control and certain non-instructional activities. The cost of education in the areas operating under the township plan appears to be greater than in comparable systems in which a complete system of schools is maintained. Many hindrances additional to those that usually confront the professional staff of a school system are presented in the community and township type of high schools when efforts are made to articulate more closely the work throughout the 12 years of the typical public educational service.

The independent high schools of Illinois appear on the whole to be in a more strategic position in relationship to the public and to the means of support than the underlying elementary schools. The prestige of the principals of these schools is usually strong and any suggested change in the school organization must win their support before it can be adopted.

One must not overlook the attempts that have been made to devise some plan of school organization that would adapt itself to the present Illinois school law and yet provide a more satisfactory and economical school program for the children. The divided-control that results from elementary districts and high-school districts autonomous with respect to each other has been almost an insurmountable obstacle in all negotiations. Attempts have been made to allow the larger elementary-school districts to take over the ninth year of school on a tuition-payment basis. This plan would permit the development of junior high schools in confection with elementary-school systems. These attempts have failed

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because of the element of cost that is involved in such a transaction. In another situation a new type of organization has been advocated and would have been set in motion except for the present economic conditions. After an intensive survey of the situation⁶ it was proposed to organize the elementary schools of Des Plaines, Ill., into two units. The primary division was to comprise the kindergarten and grades 1 to 4, inclusive, and the intermediate division was to include grades 5 through 8. It was believed that this plan would lead to the inclusion of the ninth year in the intermediate division. The high school in the system would thus become a senior school including grades 10, 11, and 12.

Doubt is sometimes expressed that a State school system can be properly organized through attempts that can result only in temporizing with a school-district system basically unsatisfactory. It would seem that the only method that will provide a State with a desirable local-district unit is one that will result from complete reorganization. A sound foundation must be constructed upon which a flexible school unit can be organized and in which a complete minimum program of education can be operated and developed. Schools are dynamic institutions and the organizations in which they are maintained must likewise be dynamic and adjustable to the demands made as public education progresses.

⁶ From correspondence with E. O. Melby, professor of education, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., 1932.

