Spring 5-13-2016

How School-Delivered, Non-Instructional Services Become Formalized:One School System's History

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ACCEPTANCE

This dissertation, HOW SCHOOL-DELIVERED, NON-INSTRUCTIONAL SERVICES BECOME FORMALIZED: ONE SCHOOL SYSTEM'S HISTORY, by MARY ELIZABETH DAVIS, was prepared under the direction of the candidate's Dissertation Advisory Committee. It is accepted by the committee members in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree, Doctor of Philosophy, in the College of Education, Georgia State University.
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ABSTRACT

HOW SCHOOL-DELIVERED, NON-INSTRUCTIONAL SERVICES BECOME FORMALIZED: ONE SCHOOL SYSTEM'S HISTORY
by
Mary Elizabeth A. Davis

Public schooling in the Unites States of America has long been the site of more than just meeting the academic needs of the country's youth. Among the many roles the school house has played in the history of public schooling in the United States is the mechanism to deliver non-instructional services to students. School-delivered, non-instructional services are those services that extend beyond addressing the academically-disposed, educational needs of children and aim to meet the social, emotional, and physical needs of young people while they are in the care of educators. Through an historical example grounded primarily in archival research, I establish a genealogy of school-delivered, non-instructional services by examining how staffing developed in the Cobb County School District in Cobb County, Georgia during the 1938-39 to 1976-77 time period. I will point to the role of federal involvement in public education and the professionalization of social services during this time period to connect the changes that occur in the instructional employees and non-instructional employees, with a specific examination of lunchroom employees and counselors, in one school system.

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A Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for the
Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
Educational Policy Studies
in
The Department of Educational Policy Studies
in
The College of Education and Human Development
Georgia State University

Atlanta, GA
2016

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful for the decades of educators that have contributed to my development as a student and scholar starting with my first teachers—my mother and father. Thank you for instilling in me the value of education, for modeling dedication to the profession, and for encouraging a love of learning. I am also thankful to my three brothers and sister-in-law who have all demonstrated extraordinary ambition, unwavering perseverance, and a pursuit of excellence in their own respective fields. And most recently I am thankful for this culminating educational experience under the guidance and instruction of the faculty and staff at Georgia State University. I am particularly grateful for Philo Hutcheson who inducted me into the College of Education and the Educational Policy Studies Department. I am also indebted to Deron Boyles for guiding me to the conclusion of this chapter of my educational journey. Thank you both for your patience, acceptance, and investment as I grew as a scholar. Thank you to my committee members, Jennifer Esposito and Nick Sauers, who challenged me and stayed with me through the growing pains of this process. I am grateful for all of my program colleagues, but especially David, who over the past many years stretched my thinking and encouraged my spirits during this often wearing experience.

I began this phase of my education because of the dedicated encouragement, and often relentless persuading, from my grandmother who regretfully did not live to see the conclusion of this experience. It is because of her belief in my potential, courage to embark on the unknown, and model of constant learning that I was inspired to begin and driven to never give up.

And there is no one more deserving of my gratitude than my faithful and dedicated husband and best friend, PJ. This was our journey together but you maintained the persistence necessary to pull through to the end. You are the rock of our family and the joy of my life and I consider this completion to be possible only because of you. Thank you for the time you sacrificed, the encouragement you offered, and for your loyal support. Thank you for loving me through this experience and for growing with me every step of the way. Thank you also to little A and baby 2B for being so innocently curious and perfectly inspiring. PJ, little A, and baby 2B—the completion of this program is dedicated back to you—the loves of my life.

In closing, I want to thank God for opening this door, knowing the path each step of the way, and carrying me through to the conclusion (Jer. 29:11).

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

Public schooling in the United States of America has long been the site of more than just meeting the academic needs of the country's youth. Instead, it has been an institutionalized setting leveraged for purposes beyond reading, writing, and arithmetic. Whether it is enculturating immigrants, teaching the Bible, taming the unruly, producing good workers, preparing future soldiers, ensuring economic stability, racing to the moon, or growing crops of patriots; the public school setting has been a vehicle to deliver pre-disposed interests to masses of the populous and to the future generations of this country.[1] Among the many roles the school house has played in the history of public schooling in the United States is the mechanism to deliver non-instructional services to students. School delivered, non-instructional services are those services that extend beyond addressing the academically-disposed, educational needs of children and aim to meet the social, emotional, and medical needs of young people while they are in the care of educators.[2]

In one, large, urban, metro-county in the Southeast United States, there is a high school that prides itself on the array of non-instructional services that it provides its students. This high school is representative of the continued expansion of many schools as service centers that absorb the responsibility for the social, emotional, and medical challenges facing youth and their families. To be specific, this high school makes staff, space, and resources available to support students with grief and depression counseling, eating disorder counseling, physical fitness and weight control strategies, family divorce counseling, stress management classes (including yoga)

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[1] David Tyack, "Health and Social Services in Public Schools: Historical Perspectives," *The Future of Children* 2 (1992): 19-30; Michael Sedlak and Robert Church, "A History of Social Services Delivered to Youth, 1880-1977" (Final Report to the National Institute of Education (Contract No. 400-79-0017), Washington, DC., 1982)
[2] Joy Dryfoos, "Full-service Community Schools," *Phi Delta Kappan* 83, no. 5 (2002): 7-14.

and parenting classes. The school also provides a food pantry for food-insecure families, a wardrobe closet for families needing clothing, taxi cab services for families needing transportation support, homeless support, and language acquisition services for non-English speaking family members. There have even been serious discussions about the availability of a housing unit so that the school can support teens beyond the scope of a typical 7am – 7pm day. This issue of school-delivered, non-instructional services is troubling because educators and public school dollars are increasingly pulled away from the responsibility of academic teaching and learning in order to care for the basic needs of youth. The school is doing this without the addition of funds from other social organizations, without the inclusion of expertise for service design and delivery, and without the community constituency determining if the school house is the proper place to unify these additional services. Would voters, parents, families, and community members agree that schools should be the central service-delivery institutions? Or would voters, parents, families, and community members prefer that their school house focus on high quality academic teaching and learning and determine an alternative venue for service delivery (such as a faith-based organization, community center, non-profit, or other social service providing institution)? However, the school does not pause to ponder the possible conflicts in this model or the concerns it might generate because as the age of accountability increasingly holds schools to higher and higher outcomes, schools have absorbed the responsibility to compensate in order to ensure the basic needs of children and families; subsequently then, and only until then, allowing more advanced academic needs to be met. The set of services that are now available at the school, by school personnel, and through school dollars has been established in the name of increasing the number of students graduating and graduating "on time." This specific example illuminates my personal observations and concerns

about the changing role of services provided by educators. I look at a model like this and I wonder, whether communities would choose to pull trained educators from instruction and re-position them as non-instructional service providers; and I wonder where the partner social organizations, non-profits, and social-service delivery institutions are and how their expertise might benefit the school-based, non-instructional services model; and I wonder who it is that is making these decisions for the community.

There are key contributors to the body of research and literature related to school-based, non-instructional services, including Michael Sedlak, Joy Dryfoos, Robert Church, David Tyack, Michael Kirst, and others; all of whom have facilitated research and contributed to the literature regarding the educational, social, emotional, and physical needs of youth and how communities identify and address those. Yet the reality of formalizing school-delivered, non-instructional services is not settled in the current body of literature. The research question guiding this investigation is: What is the history of school-delivered, non-instructional services as formalized through school district staffing? This dissertation is an historical example of school district staffing as recorded in the Superintendent's Annual Report, later called the Superintendent's Annual Attendance Report, of one, large, urban, metro-county in the Southeast United States, Cobb County, Georgia, from 1938 – 1976.

Problem

I maintain that young people in this country have generated a great concern among society's adult population for how the basic needs of youth are identified and for how their challenges are aided. I recognize that with that concern, there is a desire to help, heal, and comfort the distress of our youth that at the surface appears admirable, understandable, and responsible; however a deeper examination of who assumes the position to identify another

human's needs; who controls the position to determine the appropriate solution; and who asserts the position to design, deliver, and fund the determined solution for the other is more complex.

I contend that the tensions generated by the relationship between the financial provider and the local school result in diluting the school's capacity to focus on teaching and learning and instead call upon school personnel to offer services beyond their expertise and redirect funds otherwise allocated for instructional purposes to meeting the expectations established through legislation or the priorities of non-profit or private funding sources. I specifically point to the evolution of the neoliberal agenda in public education for situating the recipients of school delivered, non-instructional services far from decision-making officials, such as elected United States Congressmen and State Governors, resulting in a misalignment and under-funding of services offered and, as a result, the local school is left to cope by re-directing resources from other areas (in the form of staff, funding, and space) to meet the needs of the students and the community in which it is situated. I also argue that tensions are exacerbated when the services are associated with either a federal mandate of under the guise of external accountability and the strain and stress felt by economically distressed school communities is diluting the academic services the education institution could provide. However, in the past three decades, since the standards and accountability narrative prevailed, the role of the neoliberal agenda has further marginalized communities in poverty by introducing a whole new faction of decision-makers in public services.[3] "Decisions about zoning, community economic development, public housing, schools, and transportation are made behind closed doors by appointed commissions and unelected public-private bodies, validated by performances of public participation, and justified

[3] Gregory Smith, "Dispelling Three Decades of Educational Reform," *Monthly Review* 65, no. 4 (2013): 58.

by the need to improve the city's competitive advantage."[4] Neoliberalism sets in motion a public education agenda that is driven by the financially elite and politically powerful and the professionalized grassroots sector (i.e. teachers and community workers) to mold the infrastructure of public education in the most impoverished communities that positions the needs of the community under the articulation of the dominant agenda.[5] The neoliberal agenda in public education has "set in motion new forms of state-assisted economic, social, and spatial inequality, marginality, exclusion, and punishment."[6] The actors in the neoliberal education agenda "have portrayed school reform efforts as in the interest of people otherwise excluded from the economy and the political process."[7]

Evidence of the neoliberal agenda reveals itself in "the rapid development of corporate venture philanthropy."[8] Schools have become instruments in a consumable economy focused on profit and wealth accumulation and the billions of dollars contributed by non-government sources has sought to restructure schools, privatize services (including food services and social welfare services), and reset the public education agenda all in the name of economic competitiveness and sustainability of the urban center.[9] This shifting landscape of public school oversight and management is another key feature of the neoliberal agenda. The neoliberal agenda trademarks a shift from government by an "elected and publicly accountable body of

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[4] Pauline Lipman, "Contesting the City: Neoliberal Urbanism and the Cultural Politics of Education," *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 32, no. 2 (2011), 220.
[5] Lipman, "Contesting the City: Neoliberal Urbanism and the Cultural Politics of Education."
[6] Ibid., 220.
[7] Smith, "Dispelling Three Decades of Educational Reform," 58.
[8] Norman Eng, "Review of *The New Political Economy of Urban Education: Neoliberalism, Race, and the Right to the City*, by Pauline Lipman," *Education and Urban Society* 45, no. 163 (2013), 165.
[9] Lipman, "Contesting the City: Neoliberal Urbanism and the Cultural Politics of Education;" Eng, "Review of *The New Political Economy of Urban Education: Neoliberalism, Race, and the Right to the City* by Pauline Lipman;" Smith, "Dispelling Three Decades of Educational Reform;" Kristen Buras, "Race, Charter Schools, and Conscious Capitalism: On the Spatial Politics of Whiteness as Property (and the Unconscionable Assault on Black New Orleans)," *Harvard Educational Review* 81, no. 2 (Summer 2011): 296-387; Kenneth J. Saltman, "The Austerity School: Grit, Character, and the Privatization of Public Education," *Symploke* 22, no. 1-2 (2014): 41-57; and Graham B. Slater, "Education as Recovery: Neoliberalism, School Reform, and the Politics of Crisis," *Journal of Education Policy* 30, no. 1 (2015): 1-20.

representatives" to a "governance structure of private sector management experts."[10] For the purpose of this discussion, I am interested in examining the tension created when the local public schools absorb the responsibilities of providing for the most economically disadvantaged, most marginalized, and underrepresented youth of a community. As Norman Eng writes, "As responsibility of crucial social services shift to private hands, public accountability and help for the needy disappear; further contributing to racial and class marginalization."[11] There is a troubling notion beneath the surface of the neoliberal agenda that further subordinates already-marginalized youth to the priorities, choices, and goals of the politically elite and wealthy. As decisions about resources are pulled further from the recipients, I argue, schools take on more and more of this responsibility for local communities without the alignment of expertise and resources now entangled in "private hands."

Significance

Franklin and Streeter discuss the historical efforts beginning in the late 1800s to "define the school's role as a provider of broader human services."[12] The humanitarian concept is certainly not new to the landscape of public education. "Progressive education reformers at the turn of the century wanted schools to include a wide range of human services and it was the vision of progressive reformers that schools would alleviate poverty and respond to human needs."[13] In 1975, Cohen and Garet were already discussing the growing implications of social policy in the United States. "America's drift…has produced a growing number of programs to

[10] Eng, "Review of *The New Political Economy of Urban Education: Neoliberalism, Race, and the Right to the City* by Pauline Lipman*."*
[11] Ibid., 166.
[12] Cynthia Franklin and Calvin L. Streeter, "School Reform: Linking Public Schools with Human Service," *Social* Work 40, no. 6 (1995), 773.
[13] Ibid.

extend educational opportunity, improve health and housing, and establish social security."[14] At the same time, according to Cohen and Garet, there were growing questions about the possible influence those programs can have operating in isolation.[15] However, the past century has caused educators to drift beyond their training and expertise to provide services that are intended to improve the potential for academic achievement to grow.

Farrow and Joe describe the funding strategies in particular as fragmented and uncoordinated through federal, state, and local streams of dollars.[16] They also point to the consistency of funding mechanisms as problematic and in turn resulting in "small-scale, temporary programs rather than long-term programs that are systematically developed and funded."[17] Through this discussion, I examine how school-delivered, non-instructional services are formalized through one school district's expenditures and staffing. Through this review, I remain aware of the tension that evolves between local school providers of services when the oversight, expectations, and demands placed on school personnel are not supported through supplemented financial and human resources.

This inquiry is an important extension of the body of literature available because there has not yet been a targeted review of staffing changes in one school system over an extended period of time. Although this analysis is focused on the formalizing of non-instructional services through evidence found in staffing records in one school district, the discussion also leads to a critical reflection regarding the capacity of educators to address the social, emotional, and medical needs of young people.

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[14] David K. Cohen and Michael S. Garet, "Reforming Educational Policy With Applied Social Research," *Harvard Educational Review* 45, no. 1 (1975), 17.
[15] Cohen and Garet, "Reforming Educational Policy With Applied Social Research."
[16] Frank Farrow and Tom Joe, "Financing School-linked Integrated Services," *The Future of Children* 2, no. 1 (2002): 56-65.
[17] Ibid., 56.

Method

Through an historical example, I will establish a genealogy of school delivered, non-instructional services by investigating how one, large, urban, metro-county in the Southeast United States—Cobb County, Georgia—delivers non-instructional services.[18] This investigation is grounded primarily in archival research as it relates to the records of the school district as retained by the Georgia Archives and the Georgia Department of Education. I examine the number of non-instructional employees, the types of non-instructional employees, and the number of system-wide, non-instructional employees as reported in the Local School Superintendent's Annual Reports from 1938-1977. The Superintendent's Annual Reports are available to the public from 1938-1977 at the Georgia Archives in Morrow, Georgia. More current records are available through the Georgia Department of Education but have changed significantly enough that they are not incorporated into the scope of this study. Through this investigation I will examine school-delivered, non-instructional services as they are formalized through school district staffing, specifically represented by the category titled "non-instructional employees" present in the reports.

Historical example within a broader approach to historical case study and historical inquiry. History, historical methods, historical inquiry, historical analysis, and historiography all bring about notions of examining the past, making meaning of the people, places and events of previous times, and writing about it. However, historians have introduced different nuances to define the field. The earliest forms of history were in the custom of stories passed down through

[18] Note: The term genealogy is used throughout this discussion as a way of parsing out the past and is not intended to suggest a reconstruction of the past.

families and generations.[19] There was little questioning of the theory incorporated into the historical narrative nor were there concerns about the motives of the storyteller.[20] This early example of historical studies became formalized over time and in 1911, John Martin Vincent wrote that once history was recorded it became subject to questions and critique.

Leopold von Ranke is identified in the literature as the forefather of the historical aspiration of objectivity.[21] Ranke is most known for his famous phrase, "*wie es eigentlich gewesen*" ("as it happened").[22] Ranke was a student of documents in historical research and claimed that that without them there could be no history.[23] This early goal of historical research was grounded in a certainty, exactness, and defendable objectivity.[24] The most prominent early critic of Ranke's commitment to objectivity was Friedrich Nietzsche who found the quest for objectivity to be "trivializing the past to fit the present."[25] Nietzsche was most vocal about his disgust with the infatuation of history and with Ranke's assurances of the studies of the past.[26] Although there were also other critics of Ranke, his thoughts on objectivity as key to historical studies made their way to the United States and were proclaimed by George Burton Adams in his presidential address of 1909 to the American Historical Association as a necessary focus and pursuit of historical studies.[27] And although he is considered to have totally failed, Charles Beard was the first among American historians to claim that "historical objectivism was

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[19] John Martin Vincent, *Historical Research: An Outline of Theory and Practice* (New York, NY: Lenox Hill Publishing & District Company, 1911).
[20] Ibid.
[21] Elizabeth Ann Clark, *History, Theory, Text; Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid. Note: While there is disagreement about Ranke on this point, use of his reference at this point is couched in the context of reconstructing the past.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid., 11.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.

intellectually and philosophically defunct."[28] Beard published an essay in 1935 titled "That Noble Dream" in which he refers to the quest for objectivity as a noble cause but just an unrealistic dream.[29]

The commitment to objectivity remained key and prevalent in historical methods during the first half of the 20th century. In 1946, Gilbert J. Garraghan published *A Guide to Historical Method*, and defined the practice of historical method as "a systemic body of principles and rules designed to aid effectively in gathering the source materials of history, appraising them critically, and presenting a synthesis (generally in written form) of the results achieved."[30] Garraghan proceeded to use the remaining 400 plus pages to articulate that conventional historical method is effective in leading to correct results.[31]

Other scholars in historical studies describe history as the search for knowledge.[32] The examination of the past does not help one recreate the events of the past but it does allow for the past to speak to the present through the testimonies of those that have witnessed it.[33] Similar to Garraghan, Lucey defined historical method as, "a systematic body of rules and procedures for collecting all possible witnesses of a historical era or event, for evaluating the testimony of these witnesses, for ordering the proven facts in their causal connections, and finally for presenting this ordered knowledge of events."[34]

This small sampling of testaments from scholars of historical research suggests a consistent pursuit of truth and accuracy in order to compile knowledge and draw conclusions.

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[28] Ibid., 14.
[29] Charles A. Beard, "That Noble Dream," *The American Historical Review* 41, no. 1 (October 1935): 74-87; and See also, Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the Historical Progression* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
[30] Gilbert James Garraghan, *A Guide to Historical Method* (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 1946).
[31] Ibid.
[32] William Leo Lucey, *History: Methods and Interpretations* (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1984).
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid., 22.

This troubling theme in the early part of the 20th century in American historical studies had, and in some cases, continues to have its share of critics.[35] Jordanova points to two problems with this perspective on historical research.[36] "First it assumes a finite field with relatively clear boundaries. 'History' includes so much, and has such fluid edges, that the idea of a delimited body of knowledge is not really appropriate. Second it fails to take into account the radical differences between accounts of the past that historians give."[37] Jordanova, along with other scholars, criticizes the notion of knowledge or accumulated knowledge as ever being possible through the field of historical research.[38] In 1973, Rayford W. Logan reflected on his early years in historical analysis and recognized in his younger self, a presence of "rightness" and his "righteousness" yet as a matured student of history, and after 50 years in the profession of teaching and researching history, Logan concluded that "the truth is elusive, frequently defiant of capture, but worthy of unremitting pursuit, relentless scrutiny, 'objective' interpretation, adequate documentation, lucid, restrained and even grammatical language and standard spelling."[39] Logan argues that rarely is there truth in historical research.[40]

Parallel to this form of historical thinking in the early decades of the 1900s are historians such as Friedrich Nietzsche, Charles Beard, and Carl Becker, who specifically questioned the notion of objectivity. Lucey points to Carl Becker as one who officially compromised the integrity of historical research.[41] Lucey, with other historians, viewed Becker as one who diluted the integrity of the field by claiming that knowledge was not attainable without personal

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[35] Ludmilla J. Jordanova, *History in Practice*, Second Edition (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2006).
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid., 35.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Rayford Wittingham Logan, *The Significance of Historical Research* (Washington, DC: Department of History at Howard University, 1973), 7.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Lucey, *History: Methods and Interpretations*.

experience and observation.[42] And in the 1960s, specifically, the introduction of underrepresented and female scholars in the field of historical studies challenged the notion that truth is attainable through historical scholarship.[43] The problem with these contradicting viewpoints is that early historians and those that still subscribe to the pursuit of accuracy in historical thinking is that it challenges the legitimacy of the field.[44] The fear that undergirded this notion was that if historical studies do not produce reliable conclusions about the past then it might lead to a field that is comprised of nothing more than fiction.[45] The historians of the early 1900s were influenced by the fanfare directed toward scientific inquiry and historians consciously aimed to incorporate the styles and outcomes of scientific investigations into the field of historical research.[46]

The field of historical research has evolved in the Unites States over time. Novick examined accomplished, along with less notable historians and their published and unpublished work and compiled an historical discussion about the changes in purpose and impact of historians over time.[47] Novick begins his discussion in the late 1800s and early 1900s and points to the historians' primary purpose of objectivity and demonstrates how the history was, at that time, solely written to serve the interest of the White, Anglo-Saxon, American.[48] "Slavery became an understandable accommodation with difficult circumstances, the American Revolution a result of colonists' impatience and ingratitude, and Reconstruction a tragedy of excessive reformist zeal."[49] Objectivity, according to Novick, was "God" and Novick writes in his introduction that "the objective historian's role is that of a neutral, or disinterested judge; it

[42] Ibid.
[43] Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, Second Edition. (New York, NY: Routledge, 1997).
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession*.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid., 229.

must never degenerate into that of advocate or, even worse propagandist."[50] In the second phase of Novick's discussion, there are critics to the goal of objectivity; however there are also boundaries firmly entrenched for who has access to publicly discussing history and who has access to publishing historical studies.[51] Kloppenberg reports that "books were often published in the 1930s only if authors (or their friends) could afford to subsidize them" and during this second phase historians that were employed often experienced serious salary cuts or worse, unemployment.[52] This downturn in the financial commitment to the traditional role of historians gave rise to the "associated doctrine [of objectivity] into question."[53] The third phase in Novick's book is associated with the post-war sentiments and the Americanism of the nation. "During the late 1940s and 1950s, historians confidently constructed a new, somewhat chastened, objective synthesis, trivializing the relativist critique by partially incorporating it."[54] The fourth phase and the one following this Americanism focus was the introduction of the lost narrative of marginalized people and underrepresented (or never represented) people of the time period. The field of historical analysis grew increasing specific and there was less demand for generalist historical studies. Novick "recounts the emergence of New Left, Black, ethnic, and feminist scholarship, the rise of the field of public history, and the proliferation of narrow sub-specialties with their own conferences, journals, and jargon."[55] Novick uniquely presents a collection of published and unpublished thoughts of historians to call the question of objectivity in historical analysis.[56] The consensus that Novick reaches is that the ideal of objectivity is not attainable and Haskell summarizes Novick as acknowledging that "representing the past is a far

[50] Ibid., 2.
[51] Ibid.
[52] James T. Kloppenberg, "Objectivity and Historicism: A Century of American Historical Writing," *American Historical Review* 94, no. 4 (1989), 1013.
[53] Ibid., 1013.
[54] Ibid., 1013-14.
[55] Ibid., 1014.
[56] Ibid.

more problematic enterprise than most historians realize, and that there are more ways to represent it than the guild currently acknowledges."[57]

The writing about history, often referred to as historiography, deserves to be mentioned in this discussion as well. There is great responsibility in the craft of documenting things of the past. Popkewitz, Trohler, and Labaree argue that historiography is the "critical engagement of the present by making its production of collective memories available for scrutiny and revision."[58] Popkewitz, et al., also refer to other history scholars and reflect on their thoughts of historiography.[59] Walter Benjamin suggested that historiography entails an emptying of time, the depiction of a universal, boundless human progress with ideas of infinite perfectibility…and to write history is to rethink the possibility of history as a reliable representation of the past."[60] Popkewitz et al. also project an important distinction between the writings reflective of the history of schooling and the history of education.[61] The history of education takes into consideration far greater responsibility for understanding the social and political context of the time period and the interactions of school, society, and the desirable outcomes for citizenship.[62]

An historical analysis of funding for school-delivered, non-instructional services incorporates a source of quantitative data as the documents associated with the dollar figures in the budgeting process. John R. Thelin recently addressed his interest in seeing greater inclusion of "budgets, enrollments, degree completions, state appropriations, private donations, and foundation" funds in historical studies.[63] In his discussion, Thelin referenced Carlo M. Cipolla

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[57] Thomas L. Haskell, "Objectivity is Not Neutrality: Rhetoric vs. Practice in Peter Novick's *That Noble Dream*," *History and Theory* 29, no. 2 (1990), 130.
[58] Thomas S. Popkewitz, Daniel Trohler, and David F. Labaree, *Schooling and the Making of Citizens in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2011), 2.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid., 2.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] John R. Thelin, "Numbers, Please!" *History of Education Quarterly* 53, no.2 (2013), 150.

as his inspiration for this urgency to advance the use of quantitative sources in the historical research field.[64] Cipolla, Thelin notes, "traveled to archives and sites far and wide to gather original statistics from which to posit remarkable estimates" in his field of study.[65] And while Cipolla was described as a master of identifying primary quantitative sources, he simultaneously "held no false hope that records were thorough or even accurate."[66] Thelin makes a case for increasing the proficiency in which data is used in a historical context in policymaking and he is critical of the current travesties of error in the current exclamations made from the seats of law making.[67]

This argument validates the potential of a historical study of budgets as it relates to the funds and staff devoted to non-instructional services in schools. And this line of analysis could prove valuable to policy advisors and lawmakers in the future. There are several notable contributors to the field of historical research in non-instructional services (sometimes called school-linked services or non-instructional social services) provided through public education.[68] In their most comprehensive report *A History of Social Services Delivered to Youth, 1880 – 1977,* Sedlak and Church "reconstruct the evolution of the delivery of social services through the schools through case studies of several communities in northeastern Illinois since the late nineteenth century in order to clarify the historical pattern and content of current efforts."[69] Sedlak and Church rely on qualitative examination of staffing, effort, and resources and

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[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid., 151.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Michael Sedlak, "The Origins and Evolution of Social Work in the Schools, 1906-1970," (presentation, Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Los Angeles, CA, 1981); Sedlak and Church, "A History of Social Services Delivered to Youth, 1880-1977"; M.W. Kirst, "Improving Children's Services: Overcoming Barriers, Creating New Opportunities," *The Phi Delta Kappan* 72, no. 8 (1991): 615-618; and Joy Dryfoos, "School-based Social and Health Services for At-risk Students," *Urban Education* 26 (1991): 118-137.
[69] Sedlak and Church, "A History of Social Services Delivered to Youth, 1880-1977," 1.

extracting evidence from historical documents.[70] Throughout the report, there is discussion of Board meeting minutes, U.S. Congressional debates and testimonials, staffing plans, hiring records, and newspaper articles.

For the purpose of this historical example, I ground the archival research in the examination of quantitative data from the collection of Local Superintendent's Annual Reports that are available at the Georgia Archives in original form. The reports are arranged by year and then alphabetically by system name dating back to 1938. Reports from 1978 to 2000 are available from the Georgia Department of Education Archives located in Atlanta, Georgia. These reports are required by law to be submitted by local superintendents to the office of the State superintendent and are signed by both the current local superintendent and the chairman of the local board of education.[71] Although there is some variation over the years, each report contains information relating to the following:[72]

I. School plants (Reported by racial breakdown from 1938-1965)[73]
   a. Name of school building
   b. Building and grounds
   c. Number and type of buildings
   d. Number and type of rooms in buildings
   e. Number of acres of land in school plot
   f. Availability and seating capacity of gymnasium, auditorium, and/or lunchroom

[70] Ibid.
[71] Cobb County, Georgia, Superintendent's Annual Report to the State Department of Education, 1938-39 to 1956-57, Georgia Archives, Morrow, Georgia; and Cobb County, Georgia, Superintendent's Annual Attendance Reports to the State Department of Education, 1957-58 to 1976-77, Georgia Archives, Morrow, Georgia.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid., 3.

g. Drinking water and sanitary facilities

h. Number of teaching aids

i. Number of library books

j. Value of equipment

k. Grand total of value of school plan

II. Number of instructional employees and types of certifications

a. Name of school

b. Regular program instructional employees

c. Total number of academic and vocational teachers (by sex)

d. Types of certificates for academic and vocational teachers

e. Special programs (including adult education, Out of School youth, and veterans)

f. Grand total for all teachers

g. Number of four year graduates (by sex)

III. Miscellaneous

a. Number of non-instructional employees by type

b. Per pupil cost of instruction

c. Number of failures by grade

d. Kindergarten enrollment by sex

IV. Enrollment by grade (by sex)

a. Average daily attendance (with aggregate for lawful and unlawful absences)

b. Number of pupils enrolled in other schools

c. Number of days taught

V. Pupil transportation

a. Name of driver

b. Type of ownership

c. Name of schools served

d. Make and model

e. Route number

f. Number of morning trips

g. Daily mileage

h. Number of yearly operation

i. Total yearly mileage

j. Yearly cost of bus type

k. Number of children transported (by distance from school)

l. Yearly cost per pupil per mile

VI. Number of system-wide employees

a. Administrative assistants

b. Instructional supervisors

c. Visiting teachers

d. Attendance officers

e. Maintenance personnel

f. Lunchroom management personnel

g. Librarians

h. Clerical personnel

i. Other

VII. System summary statements

a. Teachers reported by race and salary

b. Evening school data including teachers by race and sex

c. Schools according to size reported by race and number of teachers employed

VIII. State funding figures

a. Average daily attendance by grade and race

b. Children living in system but attending other schools

c. Children living in other systems by attending schools in this system

d. Total local school tax collected with rate indicated (and signed by tax collector)

For the purpose of this historical example, data from the following categories are extracted from each Superintendent's Annual Report: number of school-based, instructional employees, number of school-based, non-instructional employees (by category), and number of system-level employees (by category). These three categories are most consistent during the range of dates studied for this investigation and represent the majority of staff numbers reported by a school system to the State Department of Education. In addition to these three categories, bus drivers are also counted and reported from 1938-39 to 1956-57, but do not continue in the reports from 1957-58 to 1976-77. The category of school-based, instructional employees and school-based, non-instructional employees are reported by school. The system-level employees are reported separately from any school association. Additionally, this historical example examines the formal development of the positions Lunchroom Employee and Counselor as representative of the non-instructional employee changes over time.

The Georgia Department of Education requires that the Local School Board of Education and Superintendent prepare the Superintendent's Annual Report. Within that report, the Superintendent fulfills his or her responsibility to communicate to the Department of Education, the use of the state's money and compliance with the state laws and regulations.[74]

[74] Gary Lister, *Boardsmanship, Becoming a Better Board Member*, Third Edition. (Georgia School Board Association, 2006). Retrieved: October 4, 2015 from https://sbu.eboardsolutions.com/eBoardsmanship/ebsdisplay.aspx?S=61236&C=3.

Researcher Perspective

As I conduct this historical case analysis, grounded in archival research, I contend it is important to acknowledge my personal and professional experiences that have influenced how I approach this study. I am a white, female educator who, as a child, attended public schools that were economically and racially diverse. The public high school I attended, for example, was 30% White, 30% Black, and 30% Hispanic and classified as a Title I school today. While I was in academically advanced classes, I was also an athlete. At one point in my high school career, I was the only White girl on the basketball team and played in games that would cause me to be one of the few White people in the entire, packed gymnasium. I grew up very comfortable with the racial diversity of my community and also grew up aware that not all of my peers had a house in which to live or educators as parents. My undergraduate studies were my first and only experience with private education in which I obtained a Bachelor of Science in chemistry and certification in secondary education. My first teaching experience was in an urban secondary school located in Fairfax County, Virginia. Through this exposure to the complex needs of youth in poverty, I realized how vital it is to first meet the social, emotional, and physical needs of students before they can be ready to learn. However, it was also at this time that I was also first struck with the lack of coordination and efficiencies and the oversights stemming from many avenues in adequately identifying and meeting these needs. I began teaching in 2001 and in these first years of classroom experience, I witnessed the shift into the age of accountability that followed the passing of *No Child Left Behind*. The school in which I taught began to more seriously consider how the basic needs of children were met and how those basic needs being met resulted in improved performance academically. I was disturbed that first of all, the school's motivation to better identify the basic needs of students living in poverty was motivated by the

test scores to which it could contribute; but second of all, the catalyst to improve social service delivery at the school house was pursued in the name of improved performance as indicated on state accountability measures and state accountability measures alone. As a novice teacher, I recall dismissing students from class for wellness checks. I recall when social workers added to the school personnel. And I had the personal experience of class sizes increasing (at one point 41 students in my chemistry class). I have no substantive reason to point to a connection, but it was anecdotal experiences that intrigued me. I recall breakfast added to the school schedule during testing weeks. What I do not recall, however, were the presence of new agency heads or supplemental funds to provide more services for children in poverty. Instead, I saw the academic responsibilities of the school in which I taught diluted so that the school could take on more non-instructional services for students.

Since then, I have worked in the federal government and was exposed to public schools around the country. I worked with schools and school districts in the most rural, most urban, most impoverished, most affluent, most heterogeneous, and most homogenous communities—and everything in between—and I was struck with the realization of just how much schools are carrying for their communities. Schools are facing immigration related complications, food insecurity and homelessness issues, and violence witnessed by children, along with violence brought on by children. I saw schools trying to raise generations of children because of communities shattered by violence, families split because of deported parents, and haunting conditions of poverty that children witness every day. I couldn't help but question during this professional phase of my life, where are the other federal agencies? Where are the other federal funds? Why is so much falling on the backs of schools, school personnel, and classroom teachers? How can teachers deliver high quality instruction after preparing and delivering

breakfast, doing a home visit, organizing an oral hygiene check-up, and providing grief counseling for the fatal shooting from the previous night?

Since then, I have been in a central office leadership position in two different large, urban, metro-counties in the Southeast United States. Through this role, I have more intimately seen the interactions (and lack of interactions) between community-based organizations and local schools. I have also anecdotally witnessed the time, energy, creativity, and personnel that have been devoted to innovatively providing for the basic necessities of children and their families in poverty. From organizing dinners so that families could miss work in order to come to a school event to scheduling medical check-ups to providing Saturday and Sunday sacks of food for children to take home on Friday for their family for the weekend; school personnel and trained educators are addressing the needs for children, their families, and in turn their communities that stretch far beyond the academic learning needs of youth today.

I think it is important for me to clarify that I am coming from a perspective that is supportive of what educators and school staffs have done to meet the needs of children in poverty; nor am I faulting the efforts of schools to first meet the basic needs of youth before addressing the academic needs; instead this research study is generated from a frustration in me that schools are publicly criticized for failing, yet schools are being asked to do far more than what they are trained, funded, equipped, and staffed to do. Instead, I come from a place that is frustrated with government agencies, community organizations, faith-based organizations, and non-profits that employ the trained experts in the various fields of social service delivery, are funded to develop and deliver comprehensive plans for supporting the basic needs of youth in poverty, and claim to have solutions to address the complex needs of children, families, and communities in poverty. All of the accountability seems to be falling on the shoulders of local

schools and school districts, yet the expertise, resources, and solutions seem to remain isolated outside of the school walls.

Definitions

Throughout the literature over the time period from 1890 – today, the concept of non-instructional services and children's needs is prevalent but the specific definitions, characterizations, and associated terms have changed. Terms that are used throughout the literature that are either synonymous or closely linked to the term non-instructional services include non-instructional social services,[75] school-linked services, [76] school-linked social services, social welfare services, school health services, wrap-around services, and non-instructional services.[77] For the purpose of this study, the term school delivered, non-instructional services is used to describe the services that are provided by school personnel for the purpose of addressing the social, emotional, and/or physical health of K-12 students and their families. I have identified the following categories of school delivered, non-instructional services with examples.

- Health Services
    - Medical examinations
    - Oral health care
    - Vision care
    - Medicine prescription and distribution
    - Direct care nurse

[75] David Tyack, Thomas James and Aaron Benayot, *Law and the Shaping of Public Education, 1785-1954* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987); Sedlak, "The Origins and Evolution of Social Work in the Schools, 1906-1970."
[76] Dryfoos, "School-based Social and Health Services for At-Risk Students."
[77] Tyack, "Health and Social Services in Public Schools: Historical Perspectives."

    - Body Mass Index screening and reporting requirements
    - Diabetes programs
- Mental Health Services
    - Child custody services
    - Child abuse services
    - Self-injury and suicidal support services
- Food & Nutrition Services
    - School breakfast program
    - Free & Reduced Price Lunch Program
    - Healthy Schools Program
- Family Services
    - Parent literacy services
    - Childcare
    - Adult English language education
    - After-school care
    - Parenting classes

I am not including in this definition of school delivered, non-instructional services any program associated with a state curriculum, state defined and approved curriculum standards, or a state course number, including health education, sex education, drug, alcohol, and tobacco education, driver's education, physical education, Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps (JROTC), and character education. Each of these examples has a state-course association in the geographic region of study and is therefore funded through the state funding formula to local school districts. This definition of school delivered, non-instructional services also does not

include organized and formalized competitive, school-related sports teams, clubs, student leadership programs, and after-school or Saturday-school tutoring programs. Each of these specific examples are not available to all students and are therefore considered ancillary to the services offered by schools to meet the social, emotional, and physical health of K-12 students for the purpose of this study. I am also intentionally not including services offered at the school site by other professional institutions or organizations, although the term school-linked services is occasionally used to describe that inter-related scenario. The purpose of this study is to examine the services that local school districts absorb without the partnership of separate organizations and industries.

There is also an important note to make regarding the term non-instructional services. My initial inclination was to use the term non-academic services as I attempted to capture the full portfolio of services offered by local schools and school-based educators. However, I am compelled to acknowledge the large body of literature that correlates the variant academic performance of students with how well their basic needs are met. I can see how the literature might lead one to associate academic services as actually including all of the services designed to address the physical, mental, and emotional needs of students because of the strong correlation of the availability if these services and a student's potential for success in the classroom. Therefore, I made a conscious decision to use the term non-instructional services as opposed to non-academic services. Use of the term non-instructional services allows me to focus this research inquiry on the funding and personnel dedicated to resources and services beyond classroom instruction and the learning of content. I do not wish to suggest that the presence of non-instructional services made possible through funding and through personnel are not a part of the full academic support structure for students. Instead, I wish to position the change in funding

and personnel over time so that public school educators, policy makers, and community people can distinguish how the school services have changed, how it impacts the students, and determine if the model of services evolves in a way that is representative of the community's priorities for the role its school plays.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

Century of Services

Public education in the United States has long been seen as a mechanism for addressing a much broader range of society's problems than the academic development of the country's youth. As early as the 1890s, schools were seen as a necessity to compensate for the inability of immigrant parents to provide for their children's needs,[78] aid immigrant children living in poverty, and assimilate at-risk, illiterate, and foreign-born children into the dominant culture.[79] And today, schools are seen as central to serving the complex social, emotional, mental, and physical needs of children and families in poverty. I will discuss the expansion of school delivered, non-instructional services in three distinct eras of the past century; the formative era (1890 – 1920), the professionalization era (1920 – 1965), the federal intervention era (1965 – 1983), and at the conclusion of this dissertation I will introduce the concept of a fourth era that is underway today, the school accountability era (1983 – today).[80]

In this literature review, I will provide an overview of the evolution of non-instructional services through public schools. I will begin with a broad, overarching glance of the century and organize that overarching discussion into the three eras of evolution, the formative era, the professionalization era, and the federal intervention era. I will then narrow the discussion to a more specific examination of the literature dedicated to the types of services and service

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[78] Margaret Wang, Geneva D. Haertel, and Herbert Walker, "What We Know About Coordinated School-Linked Services" (U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement Report No. L97-1, Washington, DC: The Mid-Atlantic Regional Educational Laboratory at Temple University, 1997).
[79] Tyack, "Health and Social Services in Public Schools: Historical Perspectives."
[80] Sedlak and Church, "A History of Social Services Delivered to Youth, 1880-1977," iv. I adapted the concept of distinguishing specific chapters of social service eras in public education from the seminal research, findings, and Final Report done by Sedlak and Church who organized their findings into four stages of social service evolution and expansion in the public schools: The Formative Years (1880-1918); Expansion and Retrenchment (1918-1939); Universalism and the Process of Recovery (1939-1960); The Role of the State; and Social Services and the Disadvantaged (1960-1977).

providers, as well as the specific legislative action that initiated non-instructional services. Finally, I will conclude the literature review with a discussion focused on the two historians most influential in my personal understanding of the field of non-instructional services. Both Michael Sedlak and Joy Dryfoos are considered to have contributed seminary work to this field of inquiry and were very influential as I developed my perspective for further investigation.

The Formative Era (1890-1920)

To begin the discussion of the historical role of public education to provide non-instructional services, I will point to the earliest efforts of the Progressive Era. "The principle concern of the 'progressives' was the first- and second- generation immigrant, working class children who entered the schools in unprecedented numbers."[81] Reformers at the turn of the 20th Century pursued mental and dental examinations provided at schools, school lunches, summer programs, recreational activities, and school-based welfare support.[82] In the early 1900s, school officials coordinated with community physicians to give children medical exams, vaccinations, and instruction in hygiene.[83] Health-oriented efforts were seen as a way to improve the overall condition of society and prepare for a stronger future. The early part of the 1900s laid the foundation for the long-standing role of school health and hygiene efforts. Specifically, there was an effort to extend the role of the medical professionals in schools "to diagnose and treat physical defects and all 'incipient deviations from the normal' that undermine children's health and their ability to function optimally in school."[84] Additionally there were efforts to incorporate

[81] Michael Sedlak and Steven Schlossman, "The Public School and Social Services: Reassessing the Progressive Legacy," *Educational Theory* 35, no. 4 (1985): 371-383.
[82] Wang, Haertel, and Walberg, "What We Know About Coordinated School-Linked Services."
[83] Tyack, "Health and Social Services in Public Schools: Historical Perspectives."
[84] Sedlak and Schlossman, "The Public School and Social Services: Reassessing the Progressive Legacy."

the role of public health officials in the review of ventilation, lighting, and sanitation along with providing vaccinations and inspections for contagious diseases.[85]

It was during this formative era of school services that the concept of the school nurse and a program of visiting teachers were established. School nurses were seen as a necessity because medical professionals that visited the school for medical examinations were unable to provide follow-up services. The school nurse and school clinic evolved but at the time were not limited to the school house and the students it enrolled. Instead the school nurse took on an outreach effort to the sick and unclean in the community.[86] The visiting teacher, on the other hand, later evolved into the role of social worker in public schools with responsibilities at the onset of preventing truancy and delinquency, rehabilitating families in poverty and training ignorant mothers in the proper care of the home and her children, and facilitating the Americanization of the foreign born population.[87]

The 'progressives' saw public schooling as a necessity to the health and vitality of a community. The role of the school-based social programs during this formative era were aimed at preventing unwanted behaviors, avoiding vocational maladjustment, preventing juvenile delinquency, preventing illnesses, and correcting physical defects of school-aged children.[88] Services provided through the school house in the late 1890s and early 1900s largely depended on volunteer physicians and dentists, volunteer organizations, and women's clubs and did not necessarily come at the expense of education funding.[89] Physicians and dentists alike considered the school setting to be a captive audience and rationalized their service by concluding that addressing the health needs of children would decrease delinquency and strengthen the

[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Tyack, "Health and Social Services in Public Schools: Historical Perspectives;" Wang, Haertel, and Walberg, "What We Know About Coordinated School-Linked Services."

community for the future.[90] Women's clubs focused their efforts on providing school breakfasts and lunches, summer programs, and other after school child care services. Women were motivated by concern for malnourishment in children of poverty and claimed that "hungry scholars were restless, dull, and difficult to manage but when properly fed became studious, tractable, and bright."[91] Other education reformers at the turn of the century advocated for additional services to include vocational guidance counselors. Guidance counselors at this time sought to link students to job opportunities. Generally speaking, the services provided through the school-house during the formative era were largely driven by the belief that families in poverty, especially impoverished, immigrant families, "did not know about proper health care, dental care or nutrition; they did not possess acceptable civic values; and they did not know how to raise children."[92]

The Professionalization Era (1920-1965)

What began as volunteerism and missionary-like outreach slowly became more entrenched in the process of delivering public education. As the formative era shifts to the era of professionalization of non-instructional services, volunteer organizations wanted schools to incorporate the work of school nurses, visiting teachers, vocational counselors, after school care, and even medical professionals formally into the school structure. In the 1930s psychologists, psychiatrists, and social workers transitioned to school staff but their employment security was always tenuous.[93] During this era of professionalization, services that were once created for the purpose of impoverished, immigrant children and families became increasing accessible to middle-class families as well. The profession of social work intentionally pursued a shift in the

[90] Tyack, "Health and Social Services in Public Schools: Historical Perspectives."
[91] Ibid., 22.
[92] Ibid., 23.
[93] Ibid.

perception of their work in public education and no longer wanted to solely be linked to children of poverty. "Services became generalized to the whole student population rather than being focused primarily on the poor."[94] This is directly related to the localized nature of funding for public education, so the service providers needed to be valued in communities that could afford to include their services. Funding for public schools at this time relied almost exclusively on the taxes of local property and therefore the institutionalized services were more easily maintained in middle-class and wealthy communities. During the 1950s educators attempted to develop and apply social service universally and virtually to all students believing that even conscientious parents and well-organized families could not guarantee that the delicate task of child rearing would be carried out effectively.[95] As a result, during the era of professionalization, school delivered, non-instructional services no longer existed primarily for children and families in the greatest economic need, and instead became more of a privilege to the middle and upper class schools. As the balance shifted from economically distressed communities to communities of wealth, there were some schools that had no evidence of services and according to Tyack, the worst off were rural blacks in the south.[96]

Throughout the early part of the 1900s, 'progressives' introduced free breakfast and lunch at school. The meals were mostly prepared and provided by women's clubs that were comprised, of mothers who knew the nourishment needs of young children. "By World War I, public schools in approximately one hundred cities were serving meals to needy children."[97] However, this charitable effort was certainly not institutionalized nor was it prevalent in all schools. And this effort was not without some outcry as families with different cultural diets did

[94] Ibid., 26.
[95] Sedlak and Church, "A History of Social Services Delivered to Youth, 1880-1977."
[96] Tyack, "Health and Social Services in Public Schools: Historical Perspectives."
[97] Sedlak and Schlossman, "The Public School and Social Services: Reassessing the Progressive Legacy."

not appreciate the choices made by the mothers in the women's clubs; while other critics perceived this effort as a public subsidy.[98] In 1946, the first federal legislation to institutionalize such a service, the School Lunch Act, was passed by U.S. Congress and subsidized school lunches were firmly established in public school houses.[99] There were plenty of critics of this legislative action. "Conservatives objected that free meals produced a paternalistic state and weakened the family."[100] Others cried out that this was a form of socialism rearing its head in the federal government.[101]

Throughout the formative era, services provided through schools were largely linked to the outreach efforts of affluent community members and educated professionals. Although the delivery of services began as a strategy for which the impoverished were cared and the newcomer assimilated, the transition to the era of professionalization resulted in services distributed among students of all socioeconomic groups.[102] As volunteerism shifted to school-based practices and processes, the services that survived were those that existed in communities of moderate to high wealth. As a result, the most economically disadvantaged students in the most economically distressed communities received fewer services as in the decades passed. This set the stage for the ushering in of the landmark legislation of the Johnson Administration and the pivotal moment that comprehensively linked public schooling as a means to provide for the welfare needs of children and families in poverty.

The Federal Intervention Era (1965-1983)

Leading up to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 were polarizing views on the role that the federal government could and should play in public education. In his

[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Tyack, "Health and Social Services in Public Schools: Historical Perspectives," 25.
[101] Sedlak and Schlossman, "The Public School and Social Services: Reassessing the Progressive Legacy."
[102] Tyack, "Health and Social Services in Public Schools: Historical Perspectives."

book, *An Uncertain Triumph,* Hugh Davis Graham articulated the unique failures of President John F. Kennedy's legislative efforts in education followed by the Johnson Administration's carefully crafted strategy to navigate the pitfalls of political controversy, religious controversy, the constitutionality of the federal government in education, racial tensions, and the conflict between conservatives and democrats over states' rights.[103] What makes Johnson's education efforts so remarkable, and appropriately highlighted in this discussion, is that he successfully linked the education policy development to the Great Society effort of the Administration.[104] The anti-poverty sentiment in Washington at the time, coupled with Johnson's rationale for providing for the impoverished, made education policy more palatable and harder to obstruct. Within the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, was funding provided through Title I for "educationally deprived children."[105] "The purpose of this program was 'to provide financial assistance…to local education agencies serving areas with concentrations of children from low-income families to expand and improve their educational programs.'"[106]

Historical Picture of Service Providers

The motivation to deliver social services through public schools noticeably shifts through each era articulated in the previous section. In the formative era, the effort to provide social services is driven by concerned citizens, volunteers, and affluent families and the motivation is to prevent juvenile delinquency, Americanize immigrants, prevent the spread of disease or unclean conditions, and nourish the impoverished. In the professionalization era, the effort to provide social services shifts to the local school's responsibility and credentialed staff are employed to deliver services. At this point, the motive shifts to one of relevancy so the services are more

[103] Hugh Davis Graham, *The Uncertain Triumph* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984).
[104] Ibid.
[105] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, *History of Title I ESEA,* (Washington, D.C., 1969), 2.
[106] Ibid.

often available in middle to upper class communities since that was the environment least affected by financial hardships of the 1930s and 40s. As the conclusion of this era approaches, external political factors and political efforts such as the New Deal soften the hearts and minds of politicians and citizens alike on the need to provide for the people in poverty. Building on an anti-poverty sentiment, Johnson successfully ushers in the era of federal intervention and the effort to provide services is driven by federal legislation and federal funding and the motive is to equalize funding for impoverished school communities. And finally, the publication of *A Nation at Risk*, serves as a catalyst for the accountability of schools to produce performance outcomes and suddenly the accountability era provokes a hyper-responsibility upon schools to ensure that the basic needs of children are first met so they can then be academically successful in school as indicated by newly established accountability measures.

The history of formal interagency collaborations, community schools efforts, and school-linked services reform has been intentionally excluded from this discussion because instead, I remain interested in what it is that public schools do without external resources to support the social, emotional, and physical needs of children so that they can be ready to learn. I argue that the inefficiencies that abound in social welfare and health and human service systems are unduly compensated for at the local school and as a result, school leadership, educators, and staff are positioned to provide more than their resources are intended to support and more than their expertise has necessarily prepared them to do. A vice principal interviewed in Colorado admitted that she had the administrative responsibility for social services at her school and although there is an assumption that she know something about those services, she admitted that she does not.[107] "Many school reformers believe that the logical place to address the needs of at-

[107] Eleanor Farrar and Robert Hamprel, "Social Services in American High Schools," *The Phi Delta Kappan* 69, no. 4 (1987).

risk children is at the place where so many of society's problems intersect—the public school. The school has always been a center for academic learning but is now increasingly a focal point of efforts to improve and rebuild communities (and families), the hope is that students will be less at risk for academic failure and social problems."[108] Additionally, the impact of the financial downturn in the United States resulted in more needs falling upon the shoulders of public educators. While some argue that the local school is a sensible place for the complex services to be connected because students are already there, I would argue that the school is already the place where complex services are provided because educators respond to an imperative need of the children they serve. So whether other agencies or organizations or funding sources are poured into the school setting to help meet the needs of students or not, schools will bear the responsibility to be everything to everyone because of the nature of their captive audience. However, I am concerned that the motive behind initiating the services offered might not originate from the community it is designed to serve and in turn is layered onto school responsibilities without the infusion of necessary expertise and resources. Fusarelli, et al., share a similar notion when they write that the "economic crisis of 2009 has fueled new concerns about the overburdening…of schools."[109] Additionally, efforts to formally integrate services and initiatives to unify support for impoverished communities tend to overlook the history and present condition of the services that schools are offering despite, or in spite of, other agencies and organizations.[110] "The nonacademic complications of adolescence are rising, not vanishing."[111] As I previously indicated, there are some important questions that set the context for this inquiry. Is the initiation of school delivered, non-instructional services resulting from the

[108] Fusarelli and Lindle, "The Politics, Problems, and Potential promise of School-Linked Services: Insights and New Directions from the Work of William Lowe Boyd," 405.
[109] Fusarelli and Lindle, "The Politics, Problems, and Potential promise of School-Linked Services: Insights and New Directions from the Work of William Lowe Boyd," 406.
[110] Farrar and Hamprel, "Social Services in American High Schools."
[111] Ibid., 297.

tradition of school people to turn their institutions into social centers; or is it the effort of some private, non-profit, or government entity to leverage the school house and the school people to meet their outreach interests; and once initiated, how do the services continue to evolve and financially endure?

The origin and motives of school delivered, non-instructional services since the 1890s can further be explored by tracing the funding sources associated with the creation and sustaining of such services. As Morrill writes, "the human service delivery system contains three components: education, health, and social services. The organization of each component differs and each has its own financial and programmatic relationships to federal, state, and local governments."[112] For example, at the federal level, funding authority for non-instructional services is broadly shared by the U.S. Department of Education for Title I, Safe Schools, Healthy Students, and Safe and Drug Free Schools; the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services for mental health financing through Medicaid and Child Health Insurance, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture for the free and reduced-price lunch and breakfast programs.[113]

A discussion about the funding tied to the non-instructional services in the formative era from 1890 – 1920 is closely linked to the volunteers, women's groups, and later philanthropic support.[114] The volunteers routinely provided the financial resources necessary to initiate the service and then sustain it over time. The women's clubs that provided breakfast and lunch would purchase the food, prepare the food, and then serve the food during meal times.[115] Women's clubs were also largely responsible for coordinating with other professional volunteers, including doctors and dentists, to provide services and they also cooperated with influential

[112] Morrill, "School Linked Services," 32.
[113] James Guthrie, "School Finance: Fifty Years of Expansion," *The Future of Children* 7, no 3 (Winter 1997): 24-38; Dryfoos, "School-Based Social and Health Services for At-Risk Students."
[114] Sedlak and Church, "A History of Social Services Delivered to Youth, 1880-1997."
[115] Ibid.

political groups to garner services to which they did not have access.[116] The formative era of delivering non-instructional services in public schools was largely accomplished and funded through the efforts of involved, accomplished, and affluent community members. Other mechanisms of funding during this time were secured through local property taxes. Howell and Miller identify local revenue, along with the philanthropic efforts of local community members, as the primary source of funding for schools and for the non-instructional services provided.[117] They also attribute this localized approach to the notion that the majority of the nation lived in rural areas.[118] As the nation shifts from a rural dwelling population to a more heavily concentrated urban dwelling population, the reliance on local revenues alone begins to decrease.[119]

In the Final Report to the National Institute of Education in 1982, Sedlak and Church report that the years leading up to the 1920s experienced the early stages of standardization of the non-instructional services provided.[120] There was some evidence of discontentment that the services were either subpar in some communities or local economies were affected by the approach to distributing services. As a result, local schools began to absorb some responsibility for extraneous expenses associated with developing standards or facilitating procedures.[121] One example is that the lunchroom that served donated lunch required increased supervision; especially for the older students.[122] And in another instance, prices were associated with some of the lunch items available to deter students from choosing unhealthy options (as determined by the volunteers serving the food). This upset surrounding businesses and resulted in lawsuits that

[116] Ibid.
[117] Penny L. Howell and Barbara B. Miller, "Sources of Funding for Schools," *The Future of Children* 7, no. 3 (Winter 1997): 39-50.
[118] Howell and Miller, "Sources of Funding for Schools."
[119] Ibid.
[120] Sedlak and Church, "A History of Social Services Delivered to Youth, 1880-1977."
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.

the school then had to handle.[123] The private initiative to provide public services was beginning to introduce controversy at the same time that the volunteers saw the need to shift the responsibility for these services officially over to the school.[124]

As the 1920s begin, and what I title the Professionalization Era is introduced, credentialed staff in social service fields slowly became full time staff members of public schools. Sedlak and Church point to five key events that caused a substantial expansion of the social service movement in schools.[125] These five events, coupled with national pressure and local interest, resulted in increased local funding resources allocated to public schools. Sedlak and Church identify World War I as key to expanding the public's interest in schools and in particular on the health of the youth so they too would be prepared to enter the war as they came of age.[126] The second event or feature of this time period was the increasing truancy rates of students attributed to excitement over the war, fathers away from home, and mothers now working during the day. What was once referred to as the visiting teacher was now replaced with the credentialed social worker who now focused on anti-truancy efforts. The third event was the release of the cardinal Principles of Secondary Education in 1918. This guiding document, according to Sedlak and Church "provided an influential, systematic, sustained, and coherent justification for the support of social services."[127] The fourth event was the mental hygiene movement. Several foundations (such as the Laura Spellman Rockefeller Memorial Foundation) initiated sizable resources to the purpose of controlling deviant behavior through non-instructional programs offered through schools.[128] These funds were particularly influential in the training of social workers, parent education specialists, and counselors. And finally, the

[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid., 37.
[128] Ibid.

fifth event that Sedlak and Church point to is that "demographic changes strongly influenced the scope and pattern of social service delivery during the decade following World War I."[129] Enrollment in public schools accelerated at the conclusion of the war and the ratio of non-instructional social service staff increased substantially in the 1920s.

The conditions for expanding and professionalizing the non-instructional services in the 1920s was funded largely by locally collected property taxes and subsidized further through foundation funds. However, as the 1930s introduced desperate economic conditions, the intense growth of the 1920s was followed by sizable reductions in non-instructional services and staff throughout the country.[130] Some districts maintained a higher level of service because there was some local community wealth on which to rely but because the local funding sources were relied upon so heavily, the neediest communities eliminated any evidence of the non-instructional services that its community probably most needed.

The formal expansion of non-instructional service in the 1920s, followed by the absolving of non-essential public service in the 1930s, was then followed by a recovery and expansion in the 1940s through to the 1950s. At this point in the history of funding non-instructional services, the state began to take a more active role as a funding resource. State policy took an interest particularly in health and safety practices at schools and legislation simultaneously tried to provide subsidies in instances where the local district could not meet the state mandate. Additionally, local property values began to rise again and coupled with low birth rates following the depression, local schools began to benefit from financial resources. During this decade, it was common for funding to be restored for social workers, counselors, and school nurses. It also became common for driver's education to be introduced and health education

[129] Ibid., 38.
[130] Ibid.

revitalized. [131] According to Sedlak and Church, it was not uncommon for "annual per-pupil instructional expenditures to triple, or even quadruple, particularly in communities which had spent relatively little on their schools prior to World War II."[132]

A discussion about the funding for non-instructional programs in the decades during 1920 – 1965, would most certainly be incomplete without reference to the Congressional House Bill introduced by Representative Flannagan (D-VA) to appropriate $65 million for subsidized lunches in February of 1946.[133] This act was followed by turbulent debate in which supporters called it a "necessity of permanently relieving hunger in America and applauded the federal lunch program as an appropriate tool which to approach that vital task" and fervent opposition that claimed that the measure "set a precedent that inevitably led toward the totalitarian philosophy that the people are wards of the state."[134] After veracious debate, the House approved the federal school lunch program by a vote of 276 to 101 and subsequently the Senate approved the measure and was signed into law by President Truman on June 4, 1946.[135] The School Lunch Act of 1946 "carried a preamble identifying its purpose as 'a measure of national security, to safeguard the health and well-being of the Nation's children and to encourage the domestic consumption of nutritious agricultural commodities and other food.'"[136] At the conclusion of the 1950s, non-instructional services in public schools had now secured funding from local property taxes, state sources, and the federal government.

As we enter the Era of Federal Intervention, after the signing of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act into law, funding sources for non-instructional services become increasingly complex. Local property taxes again declined, however contributions from state

[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid., 60.
[133] Sedlak and Church, "A History of Social Services Delivered to Youth, 1880-1977."
[134] Ibid., 71-72.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid., 72.

and now increasingly federal sources helped offset the local resources.[137] In one district in Illinois, the state's share of revenue rose from three percent in 1950 to ten percent in 1967 to nearly 25 percent in 1977 and over the same period of time, 1967 – 1977, the federal revenue hit two percent.[138] The anti-poverty sentiment of the passage of Elementary and Secondary Act and the specific Title I dollars devoted to socioeconomically disadvantaged schools and communities of poverty returned the services provided by non-instructional professionals again to the children in the greatest need. Services consistently experienced growth as a result of state and federal mandates and most mandates were then accompanied by reimbursement funds. This was an attractive model for most schools systems through the early 1970s but quickly the cost of delivering these services to students outpaced the availability of federal or state dollars.[139] Although there was general sentiment leading into the 1970s that the non-instructional services were viable, flourishing, and significant in the daily operations of local schools, when resources became scarce, school administrators became vocal about the burden of delivering these services. When external funding sources either withdrew or failed to meet demand, local schools and school districts were unwilling to take on the cost of program delivery.[140] As a result, there was another period of decline in the services and service providers through the 1970s. It became evident that public schools saw value in delivering non-instructional services to students when the federal and state funds made it feasible to do so. However, in the absence of external funds, local schools were apt to eliminate non-instructional programs suggesting that the commitment to their success might have only been marginal in the years following the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

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[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid., 86.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid.

Summary of Services

Beginning in the 1960s, funding for public education has been on the rise.[141] Guthrie titles the second half of the 20th Century as the "Fifty Years of Expansion" for school financing.[142] "The National Center for Education Statistics calculates that the average per-pupil expenditure (excluding capital expenditures), in constant 1993-94 dollars, has risen from $1,299 in 1949-50 to $5,734 in 1993-94."[143] During this time, the reliance on local revenue somewhat declined, the state revenue increased, and the federal government revenue contributed marginally.[144] In the late 1990s, the national average of school spending for a local school district depended on 45.0% revenue from local taxes, 47.9% from state governments, and 7.1% from the federal government.[145] Guthrie claims that the increased funding has been directed toward two key aspects of public schools.[146] The funds have been used to pay for more school employees and an expansion of services.[147] "Whereas in 1949-50 there was one school employee for every 19.3 pupils, that figure has now changed to one for every 9.1 students."[148] And while there has been a decrease in class size during that time, Guthrie claims that the drastic decrease in student to staff ratio is actually a reflection of the increase in employing large numbers of non-teaching personnel.[149] Guthrie claims that "these are primarily teacher aides and support staff (which include school secretaries, bus drivers, cooks, janitors, health and recreation

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[141] Howell and Miller, "Sources of Funding for Schools;" Guthrie,"School Finance: Fifty Years of Expansion;" John G. Augenblick, John L. Myers, and Amy Berk Anderson, "Equity and Adequacy in School Funding," *The Future of Children* 7, no. 3 (Winter 1997): 63-78.
[142] Guthrie, "School Finance: Fifty Years of Expansion."
[143] Guthrie, "School Finance: Fifty Years of Expansion," 27.
[144] Howell and Miller, "Sources of Funding for Schools;" Guthrie, "School Finance: Fifty Years of Expansion;" Augenblick, Myers, and Anderson, "Equity and Adequacy in School Funding."
[145] Howell and Miller, "Sources of Funding for Schools."
[146] Guthrie, "School Finance: Fifty Years of Expansion."
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid., 30.
[149] Ibid.

staff, and psychological personnel)."[150] Guthrie also attributes the increasing cost of public schooling to the expansion of services over this time period.[151] In particular, Guthrie points to the "many systemic efforts to improve the quality of students' lives through schooling."[152] While the federal government's efforts through Title I are to provide the services necessary for students in poverty, school districts and child advocates claim that the funding is insufficient to cover the actual and growing needs of children in poverty and resources from other funding sources need to compensate.[153]

The financing for local schools is described in the literature as nothing short of complex and the regulations and requirements through the spending choices make efficiency even more difficult to obtain.[154] Yet families and communities are again relying on services that originate from the school house to meet the complex needs of today's youth. Joy Dryfoos writes,

> The widening gap between social classes and race has increasingly isolated impoverished children in troubled schools. Immigrants flood some school systems and require special attention…Many people see the school site as the potential hub of education and services in the community.[155]

The one-hundred year overview of the non-instructional services provided by public schools reveals several important themes. The first theme is that over the course of this time period, funding has shifted from solely local sources to a shared funding responsibility between local, state, and to some small degree federal sources. The second theme is that with the funding shift came different entities prioritizing how funds were directed. And finally, the third theme that surfaces is that the most influential decision makers are no longer limited to elected officials or

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[150] Ibid., 30.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid., 34.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Dryfoos, "Full-Service Community Schools: Creating New Institutions;" Guthrie, "School Finance: Fifty Years of Expansion;" Howell and Miller, "Sources of Funding for Schools."
[155] Dryfoos, "Full-Service Community Schools: Creating New Institutions," 399.

governance structures alone. Partnering a study of the history of non-instructional services provided by schools with an examination of the origins and motives as reconstructed through personnel patterns generates important considerations for the study of education policy. I turn now to explore two scholars whose work is instrumental for understanding the literature of non-instructional services.

Michael Sedlak

The literature is rich with contributors from the accomplished social historians. Michael Sedlak is among the most influential in the field of adolescent services and has produced seminal work examining the history of youth and the services provided through public schools. Sedlak, along with co-author Robert Church, produced the Final Report for the National Institute of Education in 1982 titled, "A History of Social Services Delivered to Youth, 1880-1977."[156] Through this report alone, Sedlak examined (mostly in the Chicago area) school district archives including correspondence, memoranda, reports, handwritten board of education proceedings and budgets, and newspaper clippings.[157] Sedlak very meticulously reconstructed the introduction, disappearance, and re-introduction of various social service efforts through the public school house during the almost-century time period of 1880-1977. The role of civic groups, the influence of the wealthy, the induction of federal policies are all organized by Sedlak to demonstrate this on-going sentiment to leverage the local school house and school people to address needs beyond academic for youth.

My inquiry into the school delivered, non-instructional services provided in one school system is in many ways a microcosm extension of the inquiry Sedlak and Church first originated when reporting to the National Institute of Education in 1982. Additionally, I aim to identify the formalizing of services by examining personnel and position changes through the Superintendent's Annual Reports over almost a half-century.

In addition to the original research conducted by Sedlak and Church, Sedlak has continued to explore the needs of adolescents and the formalized and informal approaches to identifying and meeting those needs. He has partnered his exploration of school-based services,

[156] Sedlak and Church, "A History of Social Services Delivered to Youth, 1880-1977."
[157] Ibid., ii.

with funding mechanisms, and an evaluation of local non-profit priorities, initiatives, and interests. The publications of Sedlak are important foundations for the nature of this inquiry and the body of literature developed through Sedlak's findings is an important guide in furthering the question regarding origins and motives of school delivered, non-instructional services.

Sedlak's most prominent contribution to the literature is his study of the history and evolution of social services in public school settings. His studies date back to the late 1800s and he consistently uncovers the tensions that developed under the school house roof as a result of expanding the role of public education. Sedlak refers to these services primarily as social services or non-academic services throughout his writings. He refers to schools as public schools or occasionally multipurpose social service institutions.[158] Sedlak presents in his research the significant changes from volunteerism, to professionalization, to institutionalizing of service delivery over the century. In the late 1800s and into the early 1900s, Sedlak writes,

> educational progressives affirmed the indispensable role of schools in serving virtually every domestic economic and social problem: urban and labor disorder, the alienation of the lower classes, deteriorating public health and sanitation, Immigrant communities in need of Americanization, spreading immortality, physical disability, and severe family disorganization that contributed to juvenile delinquency and ultimately to adult crime.[159]

Schools were increasingly viewed at this time as essential to improving the conditions of local communities and maintaining order, health, and productivity. The impetus for incorporating social services into the role of the school house initiated from influential forces outside of schools but it was the public-service orientated women's groups that were most instrumental in developing and delivering the early phases of non-academic services at schools. In the era before services were professionalized, volunteers…donated food to schools for the first

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[158] Sedlak and Schlossman, "The Public School and Social Services: Reassessing the Progressive Legacy," 371-383.
[159] Michael W. Sedlak, "The Uneasy Alliance of Mental Health Services and the Schools: An Historical Perspective," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 67 no. 3 (July 1997): 349-361.

subsidized lunch programs…recruited physicians…organized medical inspections and inoculations, eyeglasses, warm coats and hot lunches…dentists…and an assortment of health educators and nutrition experts to improve the physical conditions of students whose lives were spent too often on the debilitating streets.[160] "Nearly everywhere school lunches were introduced only because volunteer and charity organizations subsidized or paid entirely for the venture.[161] Mental health services and guidance counselors first originated during this time period as well. The first psychological institutions were erected at local universities in partnership with public schools. The first major purpose of these clinics was to care for the "blind, deaf, feebleminded, and delinquent children."[162]

Sedlak's review of the history of social services as they are first introduced in public schools is unsettling to me as a reader and researcher. I cannot help but interpret through his descriptive language choice that there were great pressures placed on schools and school people to address all of the perceived societal changes, more specifically differences, of the time. I also cannot help but draw that parallel to the pressures put on public school personnel today. Influential, external forces are turning to public schools as the place where services should be provided to children in need. And just like at the turn of the 20th Century, I see that today there is a master narrative that makes many assumptions about what the child considered to be in need should have to improve his or her mental and moral health and be better equipped to contribute to society. And there was the presence of controversy in the early 1900s. Schools lunches, for example were considered the introduction of a public subsidy and there were critics who claimed this opened the door for socialism in the schools.[163] There were also families who did not

[160] Ibid.
[161] Sedlak and Schlossman, "The Public School and Social Services: Reassessing the Progressive Legacy," 373.
[162] Ibid., 351.
[163] Sedlak and Schlossman, "The Public School and Social Services: Reassessing the Progressive Legacy."

appreciate the meal choices provided by the volunteer women's groups because they were not representative of the child's home culture.

Also, just as is true at the turn of the 20th Century, there was not an influx of funding or additional professional expertise added to the functions of a school house. Instead, in 1900, schools depended on volunteers and women organizations. Today, schools rely on many similar sources. My investigation into the nature of school-delivered, non-instructional services is specific to the formal evolution of positions and personnel. Sedlak, however, is able to capture many informal arrangements that have influenced the formalizing that has occurred over the past century. Sedlak writes,

> Contrary to what is often implied, the Great Society reforms generally did not represent a major break with, or an alien, radical addition to, past education thought. The reforms built conspicuously on the American "progressive" educational tradition which, from the early twentieth century onward, has challenged schools to educate the 'whole child' and to provide lower-class minority students with health, welfare, and counseling services to speed the integration into the majority culture.[164]

Sedlak's research and contribution to the literature is primarily historical in nature and relies on copious primary sources to tell the story of serving students through public schools. However, also evident throughout his writing is his critique of the awkward relationships that seem to have always existed (and continue to exist) between schools (boards of educations, administrators, and teachers) and services providers (social workers, therapists, counselors, and medical providers).[165] Sedlak records his research findings in a way that reveals not only his interpretation of the evolution of social services over time, but he simultaneously reveals its impact as a "symbolic expression of community values, definitions, and aspirations."[166]

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[164] Ibid.
[165] Sedlak, "The Uneasy Alliance of Mental Health Services and the Schools: An Historical Perspective."
[166] Michael W. Sedlak, "Review of *In Whose Best Interest? Child Welfare Reform in the Progressive Era* by Susan Tiffin," *Educational Studies* 14, no. 2 (Summer 1983): 136-143.

Sedlak's study of the evolution of social services provided in public education is further documented as the volunteerism of the late 1800s and early 1900s turns to professionalization of services following World War I. Schools began to more consistently employ visiting teachers, counselors, and school psychologists. It wasn't until the passage of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965*, however, that schools had access to federal revenue to support some of the positions associated with social welfare.[167] Professionals providing social services to students and their families were often at the whim of politics and policymakers and throughout the 1960s and into the 70s, the positions of counselors, psychologists, social workers, and medical professionals ebbed and flowed. However, during the late 1970s and into the 1980s, several pieces of federal legislation, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975 and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act of 1990 mandated that states and districts provide "comparatively comprehensive social welfare, mental health, physical therapy, medical, and other services considered "related" to, or supportive of, academic education."[168]

Sedlak is able to capture the changing dynamics for social services as they are provided through public schools from volunteers, to credentialed professionals, to legally required school service personnel. Even though schools have come to provide a "broad range of non-academic social services in health, counseling and guidance, recreation, vocational preparation, psychological therapy, and social welfare"[169] Sedlak writes,

> providers of nonacademic services have struggled to retain a role in the lives of school children, their services are often thought of as 'frills' by the teachers of core academic subjects and by politicians and taxpayers unconvinced of the necessity of investing local resources in indirect educational efforts.[170]

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[167] Sedlak, "The Uneasy Alliance of Mental Health Services and the Schools: An Historical Perspective."
[168] Ibid., 359.
[169] Sedlak, "The Origins and Evolution of Social Work in the Schools, 1906-1970."
[170] Sedlak, "The Uneasy Alliance of Mental Health Services and the Schools: An Historical Perspective," 349.

Sedlak provides the foundation for which my inquiry has been built. His historical studies of social services provided through public education has served to inform me as a researcher, guided me as I developed this inquiry, and through conversation with him directly, he has helped me better engage in this field.

Joy Dryfoos

Joy Dryfoos offers a different approach to the study of school delivered, non-instructional services by devoting her research efforts to examining formalized, school-linked services (also referred to as full-service community schools, full-service schools, or community schools). Dryfoos was critical of the "blame (placed on schools) for the ubiquitous achievement gap between low-income children and their wealthier peers" because she argued that "schools alone cannot fix a society that allows poor children to fail."[171] Dryfoos examined models in which community resources intersected at the school house while external funding and expertise partnered with the educators at the local school. Dryfoos spent most of her research energy on evaluating the effectiveness of such community schools and examining the scalability of such models. Through case studies, one in Chicago and several in California, Dryfoos pointed to the effectiveness of integrating the expertise of multiple agencies at the school house door.

The full-service community school model addresses the growing burden on school people and school facilities to serve the social, emotional, and health related needs of a community and also suggests more specialized care and services. This formal approach to serving communities in economic distress is not the focus of my inquiry because I am more narrowly focused on conditions in which formal inter-agency relationships are lacking or absent. Dryfoos, however, represents a very important contributor to the body of literature that positions the school house in

[171] Joy Dryfoos, "Centers of Hope," *Educational Leadership* (April 2008): 38.

a way that supplements the educational services with the resources and expertise of outside personnel and agencies. The operating principles for Dryfoos were simple, and align appropriately with the principles of this inquiry. "Children cannot learn unless their basic needs are met; support services for children and families will have little impact unless cognitive development is taken care of."[172] According to Dryfoos, and The Coalition for Community Schools, the definition of a full-service community school is as follows:

> A community school operating in a public school building is open to students, families, and the community before, during, and after school, seven days a week, all year long. It is jointly operated and financed through a partnership between the school system and one or more community agencies. Families, young people, principals, teachers, youth workers, neighborhood residents, college faculty members, college students, and businesspeople all work together to design and implement a plan for transforming the school into a child-centered institution.[173]

A full-service community school provides support to families in child-rearing, employment, and housing and also provides medical, dental, and mental health services on site.[174] Dryfoos also prioritized in her writing the role of a community center director and professionals directly from the field in which the service is provided.

Dryfoos also successfully articulates the challenges that educators face today to provide services for which they have received no formal training and in turn compromise the instructional services they were actually trained to deliver. Without the formal interconnectedness of multiple agencies to develop and deliver social services to youth, educators cannot adequately do their job teaching children.[175] The late Senator Edward Kennedy provided a review of Dryfoos's book, *Full-Service Schools* and said, "As Joy Dryfoos makes

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[172] Joy Dryfoos, "Full-Service Community Schools: Creating New Institutions," *The Phi Delta Kappan* 83, no. 5 (January 2002): 393-399.
[173] Ibid., 394.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Dryfoos, "School-Based Social and Health Services for At-Risk Students."

clear, more services under the school roof mean better education too. Putting real social services in schools means more teachers can stop being part-time social workers and start being full-time teachers again."[176]

Dryfoos was critical of the endless parade of remedial school-based programs.[177] Her research indicated that these efforts, while well-intentioned, only led to temporary attitudinal change, not actual permanent help for students.[178] Instead, Dryfoos advocated for total health care facilities, student mental health services; student counseling, recreational, and personal development centers; and family resource centers that are housed on school campuses but funded by and provided by external professional organizations. On example exists in Oregon where the Multnomah County Health Division organized a Teen Health Center to provide free, comprehensive health care at Roosevelt High School.[179] The center is funded through both private and public funds and in the 1986 school year, about two-thirds of the student body used the center making 2,500 visits in total.[180] This model that gave on-campus, health care, access to high school students that was funded with non-school dollars and delivered by non-school personnel is the type of model that Dryfoos highlighted and applauded. She spent much of her research career evaluating the effectiveness of such programs and providing consultation on replicating the model.

Dryfoos was not oblivious to the complexities of unifying multiple agencies and service providers to intersect with public schools. She also contributed many unique relationship models and funding examples throughout her work so that the sustainability of such models was not dependent solely on the presence of grant funding or fundraised monies. Some examples of

[176] Review provided by Senator Edward Kennedy in the publication of the book. See Joy Dryfoos. *Full-Service Schools* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass, 1998).
[177] Dryfoos, "School-Based Social and Health Services for At-Risk Students."
[178] Ibid.
[179] Ibid.
[180] Ibid.

unique models include medical schools and university partnerships, community health agencies, voluntary social agencies, foundations, businesses, and even private donors.[181]

This investigation builds on the legacy of contributors such as Michael Sedlak and Joy Dryfoos. As I disentangle the initiation and impulse of a set of school delivered, non-instructional services, I aim to re-construct the origination of such services through the examination of school-based personnel as revealed in local school repositories. Of all of the researchers that have contributed to the field of non-instructional services delivered through schools, I have included more detail regarding Michael Sedlak and Joy Dryfoos because of their unique contributions to the field. Sedlak is the researcher providing the most comprehensive examination of the evolution of social services from the turn of the 19th century. And Dryfoos, took the approach of actually formally reorganizing social welfare programs so that they were unified by the schools and comprehensively representative of specific expertise and funding streams. Both Sedlak and Dryfoos are commonly cited in further research in this field and are pointed to as seminary contributors to this line of inquiry.[182]

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[181] Ibid.

[182] "Michael Sedlak," *Michigan State University. College of Education*, accessed December 29, 2015, http://education.msu.edu/search/formview.aspx?email=msedlak%40msu.edu. Michael Sedlak is a professor of the history of education and Associate Dean for Academic Affairs and Michigan State University. According to his biography available on the Michigan State University website, Sedlak's scholarly work has focused on the "evolution of youth policy in education, social welfare, and delinquency prevention and remediation programs; high school reform; and the history of professions and professional education;" Antioch College Obituary: Joy Dryfoos, '51," *Antioch College*, accessed December 29, 2015, http://www.antiochcollege.org/news/obituaries/obituary-joy-g-dryfoos-51. The late Joy Dryfoos is "credited with originating the concept of full-service community schools." She received a bachelor's degree from Antioch College in 1951 and a master's degree in urban sociology from Sarah Lawrence College in 1966. See, also, Gloria Negri, "Joy Dryfoos, 86; Championed Full-Service Community Schools." *The Boston Globe (*April 1, 2012), accessed on December 29, 2015, https://www.bostonglobe.com/metro/obituaries/2012/04/01/joy-dryfoos-championed-full-service-community-schools/05R5DLichcxnxbrriy06aL/story.html. Dryfoos described herself as an activist masquerading as a researcher. Dryfoos was passionate about meeting the needs of children and families by partnering social service agencies and experts and funding with the school to provide a full-service school concept.

Chapter 3 – Historical Context

Cobb County, Georgia

This historical example specifically analyzes the Superintendent's Annual Reports from one school system located in the metro-Atlanta area, Cobb County, Georgia. At the onset of this study, 1938-39, Cobb County was considered a rural community home to just about 38,000 people. By the year 2000, Cobb County, Georgia was home to about 688,000 people and considered a diverse urban and suburban community. The growth experienced by this metro community during the time period studied, from 1938-39 to 1976-77, makes it an appropriate case study environment. See Appendix A for an overview of the growth in Cobb County.

History of Cobb County

It became increasingly evident throughout this inquiry that the history of schools in Cobb County, and the school district of Cobb County, could not be discussed in isolation from the history of the county itself. This chapter is dedicated to generating the context for which schools existed, changed, and grew. Cobb County is located adjacent to and just northwest of the city of Atlanta. Cobb was one of the nine counties created in 1832 from the Cherokee Indian territory.[183] It was the 84th county established out of 159 counties in Georgia.[184] The land was initially home to Native Americans who had settled the area.[185] The county "was named for the Judge Thomas W. Cobb, a former U.S. senator."[186] Thomas W. Cobb was born in 1784 in Columbus, Georgia and served as a U.S. Representative to the 15th and 16th Congresses from

[183] "Cobb County," *GeorgiaGov*, accessed October 17, 2015, http://georgia.gov/cities-counties/cobb-county, "Cobb County," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, accessed October 17, 2015 http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/counties-cities-neighborhoods/cobb-county.
[184] "Cobb County," *Genealogy Society of Cobb County Georgia*, accessed December 29, 2015, http://www.cobbgagensoc.org/cobb_history.htm.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Ibid.

1817 – 1821.[187] He served again, after losing re-election for the 17th Congress but was elected to the 18th Congress from 1823 – 1824.[188] He resigned from Congress in 1824 due to his election as a U.S. Senator which he served until 1828.[189] Following his time in the U.S. Congress and Senate, Judge Thomas W. Cobb was a judge of the superior court of Georgia until he died in 1830; just two years before the establishment of Cobb County which was named in his honor.[190] The county seat is Marietta City, named for Judge Cobb's wife.[191] Marietta City is located within the boundaries of Cobb County but is the only city in the county to operate its own school system. The school system for Marietta City began in 1892.[192] The pioneer settlers of Cobb County "put up log cabins near the springs, and built a one-room courthouse which was also used for church services and for all community affairs."[193] "Within a few years the Cobb County Academy had been organized, several churches had been built, and the log courthouse had been replaced by a two-story frame building."[194]

In the year 1900, Cobb County was the 16th largest county in the state of Georgia with 24,664 residents.[195] At the turn of the 20th Century, 30 percent of the population of Cobb County had African roots.[196] And although the abolition of slavery may have resulted after the Civil War, there was hardly equality for Blacks.[197] For the nearly 100 years following the end of the Civil War, Cobb County "suffered the same afflictions that plagued most of Georgia: a depressed

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[187] Thomas Allan Scott, "Cobb County," New Georgia Encyclopedia, last modified September 29, 2015, http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/.
[188] Ibid.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Ibid.
[193] Burnette Vanstory, "Marietta," *The Georgia Review* 12 no. 1 (Spring 1958): 41.
[194] Ibid., 41.
[195] Thomas Allan Scott, *Cobb County, Georgia and the Origins of the Suburban South, A Twentieth-Century History* (Cobb Landmarks and Historical Society, Inc. Marietta, GA, 2003).
[196] Ibid., xiv.
[197] Ibid., 1.

farm economy, low wage industries, and one-party politics built on white supremacy."[198] In the early years of the 1900s, legal restrictions became increasingly established to "severely limit the rights of African-Americans."[199] The rise of the Ku Klux Klan, white supremacy, and anti-urbanism defined the county in the 1900s. Thomas Allan Scott writes,

> Possessing a world view shaped by fears of black power and northern domination, southern white voters resolved not to let blacks or Republicans hold positions of authority again…In 1900 Georgia Democrats started holding white primaries to choose their candidates, confining the black vote to the general election. Eight years later, the voters adopted a Constitutional amendment…that created a literacy test and other devices to further disenfranchise black males.[200]

Cobb County started the 20th Century as a poor and racially segregated county that was struggling to survive economically.[201] The segregation, specifically, cannot be understated as a significant backdrop for this particular study regarding schools. Allen described the interesting dichotomy that existed in Cobb County by saying that although there was a neighborly feel among blacks and whites living in the same communities, there was the simultaneous construction of laws and unspoken privileges segregating blacks.[202] "In Marietta and elsewhere, Jim Crow ordinances segregated blacks into poorly funded schools, excluded them from restaurants or hotels that served whites, and forced them to use separate public water fountains and bathrooms."[203] Like many southern communities, the black population in Cobb County proceeded to decrease, as the total population increased, in the early decades of the 20th Century.[204] The 7,330 blacks that comprised 30% of the total population in 1900 decreased to

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[198] Scott, "Cobb County," *New Georgia Encyclopedia.*
[199] Ibid., 1.
[200] Ibid., 2.
[201] Ibid.
[202] Ibid.
[203] Ibid., 24.
[204] Scott, *Cobb County, Georgia and the Origins of the Suburban South, A Twentieth-Century History*, 54-55.

26% of the total population of 28,396 in 1910.[205] In 1920, 6,645 blacks made up the 30,437 total population which was now just 22%.[206] In 1930, there were 6,540 blacks making up 18% of the 35,408 total population and then in 1940 the black population was 6,280, which contributed to 16% of the total 38,272 population.[207] This trend is reflective of the Great Migration of blacks from many southern cities who left the economic conditions, Jim Crow laws, and limited opportunities in pursuit for a life in the north.[208]

According to Allen, it was not until the early 1940s that the county began to progress on the shoulders of Bell Aircraft which moved to Cobb County in 1942 to produce the B-20 bombers.[209] Allen points to the Bell Bomber plant relocating to Marietta as the catalyst for what became phenomenal growth in Cobb County following World War II.[210] Yet, this news was met with significant controversy as opponents feared, "that the town would be overrun by criminals, gamblers, and honky-tonk operators; that hordes of foreigners would take over everything; that Bell Aircraft executives would be robber barons who exploited the masses and created unwanted labor strife, that Bell would abandon Marietta as soon as the war ended, leaving a ghost town behind; and that the quiet life of the community would be destroyed forever.[211] The Bell Bomber plant, nevertheless, made its home in Cobb County and ultimately employed some 28,000 workers at its peak.[212] Women found employment during these years of the war, as did many disabled workers. African Americans, however, were limited to menial jobs and the Bell plant did little to respond to the numerous complaints of discrimination.[213] The Bell Bomber

[205] Ibid., 55.
[206] Ibid.
[207] Ibid.
[208] Ibid., 54.
[209] Scott, "Cobb County," *New Georgia Encyclopedia.*
[210] Scott, *Cobb County, Georgia and the Origins of the Suburban South, A Twentieth-Century History.*
[211] Ibid., 141.
[212] Ibid., 159.
[213] Ibid.

plant became a significant employer in Cobb County and central to the economy. In addition to the building of the B-20 bomber, the plant required facility construction and maintenance as well as county infrastructure. During this time, the paving of roads increased and the infrastructure for laying pipe for water and sewage was established.[214] However, after the conclusion of World War II, the plant became less useful and closed in 1945, causing employment rates in Cobb County to plummet. The plant sat vacant for five years until 1951, when the air force awarded the facility to the Lockheed Corporation, which today is considered one of the largest employers in Cobb County.[215]

Lockheed's early days were also met with initial controversy as Cobb community members anticipated that Lockheed would leave as quickly at the conclusion of the Korean War as the Bell Bomber plant closed after World War II.[216] Lockheed had seen past challenges in sustaining success in aircraft construction, but the new start in Marietta, Georgia proved to start a new chapter for Lockheed and for the surrounding Cobb County. As Lockheed grew, and employment in Lockheed grew, the county benefited from economic stability. Under the leadership of just one County Commissioner, the county built its infrastructure of water, sewage, and roads over the next decade.[217] The population of the county grew from 38,000 in 1940 to 150,000 by 1965.[218]

The next decade in Cobb County saw extensive development to the infrastructure of the community. The county passed another bond referendum to support a county-wide development of parks and libraries. Additionally, the fine arts became centrally important to the culture of the community. The focus on fine arts was credited to the accelerated influx of affluent and well

[214] Ibid.
[215] Scott, "Cobb County," *New Georgia Encyclopedia.*
[216] Scott, "Cobb County," *New Georgia Encyclopedia;* Scott, *Cobb County, Georgia and the Origins of the Suburban South, A Twentieth-Century History*.
[217] Ibid.
[218] Ibid., 236.

educated people that relocated to Cobb during this decade.[219] Cobb community members initiated a Cobb County Arts Council and the Cobb County Symphony Orchestra, a Fine Arts Club, and several stage and theater venues. The priority of fine arts in the community culminated with the establishment of the Marietta/Cobb Museum of Art. Each of these organizations and venues benefitted from dedicated financial support from county and city governments which in the 1990s began to raise questions from conservative constituents who saw expenditures on fine arts as wasteful.[220]

Roads and sewer lines continued to expand in the late 1960s, as did the concept of a rapid transit network, the Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority (MARTA). In November 1964, the general election for the five counties surrounding Atlanta, along with the City of Atlanta, had an amendment to the constitution related to the development of the transit system. Each county passed the amendment, with the slightest margin of victory occurring in Cobb County. Following the amendment to the Constitution, each of the five counties and Atlanta were to hold a second vote to "ascertain the wishes of the local people."[221] In this second vote, the Cobb community this time defeated the proposal so in January 1966, MARTA was established without Cobb. There was some sentiment that Cobb voters did not want their taxes affected by the development of a multi-county project and feared that there would be limited benefit to Cobb citizens. Others feared that the voters' decision would harm the county in the long run and overtime have a negative impact on the economic stability and growth of businesses in the community. "A popular misconception is that Cobb's negative vote reflected a racist desire to keep African Americans out of the county."[222] Cobb was still grappling with race

[219] Scott, *Cobb County, Georgia and the Origins of the Suburban South, A Twentieth-Century History,* 64.
[220] Ibid.
[221] Ibid., 432.
[222] Ibid., 433.

relations and was specifically stalled on integration models for the school system so this defeated MARTA vote further portrayed Cobb as unfriendly.

As Cobb County heads toward the latter quarter of the 20th Century, there continued to be tremendous growth with Lockheed, eventually merging with Marietta Martin to become the Lockheed Martin we know today. Additionally, the founders of The Home Depot were home to Cobb and the corporate headquarters located within Cobb County. One important note about the establishment of The Home Depot, is that the founders, Arthur Blank and Bernard Marcus were of Jewish decent. Cobb had not been accepting of Jews throughout its history with the highest profile lynching occurring in 1915 of Leo Frank. That incident had prevented many Jews from residing in Cobb, however, the latter decades of the 20th Century saw that change. The Jewish community began to grow rapidly with the history of Cobb County seemingly no longer scarring outsiders' perceptions as they chose to move to Cobb.[223] In addition to Lockheed Martin and Home Depot, Cobb was home to the world-wide headquarters or a regional headquarters for 117 of the Fortune 500 Companies and 115 international firms.[224]

In the year 2000, Cobb County looked like a completely different community than had existed 100 years prior. What was once a rural, provincial, and poor community was now prosperous, diverse, and financially strong.[225] Race relations were a divisive topic for Cobb County throughout the early half of the 1900s, but at the start of the 2000s, Cobb's leadership represented African American leaders, Jewish leaders, and female leaders.

[223] Ibid.
[224] Ibid., 783.
[225] Ibid.

History of Cobb County Schools

The first evidence of formal schooling in Cobb County appears in the late 1830s with the establishment of the Cobb County Academy.[226] The Cobb County School System was considered a poor, rural community of schools. "In 1920 the county school system outside Marietta operated on slightly above fifty-six thousand dollars, with about twenty thousand dollars coming from county taxes and the rest from the state. The small sum supported 50 schools for whites and twenty schools for blacks, many one or two room frame structures."[227] As the development of roads improved, there were many Cobb citizens who linked this to an opportunity to consolidate schoolhouses. The roads, coupled with a 1920 Georgia constitutional amendment allowing counties to hold bond referenda, the county proceeded to consolidate several schools. Locust Grove and Smyrna approved bonds in 1920 for brick schools followed by Powder Springs in 1922, Blackwell in 1926, and then Mountain View and Olive Springs in 1928.[228] Each consolidated school served grades 1-9 and provided modern school houses for a majority of white children by 1930.[229]

The oldest high school in Cobb County traces its roots back to the Olive Springs Community School established in 1881. In 1919, one of its faculty members, Robert L. Osborne, became principal of the community school. Over the following 10 years, Osborne moved out of a Baptist Church facility into a consolidated school house and grew from three teachers to 10 teachers serving 350 white students in grades 1-9. In 1938, still under the principalship of Robert L. Osborne, the school became a fully accredited high school and graduated its first class

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[226] Burnette Vanstory, "Marietta."
[227] Scott, *Cobb County, Georgia and the Origins of the Suburban South, A Twentieth-Century History*, 64.
[228] Ibid.
[229] "Up To Date Building and Efficient Teachers Class Olive Springs Consolidated School as Modern," *Marietta Journal* (May 9, 1929): 33, 36, accessed January 7, 2016, http://nl.newsbank.com/nl-search/we/Archives/?p_product=HA-MDJ&p_theme=histpaper&p_nbid=&p_action=doc&toc=true&p_docref=v2:11CE19BA057D85A2@HA-MDJ-1318BE7267DDA03A@2425741-13181D63EBA5C040@35.

in 1939 of 25 students; 13 boys and 12 girls.[230] In 1936, the school was renamed to R.L. Osborne High School in honor of the principal that ultimately served the school for 49 years.

Prior to 1920, the Georgia constitution prevented any funds from being dedicated to the establishment of secondary schools. "Apparently, many landlords considered public high schools to be frills, unneeded by simple farmers."[231] However, in 1906, then-Governor Joseph M. Terrell proposed creating agricultural high schools that would be connected to the farming needs of the community. One of the agricultural schools was established in Cobb County after John N. McEachern donated two-hundred and forty acres of land near Macland Road.[232] Opening in 1908, the school was designed for boys and included a dormitory and a dining hall (a girls' dormitory was added in 1912).[233] The campus of the Seventh District Agricultural and Mechanical School at Macland, Cobb County, Georgia opened in 1908 with 50 students and peeked with an enrollment of 200 in 1918. As more funds became available for secondary schooling throughout the state, the Agricultural and Mechanical Schools became less essential and many either closed or were repurposed.[234] In 1933, the institution was converted to John McEachern High School in Cobb County.[235] In 1949, the widow of John McEachern donated her Life Insurance Company (her husband's business) stock to the school creating an endowment that continues to this day.[236]

While the white schools in Cobb County began to consolidate into modern school facilities with indoor plumbing and sewage, the black schools remained the same. The 20 black

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[230] "Osborne High School," *Osborne High School,* accessed October 17, 2015, http://www.cobbk12.org/osborne/history.aspx.
[231] Scott, *Cobb County, Georgia and the Origins of the Suburban South, A Twentieth-Century History,* 67.
[232] Ibid.
[233] Ibid.
[234] Bowling C. Yates, *Historic Highlights in Cobb County* (Cobb Exchange Bank, Marietta, Georgia, 1973).
[235] Ibid.
[236] Ibid.

schools remained typically one room school houses that went through sixth grade.[237] Cobb County did not have any high school for black students so students either went to a high school in Atlanta or attended the high school for blacks in Marietta City on Lemon Street. There was an agreement between the officials on the Boards of Education in Cobb County and Marietta City that Cobb County would allocate funds from their school system to the Marietta School System for the educating of black, high school students. In 1937, the state of Georgia began providing funds to school districts for the purpose of purchasing textbooks for every student.[238] However, as many other counties also did, Cobb used those funds to purchase new textbooks for the white schools and then when the textbooks became worn down or out-of-date they were allocated to the black schools.[239]

The success of the Bell plant and the simultaneous population growth, resulted in the Cobb County School district expanding from a small rural system during World War II to the second largest in Georgia and thirtieth largest in the nation by the year 2000. During the World War II era, Francis T. Wills served as the county's elected superintendent. He faced many of the common problems faced by rural communities in the south. Property owners were largely farm owners who did not have significant sums of additional cash available for property and/or school taxes.[240] Therefore the constituency favored low taxes, limited schooling, and low salaries for school employees.[241] There was very little support for any form of high schooling as that was perceived frivolous.[242] Just before resigning, Wills died of a heart attack after a school board meeting in 1944.[243]

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[237] Scott, *Cobb County, Georgia and the Origins of the Suburban South, A Twentieth-Century History.*
[238] Ibid.
[239] Ibid.
[240] Ibid.
[241] Ibid.
[242] Ibid.
[243] Ibid.

The superintendent to follow was elected in the Democratic primary a few weeks after the death of Francis Wills. During this time, Republicans did not field any candidates for county office and a primary victory was final and W. Paul Sprayberry became the superintendent for the next 16 years (1944-1960). During this time, the county saw great economic growth and standard of living improvements due to the success of the bomber plant and Sprayberry took advantage of this momentum to improve the quality of the schools.[244] His two most notable initiatives include the origination of a band program through the leadership and instruction of Ken Stanton and the passing of a bond referendum of $1.5 million to finance new school construction. In 1952, Campbell, South Cobb, and Sprayberry high schools opened due to the revenue generated from the successful referendum campaign.[245]

Also, during this time period, Sprayberry was at the helm to manage the school system's response to the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) U.S. Supreme Court ruling. Sprayberry urged the public to stay calm, patient, and resolute while elected officials worked to preserve the public school system.[246] The reaction and action of the Cobb County School District, however, fell in greater context to the reaction of the state of Georgia.[247] Specifically, then-Governor Herman Talmadge (1948-1955) "persuaded Georgians to amend the state constitution, authorizing the governor to close the public schools, if necessary, to prevent

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[244] Ibid.
[245] Ibid.
[246] "Sprayberry Asks for 'Calm' Attitude About Segregation," *Marietta Daily Journal* (May 20, 1954): 1, accessed January 7, 2016, http://nl.newsbank.com/nl-search/we/Archives/Archives?d_viewref=doc&p_docnum=-1&f_docref=v2:11CE19BA057D85A2@HA-MDJ-132043CFA9EC7BA0@2434883-13203FE91697B8D0@0&p_docref=v2:11CE19BA057D85A2@HA-MDJ-132043CFA9EC7BA0@2434883-13203FE91697B8D0@0.
[247] "Local Leaders Avoid Comment on Ruling Banning Segregation," *Marietta Daily Journal* (May 18, 1954): 1, accessed January 7, 2016, http://nl.newsbank.com/nl-search/we/Archives/Archives?d_viewref=doc&p_docnum=-1&f_docref=v2:11CE19BA057D85A2@HA-MDJ-132043CE491D4C38@2434881-13203FD1CF32BF40@0&p_docref=v2:11CE19BA057D85A2@HA-MDJ-132043CE491D4C38@2434881-13203FD1CF32BF40@0.

integration."[248] At the same time, the General Assembly decreed that "any school district attempting to desegregate on its own would lose all state funding."[249] Talmadge's successor in 1955, Marvin Griffin (1955-1959), ran for office claiming that "Georgia's most cherished values were segregation and the county unit system."[250] Following Griffin, Ernest Vandiver ran in 1958 with the slogan, "no, not one," 'meaning no black child should attend a white school.'[251] It is significant to note that the 1954 anti-integration amendment initiated by then-Governor Talmadge passed in the state of Georgia by only a narrow margin and was actually defeated in Cobb County. Thomas A. Scott described Cobb as comfortable with segregation; so comfortable that colored signs and white signs were painted throughout the community.[252] But Cobb County was also at this time benefitting from strong economic growth and there was an interest in appearing attractive to future industries looking for a home. That being said, there was no movement or plan for movement to integrate any of the schools in Cobb County in the years immediately following the *Brown* decision. In the 1959-60 school year, Cobb County operated three elementary schools (Acworth Colored School (formerly a Rosenwald School), Austell Colored School, and Rose Garden Hills) and no high schools for approximately 700 black students.[253] In the same year, the county operated twenty-five elementary schools and six high schools for 21,000 white students. The only option for black, high school students in Cobb County was to attend Lemon Street High School in the Marietta City School District and the

[248] Scott, *Cobb County, Georgia and the Origins of the Suburban South, A Twentieth-Century History*, 276.
[249] Ibid., 277.
[250] Ibid., 276.
[251] Paul E. Mertz, "Mind-Changing Time All Over Georgia: HOPE, INC. and School Desegregation, 1958-1961," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 77, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 41-61.
[252] Scott, *Cobb County, Georgia and the Origins of the Suburban South, A Twentieth-Century History.*
[253] Cobb County Board of Education Minutes, 10 June 1959, The Cobb County Board of Education Records, Marietta, Georgia.

Cobb County Board of Education transferred funds to the Marietta City Board of Education for the 115 Cobb students that attended.[254]

As the 1960s began, the tension surrounding integration heightened and the NAACP successfully organized to pressure Atlanta, Cobb, and Marietta City toward the development of an integration plan. Atlanta Public Schools was the only one of the three districts to take "token steps" toward developing that plan.[255] The real contention emerged in March of 1960 when John Sibley, the chairman of the Georgia's school study commission, began holding public hearings around the state. Sibley opened his meetings with the statement that the commission is "trying to determine if there's enough statesmanship in Georgia to save its public schools."[256] He then required each presenter to indicate whether he or she "favored maintain status quo at the risk of seeing schools closed or doing whatever necessary to keep schools open."[257] This divisive approach generated strong activity among an organization called the Cobb County White Citizens for Segregation. This organization hosted town hall meetings, took out ads in the local newspapers, and ran a marketing campaign with local businesses by putting an "S" sticker in the window of a business that agreed to support segregation in return for preferential business.[258] The actions of the Cobb County White Citizens and similar activity by the Ku Klux Klan in Cobb divided the county. Many outspoken opponents to this activity claimed it was an embarrassment on the community and not representative of the peaceful and accepting place it was to live and work.[259]

Nevertheless, Cobb County did not approach the concept of integration for the 10 years following *Brown v. Board of Education*. In March of 1965, and with increased pressure

[254] Ibid.
[255] Paul E. Mertz, "Mind-Changing Time All Over Georgia: HOPE, INC. and School Desegregation, 1958-1961."
[256] Ibid., 53.
[257] Scott, *Cobb County, Georgia and the Origins of the Suburban South, A Twentieth-Century History*, 281.
[258] Ibid.
[259] Ibid.

following the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Cobb County Board of Education officially agreed to desegregate with a vote of 5-1.[260] Their first attempted plan introduced a five year desegregation plan with the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare subsequently denied. The second plan was also denied; both criticized by the Department for being too slow to fully desegregate. The third and accepted plan desegregated Cobb schools over two years beginning in the 1965-66 school year.[261] The Cobb County approach started with a "Freedom of Choice Plan" much like the plan developed by neighboring Atlanta Public Schools. Letters were mailed home notifying parents that "they could leave their children where they were or enroll them in the nearest school that had sufficient classroom space."[262] At this point, in 1965, the Cobb County School District had never before operated a high school for black students. The Cobb County School Board was interested in maintaining their agreement with Marietta City but Marietta was growing increasingly uncomfortable with the arrangement. The Superintendents from the two systems travelled to Washington, D.C. to discuss in person the dilemma of educating black high school students. They left D.C. with an agreement to give Cobb County's black, high school students a choice to either stay at Lemon Street High School in Marietta or attend a formerly all-white high school in Cobb County; however no more Cobb County students would enroll in the Marietta option beginning that following year. "When county schools opened on September 7, 1965, over fifty African-American students opted to attend previously all-white institutions," while "230 county teenagers were going to Lemon Street, and 1,056 children remained at the three black elementary schools."[263]

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[260] Cobb County Board of Education Minutes, 1 March 1965, 13 May 1965, 18 May 1965, The Cobb County Board of Education Records, Marietta, Georgia.
[261] Scott, *Cobb County, Georgia and the Origins of the Suburban South, A Twentieth-Century History*.
[262] Ibid., 361.
[263] Ibid., 362; Becky Smith, "Mix Plan Begins in Cobb," *Marietta Daily Journal* (September 7, 1965):1, accessed January 7, 2016, http://nl.newsbank.com/nl-search/we/Archives/Archives?d_viewref=doc&p_docnum=-1&f_docref=v2:11CE19BA057D85A2@HA-MDJ-133FE29FCA2751C8@2439011-

At the conclusion of the first year of desegregation, then-Superintendent Griffin recommended a new plan to accelerate the integration of students, faculty, and staff.[264] This created a substantial divide among the board as the plan was approved by a narrow 4-3 vote. Those in favor viewed this as necessary to maintain the $2.5 million dollars in federal aid the district received but those who opposed saw this a further infringement from the federal government on locally elected officials. The narrow victory in Griffin's plan positioned the district to open schools in August of 1966, 11 of the 56 schools had both black and white instructors. The Board selected nine black teachers to go to previously all-white schools and three white teachers to a previously all-black school. This same year, the Board also "hired a black curriculum director, art teacher, and physical education instructor that had offices at the Board of Education and circulated through the schools," along with white speech therapists and visiting teachers.[265] Black high school students could no longer attend Lemon Street High School in Marietta and although the black student populations of the three black elementary schools declined in the years following 1966, the Board of Education still kept those facilities open and bussed students across the county if they wanted to remain at the all-black schools. In 1968, the Inter-Racial Council of Cobb County appeared before the Cobb Board of Education requesting that the all-black elementary schools remain open and serves as a neighborhood schools for black and white children living in proximity.[266] The Board rejected the recommendation, however, claiming that white parents will not tolerate the conditions of the all-

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133FDF9EE65DC700@0&p_docref=v2:11CE19BA057D85A2@HA-MDJ-133FE29FCA2751C8@2439011-133FDF9EE65DC700@0.; Becky Smith, "Marietta Transfers Negroes," *Marietta Daily Journal* (September 8, 1965): 1, http://nl.newsbank.com/nl-search/we/Archives/Archives?d_viewref=doc&p_docnum=-1&f_docref=v2:11CE19BA057D85A2@HA-MDJ-133FE2A2D90E7D60@2439012-133FDFB0F3E3D428@0&p_docref=v2:11CE19BA057D85A2@HA-MDJ-133FE2A2D90E7D60@2439012-133FDFB0F3E3D428@0.

[264] Scott, *Cobb County, Georgia and the Origins of the Suburban South, A Twentieth-Century History.*

[265] Ibid., 364

[266] Ibid.

black schools. By the end of the 1968-69 school year, each of the schools was closed and the students assigned to near-by formerly, all-white schools.

By the 1968-69 school year, all facilities were integrated but not without challenges. While the integration is perceived to have been largely peaceful, there is a sentiment that "integration occurred on white leadership's terms."[267] Thomas A. Scott wrote,

> The white students kept their schools, but black pupils had to travel across town into white neighborhoods. With the closing of black schools, African-American communities lost precious cultural resources. Black parents lost the respect and authority once held in PTA and booster meetings. In time, many of these problems were resolved, but the losses as well as the gains were immense.[268]

The 1970s brought continued growth to Cobb County and continued controversy to the school system. Superintendent Griffin was forced to leave the system in May of 1967 and was replaced by Dr. Alton C. Crews from Huntsville, Alabama.[269] Crews was known for his work in planning for the population growth and improving the curriculum.[270] However, Crews quickly began to make enemies among the board. The primary point of contention for Crews was his perspective that the board tried to interfere with the daily management of the school system.[271] One example of this is the dispute Crews had with the board over the hiring of a strings teacher. After offering the position and a contract to a new employee, Crews faced a majority board who complained that they did not authorize that hire.[272] Crews resigned shortly after in 1972 to take a superintendent position in Charleston, South Carolina.

Following Crews in 1973 was Superintendent Kermit Keenum. Keenum was a local Cobb County educator having been formerly a teacher in neighboring Marietta City, and an

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[267] Ibid., 375.
[268] Ibid.
[269] Ibid.
[270] Ibid.
[271] Ibid.
[272] Ibid.

assistant principal, principal, and assistant superintendent in Cobb County. Keenum was responsible for building many schools, persuaded the community to vote in favor of a $20 million bond referendum, and began the conversion of junior highs (7 – 9th grades) to middle schools (6th – 8th grades).[273] "Societal issues, however, seemed to generate more emotions than the question of whether students could read or write" under the leadership of Superintendent Keenum.[274] In 1979, the Board of Education voted to allow students the option of skipping high school biology classes that included instruction regarding the evolution of man. Community debate ensued regarding the role of creationism in the instruction as well.[275] The Board and Community also debated the role of sex education in schools.[276] Keenum recommended a full sex education program for the middle school years that included a parental permission component. After much debate, Keenum pulled his recommendation for the implementation of the sex education instruction for grades 6, 7, and 8.[277] Keenum faced his last bit of public embarrassment when the U.S. Department of Justice, under President Jimmy Carter's Administration, sued Cobb County over the "shortage of black teachers and the lack of female principals and assistant principals."[278] Keenum believed that the Department of Justice was failing to acknowledge the gains that had been made in recent years but in the end conceded to a more aggressive hiring and promotion strategy of "minority" candidates.[279] Keenum left the district in 1981 but returned to the superintendency in 1989 for a second term. "Shortly after his return, he had the satisfaction of seeing U.S. District Judge Marvin Shoob rule that Cobb had met the court's affirmative action requirements and was no longer subject to the court's jurisdiction."

[273] Ibid.
[274] Ibid., 571.
[275] Ibid.
[276] Ibid.
[277] Ibid.
[278] Ibid.
[279] Note: The term minority used in this context represents the language used at this time in the Cobb County history as it related to the lack of black staff.

After Keenum's departure, the Cobb County School District conducted a national search for a superintendent and ultimately appointed Thomas S. Tocco from Pinellas, Florida.[280] Tocco was at the helm of the district for eight years and during that time he became most notably involved in clashing with the neighboring Marietta School System. He tackled the long-standing land annexation practices of the Marietta City Board of Education and ultimately put an end to those practices after an external recommendation surfaced that the best resolution was to merge the two systems.[281] Marietta City wanted nothing to do with that concept so they retreated on their position regarding land annexation. Tocco also battled over the shared revenue streams between Marietta City and the county and insisted that revenue generated in areas serving county students follow the student so the county budget. Tocco was perceived after his eight years as arrogant and self-centered and left after a contentious struggle over his contract extension to be a superintendent in a small city in Indiana.[282]

After tremendous success as the superintendent in Glynn County, Georgia, Kermit Keenum applied for the head position in Cobb County in 1989 for his second term following the departure of Thomas Toco. Keenum began his second term with a strong commitment to managing the population growth and again successfully secured a voter-passed bond referendum for $59.5 million to facilitate school construction projects including the building of new schools. Two years later the Cobb County voters passed another bond proposal for school construction; this time at $39.6 million.[283] But the environment did not remain stable for Keenum for much longer. Board members began to express concern that Keenum had too many conflicts of interest; especially with the company that handled the county's bond sales. Keenum had been a

[280] Ibid.
[281] Ibid.
[282] Ibid.
[283] Ibid.

consultant for the company, Lex Jolley & Company, in the 1970s and although he had not continued employment relations with the company they were the recipient of a non-bid contract and one board member in particular wrote a private letter to the superintendent which subsequently was leaked to local media outlets.[284] Board members began to further scrutinize the work of Keenum, including other after-hours consulting work he had done that without any warning, "Keenum lost his patience, and to the surprise of a stunned board, announced his retirement."[285]

The remaining years of the 1990s included four more superintendents from 1993-2000. The first in the lineage was a recruited candidate from Oklahoma City Public Schools, Dr. Arthur Stellar. Stellar lasted only six months in Cobb County because an on-going investigation of Stellar in his former district for mishandling money surfaced and created grave concern among the members of the Board of Education. Following Stellar, the Board turned to inside the organization and appointed its first-ever female superintendent, Grace Calhoun. She was hired to "bring calm to the waters" but her critics questioned her vision and ability to lead.[286] Calhoun announced her retirement after just three years. In January of 1997, the Board announced the appointment of then-Nashville Superintendent, Dr. Richard Benjamin. Benjamin was known as a visionary leader and as he came to Cobb County committed to instituting a voter-supported 1% sales tax (Special Purpose Local Option Sales Tax) but the tax proposal was defeated the same year he joined the organization. One year later, the voters overturned the decision with a new vote on the 1% sales tax to support capital improvements in Cobb and Marietta schools. As a result, 12 new schools were funded and built for Cobb County. Benjamin did not stay long enough to see the school construction to completion as he announced his resignation after his

[284] Ibid.
[285] Ibid., 734.
[286] Ibid., 735.

three years on the job. In the year 2000, the school board searched once more for a superintendent and turned to retired, three-star, lieutenant general, Joseph Redden to lead at the start of a century for the Cobb County School District.

Significance

I found the history of Cobb County and the Cobb County School District valuable in setting the context for this inquiry. The Superintendent's Annual Reports examined for this investigation clearly delineate the white schools and colored schools through to the year 1968. The school year 1969-70 is the first year to have one Superintendent Annual Report that is not divided into colored and white school reports. Although not the focus on this investigation or discussion, it is notable that the staffing and school conditions, as reported in the Superintendent Reports, are different for colored schools and white schools. Therefore, an investigation into the history of school-delivered, non-instructional services as formalized through school district expenditures and staffing must be presented in light of the historical context for schooling all children.

I also find that, in addition to the racial tension that fluctuated in Cobb County over the 20th Century, the political contention, the culture of the board, and the disagreements that emerged over schools and curriculum reveal the perception of Cobb constituents of the role a school should play in the community. I found that context to be especially informative as this particular inquiry is conducted to determine how school-delivered, non-instructional services are formalized through school district expenditures and staffing.

Chapter 4 – Results

Superintendent's Annual Report from 1938-39 to 1976-77

The Superintendent's Annual Report was submitted by school systems to the State Department of Education in the State of Georgia to provide details on various categories. The hand-written collection on file with the Georgia Archives ranges from 1938-39 to 1976-77 and will provide the range of years through which this investigation focuses. The research question guiding this inquiry is: What is the history of school delivered, non-instructional services as formalized through school district staffing? This slmost-40 year time period provides data related to staffing that occurred in one school system, the Cobb County School District from the years 1938-1977. From the data, patterns of staffing can be traced. Between the years of 1938-39 and 1956-57, the Report is titled "Superintendent's Annual Report" and from the years 1957-58 to 1976-77, the title of the Report is "Superintendent's Annual Attendance Report." For the purpose of presenting and discussing this data, the term Superintendent's Annual Report (or Report) will be used to represent both titles during the time period studied. From 1938-39 to 1956-57, the Superintendent's Annual Report prioritizes the collection of information regarding facilities, property, transportation, and the value associated with each. The Reports also include details regarding school-based personnel, both instructional personnel and non-instructional personnel, as well as system-level employees. The records regarding employees will represent the data that rests at the center of this inquiry. From 1957-58 to 1976-77, the Superintendent's Annual Attendance Reports no longer include any reporting on the facilities, property, transportation, or value of each and instead includes information only regarding school-based personnel, both instructional personnel and non-instructional personnel, as well as system level employees. The records in this range of years regarding employees will represent the staffing

again that is central to this inquiry. Throughout the full range of years, 1938-39 to 1976-77, the report includes the number of school facilities, the student enrollment and attendance, and information related to the tax digest for each given year. The Report indicates that it is the Superintendent's Report but examining each of the records suggests that an assistant to the Superintendent likely completed each of the Reports by hand. The Superintendent's signature is on every report, and the Board Chair's signature is on many of the Reports, but there is no indication of the name of who may have hand-entered the data each year. Today school districts report personnel through the Certified and Classified Personnel Report (CPI). Each report has been, and still is, filed annually with the Georgia Department of Education. The specific data on which I focused for the purpose of this inquiry was data available in categories that related to personnel employed to work at individual schools and personnel employed to work at the system level; School-Based Instructional Staff, School-Based Non-Instructional Staff, and System-Level Staff.[287] Within the category of School-Based Instructional Staff, the Superintendent's Annual Reports include sub-categories that range from Administrator, Teaching Principal, Non-Teaching Principal, Librarian, Counselor, and Assistant Principal.[288] The category of School-Based Non-Instructional Staff includes a range of sub-categories including Janitors, Clerks, and Lunchroom Employees.[289] Finally, employees that are employed by the school system and work at the System Level are divided into a range of sub-categories that include Curriculum Director,

[287] These titles change over the period of the investigation and will be noted on the following data tables.
[288] The inclusion of different sub-categories in the School-Based Instructional Staff Category changes over the period of the investigation and will be noted on the following data tables.
[289] The inclusion of different sub-categories in the School-Based, Non-Instructional Staff Category changes over the period of the investigation and will be noted on the following data tables.

Lunchroom Manager, Librarian Supervisor, Administrative Assistant, Bus Shop Employees, School Plant Employees, and Clerical or Technical Employees.[290]

My first experience with the Superintendent's Annual Reports was when visiting the Georgia Archives in Morrow, Georgia. I was able to access the Reports (from individual boxes organized by year at the Georgia Archives in September of 2015 (with the exception of two years [1939-40 and 1943-44] within this time period because they were missing). Each box contained Reports from all of the county and city school systems arranged in alphabetical order and I was able to pull Cobb County from each year. It was a humbling, almost reverent, experience to stand before hand-written documents from the 1930s and allow the pieces of a school system's history to come to life in front of me. I was personally affected by the handwritten remarks distinguishing white schools from colored schools and was especially emotional when reading in one report, "No transportation provided for colored students."[291] The Reports were fragile and discolored and the penmanship on each Report itself pointed to the time period it represented. And although the pages were browning and the paper itself wearing, they were in pristine condition without wrinkles or extraneous marks. Nevertheless, from the long, precise cursive handwriting that reminded me of hand-written notes from my grandmother to the nonchalant approach to reporting such differences between schooling for white children and schooling for colored children, I was transported to a time period that no history textbook could ever offer. I include images below representing various years of reports so that I can set the context that brought the data to life before my eyes.

[290] The inclusion of different sub-categories in the System-Level Staff Category changes over the period of the investigation and will be noted on the following data tables.
[291] Superintendent's Annual Report to the State Department of Education, Cobb County, 1938, 12, The Georgia Archives, Morrow, Georgia.

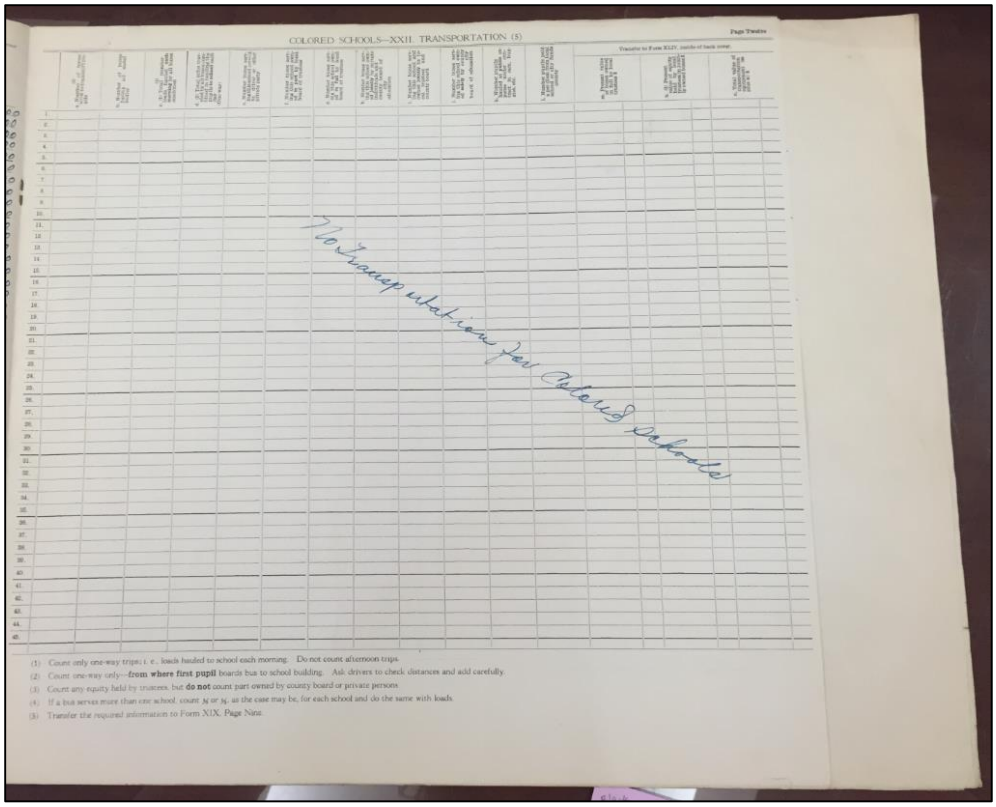

Figure 4.1 Superintendent's Annual Report to State Department of Education, 1938[292]

In order to compile the data necessary for this investigation, I examined over 1,000 hand written documents. The documents were written in ink, most often in cursive, and were then reviewed by a person with a red-colored pencil. The red-colored pencil indicated errors in the initial entry and I aimed to capture the modified number in these instances. The accuracy of my summarized data tables, however, is dependent on the accuracy of the original recorder in ink and the edits made by the reviewer in red-colored pencil. Occasionally the penmanship was difficult to decipher and occasionally the numbers did not add up exactly. I note this point in the following data tables as appropriate.

Before I summarize the data extracted from the Superintendent's Annual Reports, I want to discuss the significant information available through the reports that were not necessarily

[292] Ibid.

germane to the focus of this study but were incredibly interesting, and in turn distracting, during the observation of reports and analysis of data. The most immediately obvious characteristic of the early Superintendent's Annual Reports was the distinction between white schools and colored schools.[293] Because of this reporting distinction, however, there is so much interesting information that could be valuable for a future study. For example, details regarding the facilities are reported. One can identify the type of building used for each school (options include cement, stone, brick, or frame). In 1938, the White Schools section of the Superintendent's Annual Report indicates that nine schools had a frame structure and 16 schools had a brick structure.[294] In the Colored Schools section of the Superintendent's Annual Report, every school had a frame structure. There is a question to be answered for each school asking, "Is school equipped with electricity?"[295] The preparer of the report then hand-wrote, in cursive, "yes or no" for each school. There is a field for the value of each building; which in 1938 ranged from $500 for Awtry ES to $150,000 for McEachern HS (both on the White schools report).[296] In the Colored Schools section of the report, the value of buildings in 1938 ranged from $50 for Austell ES, Liberty Hill ES, and Poplar Springs ES to $1500 for Jonesville ES.[297] The number of classrooms is reported; as is the presence of a gymnasium, assembly room, the availability of running water for drinking purposes, and the type of sanitary system (options include Inclinerator type, Flush type, or Pit).[298]

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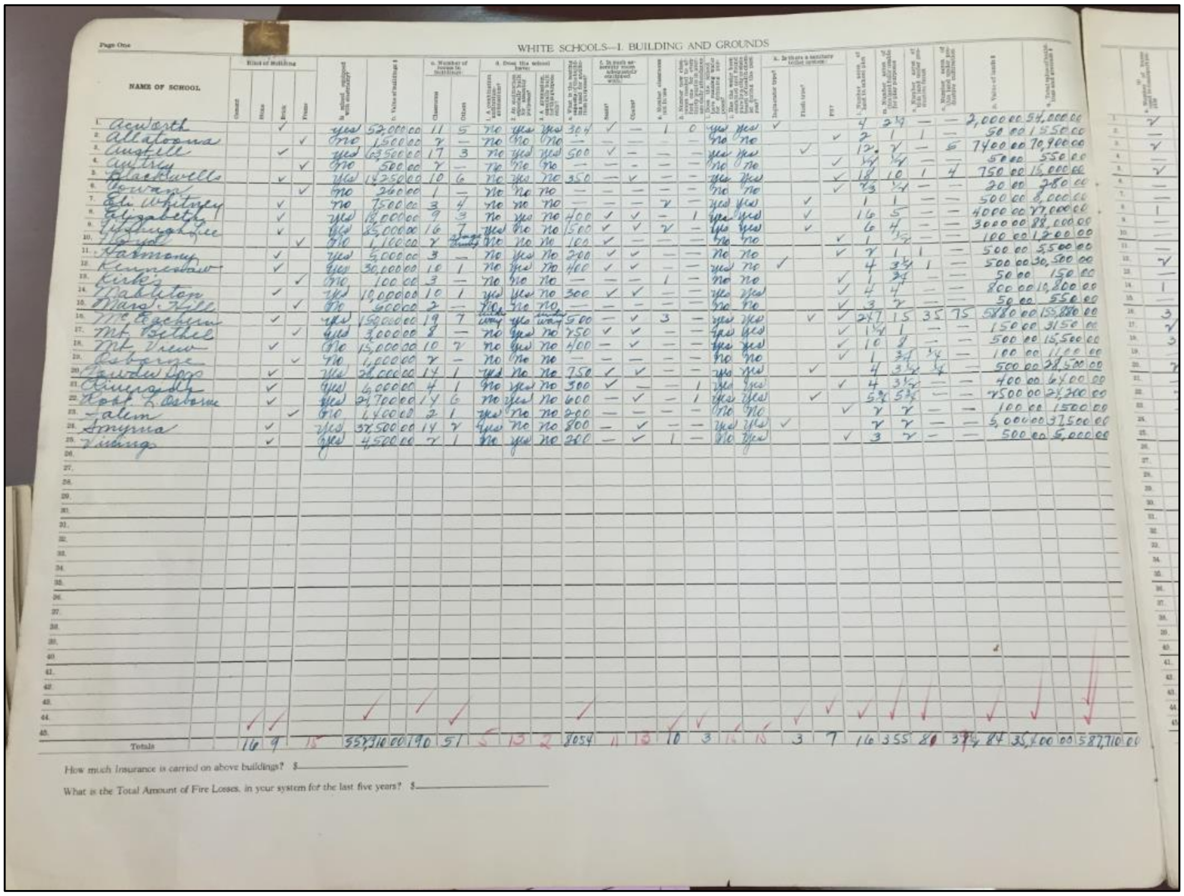
[293] In the Superintendent's Annual Reports, the term colored schools and colored students are used from 1938-39 to 1954-55. In the Superintendent's Annual Report, the term negro schools and negro students is used from 1955-56 to 1963-64. The following narrative and presentation of data remains consistent with the terms used in the year being discussed.
[294] Superintendent's Annual Report to the State Department of Education, Cobb County, 1938, 1, 11, The Georgia Archives, Morrow, Georgia.
[295] Ibid.
[296] Ibid,
[297] Ibid.
[298] Ibid.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WHITE SCHOOLS—I. BUILDING AND GROUNDS

NAME OF SCHOOL

1. Acworth
2. Allatoona
3. Austell
4. Awtrey
5. Blackwells
6. Cowan
7. Eli Whitney
8. Elizabeth
9. Fitzhugh Lee
10. Floyd
11. Harmony
12. Kennesaw
13. Kirks
14. Mableton
15. Mars Hill
16. McEachern
17. Mt. Bethel
18. Mt. View
19. Osborne
20. Powder Spgs
21. Quarles
22. Robt. L. Osborne
23. Salem
24. Smyrna
25. Vining

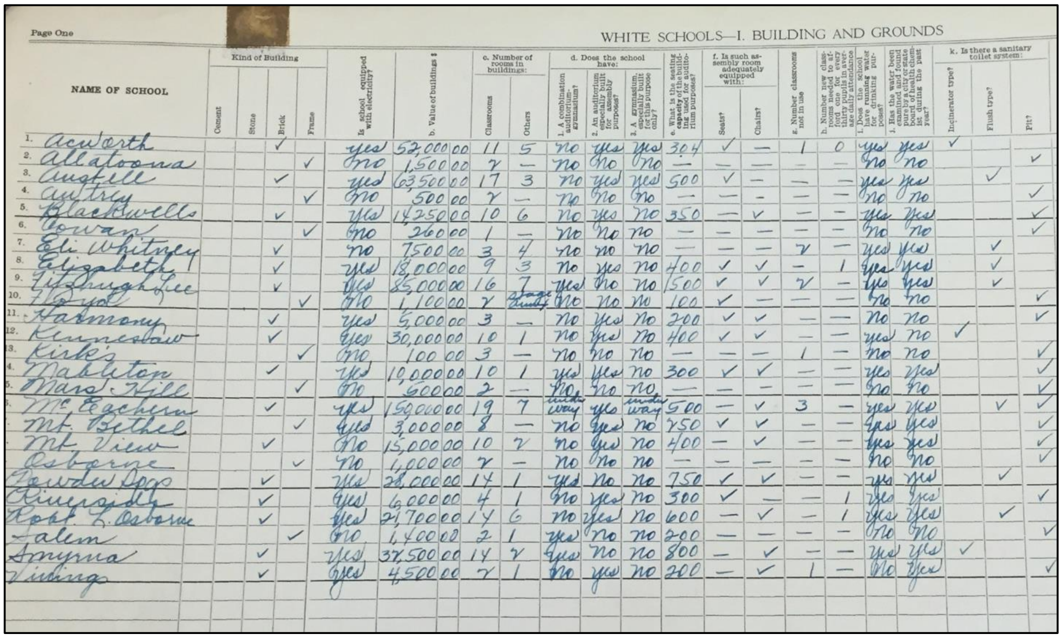
Totals

How much Insurance is carried on above buildings? $

What is the Total Amount of Fire Losses, in your system for the last five years? $

Figure 4.2 Superintendent's Annual Report to State Department of Education, 1938; Sample Report of Facilities[299]

[299] Ibid., 1.



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WHITE SCHOOLS—I. BUILDING AND GROUNDS

NAME OF SCHOOL	Kind of Building: Cement	Stone	Brick	Frame	a. Is school equipped with electricity?	b. Value of buildings $	c. Number of rooms in buildings: Classrooms	Others	d. Does the school have: 1. A combination auditorium-gymnasium?	2. An auditorium especially built for assembly purposes?	3. A gymnasium especially built for this purpose only?	e. What is the seating capacity of the building used for auditorium purposes?	f. Is such assembly room adequately equipped with: Seats?	Chairs?	g. Number classrooms not in use	h. Number new classrooms needed to afford one for every thirty pupils in average daily attendance	i. Does the school have running water for drinking purposes?	j. Has the water been examined and found pure by a city or state board of health chemist during the past year?	k. Is there a sanitary toilet system: Incinerator type?	Flush type?	Pit?
1. Acworth			✓		yes	52,000 00	11	5	no	yes	yes	304	✓	—	1	0	yes	yes	✓		
2. Allatoona				✓	no	1,500 00	2	—	no	no	no	—	—	—	—	—	no	no			✓
3. Austell			✓		yes	63,500 00	17	3	no	yes	yes	500	✓	—	—	—	yes	yes		✓	
4. Autrey				✓	no	500 00	2	—	no	no	no	—	—	—	—	—	no	no			✓
5. Blackwells			✓		yes	14,250 00	10	6	no	yes	no	350	—	✓	—	—	yes	yes			✓
6. Cowan				✓	no	260 00	1	—	no	no	no	—	—	—	—	—	no	no			✓
7. Eli Whitney			✓		no	7,500 00	3	4	no	no	no	—	—	—	2	—	yes	yes		✓	
8. Elizabeth			✓		yes	18,000 00	9	3	no	yes	no	400	✓	✓	—	1	yes	yes		✓	
9. Fitzhugh Lee			✓		yes	85,000 00	16	7	yes	no	no	1500	✓	✓	2	—	yes	yes		✓	
10. Floyd				✓	no	1,100 00	2	stage [illegible]	no	no	no	100	✓	—	—	—	no	no			✓
11. Harmony			✓		yes	5,000 00	3	—	no	yes	no	200	✓	✓	—	—	no	no			✓
12. Kennesaw			✓		yes	30,000 00	10	1	no	yes	no	400	✓	✓	—	—	yes	no	✓		
13. Kirk's				✓	no	100 00	3	—	no	no	no	—	—	—	1	—	no	no			✓
14. Mableton			✓		yes	10,000 00	10	1	yes	yes	no	300	✓	✓	—	—	yes	yes			✓
15. Mars Hill				✓	no	600 00	2	—	no	no	no	—	—	—	—	—	no	no			✓
McEachern			✓		yes	150,000 00	19	7	under way	yes	under way	500	—	✓	3	—	yes	yes		✓	✓
Mt. Bethel				✓	yes	3,000 00	8	—	no	yes	no	250	✓	✓	—	—	yes	yes			✓
Mt. View			✓		no	15,000 00	10	2	no	yes	no	400	—	✓	—	—	yes	yes			✓
Osborne				✓	no	1,000 00	2	—	no	no	no	—	—	—	—	—	no	no			✓
Powder Spgs			✓		yes	28,000 00	14	1	yes	no	no	750	✓	✓	—	—	yes	yes		✓	
Riverside			✓		yes	6,000 00	4	1	no	yes	no	300	✓	—	—	1	yes	yes			✓
Robt. L. Osborne			✓		yes	21,700 00	14	6	no	yes	no	600	—	✓	—	1	yes	yes		✓	
Salem				✓	no	1,400 00	2	1	yes	no	no	200	—	—	—	—	no	no			✓
Smyrna			✓		yes	37,500 00	14	2	yes	no	no	800	—	✓	—	—	yes	yes	✓		
Vinings			✓		yes	4,500 00	2	1	no	yes	no	200	—	✓	1	—	no	yes			✓

Figure 4.3 Superintendent's Annual Report to State Department of Education, 1938; Sample Report of Facilities – Magnified View[300]

The number and types of desks are reported, along with the value placed on laboratory equipment, home economics equipment, and teachers' materials (including desks, filing cabinets, and books). There is specific detail regarding the volumes of books available in the library and the associated value of the library collection.

Another component of the Reports is the information provided regarding transportation. In early years, the transportation information is specific to the number of students transported and the number of miles travelled by vehicles. In later years, however, the details regarding transportation included fuel type, vehicle type, name of driver, and number of students transported. Again, all of these data are distinguished for white students and colored students and paint an historical picture ripe for future study.

300 Ibid.

The reports include detailed information regarding the teaching staff, too. The number of staff is reported, along with the years of college, types of certifications, and the vocational education teachers are reported separately in some reports.

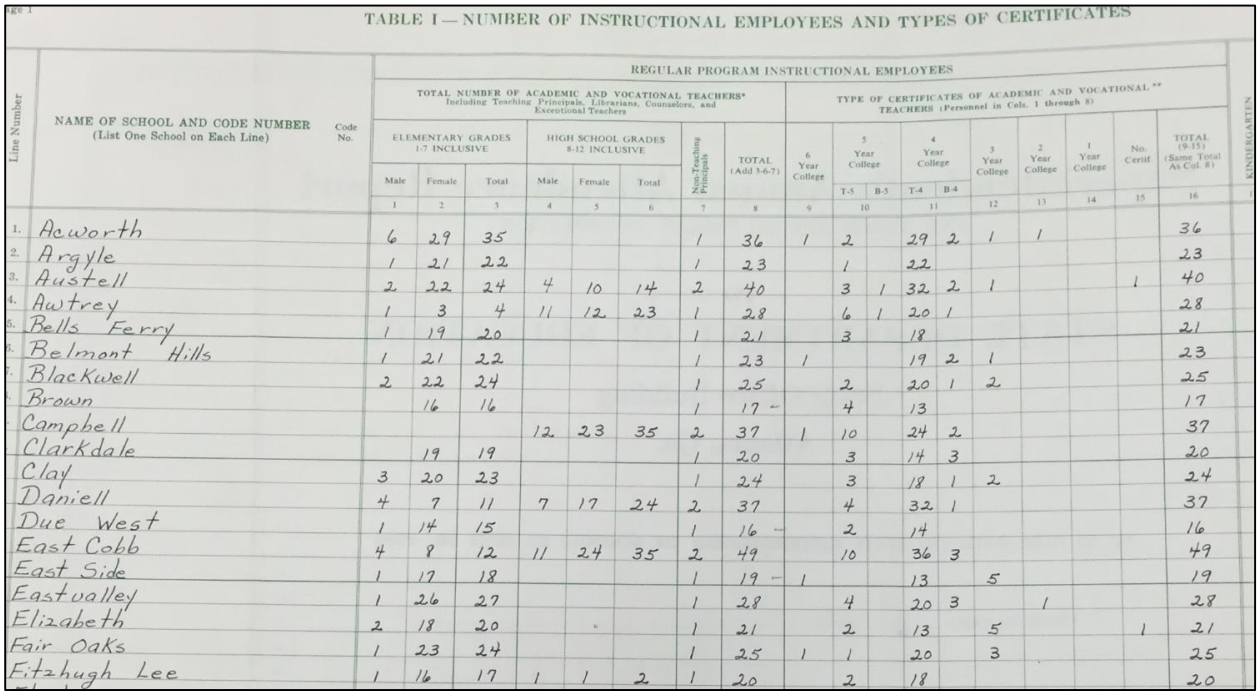


TABLE I — NUMBER OF INSTRUCTIONAL EMPLOYEES AND TYPES OF CERTIFICATES

REGULAR PROGRAM INSTRUCTIONAL EMPLOYEES

Line Number	NAME OF SCHOOL AND CODE NUMBER (List One School on Each Line)	Code No.	TOTAL NUMBER OF ACADEMIC AND VOCATIONAL TEACHERS* Including Teaching Principals, Librarians, Counselors, and Exceptional Teachers: ELEMENTARY GRADES 1-7 INCLUSIVE Male	Female	Total	HIGH SCHOOL GRADES 8-12 INCLUSIVE Male	Female	Total	Non-Teaching Principals	TOTAL (Add 3-6-7)	TYPE OF CERTIFICATES OF ACADEMIC AND VOCATIONAL** TEACHERS (Personnel in Cols. 1 through 8): 6 Year College	5 Year College T-5	5 Year College B-5	4 Year College T-4	4 Year College B-4	3 Year College	2 Year College	1 Year College	No. Certif.	TOTAL (9-15) (Same Total As Col. 8)	KINDERGARTEN
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		11		12	13	14	15	16	
1.	Acworth		6	29	35				1	36	1	2		29	2	1	1			36	
2.	Argyle		1	21	22				1	23		1		22						23	
3.	Austell		2	22	24	4	10	14	2	40		3	1	32	2	1			1	40	
4.	Awtrey		1	3	4	11	12	23	1	28		6	1	20	1					28	
5.	Bells Ferry		1	19	20				1	21		3		18						21	
6.	Belmont Hills		1	21	22				1	23	1			19	2	1				23	
7.	Blackwell		2	22	24				1	25		2		20	1	2				25	
8.	Brown			16	16				1	17		4		13						17	
9.	Campbell					12	23	35	2	37	1	10		24	2					37	
10.	Clarkdale			19	19				1	20		3		14	3					20	
11.	Clay		3	20	23				1	24		3		18	1	2				24	
12.	Daniell		4	7	11	7	17	24	2	37		4		32	1					37	
13.	Due West		1	14	15				1	16		2		14						16	
14.	East Cobb		4	8	12	11	24	35	2	49		10		36	3					49	
15.	East Side		1	17	18				1	19	1			13		5				19	
16.	Eastvalley		1	26	27				1	28		4		20	3		1			28	
17.	Elizabeth		2	18	20				1	21		2		13		5			1	21	
18.	Fair Oaks		1	23	24				1	25	1	1		20		3				25	
19.	Fitzhugh Lee		1	16	17	1	1	2	1	20		2		18						20	

Figure 4.4 Superintendent's Annual Attendance Report to State Department of Education, 1966; Sample Instructional Employees Certification Types – Magnified[301]

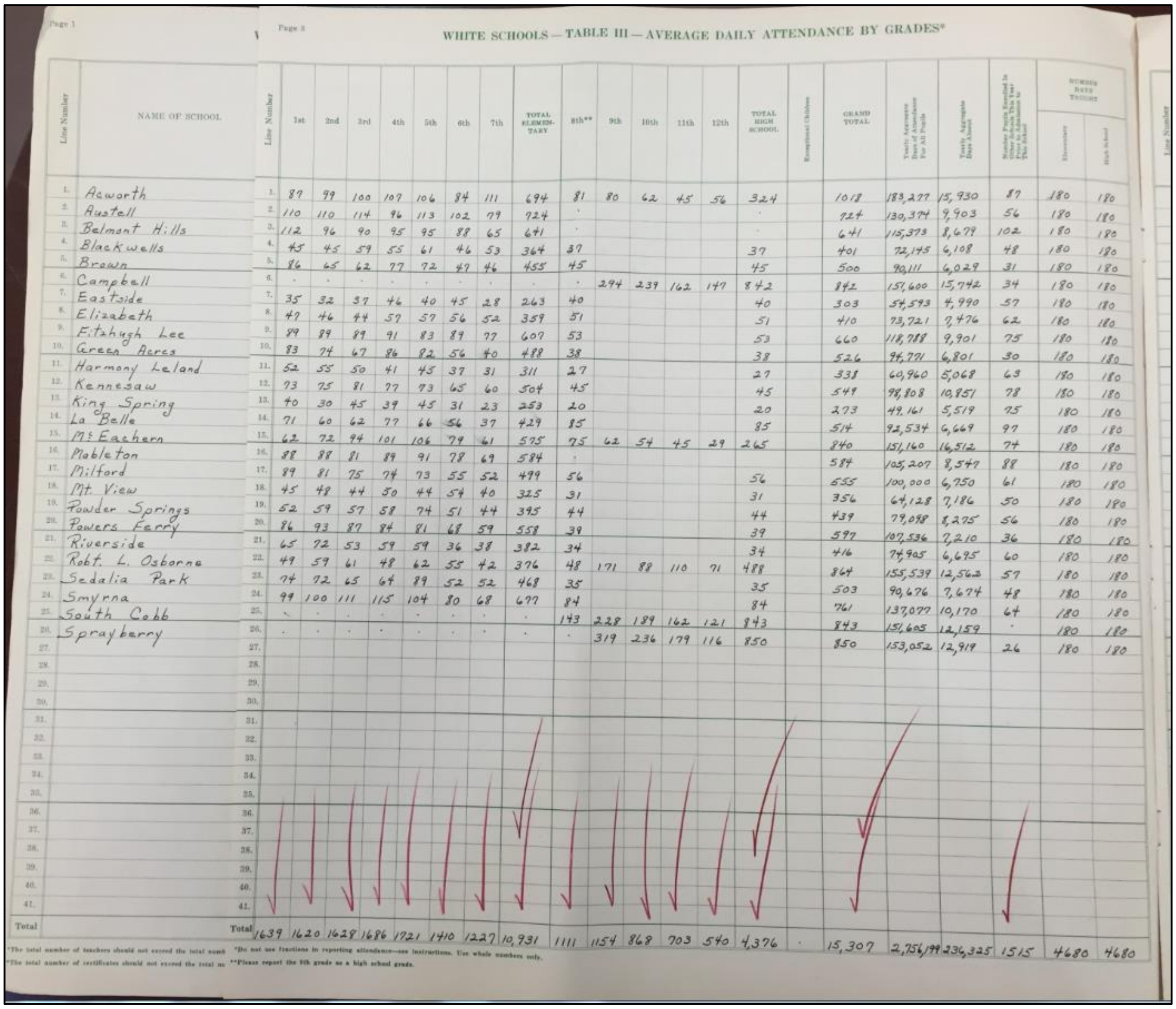
There is also a Miscellaneous section that includes information about the tax digest. The Report also requires a field for the school system to document the taxed property and utilities. For example, in 1944, the Report indicates that a tax rate of 5 mils was levied for school purposes. It also records that the property in Cobb County was reported at $4,483,725. Added to that dollar amount was a value on public utilities at $3,587,848 totaling the tax digest $8,071,573, as signed off by the Tax Collector in 1944.[302] However the record in the 1977

[301] Superintendent's Annual Attendance Report to the State Department of Education, Cobb County, 1966, 1, The Georgia Archives, Morrow, Georgia.
[302] Superintendent's Annual Report to the State Department of Education, Cobb County, 1944, 13, The Georgia Archives, Morrow, Georgia.

Superintendent's Annual Attendance Report shows a tax rate of 20 mils levied for school purposes. The value for property in Cobb County was reported at $286,865,622 plus the value on public utilities at $46,459,890 totaling $333,325,512 for the tax digest in Cobb County in the year 1970.[303] Observing changes and trends like this through the records of one school system revealed yet another interesting area appropriate for further study.

Many pages of each report were dedicated to reporting student enrollment and student attendance by school and by grade. Figures 4.7 and 4.8 are samples of how meticulous this reporting was as school systems grew larger and larger. Note that Figures 4.7 and 4.8 are samples from 1958, at which time the report was called the Superintendent's Annual Attendance Report to State Department of Education and the report distinguished between White schools and Negro schools at this time. Although the details of the report are not distinguishable on this replica, I want the reader to see the stark difference between the details for the White schools compared to the details for the Negro schools.

[303] Superintendent's Annual Attendance Report to the State Department of Education, Cobb County, 1970, 5, The Georgia Archives, Morrow, Georgia.



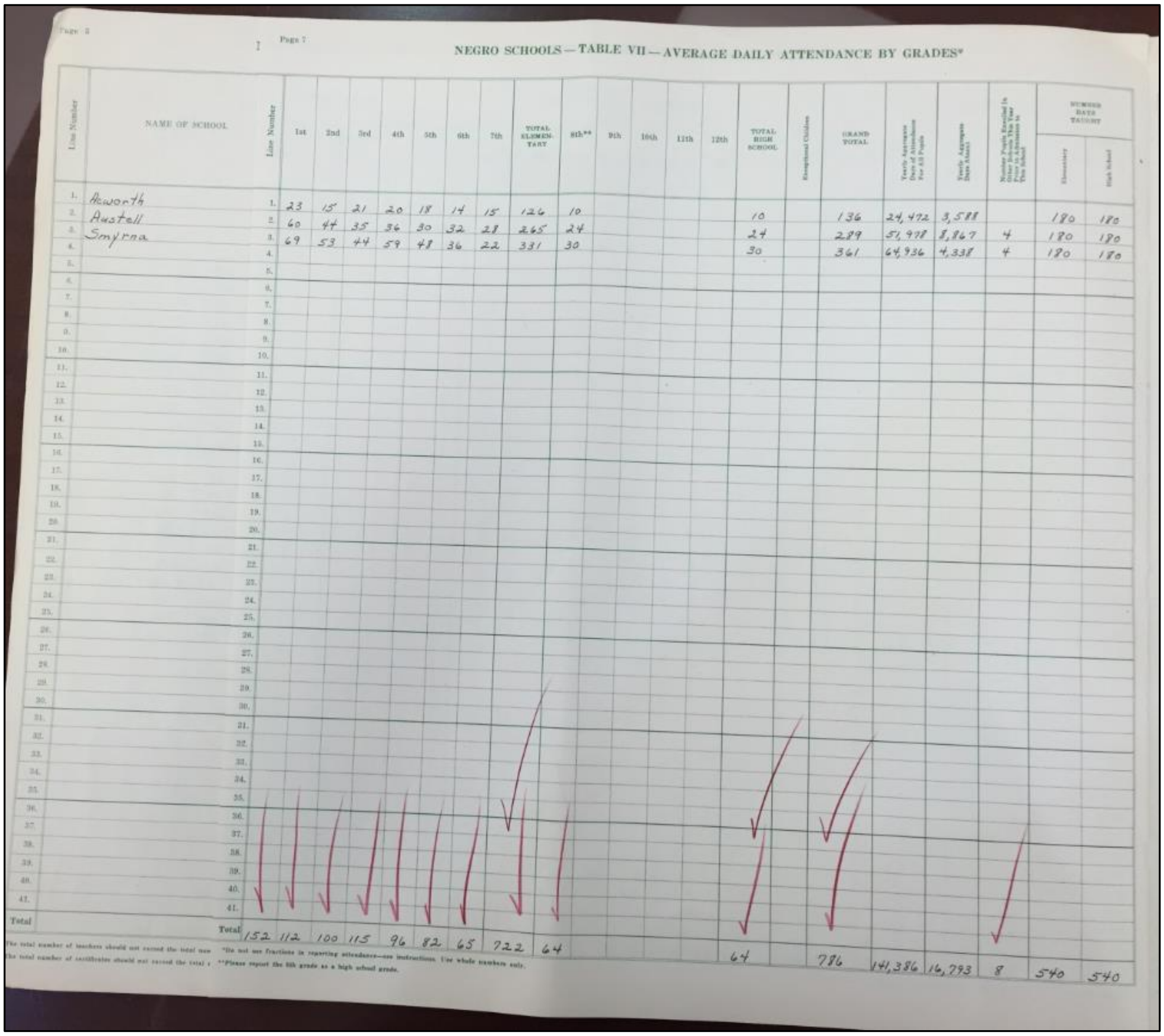
WHITE SCHOOLS — TABLE III — AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE BY GRADES*

Line Number	Name of School	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	Total Elementary	8th**	9th	10th	11th	12th	Total High School	Exceptional Children	Grand Total	Yearly Aggregate Days of Attendance For All Pupils	Yearly Aggregate Days Absent	Number Pupils Enrolled in Other Schools This Year Prior to Admission to This School	Number Days Taught: Elementary	Number Days Taught: High School
1.	Acworth	87	99	100	107	106	84	111	694	81	80	62	45	56	324		1018	183,277	15,930	87	180	180
2.	Austell	110	110	114	96	113	102	79	724	.					.		724	130,374	9,903	56	180	180
3.	Belmont Hills	112	96	90	95	95	88	65	641	.					.		641	115,373	8,679	102	180	180
4.	Blackwells	45	45	59	55	61	46	53	364	37					37		401	72,145	6,108	48	180	180
5.	Brown	86	65	62	77	72	47	46	455	45					45		500	90,111	6,029	31	180	180
6.	Campbell	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	294	239	162	147	842		842	151,600	15,742	34	180	180
7.	Eastside	35	32	37	46	40	45	28	263	40					40		303	54,593	4,990	57	180	180
8.	Elizabeth	47	46	44	57	57	56	52	359	51					51		410	73,721	7,476	62	180	180
9.	Fitzhugh Lee	89	89	89	91	83	89	77	607	53					53		660	118,788	9,901	75	180	180
10.	Green Acres	83	74	67	86	82	56	40	488	38					38		526	94,771	6,801	30	180	180
11.	Harmony Leland	52	55	50	41	45	37	31	311	27					27		338	60,960	5,068	63	180	180
12.	Kennesaw	73	75	81	77	73	65	60	504	45					45		549	98,808	10,851	78	180	180
13.	King Spring	40	30	45	39	45	31	23	253	20					20		273	49.161	5,519	75	180	180
14.	La Belle	71	60	62	77	66	56	37	429	85					85		514	92,534	6,669	97	180	180
15.	McEachern	62	72	94	101	106	79	61	575	75	62	54	45	29	265		840	151,160	16,512	74	180	180
16.	Mableton	88	88	81	89	91	78	69	584	.							584	105,207	8,547	88	180	180
17.	Milford	89	81	75	74	73	55	52	499	56					56		655	100,000	6,750	61	180	180
18.	Mt. View	45	48	44	50	44	54	40	325	31					31		356	64,128	7,186	50	180	180
19.	Powder Springs	52	59	57	58	74	51	44	395	44					44		439	79,098	8,275	56	180	180
20.	Powers Ferry	86	93	87	84	81	68	59	558	39					39		597	107,536	7,210	36	180	180
21.	Riverside	65	72	53	59	59	36	38	382	34					34		416	74,905	6,695	60	180	180
22.	Robt. L. Osborne	49	59	61	48	62	55	42	376	48	171	88	110	71	488		864	155,539	12,562	57	180	180
23.	Sedalia Park	74	72	65	64	89	52	52	468	35					35		503	90,676	7,674	48	180	180
24.	Smyrna	99	100	111	115	104	80	68	677	84					84		761	137,077	10,170	64	180	180
25.	South Cobb	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	143	228	189	162	121	843		843	151,605	12,159	.	180	180
26.	Sprayberry	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	319	236	179	116	850		850	153,052	12,919	26	180	180
Total		1639	1620	1628	1686	1721	1410	1227	10,931	1111	1154	868	703	540	4,376	.	15,307	2,756,199	236,325	1515	4680	4680

*Do not use fractions in reporting attendance—see instructions. Use whole numbers only.
**Please report the 8th grade as a high school grade.

Figure 4.5 Superintendent's Annual Attendance Report to State Department of Education, 1958; Sample Average Attendance Report by School and by Grade for White Schools in Cobb County[304]

[304] Superintendent's Annual Attendance Report to the State Department of Education, Cobb County, 1958, 3, The Georgia Archives, Morrow, Georgia.



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NEGRO SCHOOLS — TABLE VII — AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE BY GRADES*

Line Number	NAME OF SCHOOL	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	TOTAL ELEMENTARY	8th**	9th	10th	11th	12th	TOTAL HIGH SCHOOL	Exceptional Children	GRAND TOTAL	Yearly Aggregate Days of Attendance For All Pupils	Yearly Aggregate Days Absent	Number Pupils Enrolled in Other Schools This Year Prior to Admission to This School	Number Days Taught: Elementary	Number Days Taught: High School
1.	Acworth	23	15	21	20	18	14	15	126	10					10		136	24,472	3,588		180	180
2.	Austell	60	44	35	36	30	32	28	265	24					24		289	51,978	8,867	4	180	180
3.	Smyrna	69	53	44	59	48	36	22	331	30					30		361	64,936	4,338	4	180	180
Total		152	112	100	115	96	82	65	722	64					64		786	141,386	16,793	8	540	540

*Do not use fractions in reporting attendance—see instructions. Use whole numbers only.
**Please report the 8th grade as a high school grade.

Figure 4.6 Superintendent's Annual Attendance Report to State Department of Education, 1958; Sample Average Attendance Report by School and by Grade for Negro Schools in Cobb County[305]

Given the discussion regarding the community changes over the time period studied, I found it of particular interest that the 1947 Report a letter explaining some of the infrastructure implications (i.e. building of roadways) of providing schooling every day. Specifically, the letter communicates that Cobb County was experiencing construction on roadways which caused travel to school on a daily basis difficult. The letter also indicates that an outbreak of the flu and

[305] Superintendent's Annual Attendance Report to the State Department of Education, Cobb County, 1958, 7, The Georgia Archives, Morrow, Georgia.

measles impacted student attendance. By including this additional correspondence attached to the Annual Report I was led to believe that Cobb County was suggesting that their State resources dependent upon the student information in the report should not be compromised in any areas of decline. I thought this letter demonstrated the interconnectedness of the school system and the community during this time period and draws the context of community growth alongside school system growth through these reporting mechanisms.

I have included the images from samples of the Annual Superintendent Reports to provide the reader with context for how detailed the reports became over time and also to offer the reader insight into the historical picture that developed as I poured over each report. While the focus of this inquiry is the development of non-instructional services over the time period studied (and has nothing to do with daily attendance or facility types; especially types of sanitary systems, or property values) the information revealed through the hand-written records illuminated more about the history of the Cobb County School District than any of my prior research. It provides the backdrop on which I have summarized the data about employees and positions and it offers the reader a context behind the numbers that ultimately fell on the tables included in the following summary and analysis.

School-Based Personnel Data from 1938-39 to 1976-77

The early copies of the Superintendent's Annual Reports within the time period examined clearly focused on facilities, property, transportation, and the dollar value associated with these items. From 1938-39 to 1956-57, the emphasis on reporting facilities and property was evidenced by the prominent position of reporting the details regarding each facility, including things like structural type, sanitary system, number of desks, presence of an auditorium, types of seats, number of library volumes, total acreage for each facility, and dollar value of the property.

The 1938-39 to 1956-57 Reports dedicated multiple pages and multiple sections to documenting details regarding facilities and properties. Additionally, each driver, the number of miles driven, the type of pavement on which the driver drove (dirt or paved), the vehicle type, the type of fuel, and value/cost associated with each is documented in specific detail. The school-based personnel is also reported during this range of years but is later in the report and requires far less detail then that required of facility, property, and transportation descriptions. For example, the name of every driver is recorded, but the names of teachers are not recorded.

Instructions were provided to complete the Superintendent's Annual Report for the range of years 1938-39 to 1956-57. An example during this time period begins with "General" instructions indicating that the Superintendent's Annual Report is completed at the school-system level by compiling the data found on the Principal's Annual Report.[306] The second set of instructions is titled "School Plant."[307] The instructions guide the school system to list all facilities in active use in alphabetical order.[308] There are specific instructions regarding how to report facilities that are on county lines, between counties, or are independent schools. The third set of instructions specifies how to complete the "Instructional Employees and Types of Certificates."[309] This section of the report is specifically used for the purpose of this research investigation and the data presented on the following tables relies on the hand-written information provided in this section of the Report. Specific details include instructions such as, "The total number of teachers should not exceed the total number of teaching positions in any school;" and "In order to secure uniformity in all reports, list only those principals who do no

[306] Superintendent's Annual Report to the State Department of Education, Cobb County, 1957, 31, The Georgia Archives, Morrow, Georgia. Although I did not view a Principal's Annual Report, this component to the instructions indicates the Principal's Report came first. Prior to the Principal position in a school, it is unclear where the original data for the report was collected.
[307] Ibid.
[308] Ibid.
[309] Ibid.

classroom teaching as non-teaching principals."[310] I think it is important to note that the actual definition of "Instructional Employees" is not more specifically defined in the instructions so the summary of personnel is left to some degree of interpretation by the person at the system-level completing the report. It is also important to note that although there are instructions addressing the Employee fields provided, there are not specific definitions provided for the Non-Instructional employees. Once again the summary of personnel is left to the interpretation by the person at the system-level completing the report. The next section is the "Miscellaneous" set of instructions which instructs the school system to calculate the per pupil cost by including yearly salaries of paid teachers and principals, and expenditures for teaching supplies.[311] The fifth section of the instructions guides the system to report the average daily attendance which is done by school, by grade for the entire system. There are instructions regarding how to round the figures to whole numbers such as, "When the fraction is less than half drop it and when more than half increase it to a whole number."[312] The sixth section refers to "Enrollment."[313] The enrollment section of the Report was used to capture the total student population during the year reporting and was relied on exclusively in presenting student population in the following data tables. Enrollment is described as follows, "The Enrollment of any grade or school will always exceed the average daily attendance. Be sure the enrollment by grades when added equals the number shown in the total columns."[314] Again, I think it is important to note that the term enrollment is not specifically defined and leaves open how that field may have been completed. For example, it does not specify whether a student needs to be enrolled by a certain date to be counted or for a certain length of time to be counted or if the student may have enrolled the day

[310] Ibid.
[311] Ibid.
[312] Ibid.
[313] Ibid.
[314] Ibid.

the report was completed. There is, again a degree of interpretation left to the perspective of the person completing the report from year to year. The seventh section of the instructions specifies how to complete the "Transportation" section.[315] This section of the instructions includes the greatest detail and provides information such as stipulating that only pupil transportation should be reported if paid for by public school funds.[316] The instructions indicate that the transportation should be separated by buses and cars; and station wagons are to be classified as cars.[317] The instructions guide the system to report the total mileage and are very specific regarding the way in which mileage should be calculated. I mention this because of the stark comparison in the detail provided on how to report personnel compared to how to calculate the mileage of every mode of transportation. It further emphasizes the priority of the Superintendent's Annual Report from the years 1938-39 to 1956-57. The eighth section of the Report is in reference to instructions reporting "Negro Schools."[318] The only guidance provided here is, "The tables contained in the section of this report for Negro schools are identical with those used for white schools. Hence the instructions about tables for the white schools are also applicable to the Negro schools."[319] The ninth section is the "Attendance Summary." The instructions for this section indicate that the State will use these figures to calculate the allotment of teachers to the school system.[320] It is important to note that for the purpose of this inquiry, enrollment numbers were used to indicate the total student population during the time period of each report, but the State was actually using attendance summaries for their calculations of teacher allotments. The tenth section of the instructions specifies the "Age and Grade Chart."[321] Each Report breaks

[315] Ibid.
[316] Ibid.
[317] Ibid.
[318] Ibid.
[319] Ibid.
[320] Ibid.
[321] Ibid.

down the total number of students by age in each grade level which ultimately shows a range of ages served by one grade. The instructions note that, "The total number of children shown in each grade should tally with the total number of children enrolled."[322] The eleventh and final section of the instructions is the "Conclusion."[323] The conclusion states, "After all information about each school has been properly recorded in the tables of this report, please be sure that the totals show at the bottom of tables are correct."[324] I found it odd that the terms "this report, please" in the statement on the instructions is in bold.[325]

Starting in 1957-58 through to 1976-77, the Report is titled the Superintendent's Annual Attendance Report and, coinciding with the name change, is also a change in the fields that are reported by the school system to the state. The facilities, property, transportation, and value of each are no longer even included in the report and instead the priority seems much more closely focused on personnel and students. The first section of the report is now dedicated to reporting personnel and then followed by greater detail in student attendance and enrollment. The instruction page for the year 1957-58 (the year following the one in the above example) only includes the following sections: General, Instructional Employees and Types of Certificates, Average Daily Attendance, Enrollment, Negro Schools, Attendance Summary, Age and Grade Chart, and Conclusion.[326] Notice the absence of School Plants and Transportation that had appeared just the year prior. The Report is also almost 20 pages shorter in length as a result of reducing these two sections. The Report also seems to take a noticeable shift to focusing less on facilities, property, transportation, and the value of these things to a focus on personnel and students. Through this shift, however, many of the instructions remain the same. For example,

[322] Ibid.
[323] Ibid.
[324] Ibid.
[325] Ibid.
[326] Ibid., 11.

the "General" section of the instructions indicates that the system-level data can be recorded based on the compilation of the Principal's Annual Report. The "Instructional Employees and Types of Certificates" section has the exact same instructions provided which also means that definitions for types of employees is not further clarified even though employees seem to be a more substantial focus of the report.[327] In the data presented below, the employee information is extracted again from this section of the Report. The "Average Daily Attendance" instructions are exactly the same as the year prior; as are the instructions provided for "Enrollment."[328] This again results in the possibility of a wide range of interpretation regarding what enrollment means by school and by system when reporting these numbers. In the data presented below, the figures provided in the enrollment section of the reports are used to present the total student population for each school during a given year. The instructions for the "Negro Schools" section, the "Attendance Summary" section, and the "Age and Grade Chart" are exactly the same as the previous year.[329] The attendance section is indicated to still be used by the State to calculate the allotments that will be provided to schools.[330] Finally, the conclusion section includes instructions that are the same as in the year prior with the same words oddly in bold, "After all information about each schools has been properly recorded in the table of this report, please be sure that the totals shown at the bottom of the tables are correct."[331] The terms "this report, please" are once again in bold.[332]

The data presented below in Table 4.1 represents the total student population by year and the school-based personnel that was reported through the Superintendent's Annual Report (1938-

[327] Ibid.
[328] Ibid.
[329] Ibid.
[330] Ibid.
[331] Ibid.
[332] Ibid.

1956) and the Superintendent's Annual Attendance Report (1957-1977). As appropriate, footnotes are used to explain any uniqueness of the data or changes to the fields that could have a bearing on the interpretation of the data. For the purpose of summarizing the data, I included any personnel assigned to a specific school, and therefore reported within the information about that school as school-based personnel. The instructional employees assigned to a school included teachers, administrators, librarians, and counselors. The Reports during this time period did not provide further detail regarding any other school-based position. The non-instructional employees were also reported specifically by school and included clerks, janitors, and lunchroom employees most consistently throughout the time period examined. There were other job titles reported at various years including truancy officer, teacher aid, food processing employee, and other that were inconsistent and therefore mentioned in the footnotes only as appropriate. School-based personnel are assigned to schools, report to schools for the majority of their work responsibilities, and serve the students attending the school in which they are employed.

Also worth noting, the Reports from 1938-39 to 1954-55 delineate between White schools and Colored schools and from 1955-56 to 1963-64 between White schools and Negro schools and from 1964-65 to 1976-77 the data is combined. I found this to be interesting given that it was not until the end of the 1968-69 school year that Cobb County schools were integrated.[333] According to Thomas A. Scott, integration did not actually happen in Cobb schools until the start of the 1969-70 school year, yet the State Department of Education must have made the adjustment to reflect integration for the 1964-65 Superintendent's Annual Attendance Report. That leads me to question how the reports from 1964-65 to 1968-69 were

[333] Scott, *Cobb County, Georgia and the Origins of the Suburban South, A Twentieth-Century History*.

actually compiled by the Cobb County School District given that they were still operating White and Negro schools but did not report in a way that reflects the segregated model.

Table 4.1 Summary of School-Based Employees from 1938-39 to 1976-77 as Reported in the Superintendent's Annual Report

School Year[334]	Total Students	School-Based, Instructional Employees					School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees[335]			
		Total Number of Instructional Employees	Number Administrators	Number Librarians	Number Counselors	Number Teachers	Total Number Non-Instructional Employees	Number Custodians	Number Clerical Staff	Number of Lunchroom Employees
1938-39 (W)	6705	183	0	NA[336]	NA	183	10	10	0	NA
1938-39 (C)	998	24	0	NA	NA	24	0	0	0	NA
1939-40 (W)[337]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1939-40 (C)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1940-41 (W)	6882	193	0	NA	NA	193	11	11	0	NA
1940-41 (C)	920	24	0	NA	NA	24	0	0	0	NA
1941-42 (W)	6784	190	0	NA	NA	190[338]	13	11	2	NA
1941-42 (C)	860	26	0	NA	NA	26	0	0	0	NA
1942-43 (W)	6828	190	0	NA	NA	190	10	10	0	NA
1942-43 (C)	820	25	0	NA	NA	26	1	1	0	NA
1943-44 (W)[339]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1943-44 (C)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1944-45 (W)	7278	198[340]	0	NA	NA	198	12	11	1	NA
1944-45 (C)	642	25	0	NA	NA	25	1	1	0	NA
1945-46 (W)	7684	210[341]	0[342]	NA	NA	210	41[343]	12	1	22[344]

[334] For the years 1938-39 to 1956-57, the report is called the Superintendent's Annual Report. For the years 1957-58, the report is called the Superintendent's Annual Attendance Report. Data in these records are recorded separately by White students/schools and Colored students/schools (1938-39 to 1954-55), White students/schools and Negro students/schools (1955-56 to 1963-64), or combined (1964-65 to 1976-77); and employees serving White students/schools and Colored students/schools (1938-39 to 1954-55), employees serving White students/schools and Negro students/schools (1955-56 to 1963-64); and employees serving all schools (1964-65 to 1976-77).

[335] For the years 1938-39 to 1944-45, the report refers to this category of employee as Non-Teaching Employees and further divides the category into professional and non-professional employees. The Professional Employees include Administrators and Supervisors. The Non-Professional Employees include Truant Officer, Custodians, Clerical and Other Employees. During this time period, the Cobb County School District did not report any employees in the Professional Employees positions. For the purpose of this summary, only Custodians, Clerical Staff, and eventually Lunchroom employees are represented because they are most consistent throughout the time period of this study.

[336] NA indicates that the Report for the given year did not include a field for this category to be reported.

[337] Report for school year 1939-40 is missing from Georgia Archives.

[338] For the year 1941-42, the Report instructions indicate that the number of teachers reported should not include vocational technical teachers. On page 6, however, in a separate section, the following vocational technical teachers are reported: 3 male vocational agriculture teachers, 5 female home economics teachers, and 4 male vocational defense teachers.

[339] Report for school year 1943-44 is missing from Georgia Archives.

[340] For the years 1944-45to 1974-75, the Report defines Instructional Employees to include "academic and vocational teachers."

[341] Starting in 1945-46, the Report defines Instructional Employees to include "academic and vocational teachers; including teaching principals and school librarians;" although neither of those categories are reported separately it does indicate the initiation of these specific roles.

[342] Starting in 1945-46, the Report specifically introduces a category titled "Non-Teaching Principal." Although Cobb County reported having zero Non-Teaching Principals in White schools and zero Non-Teaching principals in Colored schools it is significant to note the evolution of the school principal.

Table 4.1 Summary of School-Based Employees from 1938-39 to 1976-77 as Reported in the Superintendent's Annual Report

School Year[334]	Total Students	School-Based, Instructional Employees					School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees[335]			
		Total Number of Instructional Employees	Number Administrators	Number Librarians	Number Counselors	Number Teachers	Total Number Non-Instructional Employees	Number Custodians	Number Clerical Staff	Number of Lunchroom Employees
1945-46 (C)	743	25	0	NA	NA	25	2	2	0	0
1946-47 (W)[345]	7882	218	0	NA	NA	218[346]	72	19	1	52
1946-47 (C)	701	19	0	NA	NA	19	0	0	0	0
1947-48 (W)	8225	224	3[347]	NA	NA	221	56	17	1	38
1947-48 (C)	722	20	0	NA	NA	20	0	0	0	0
1948-49 (W)	8589	238	3	NA	NA	235	79	19	1	59
1948-49 (C)	677	24	0	NA	NA	24	0	0	0	0
1949-50 (W)	9117	253	6	NA	NA	247	90	19	2	68
1949-50 (C)	644	23	0	NA	NA	23	1	1	0	0
1950-51 (W)	9585	264	4	NA	NA	260	43	25	4	13
1950-51 (C)	650	23	0	NA	NA	23	0	0	0	0
1951-52 (W)	10393	287	7	NA	NA	280	81	21	3	22
1951-52 (C)	685	26	-[348]	NA	NA	26	-	-	-	-
1952-53 (W)	11607	352	9	NA	NA	343	115	23	1	19
1952-53 (C)	658	27	0	NA	NA	27	3	1	0	1
1953-54 (W)	13305	414	20	NA	NA	394	127	26	1	21
1953-54 (C)	622	21[349]	0	NA	NA	26	11	3	0	3

[343] For the years 1945-46 to 1974-75, the Report no longer refers to this category of employee as Non-Teaching (Professional or Non-Professional) but instead refers to this category as Non-Instructional Employees by School. During this range of years, the Report includes the following positions in the Non-Instructional Employee count: Clerk, Lunchroom Employee, Food Processing, Janitors, and Others. The table does not include Food Processing because it is a position that trends for only 8 (1945-46 to 1952-53) years. The table also does not include Others because of the uncertainty of defining that position over the full time period of this study.

[344] Note the presence of the lunchroom employee in 1945-46.

[345] The 1946-47 Report includes a type-written letter (see Figure 4.11) dated June 27, 1947 to the Assistant State School Superintendent, Dr. J.I. Allman from the Cobb County Board of Education explaining the increase in average daily attendance for the 1946-47 school year over the prior year "despite the fact that our roads in Cobb County were under construction for pavement and a serious epidemic of flue and measles during the month of March and April." The letter goes on to explain that the system is experiencing substantial loss in revenue because they will not receive Lanham Act Funds and the loss of "more than Two Million Dollars on the tax roll brought about by the Bell Aircraft Corporation being taken over by the Federal Government." The letter is attached to page sixteen (transportation page) of the 1946-47 Report. I found this letter of particular interest given the historical context provided for this inquiry in chapter 3 and the role that Bell Aircraft played in the local Cobb economy; as well as the infrastructure growth that was discussed for the years aligning with this Report. This is a reminder of the interconnectedness of the school system changes and the county changes (both economically and for infrastructure) over the time period of this study.

[346] In 1946-47, there is a discrepancy in the number of teachers reported in two different sections of the report. On page 3, the total number of teachers teaching in White schools is reported at 218 (originally 208 but then corrected with red pencil to 218) and on page 11, the total number of teachers teaching in Colored schools is reported at 19 (and confirmed with 2 red pencil check marks). However, on page 18, the summary of teachers indicates 219 teachers in White schools and 23 teachers in Colored schools.

[347] This value introduces the first evidence of a Non-Teaching Principal at three of the White schools in Cobb County.

[348] Page missing from 1951-52 Report.

Table 4.1 Summary of School-Based Employees from 1938-39 to 1976-77 as Reported in the Superintendent's Annual Report

School Year[334]	Total Students	School-Based, Instructional Employees					School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees[335]			
		Total Number of Instructional Employees	Number Administrators	Number Librarians	Number Counselors	Number Teachers	Total Number Non-Instructional Employees	Number Custodians	Number Clerical Staff	Number of Lunchroom Employees
1954-55 (W)	14581	446	20	NA	NA	426	140[350]	29	2	22
1954-55 (C)	855	23	0	NA	NA	23	9	3	0	3
1955-56 (W)	16096	494	-[351]	NA	NA	494	173[352]	36	1	23
1955-56 (N)	830	25	0	NA	NA	25	9	3	0	3
1956-57 (W)	17387	560	25	NA	NA	535	187	33	2	150[353]
1956-57 (N)	877	25	0	NA	NA	25	10	3	0	7
1957-58 (W)	18926	604	27	NA	NA	577	204[354]	44	3	26
1957-58 (N)	927	25	0	NA	NA	25	8	3	0	3
1958-59 (W)	20230	666	32	NA	NA	634	209[355]	44	2	31
1958-59 (N)	967	28	0	NA	NA	28	9	3	0	3
1959-60 (W)	22338	727[356]	32	0	0[357]	695	233	44	7	180
1959-60 (N)	1050	29	0	0	0	29	9	3	0	6
1960-61 (W)	21124	772	34	0	0	738	219	47	3	168
1960-61 (N)	1016	32	1[358]	0	0	31	8	3	0	5
1961-62 (W)	25930	854	40[359]	6	8	800[360]	247	50	6	190

[349] The 1953-54 Report indicates that the number of teachers employed at black schools in Cobb was 21 but that Cobb also paid the salary of 5 teachers at the high school in Marietta per the agreement between the two systems. This aligns with the historical narrative provided by Thomas A. Scott, *Cobb County, Georgia and the Origins of the Suburban South, A Twentieth-Century History*, who wrote that high school students in Cobb had access to attending the Marietta City High School for colored students on Lemon Street in Marietta.

[350] In the 1954-55 Report there were 87 people in the "White Other" category and 3 in the "Black Other" category of non-instructional personnel accounting for the large disparity between the total number and the breakdown provided on Table 4.1 (since Other is not included for the purpose of this data table).

[351] Page missing in the 1955-56 Report.

[352] In the 1955-56 Report there were 112 people in the "White Other" category and 3 in the "Black Other" category of non-instructional personnel accounting for the large disparity between the total number and the breakdown provided on Table 4.1 (since Other is not included for the purpose of this data table).

[353] There is a notable increase in the number of Lunchroom Employees from the 1955-56 Report to the 1956-57 Report. I conclude that there is a possibility that the employees reported in the "Other" category for the two years prior were also working in the lunchroom in some capacity and then reported more specifically this year.

[354] In 1957-58, the Others category of Non-Instructional Employees totaled 131 for White schools and 3 for Negro schools.

[355] In 1958-59, the Others category of Non-Instructional Employees totaled 129 for White schools and 2 for Negro schools.

[356] Starting in the 1959-60 Report, the Total Number of Instructional Employees is defined as "Academic and Vocational Teachers; Including Teaching Principals, Librarians, Counselors, and Exceptional Teachers." Additionally, Assistant Principals, Librarians, and Counselors are reported separately. And although Cobb County does not indicate the use of these positions at this time, for the purpose of this study it is significant to note the explicit inclusion of this position in the report.

[357] Note the first formalized incorporation of a school-based employee responsible for services beyond direct instruction in 1959-60.

[358] Note the first Non-Teaching Principal for one of the Negro schools. This falls 16 years after the initiation of the position as indicated by a field on the Report and 14 years after the presence of Non-Teaching Principals in White schools.

Table 4.1 Summary of School-Based Employees from 1938-39 to 1976-77 as Reported in the Superintendent's Annual Report

School Year[334]	Total Students	School-Based, Instructional Employees					School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees[335]			
		Total Number of Instructional Employees	Number Administrators	Number Librarians	Number Counselors	Number Teachers	Total Number Non-Instructional Employees	Number Custodians	Number Clerical Staff	Number of Lunchroom Employees
1961-62 (N)	1047	37	2	0	0	35	9	3	0	6
1962-63 (W)	28318	957	41	4	9	903	288	62	6	219
1962-63 (N)	1115	39	3	0	0	36	8	3	0	5
1963-64 (W)	31352	1093	59	10	14	1010	338	82	15	239
1963-64 (N)	1153	41	3	0	0	38	10	3	0	7
1964-65[361]	35304	1273	59[362]	11	20	1183	389	98	20	271
1965-66[363]	38668	1514	73	54	27	1360	556	164	56	336
1966-67	41330	1558	88	56	28	1386	566	169	58	339
1967-68	43325	1643	70[364]	NA[365]	NA[366]	1573[367]	-[368]	-	-	-
1968-69	46183	1750	94	57	39	1560	596	151	63	363
1969-70	47456	1848	71[369]	72	46	1659	865[370]	201	70	582
1970-71	49277	1931	93	69	49	1720	896[371]	209	97	579
1971-72	50673	2021	101	70	43	1807	986[372]	189	107	632
1972-73	52911	2141	121	71	44	1905	808[373]	182	107.5	410.5
1973-74	53803	2250.5	125	75	48	2002.5[374]	867	188.75	113.5	389.5

[359] Value now includes the Non-Teaching Principals plus the Assistant Principals. In the year 1961-62, there were 37 Non-Teaching Principals and 3 Assistant Principals for White schools; and 2 Non-Teaching Principals and 0 Assistant Principals for Negro schools.
[360] This value represents the Total Instructional Employees minus the Number of Administrators minus the Number of Librarians minus the Number of Counselors.
[361] According to Thomas A. Scott, *Cobb County, Georgia and the Origins of the Suburban South, A Twentieth-Century History*, the Cobb County schools were not fully integrated until the end of the 1968-69 school year.
[362] The 1964-65 Report is the first to combine data for White and Negro schools. I found it interesting to note that the total number of Administrators for White schools in the prior year was 59 with 3 Administrators in Negro schools. The year it is combined the total value is 59 which poses for me the question regarding the 3 Administrators serving Negro schools the year before.
[363] Notable increase in all employee groups reported in 1965-66. Especially note the increase from the prior year in Librarians, Custodians, Clerical Staff, and Lunchroom Employees.
[364] Assistant Principals not reported separately in 1967-68 Report.
[365] Not reported separately in 1967-68 Report.
[366] Not reported separately in 1967-68 Report.
[367] Total teachers reported in a separate section in 1967-68 Report.
[368] Data not available due to page missing from 1967-68 Report.
[369] Number of Non-Teaching Principals dropped from 75 in the prior year to 55 in 1969-70 according to data provided in Report.
[370] In the 1969-70 Report, the Non-Instructional Employees category began to also include Teacher Aids which in this particular year totaled 12.
[371] In the 1970-71 Report, Teacher Aids totaled 11.
[372] In the 1971-72 Report, Teacher Aids totaled 58.
[373] In the 1972-73 Report, Teacher Aids totaled 108. Note the decrease in Lunchroom employees.
[374] In the 1973-74 Report, Teacher Aids totaled 168.75.

Table 4.1 Summary of School-Based Employees from 1938-39 to 1976-77 as Reported in the Superintendent's Annual Report

School Year[334]	Total Students	School-Based, Instructional Employees					School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees[335]			
		Total Number of Instructional Employees	Number Administrators	Number Librarians	Number Counselors	Number Teachers	Total Number Non-Instructional Employees	Number Custodians	Number Clerical Staff	Number of Lunchroom Employees
1974-75	54277	2326.5	128	75	51	2027.5	948.8	231	110.5	392.3
1975-76[375]	45939	2263[376]	NA	NA	NA	2263	931[377]	225[378]	120	363
1976-77	47001	2339	NA	NA	NA	2339	1014[379]	233[380]	150	406

[375] The 1975-76 Report had an unusually high number of corrections indicated in red colored pencil marks throughout. The data indicated on the summary table might be unreliable based on the effort to decipher so many corrections. Note specifically the decrease in total students which does not follow the trend for population growth in Cobb County during this time period.

[376] The Instructional Employees were not further categorized by Non-Teaching Principal, Assistant Principal, Librarian, or Counselor in the 1975-76 Report. Also, the report instructions do not specify that this number should include Non-Teaching Principals, Assistant Principals, Librarians, or Counselors as had been the case in previous years so the assumption has been made for the purpose of this summary table that this value is equal to the total number of teachers only.

[377] In the 1975-76 Report, the Non-Instructional Employees are referred to as Non-Professional Positions. Also note, Teacher Aids in this category totaled 205. The Other category totaled 20.

[378] In the 1975-76 Report, the Janitor position is actually divided between Janitors and Maids. In this particular year, there were 199 Janitors reported and 26 Maids.

[379] Teacher Aids totaled 213 in 1976-77.

[380] In the 1976-77 Report, the Janitor position is actually divided between Janitors and Maids. In this particular year, there were 208 Janitors reported and 25 Maids.

System Level Personnel Data from 1938-39 to 1976-77

System-Level Employee information was included in each of the Superintendent's Annual Report, later called Superintendent's Annual Attendance Report, starting in the 1945-46 school year. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this section of the Report is that the categories of positions for the System Level Employees hardly changed at all from its initiation throughout the time period studied. The only changes to note include: the title Instructional Supervisors is shifted to Curriculum Directors in 1965-66; the name of the title Lunchroom Management is shifted to Lunch Program Supervisor in 1959-60; and the name of the title Clerical is shifted to Clerical and Technical in 1964-65. Unlike the School-Based Employee positions, the System-Level positions are fairly easy to trace during the time period studied. Similar to the School-Based Employee fields on the Report, the System-Level Employees are reported by White and Colored/Negro. In the 1956-57 Report, there is a hand-written note to indicate that the employees documented served both White and Colored schools.[381] The summary of System-Level Employees is presented on Table 4.2.

[381] Superintendent's Annual Report to the State Department of Education, Cobb County, 1957, 29, The Georgia Archives, Morrow, Georgia.

Table 4.2 Summary of System-Level Employees from 1938-39 to 1976-77 as Reported in the Superintendent's Annual Report

School Year	Total Students	System-Level Employees										
		Total System-Level Employees[382]	Administrative Assistants	Instructional Supervisors	Visiting Teachers	Attendance Officers	School Plants	Bus Shop	Lunchroom Management	Librarian Supervisor	Clerical	Other
1938-39 (W)	6705	NA[383]	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1938-39 (C)	998	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1939-40 (W)[384]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1939-40 (C)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1940-41 (W)	6882	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1940-41 (C)	920	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1941-42 (W)	6784	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1941-42 (C)	860	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1942-43 (W)	6828	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1942-43 (C)	820	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1943-44 (W)[385]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1943-44 (C)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1944-45 (W)	7278	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1944-45 (C)	642	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1945-46 (W)	7684	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1945-46 (C)	743	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1946-47 (W)	7882	6	0	1[386]	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	1
1946-47 (C)	701	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1947-48 (W)	8225	6	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	1
1947-48 (C)	722	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1948-49 (W)	8589	6	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	0
1948-49 (C)	677	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1949-50 (W)	9117	6	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	0
1949-50 (C)	644	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1950-51 (W)	9585	9	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1[387]	3	1[388]
1950-51 (C)	650	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1951-52 (W)	10393	9	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	3	1
1951-52 (C)	685	2	0	1	0	0	1[389]	0	0	0	0	0

[382] The categories of System-Level Employees does not vary throughout the period of Superintendent Reports reviewed for this study. With the exception of the name of the title Instructional Supervisors is shifted to Curriculum Directors in 1965-66; the name of the title Lunchroom Management is shifted to Lunch Program Supervisor in 1959-60; and the name of the title Clerical is shifted to Clerical and Technical in 1964-65.

[383] For the years 1938-39 to 1945-46, NA indicates that the Superintendent's Annual Report does not include fields to report any System-Level employees.

[384] Report for school year 1939-40 is missing from Georgia Archives.

[385] Report for school year 1943-44 is missing from Georgia Archives.

[386] From 1946-47 to 1964-65, the position is titled Instructional Supervisor. In 1955-56 to 1976-77, the position is titled Curriculum Director

[387] In the 1950-51 Report there is the first indication of a Supervisor of Librarians in Cobb County.

[388] In the 1950-51 Report, the Other is specified as Audiovisual.

[389] In the 1951-52 Report, there is the first position at the School Plant to serve Colored schools.

School Year	Total Students	System-Level Employees										
		Total System-Level Employees[382]	Administrative Assistants	Instructional Supervisors	Visiting Teachers	Attendance Officers	School Plants	Bus Shop	Lunchroom Management	Librarian Supervisor	Clerical	Other
1952-53 (W)	11607	9	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	3	1
1952-53 (C)	658	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
1953-54 (W)	13305	12	0	1	0	0	5[390]	1	0	1	3	1
1953-54 (C)	622	0	0	0[391]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1954-55 (W)	14581	8	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	3	1
1954-55 (C)	855	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1955-56 (W)	16096	10	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	4	3
1955-56 (N)	830	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2[392]
1956-57 (W)[393]	17387	10	1	1	1[394]	0	1	1	0	1	4	0
1956-57 (N)	877	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1957-58 (W)	18926	10	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	4	1
1957-58 (N)	927	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1958-59 (W)	20230	11	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	4	3
1958-59 (N)	967	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1959-60 (W)	22338	16	1	1	1	0	7	0	0	0	4	2
1959-60 (N)	1050	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960-61 (W)	21124	18	2	1	1	0	7	0	0	0	5	2
1960-61 (N)	1016	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961-62 (W)	25930	20	2	1	0	1	8	0	0	1	5	2
1961-62 (N)	1047	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1962-63 (W)	28318	28	2	1	0	1	13	0	0	0	5	6
1962-63 (N)	1115	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1963-64 (W)	31352	41	2	2	1	1	18	5	0	0	8	4
1963-64 (N)	1153	3	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
1964-65[395]	35304	53	2	4	1	1	20	6	0	4	11[396]	4
1965-66	38668	57	7	8[397]	4	1	2	2	1[398]	1	20	11
1966-67	41330	100	9	12	3	0	18	10	2	2	26	18
1967-68	43325	130	5	13	5	0	42	13	2	2	29	19
1968-69	46183	132	10	10	4	0	26	10	2	1	38	31

[390] In the 1953-54 Report, note the increase in School Plant employees for White schools prior to the previous year.
[391] Note the discontinuation of the Instructional Supervisor to serve Colored schools. This position does not appear to be filled again until 1961-62.
[392] First evidence of personnel position in an "Other" position to serve Colored schools since 1951-52.
[393] On page 29 in the 1956-57 Report, there is a handwritten note on the report just below the field to record system level employees that states, "Serve both white + colored schools."
[394] First evidence of personnel in the Visiting Teachers position to serve White schools.
[395] According to Thomas A. Scott, Cobb County, Georgia and the Origins of the Suburban South, A Twentieth-Century History, the Cobb County schools were not fully integrated until the end of the 1968-69 school year.
[396] Starting in the 1964-65 Report, the Clerical category is expanded to include Clerical and Technical employees.
[397] Starting in the 1965-66 Report, the Instructional Supervisor category is called Curriculum Director.
[398] First evidence of personnel in the Lunchroom Management position. In the 1965-66 Report, this position is titled Lunch Program Supervisor.

School Year	Total Students	System-Level Employees										
		Total System-Level Employees[382]	Administrative Assistants	Instructional Supervisors	Visiting Teachers	Attendance Officers	School Plants	Bus Shop	Lunchroom Management	Librarian Supervisor	Clerical	Other
1969-70	47456	140	10	10	4	0	53	14	2	1	41	5
1970-71	49277	135	8	13	3	0	46	11	2	1	46	5
1971-72	50673	218	6	26	4	0	58	15	2	1	54	52
1972-73	52911	222.5	3	25	4	0	60	10.5	2	1	55	62
1973-74	53803	281	4	23	4	0	75	16	2	1	60	96
1974-75	54277	305	5	27	4	0	80	22	2	1	64	100
1975-76[399]	45939	323	5	30	4	0	76	18	2	1	83	104
1976-77	47001	352	5	31	5	0	85	19	2	1	87	117

[399] The 1975-76 Report had an unusually high number of corrections indicated in red colored pencil marks throughout. The data indicated on the summary table might be unreliable based on the effort to decipher so many corrections. Note specifically the decrease in total students which does not follow the trend for population growth in Cobb County during this time period.

Summary of Personnel Data from 1938-39 to 1976-77

The research question guiding this inquiry is: What is the history of school-delivered, non-instructional services as formalized through school district staffing? The data presented in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 display the data available through the Superintendent's Annual Reports, later called the Superintendent's Annual Attendance Reports, as available at the Georgia Archives from 1938-1977. For the purpose of this investigation, staffing data—as recorded through the number of people counted as employed in specific positions in the school system—is the mechanism to express the formalization of services. The presence of a position represents the formalization of the function for which that position is responsible. Therefore, by tracing the creation, changes, and elimination of positions, I create a genealogy of staffing patterns as they represent the functions they deliver. The data provided through the Superintendent's Annual Reports can be categorized consistently during the 1938-1977 years to include School-Based Instructional Staff, School-Based Non-Instructional Staff, and System-Level Staff. Within each of these three categories, positions either initiate, grow, decrease, and/or disappear. By specifically tracing the categories of School-Based, Non-Instructional Staff and System-Level Staff, I reconstruct the positions that existed as reflective of the functions for which those positions were responsible and associate the positions with the types of services that develop or fade in one school system. The most prominent example that reveals itself through the data available in the Superintendent's Reports from 1938-1977 is the lunchroom employee and the school counselor. As the lunchroom employee position appears in the Superintendent's Reports, the function of a lunchroom employee, and therefore the service of food provision, is formalized. The development and growth of this position can be aligned to the introduction and implementation of the federal School Lunch Act. Likewise, as the school counselor position

appears in the Superintendent's Reports, the function of the school counselor and the service of counseling is formalized in the school and school system. The development of this particular position can be aligned with the historical time period to professionalize social services for schools and to move from volunteer groups supporting children to incorporating trained experts in this type of field. In the following discussion, these two examples will be further examined.

My interest in this line of inquiry initiated from a much broader scope of the many services schools and school personnel deliver today. I was also initially interested in the informal development of services when formal positions and services were not in place. However, for the scope of this discussion, the Superintendent's Annual Reports from 1938-1977 offer a lens from which the current status of service delivery and the future implications of this type of work in public schools can be critically examined.

Chapter 5 – Discussion

Analysis of Results

An examination into almost-forty years of one school system's employment has provided a valuable set of data from which to frame this discussion. By distinguishing between employee types: School-Based Instructional Employees, School-Based Non-Instructional Employees, and System-Level Employees; and by tracing the changes over time of these three employee groups I am able to shed light on the history of school-delivered, non-instructional services as they are formalized through school district staffing. There are limitations to what can be included in this discussion, but those limitations pave the way for valuable future studies that can build on and further enhance this line of questioning. Although limitations will be discussed in greater detail in a subsequent section, I want to point to the most prominent limitation and that is the granularity at which the employment positions were reported. The literature has defined school-delivered, non-instructional services to include all of those services that extend beyond addressing the academically-disposed, educational needs of children and aim to meet the social, emotional, and medical needs of young people while they are in the care of educators.[400] The scope of services that fall within the definition of school-delivered, non-instructional services, and are traceable through the records examined, are counseling services and food services. These two services are formalized by the initiation of positions and subsequent growth of these positions as reported in the Superintendent's Annual Reports. My analysis and discussion begins with the over-arching staffing patterns as they appear in the three categories of School-Based Instructional Staff, School-Based Non-Instructional Staff, and System-Level Staff; and then

[400] Joy Dryfoos, "Full-service Community Schools," *Phi Delta Kappan* 83, no. 5 (2002).

proceeds to address the evolution of the lunchroom employee and school counselor as reflective of the evolution of food services and counseling services respectively.

To begin the analysis of data, Table 5.1 indicates the change in each employee type as a percentage of the total school system workforce over the time period, 1938-39 to 1976-77. In particular, note the third column on the table which compiles the total school system workforce during that year. For the purpose of Table 5.1, I intentionally left the employee data separated by employees serving white schools and employees serving colored schools for the years 1938-1964. I felt that it would conceal the significance represented by the separate reports if I combined the values during those years.[401] I focus on the change in percentage of the School-Based Instructional Employees of the Total School System Workforce, the change in percentage of the School-Based Non-Instructional Employees of the Total School System Workforce, and the change in the percentage of the System-Level Employees of the Total System Workforce. For the purpose of this analysis, I assume that the sum of School-Based Non-Instructional Employees and System-Level Employees in combination represent the staffing dedicated to supporting non-instructional services and non-instructional work of the school system; leaving only those employees counted in the School-Based Instructional Employees category as those employees providing direct instruction to students. Although these assumptions are present in the presentation of data in Table 5.1 and the graphs that follow, the complete picture of data revealed that non-teaching principals were also counted in the Instructional Staff, as were counselors and I will address this point in a subsequent section.

[401] The Superintendent's Annual Reports record data separately for white schools and colored schools from 1938-39 to 1964-65. This data could be of interest for a future study that focuses on the percent of the total workforce composed of employees serving colored or negro schools during that time period; however that is not the focus of this particular inquiry.

Table 5.1 Percent of Employee Type per Total School System Workforce

Year	Total Students	Total School System Workforce	Total Number of School-Based, Instructional Employees	Percent of School-Based, Instructional Employees in Total School System Workforce	Total Number of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees	Percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees in Total School System Workforce	Total System-Level Employees	Percent of System-Level Employees in Total School System Workforce	Sum of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System-Level Employees	Percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System-Level Employees in Total School System Workforce
1938-39 (W)	6705	193	183	94.82%	10	5.18%	0	0.00%	10	5.18%
1938-39 (C)	998	24	24	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
1939-40 (W)										
1939-40 (C)										
1940-41 (W)	6882	204	193	94.61%	11	5.39%	0	0.00%	11	5.39%
1940-41 (C)	920	24	24	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
1941-42 (W)	6784	203	190	93.60%	13	6.40%	0	0.00%	13	6.40%
1941-42 (C)	860	26	26	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
1942-43 (W)	6828	200	190	95.00%	10	5.00%	0	0.00%	10	5.00%
1942-43 (C)	820	26	25	96.15%	1	3.85%	0	0.00%	1	3.85%
1943-44 (W)										
1943-44 (C)										
1944-45 (W)	7278	210	198	94.29%	12	5.71%	0	0.00%	12	5.71%
1944-45 (C)	642	26	25	96.15%	1	3.85%	0	0.00%	1	3.85%
1945-46 (W)	7684	251	210	83.67%	41	16.33%	0	0.00%	41	16.33%

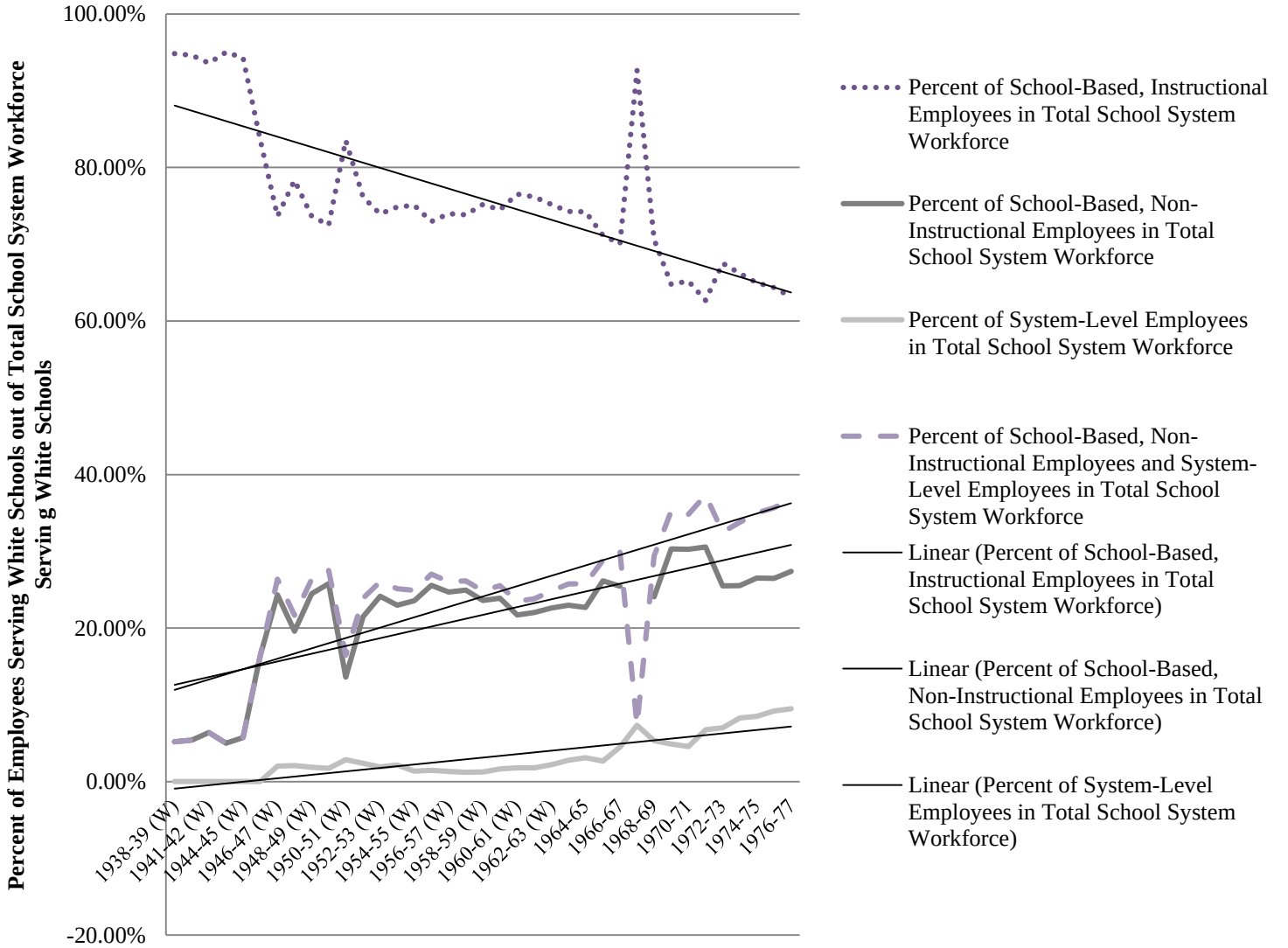
Year	Total Students	Total School System Workforce	Total Number of School-Based, Instructional Employees	Percent of School-Based, Instructional Employees in Total School System Workforce	Total Number of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees	Percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees in Total School System Workforce	Total System-Level Employees	Percent of System-Level Employees in Total School System Workforce	Sum of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System-Level Employees	Percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System-Level Employees in Total School System Workforce
1945-46 (C)	743	27	25	92.59%	2	7.41%	0	0.00%	2	7.41%
1946-47 (W)	7882	296	218	73.65%	72	24.32%	6	2.03%	78	26.35%
1946-47 (C)	701	20	19	95.00%	0	0.00%	1	5.00%	1	5.00%
1947-48 (W)	8225	286	224	78.32%	56	19.58%	6	2.10%	62	21.68%
1947-48 (C)	722	21	20	95.24%	0	0.00%	1	4.76%	1	4.76%
1948-49 (W)	8589	323	238	73.68%	79	24.46%	6	1.86%	85	26.32%
1948-49 (C)	677	25	24	96.00%	0	0.00%	1	4.00%	1	4.00%
1949-50 (W)	9117	349	253	72.49%	90	25.79%	6	1.72%	96	27.51%
1949-50 (C)	644	25	23	92.00%	1	4.00%	1	4.00%	2	8.00%
1950-51 (W)	9585	316	264	83.54%	43	13.61%	9	2.85%	52	16.46%
1950-51 (C)	650	24	23	95.83%	0	0.00%	1	4.17%	1	4.17%
1951-52 (W)	10393	377	287	76.13%	81	21.49%	9	2.39%	90	23.87%
1951-52 (C)	685	28	26	92.86%			2	7.14%	2	7.14%
1952-53 (W)	11607	476	352	73.95%	115	24.16%	9	1.89%	124	26.05%
1952-53 (C)	658	32	27	84.38%	3	9.38%	2	6.25%	5	15.63%
1953-54 (W)	13305	553	414	74.86%	127	22.97%	12	2.17%	139	25.14%
1953-54 (C)	622	32	21	65.63%	11	34.38%	0	0.00%	11	34.38%

Year	Total Students	Total School System Workforce	Total Number of School-Based, Instructional Employees	Percent of School-Based, Instructional Employees in Total School System Workforce	Total Number of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees	Percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees in Total School System Workforce	Total System-Level Employees	Percent of System-Level Employees in Total School System Workforce	Sum of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System-Level Employees	Percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System-Level Employees in Total School System Workforce
1954-55 (W)	14581	594	446	75.08%	140	23.57%	8	1.35%	148	24.92%
1954-55 (C)	855	32	23	71.88%	9	28.13%	0	0.00%	9	28.13%
1955-56 (W)	16096	677	494	72.97%	173	25.55%	10	1.48%	183	27.03%
1955-56 (N)	830	36	25	69.44%	9	25.00%	2	5.56%	11	30.56%
1956-57 (W)	17387	757	560	73.98%	187	24.70%	10	1.32%	197	26.02%
1956-57 (N)	877	35	25	71.43%	10	28.57%	0	0.00%	10	28.57%
1957-58 (W)	18926	818	604	73.84%	204	24.94%	10	1.22%	214	26.16%
1957-58 (N)	927	33	25	75.76%	8	24.24%	0	0.00%	8	24.24%
1958-59 (W)	20230	886	666	75.17%	209	23.59%	11	1.24%	220	24.83%
1958-59 (N)	967	37	28	75.68%	9	24.32%	0	0.00%	9	24.32%
1959-60 (W)	22338	976	727	74.49%	233	23.87%	16	1.64%	249	25.51%
1959-60 (N)	1050	38	29	76.32%	9	23.68%	0	0.00%	9	23.68%
1960-61 (W)	21124	1009	772	76.51%	219	21.70%	18	1.78%	237	23.49%
1960-61 (N)	1016	40	32	80.00%	8	20.00%	0	0.00%	8	20.00%
1961-62 (W)	25930	1121	854	76.18%	247	22.03%	20	1.78%	267	23.82%
1961-62 (N)	1047	47	37	78.72%	9	19.15%	1	2.13%	10	21.28%
1962-63 (W)	28318	1273	957	75.18%	288	22.62%	28	2.20%	316	24.82%
1962-63 (N)	1115	48	39	81.25%	8	16.67%	1	2.08%	9	18.75%
1963-64 (W)	31352	1472	1093	74.25%	338	22.96%	41	2.79%	379	25.75%

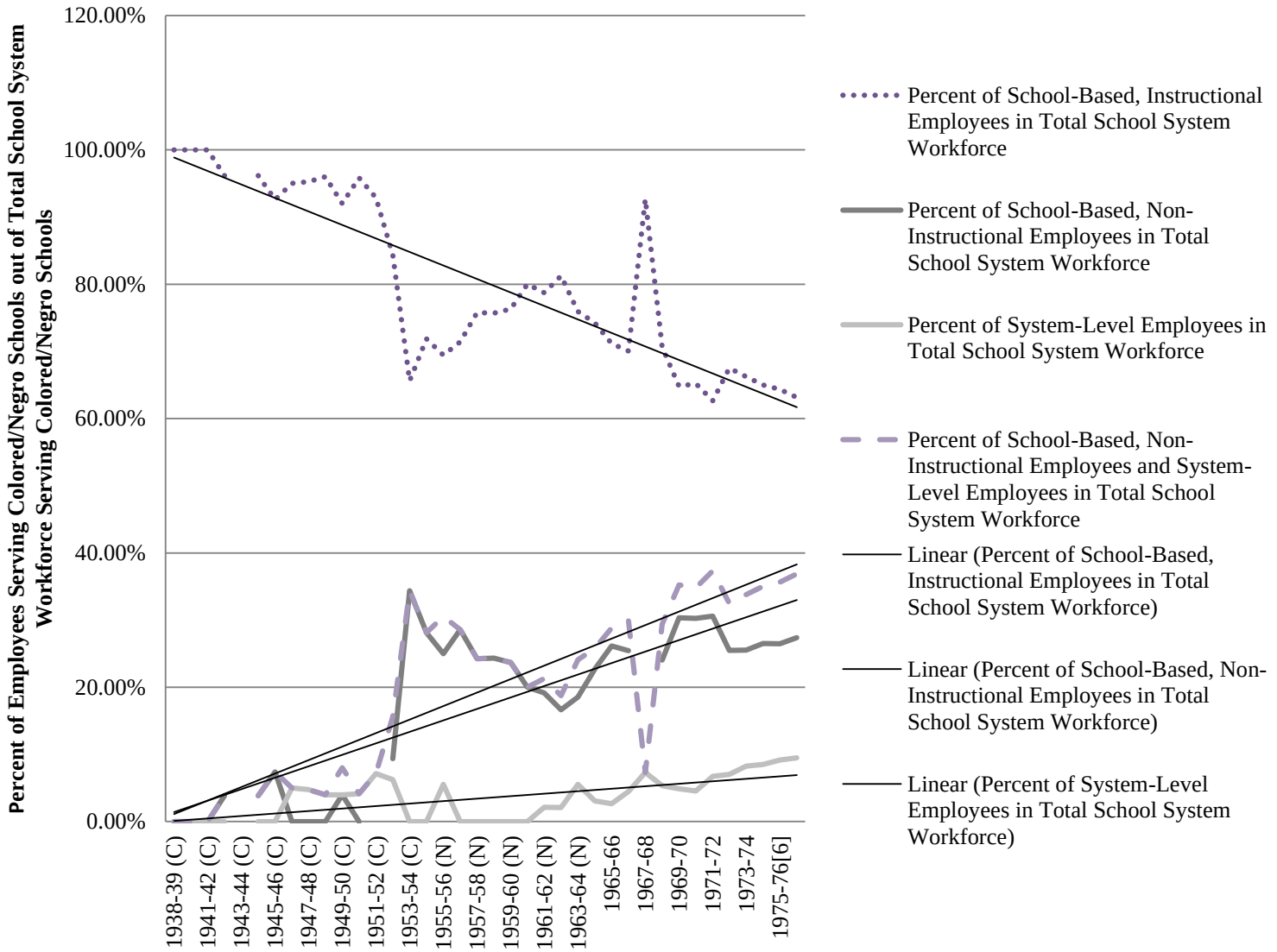
Year	Total Students	Total School System Workforce	Total Number of School-Based, Instructional Employees	Percent of School-Based, Instructional Employees in Total School System Workforce	Total Number of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees	Percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees in Total School System Workforce	Total System-Level Employees	Percent of System-Level Employees in Total School System Workforce	Sum of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System-Level Employees	Percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System-Level Employees in Total School System Workforce
1963-64 (N)	1153	54	41	75.93%	10	18.52%	3	5.56%	13	24.07%
1964-65	35304	1715	1273	74.23%	389	22.68%	53	3.09%	442	25.77%
1965-66	38668	2127	1514	71.18%	556	26.14%	57	2.68%	613	28.82%
1966-67	41330	2224	1558	70.05%	566	25.45%	100	4.50%	666	29.95%
1967-68	43325	1773	1643	92.67%			130	7.33%	130	7.33%
1968-69	46183	2478	1750	70.62%	596	24.05%	132	5.33%	728	29.38%
1969-70	47456	2853	1848	64.77%	865	30.32%	140	4.91%	1005	35.23%
1970-71	49277	2962	1931	65.19%	896	30.25%	135	4.56%	1031	34.81%
1971-72	50673	3225	2021	62.67%	986	30.57%	218	6.76%	1204	37.33%
1972-73	52911	3171.5	2141	67.51%	808	25.48%	222.5	7.02%	1030.5	32.49%
1973-74	53803	3398.5	2250.5	66.22%	867	25.51%	281	8.27%	1148	33.78%

Year	Total Students	Total School System Workforce	Total Number of School-Based, Instructional Employees	Percent of School-Based, Instructional Employees in Total School System Workforce	Total Number of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees	Percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees in Total School System Workforce	Total System-Level Employees	Percent of System-Level Employees in Total School System Workforce	Sum of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System-Level Employees	Percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System-Level Employees in Total School System Workforce
1974-75	54277	3580.3	2326.5	64.98%	948.8	26.50%	305	8.52%	1253.8	35.02%
1975-76[6]	45939	3517	2263	64.34%	931	26.47%	323	9.18%	1254	35.66%
1976-77	47001	3705	2339	63.13%	1014	27.37%	352	9.50%	1366	36.87%

Graph 5.1 Change in Staffing for White Schools (1938-1964) and Change of Staffing Serving All Schools (1965-1977)



Graph 5.2 Change in Staffing for Colored/Negro Schools (1938-1964) and Change of Staffing Serving All Schools (1965-1977)



Graph 5.1 and Graph 5.2 represent the change that occurs during the forty year time period regarding the percent of each employee type of the total school system workforce that is also represented in Table 5.1. However, the two graphics provide a clear way to view the employment trends in the Cobb County School District from 1938-39 to 1976-77. On both Graphs 5.1 and 5.2, the trend represented by the dotted line is the percentage of school-based, instructional employees that decline from 1938-30 to 1976-77. The percent of instructional employees was at its highest at 100.00% for colored schools in 1938-39 and 1940-41 for colored school employees and 95.00% in 1942-43 for white schools. The percent of instructional employees hits its lowest point in 1976-77 when this category of employees represents 63.13% of the total school system workforce.

Conversely, the three lower lines on both graphs represent the change in School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System-Level Employees combined (dash line) and then a separate line for percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees (solid, dark gray), and for the percent of System-Level Employees (solid, light gray). The graphical representation includes the sum of the two categories (dash line) on the graph which is most significant and also the individual employee types so that the rate of change for both categories can be viewed. It is obvious that the School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees (solid, dark gray) grew at a faster rate than the System-Level Employees (solid, light gray) given the greater slope in the trendline for the school based category on both graphs.

Tables 5.3 and 5.4 provide a summary of the changes that occurred over time; specifically in the percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees combined with the System-Level Employees. Again, this summation assumes that these two categories of employees in Cobb County during this time are not providing direct instruction to students. The

annual changes that occurred during the time period studied do not seem to indicate significant nor consistent changes throughout the years of 1938-39 to 1976-77. However, if you look at the data change at five year intervals there is a more captivating story. For example, in 1940, 0.21% of the total school system workforce serving White schools was comprised of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System-Level Employees combined. In 1945, it is up 10.94% more than in 1940 for White schools. In 1950, it is up 11.06% more than in 1940 for White schools. In 1955, it is 21.64% greater than in 1940 for White schools. In 1960, it is 18.10% higher than in 1940; which is a slight decrease from the 1955 percentage, but still a notable increase over 1940. In 1965, the total percentage is 23.43% greater than in 1940 and this percentage now represents staff serving integrated schools.[402] In 1970, the percentage is 29.42% higher than 1940. And in 1975, the percentage of the total workforce comprised of School-Based, Non-Instructional Staff and System-Level Employees combined is 30.26% greater than it was in 1940. See summary of data presented in Table 5.2.

[402] It is unclear whether the staff is serving integrated schools or if the numbers are just reported together given the discrepancy in the reports and the historical account that Cobb County did not fully integrate until the end of the 1967-68 school year.

Table 5.2 Change in Percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System Level Employees in Total School System Workforce from 1940 at Five Year Increments

Year	Percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System-Level Employees in Total School System Workforce	Change in Percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System Level Employees in Total School System Workforce from 1940
1940-41 (W)[403]	5.39%	
1945-46 (W)[404]	16.33%	10.94%
1950-51 (W)[405]	16.46%	11.06%
1955-56 (W)[406]	27.03%	21.64%
1960-61 (W)[407]	23.49%	18.10%
1965-66	28.82%	23.43%
1970-71	34.81%	29.42%
1975-76	35.66%	30.26%

The 30.26% increase over 1940 numbers leads to several conclusions regarding the make-up of the workforce serving Cobb County Schools. First, over this almost forty year time period, the work associated with delivering schooling included more than delivering academic instruction to students as indicated by the growth in non-instructional staff. And although this study does not uncover the specifics for every role in the organization, it is reasonable to conclude that, based on these data, there has been increasing complexity in delivering public education in the Cobb County School District as indicated by the growing need for increased numbers of non-instructional staff.

[403] Data represents employees serving White schools only.
[404] Ibid.
[405] Ibid.
[406] Ibid.
[407] Ibid.

Table 5.3 Change in Percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional and System-Level Employees for Staff Serving White Schools (1938-1964) and Staff Serving All Schools (1965-1977)

Year	Total School System Workforce	Sum of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System-Level Employees	Percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System-Level Employees in Total School System Workforce	Change in Percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System Employees in Total School System Workforce
1938-39 (W)	193	10	5.18%	-
1940-41 (W)	204	11	5.39%	0.21%
1941-42 (W)	203	13	6.40%	1.01%
1942-43 (W)	200	10	5.00%	-1.40%
1944-45 (W)	210	12	5.71%	0.71%
1945-46 (W)	251	41	16.33%	10.62%
1946-47 (W)	296	78	26.35%	10.02%
1947-48 (W)	286	62	21.68%	-4.67%
1948-49 (W)	323	85	26.32%	4.64%
1949-50 (W)	349	96	27.51%	1.19%
1950-51 (W)	316	52	16.46%	-11.05%
1951-52 (W)	377	90	23.87%	7.42%
1952-53 (W)	476	124	26.05%	2.18%
1953-54 (W)	553	139	25.14%	-0.91%
1954-55 (W)	594	148	24.92%	-0.22%
1955-56 (W)	677	183	27.03%	2.12%
1956-57 (W)	757	197	26.02%	-1.01%
1957-58 (W)	818	214	26.16%	0.14%
1958-59 (W)	886	220	24.83%	-1.33%
1959-60 (W)	976	249	25.51%	0.68%
1960-61 (W)	1009	237	23.49%	-2.02%
1961-62 (W)	1121	267	23.82%	0.33%
1962-63 (W)	1273	316	24.82%	1.01%
1963-64 (W)	1472	379	25.75%	0.92%
1964-65	1715	442	25.77%	0.03%

Year	Total School System Workforce	Sum of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System-Level Employees	Percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System-Level Employees in Total School System Workforce	Change in Percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System Employees in Total School System Workforce
1965-66	2127	613	28.82%	3.05%
1966-67	2224	666	29.95%	1.13%
1967-68	1773	130	7.33%	-22.61%
1968-69	2478	728	29.38%	22.05%
1969-70	2853	1005	35.23%	5.85%
1970-71	2962	1031	34.81%	-0.42%
1971-72	3225	1204	37.33%	2.53%
1972-73	3171.5	1030.5	32.49%	-4.84%
1973-74	3398.5	1148	33.78%	1.29%
1974-75	3580.3	1253.8	35.02%	1.24%
1975-76	3517	1254	35.66%	0.64%
1976-77	3705	1366	36.87%	1.21%

Table 5.4 Change in Percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional and System-Level Employees for Staff Serving Colored/Negro Schools (1938-1964) and Staff Serving All Schools (1965-1977)

Year	Total School System Workforce	Sum of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System-Level Employees	Percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System-Level Employees in Total School System Workforce	Change in Percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System Employees in Total School System Workforce
1938-39 (C)	24	0	0.00%	-
1940-41 (C)	24	0	0.00%	0.00%
1941-42 (C)	26	0	0.00%	0.00%
1942-43 (C)	26	1	3.85%	3.85%
1943-44 (C)				-3.85%
1944-45 (C)	26	1	3.85%	3.85%
1945-46 (C)	27	2	7.41%	3.56%
1946-47 (C)	20	1	5.00%	-2.41%
1947-48 (C)	21	1	4.76%	-0.24%
1948-49 (C)	25	1	4.00%	-0.76%
1949-50 (C)	25	2	8.00%	4.00%
1950-51 (C)	24	1	4.17%	-3.83%
1951-52 (C)	28	2	7.14%	2.98%
1952-53 (C)	32	5	15.63%	8.48%
1953-54 (C)	32	11	34.38%	18.75%
1954-55 (C)	32	9	28.13%	-6.25%
1955-56 (N)	36	11	30.56%	2.43%
1956-57 (N)	35	10	28.57%	-1.98%
1957-58 (N)	33	8	24.24%	-4.33%
1958-59 (N)	37	9	24.32%	0.08%
1959-60 (N)	38	9	23.68%	-0.64%
1960-61 (N)	40	8	20.00%	-3.68%
1961-62 (N)	47	10	21.28%	1.28%
1962-63 (N)	48	9	18.75%	-2.53%
1963-64 (N)	54	13	24.07%	5.32%
1964-65	1715	442	25.77%	1.70%
1965-66	2127	613	28.82%	3.05%

Year	Total School System Workforce	Sum of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System-Level Employees	Percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System-Level Employees in Total School System Workforce	Change in Percent of School-Based, Non-Instructional Employees and System Employees in Total School System Workforce
1966-67	2224	666	29.95%	1.13%
1967-68	1773	130	7.33%	-22.61%
1968-69	2478	728	29.38%	22.05%
1969-70	2853	1005	35.23%	5.85%
1970-71	2962	1031	34.81%	-0.42%
1971-72	3225	1204	37.33%	2.53%
1972-73	3171.5	1030.5	32.49%	-4.84%
1973-74	3398.5	1148	33.78%	1.29%
1974-75	3580.3	1253.8	35.02%	1.24%
1975-76[6]	3517	1254	35.66%	0.64%
1976-77	3705	1366	36.87%	1.21%

Before taking a more granular view of specific positions as they changed over the time period studied, I want to provide a summary of the changing landscape of the System-Level Employees. System-Level Employees, as reported through the Superintendent's Annual Report, represent what educators today might call the central office. At the onset of the time period reviewed for this study, there were not even any fields on the Superintendent's Annual Report to submit information regarding System-Level Employees. We do know, however, that in Cobb County, there was a Superintendent during the 1938-39 school year, Superintendent Wills, and there are minutes available in the local archives of board meetings from this time period so there was likely at the least a secretary to the Superintendent and/or Board. Beyond that, we know nothing, based on the Superintendent's Annual Reports of other System-Level Employees. In 1946-47, there is the first evidence of reporting to the State Department of Education the number of System-Level Employees and during this inaugural year of reporting, Cobb County reported having six System-Level Employees serving White schools and one System-Level employee serving Colored schools. From 1946-47, the number of System-Level Employees grew as high as 332 in the final year of the time period studied, 1976-77, contributing to almost 10% of the Total School System Workforce that year. Table 5.5 below provides a summary of the changes in System-Level Employees.

Table 5.5 Percent of System-Level Employees in Total School System Workforce from 1938-39 to 1976-77

Year	Total School System Workforce	Total System-Level Employees	Percent of System-Level Employees in Total School System Workforce
1938-39 (W)	193	0	0.00%
1938-39 (C)	24	0	0.00%
1939-40 (W)			
1939-40 (C)			
1940-41 (W)	204	0	0.00%
1940-41 (C)	24	0	0.00%
1941-42 (W)	203	0	0.00%
1941-42 (C)	26	0	0.00%
1942-43 (W)	200	0	0.00%
1942-43 (C)	26	0	0.00%
1943-44 (W)			
1943-44 (C)			
1944-45 (W)	210	0	0.00%
1944-45 (C)	26	0	0.00%
1945-46 (W)	251	0	0.00%
1945-46 (C)	27	0	0.00%
1946-47 (W)	296	6	2.03%
1946-47 (C)	20	1	5.00%
1947-48 (W)	286	6	2.10%
1947-48 (C)	21	1	4.76%
1948-49 (W)	323	6	1.86%
1948-49 (C)	25	1	4.00%
1949-50 (W)	349	6	1.72%
1949-50 (C)	25	1	4.00%
1950-51 (W)	316	9	2.85%
1950-51 (C)	24	1	4.17%
1951-52 (W)	377	9	2.39%

Year	Total School System Workforce	Total System-Level Employees	Percent of System-Level Employees in Total School System Workforce
1951-52 (C)	28	2	7.14%
1952-53 (W)	476	9	1.89%
1952-53 (C)	32	2	6.25%
1953-54 (W)	553	12	2.17%
1953-54 (C)	32	0	0.00%
1954-55 (W)	594	8	1.35%
1954-55 (C)	32	0	0.00%
1955-56 (W)	677	10	1.48%
1955-56 (N)	36	2	5.56%
1956-57 (W)	757	10	1.32%
1956-57 (N)	35	0	0.00%
1957-58 (W)	818	10	1.22%
1957-58 (N)	33	0	0.00%
1958-59 (W)	886	11	1.24%
1958-59 (N)	37	0	0.00%
1959-60 (W)	976	16	1.64%
1959-60 (N)	38	0	0.00%
1960-61 (W)	1009	18	1.78%
1960-61 (N)	40	0	0.00%
1961-62 (W)	1121	20	1.78%
1961-62 (N)	47	1	2.13%
1962-63 (W)	1273	28	2.20%
1962-63 (N)	48	1	2.08%
1963-64 (W)	1472	41	2.79%
1963-64 (N)	54	3	5.56%
1964-65[4]	1715	53	3.09%
1965-66[5]	2127	57	2.68%
1966-67	2224	100	4.50%
1967-68	1773	130	7.33%

Year	Total School System Workforce	Total System-Level Employees	Percent of System-Level Employees in Total School System Workforce
1968-69	2478	132	5.33%
1969-70	2853	140	4.91%
1970-71	2962	135	4.56%
1971-72	3225	218	6.76%
1972-73	3171.5	222.5	7.02%
1973-74	3398.5	281	8.27%
1974-75	3580.3	305	8.52%
1975-76[6]	3517	323	9.18%
1976-77	3705	352	9.50%

Table 5.6 Change in System-Level Employees in Total School System Workforce from 1940 in Five Year Increments from 1940-1975

Year	Total School System Workforce	Total System-Level Employees	Percent of System-Level Employees in Total School System Workforce	Change in Percent of System-Level Employees in Total School System Workforce from 1940 in Five Year Increments
1940-41 (W)[408]	204	0	0.00%	
1945-46 (W)[409]	251	0	0.00%	0.00%
1950-51 (W)[410]	316	9	2.85%	2.85%
1955-56 (W)[411]	677	10	1.48%	1.48%
1960-61 (W)[412]	1009	18	1.78%	1.78%
1965-66	2127	57	2.68%	2.68%
1970-71	2962	135	4.56%	4.56%
1975-76	3517	323	9.18%	9.18%

[408] Data represents System-Level Employees serving White schools only.
[409] Ibid.
[410] Ibid.
[411] Ibid.
[412] Ibid.

Graph 5.3 Change in System-Level Employees in Total School System Workforce in Five Year Increments from 1940-1975

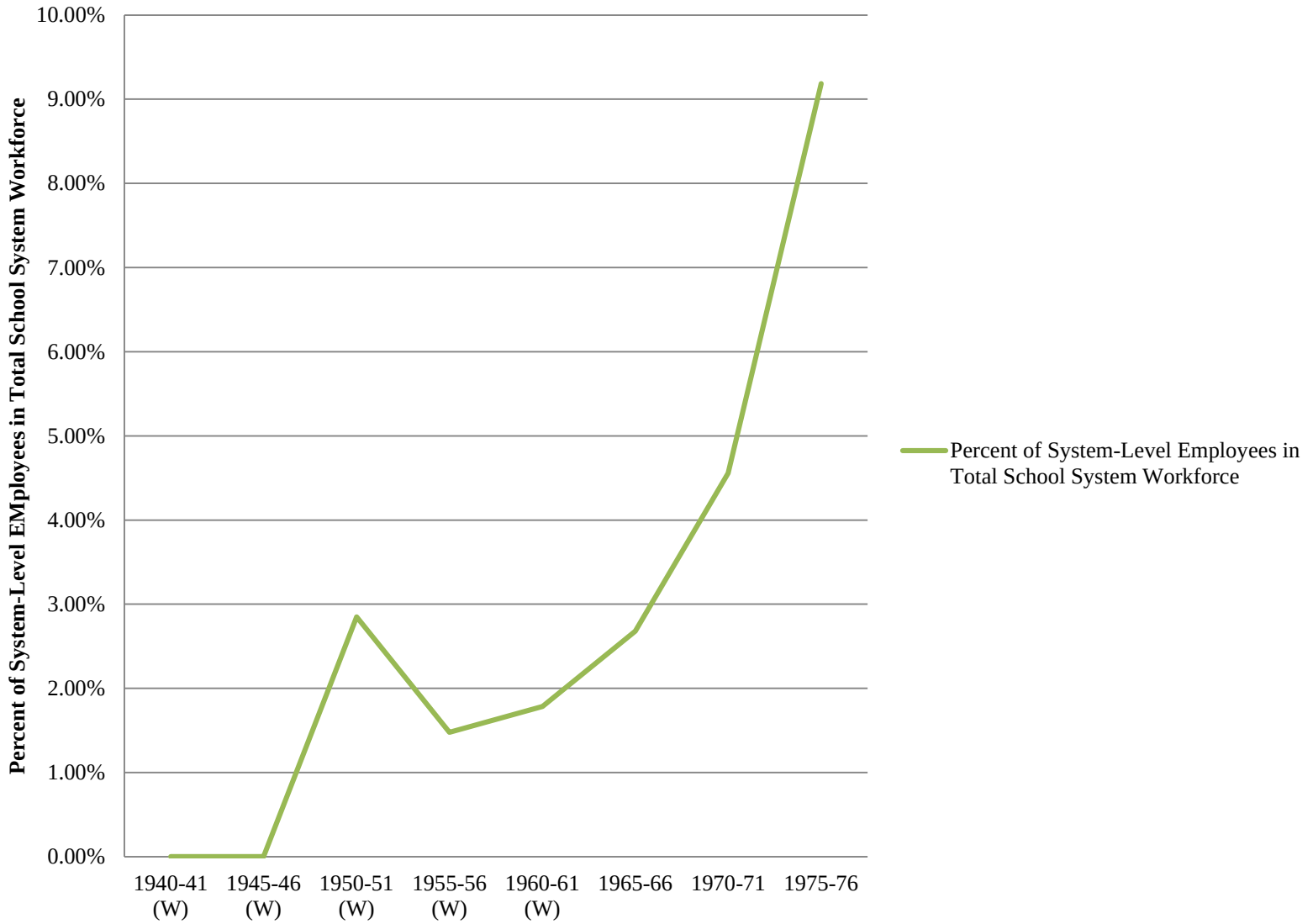


Table 5.6 and Graph 5.3 demonstrate the change in System-Level Employees at five year increments during the time studied. The graphical representation of a growing group of employees that are not even situated at the local school further emphasizes the complex responsibilities falling on systems to deliver public schooling. The change in System-Level Employees in Cobb County increases from 0% of the total workforce to almost 10%. And while these data do not provide specificity of the types of services that were assumed by the growing roles, there clearly a disconnect from the teaching that takes place at the classroom level. In addition to examining this data from a systems perspective, it is important to note that nowhere in the Superintendent's Annual Report are drivers or bus drivers included in the data collected. In most instances, there are specific footnotes accompanying the System-Level Employee field on the Report that indicate not to include bus drivers (although drivers are reported separately in another section until 1956-57).

Within the School-Based Non-Instructional Employees category, consider an examination of the development of the Lunchroom Employee position. The history of providing meals through school initiated in the early 1900s when volunteer women's groups would provide and prepare the food to serve at school to nourish the poor and hungry immigrant children.[413] In 1946, the first federal legislation to institutionalize such a service, the School Lunch Act, was passed by the U.S. Congress and signed into law by President Truman and the presence of school lunches was firmly established in public schools.[414]

[413] Tyack, "Health and Social Services in Public Schools: Historical Perspectives."
[414] Sedlak and Schlossman, "The Public School and Social Services: Reassessing the Progressive Legacy."

Table 5.7 Percent of Lunchroom Employees in Total School System Workforce

School Year	Total Number of Lunchroom Employees	Total School System Workforce	Percent of Lunchroom Employees in Total School System Workforce
1938-39 (W)	0	193	0.00%
1938-39 (C)	0	24	0.00%
1939-40 (W)			
1939-40 (C)	0		
1940-41 (W)	0	204	0.00%
1940-41 (C)	0	24	0.00%
1941-42 (W)	0	203	0.00%
1941-42 (C)	0	26	0.00%
1942-43 (W)	0	200	0.00%
1942-43 (C)	0	26	0.00%
1943-44 (W)			
1943-44 (C)			
1944-45 (W)	0	210	0.00%
1944-45 (C)	0	26	0.00%
1945-46 (W)	22	251	8.76%
1945-46 (C)	0	27	0.00%
1946-47 (W)	52	296	17.57%
1946-47 (C)	0	20	0.00%
1947-48 (W)	38	286	13.29%
1947-48 (C)	0	21	0.00%
1948-49 (W)	59	323	18.27%
1948-49 (C)	0	25	0.00%

School Year	Total Number of Lunchroom Employees	Total School System Workforce	Percent of Lunchroom Employees in Total School System Workforce
1949-50 (W)	68	349	19.48%
1949-50 (C)	0	25	0.00%
1950-51 (W)	13	316	4.11%
1950-51 (C)	0	24	0.00%
1951-52 (W)	22	377	5.84%
1951-52 (C)			
1952-53 (W)	19	476	3.99%
1952-53 (C)	1	32	3.13%
1953-54 (W)	21	553	3.80%
1953-54 (C)	3	32	9.38%
1954-55 (W)	22	594	3.70%
1954-55 (C)	3	32	9.38%
1955-56 (W)	23	677	3.40%
1955-56 (N)	3	36	8.33%
1956-57 (W)	150	757	19.82%
1956-57 (N)	7	35	20.00%
1957-58 (W)	26	818	3.18%
1957-58 (N)	3	33	9.09%
1958-59 (W)	31	886	3.50%
1958-59 (N)	3	37	8.11%
1959-60 (W)	180	976	18.44%
1959-60 (N)	6	38	15.79%
1960-61 (W)	168	1009	16.65%

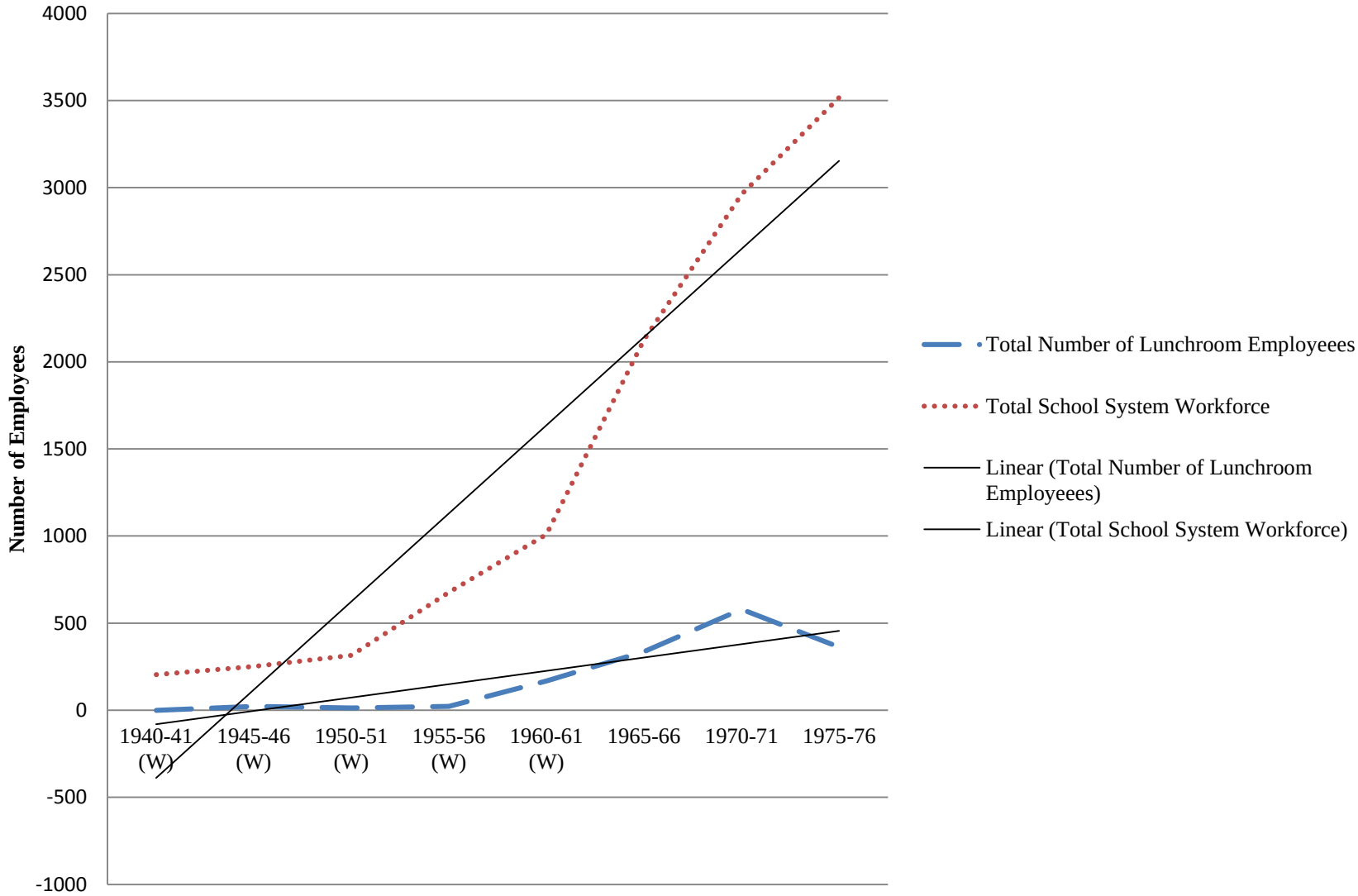
School Year	Total Number of Lunchroom Employees	Total School System Workforce	Percent of Lunchroom Employees in Total School System Workforce
1960-61 (N)	5	40	12.50%
1961-62 (W)	190	1121	16.95%
1961-62 (N)	6	47	12.77%
1962-63 (W)	219	1273	17.20%
1962-63 (N)	5	48	10.42%
1963-64 (W)	239	1472	16.24%
1963-64 (N)	7	54	12.96%
1964-65	271	1715	15.80%
1965-66	336	2127	15.80%
1966-67	339	2224	15.24%
1967-68			
1968-69	363	2478	14.65%
1969-70	582	2853	20.40%
1970-71	579	2962	19.55%
1971-72	632	3225	19.60%
1972-73	410.5	3171.5	12.94%
1973-74	389.5	3398.5	11.46%
1974-75	392.3	3580.3	10.96%
1975-76	363	3517	10.32%
1976-77	406	3705	10.96%

Table 5.8 Change in Percent Lunchroom Employees in Total School System Workforce from 1940 at Five Year Increments

School Year	Total Number of Lunchroom Employees	Total School System Workforce	Percent of Lunchroom Employees in Total School System Workforce	Change in Percent of Lunchroom Employees in Total School System Workforce from 1940
1940-41 (W)[415]	0	204	0.00%	
1945-46 (W)[416]	22	251	8.76%	8.76%
1950-51 (W)[417]	13	316	4.11%	4.11%
1955-56 (W)[418]	23	677	3.40%	3.40%
1960-61 (W)[419]	168	1009	16.65%	16.65%
1965-66	336	2127	15.80%	15.80%
1970-71	579	2962	19.55%	19.55%
1975-76	363	3517	10.32%	10.32%

[415] Data represents staff serving White schools only.
[416] Data represents staff serving White schools only.
[417] Data represents staff serving White schools only.
[418] Data represents staff serving White schools only.
[419] Data represents staff serving White schools only.

Graph 5.4 Change in Total Number of Lunch Room Employees and Total School System Workforce from 1940-1975



The years of 1938-39 to 1944-45, did not have fields to even report the presence of lunchroom employees so I debated whether to represent those years on Table 5.7 with a 0 or with an NA. I chose to use a 0 because, for the purpose of this analysis, I believe it is important to demonstrate the significant role that legislative activity at the federal level has on the staffing patterns in schools. Following the passage of the School Lunch Act in 1946, one can clearly observe the initiation of the role of the Lunchroom Employee and the field for school systems to report to the State Department of Education the staffing associated with delivering the non-instructional service required by law. And although school lunch programs were now required by federal law, the presence of staffing the lunchroom only appeared in schools serving white children at this time. It was not until the 1952-53 school year that there is any formal evidence of colored schools having staff to serve in the lunchroom. It is not certain whether this indicates that there were actually no lunch programs in colored schools until 1952 or if it indicates that the responsibility to prepare, deliver, and clean-up school lunches fell upon the shoulders of the staff already in place. Either way, it is important to note the slow increase in the number of Lunchroom Employees in colored schools as compared to the more dramatic increase of Lunchroom Employees in white schools.

Again, incremental, year-by-year analysis does not develop quite as compelling of a story regarding the substantial growth of non-instructional employees due to the formalization of staff in the lunch program. However, looking at five year increments during the time period studied and comparing the increase in the percentage of Lunchroom employees after the year 1940 shows a trend in the increase of non-instructional staff. Table 5.8 provides a summary of the change in percentage of Lunchroom Employees in the Total School System Workforce in five year increments. And Graph 5.4 illustrates the trend. The Total School System Workforce

(represented by a dotted line on Graph 5.4) increased at a faster rate but of the difference between the two positive slopes indicates that the Total Number of Lunchroom Employees changed from a non-existent component of the Total Workforce to a legitimate component of the Workforce composition.

Additionally, there is an associated role represented in the System-Level Employees category, titled Lunchroom Supervisor, which increases over time in much the same way that the Lunchroom employees increase. As previously indicated on Table 4.2, a field appeared in 1946-47 on the Superintendent's Annual Report for the school system to report staff filling the role of Lunchroom Management at the system-level. In 1959-60, the title changed on the Superintendent's Annual Report to Lunch Program Supervisor. However, it was not until 1965-66, that Cobb County reported that staff was hired to fill this system-level role. The following year, 1966-67, Cobb County reported hiring two staff members to fill this system-level role and the two positions continued in this capacity through the conclusion of the time period studied, 1976-77.

My initial interest in the field of school-delivered, non-instructional services originated through observation and intuition that there was a role that external influences played on how staffing changed over time in a school system. And I wondered at the early stages of this inquiry whether anyone had previously examined these changes formally developing over time. By summarizing the change in lunchroom employees over time and situating that change within the total changing workforce as one example, I am able to reveal the formalizing of a non-instructional service through a staffing pattern.

The majority of this analysis has focused on details within the School-Based Non-Instructional Employees category and/or the System-Level Employees category; however within

the School-Based Instructional Employees category, I would actually like to extract details regarding the developing role of the counselor. This position was both initiated and grew over the course of the time period studied and is a job category that is specific to the delivery of non-instructional services to students. I have taken note of the conflict between the literature referencing the role of the school counselor and the category in which it was reported by school systems to the State. School counseling has fallen within the category of non-instructional services in the literature.[420] However, the fields provided on the Superintendent's Annual Report and the Superintendent's Annual Attendance Report both include counselor in the School-Based Instructional Employee category. Due to the development of this position as revealed through patterns in the Superintendent's Annual Report, I think it is important to examine it more closely. Both Table 5.9 and Graph 5.5 depict the change in the counselor role over the time period studied. Note that the Superintendent's Annual Report did not include a field for there to be counseling staff specifically entered until 1959-60 and Cobb County did not report staff filling that role until 1961-62. Counselors were reported to serve in schools for white students only from 1961-62 to 1964-65 prior to the year when data for white schools and negro schools were combined in the Reports. Examining the counselor data by five year increments is less helpful in this case because of the late establishment of the counselor position within the time period studied. However, between 1961 and 1976, the total number of counselors peaked at 51 total in 1974-75 or 2.19% of the entire School-Based Instructional Employees. And in 1970-71, 46 total counselors comprised 2.54% of the School-Based Instructional Employees category.

[420] Sedlak and Church, "A History of Social Services Delivered to Youth, 1880-1977."

Table 5.9 Percent of Counselors in Total School-Based, Instructional Employees

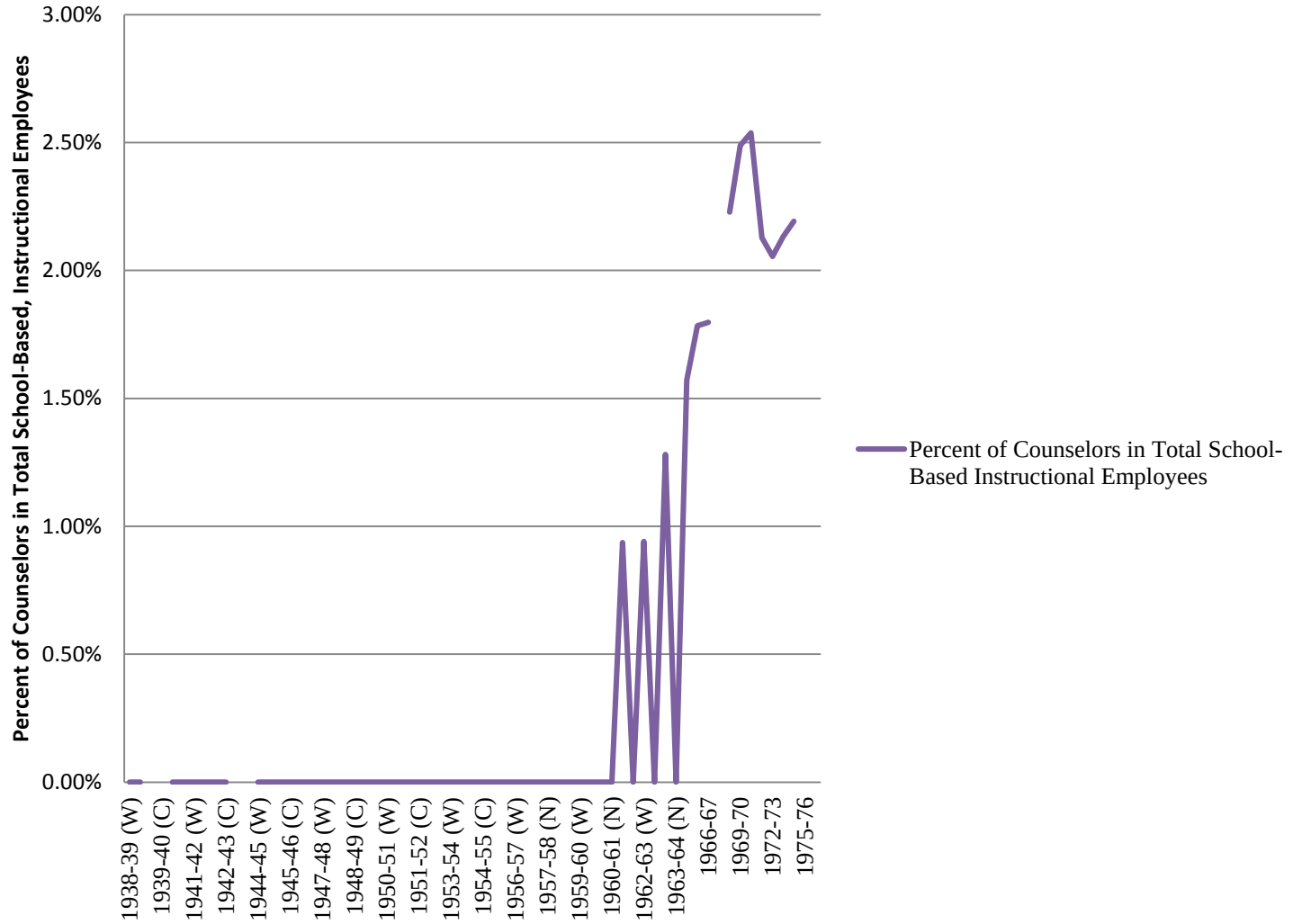
School Year	Total Number of Counselors	Total School-Based, Instructional Employees	Percent of Counselors in Total School-Based Instructional Employees
1938-39 (W)	0	183	0.00%
1938-39 (C)	0	24	0.00%
1939-40 (W)			
1939-40 (C)			
1940-41 (W)	0	193	0.00%
1940-41 (C)	0	24	0.00%
1941-42 (W)	0	190	0.00%
1941-42 (C)	0	26	0.00%
1942-43 (W)	0	190	0.00%
1942-43 (C)	0	25	0.00%
1943-44 (W)			
1943-44 (C)			
1944-45 (W)	0	198	0.00%
1944-45 (C)	0	25	0.00%
1945-46 (W)	0	210	0.00%
1945-46 (C)	0	25	0.00%
1946-47 (W)	0	218	0.00%
1946-47 (C)	0	19	0.00%
1947-48 (W)	0	224	0.00%

School Year	Total Number of Counselors	Total School-Based, Instructional Employees	Percent of Counselors in Total School-Based Instructional Employees
1947-48 (C)	0	20	0.00%
1948-49 (W)	0	238	0.00%
1948-49 (C)	0	24	0.00%
1949-50 (W)	0	253	0.00%
1949-50 (C)	0	23	0.00%
1950-51 (W)	0	264	0.00%
1950-51 (C)	0	23	0.00%
1951-52 (W)	0	287	0.00%
1951-52 (C)	0	26	0.00%
1952-53 (W)	0	352	0.00%
1952-53 (C)	0	27	0.00%
1953-54 (W)	0	414	0.00%
1953-54 (C)	0	21	0.00%
1954-55 (W)	0	446	0.00%
1954-55 (C)	0	23	0.00%
1955-56 (W)	0	494	0.00%
1955-56 (N)	0	25	0.00%
1956-57 (W)	0	560	0.00%
1956-57 (N)	0	25	0.00%
1957-58 (W)	0	604	0.00%
1957-58 (N)	0	25	0.00%

School Year	Total Number of Counselors	Total School-Based, Instructional Employees	Percent of Counselors in Total School-Based Instructional Employees
1958-59 (W)	0	666	0.00%
1958-59 (N)	0	28	0.00%
1959-60 (W)	0	727	0.00%
1959-60 (N)	0	29	0.00%
1960-61 (W)	0	772	0.00%
1960-61 (N)	0	32	0.00%
1961-62 (W)	8	854	0.94%
1961-62 (N)	0	37	0.00%
1962-63 (W)	9	957	0.94%
1962-63 (N)	0	39	0.00%
1963-64 (W)	14	1093	1.28%
1963-64 (N)	0	41	0.00%
1964-65	20	1273	1.57%
1965-66	27	1514	1.78%
1966-67	28	1558	1.80%
1967-68			
1968-69	39	1750	2.23%
1969-70	46	1848	2.49%
1970-71	49	1931	2.54%
1971-72	43	2021	2.13%
1972-73	44	2141	2.06%

School Year	Total Number of Counselors	Total School-Based, Instructional Employees	Percent of Counselors in Total School-Based Instructional Employees
1973-74	48	2250.5	2.13%
1974-75	51	2326.5	2.19%

Graph 5.5 Percent of Counselors in Total School-Based, Instructional Employees from 1939-1976



While the changing values representing counselors do not escalate at the rate that lunchroom employees escalated, the change noted remains a substantial contributing trend to addressing the research question: What is the history of school-delivered, non-instructional services as formalized through school district staffing? I do not propose that the role counselors play in public schools does not appropriately support instruction. The distinction of the position itself, however, indicates that the role is able to offer more than the teacher position alone. That indication further demonstrates the development of public schools addressing the needs of the community, and the children and family of the community beyond the teaching of academics. In an effort to trace the development of positions beyond instruction over time, the counselor role provides a glimpse of the growing complexities of delivering school in one school system.

While the tracing of lunchroom employees exemplifies what is found in the literature regarding the role of federal law to enhance to responsibility of local schools and school systems to deliver non-instructional services and the tracing of school counselors demonstrates the professionalization of social services within the school walls to serve the complex needs of a community's youth; neither of these examples directly illuminates the role of neoliberalism in public education today. There are important similarities however that exist between the more recent growth of neoliberalism and the initiation of both the food service and counseling service now formalized, and entrenched, in school system operations. First of all, the lunchroom employee position in Cobb County initiated along the timeline of the School Lunch Act. The strategy of the Johnson Administration at the time of enacting this federal law was under the guide of the greater War on Poverty.[421] The War on Poverty could fall within the "crisis politics" in neoliberal education reform that Graham B. Slater articulates today.[422] To

[421] Tyack, "Health and Social Services in Public Schools: Historical Perspectives."
[422] Slater, "Education as Recovery: Neoliberalism, School Reform, and the Politics of Crisis," 1.

demonstrate the parallel, I would consider the War on Poverty to be similar to the crisis strategy that Graham criticizes in neoliberal agendas for public education today. By generating narrative regarding a real or perceived crisis, policy is needed—in this case the School Lunch Act is needed to prevent childhood hunger—so that there can be a recovery plan that funnels dollars in a particular direction.[423]

The neoliberal agenda also has aspects according to Pauline Lipman that are driven by financially elite, politically powerful, and the professionalized grassroots sector to mold the infrastructure of public education.[424] Like the formalization of food service through the position of the lunchroom employee after the passing of the School Lunch Act, the formalization of school counseling developed during the professionalization period of social services in schools. There is a notable commonality to the type of professionalized grassroots efforts that have prevailed under the more recent neoliberal efforts in public education.

I do not believe that the historical examination of non-instructional services delivered through public education as formalized by staffing during the 1938-39 to 1976-77 time period adequately exemplifies the presence of the neoliberal agenda discussed by today's scholars.[425] However, I do think the value this investigation offers is the historical backdrop to the adjustments schools make when the impulses for services initiate from external influencing forces. More successfully, however, this investigation does demonstrate how federal law set into motion important service decisions.

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[423] Slater, "Education as Recovery: Neoliberalism, School Reform, and the Politics of Crisis," 3.
[424] Lipman, "Contesting the City: Neoliberal Urbanism and the Cultural Politics of Education."
[425] Lipman, "Contesting the City: Neoliberal Urbanism and the Cultural Politics of Education;" Eng, "Review of *The New Political Economy of Urban Education: Neoliberalism, Race, and the Right to the City* by Pauline Lipman;" Smith, "Dispelling Three Decades of Educational Reform;" Buras, "Race, Charter Schools, and Conscious Capitalism: On the Spatial Politics of Whiteness as Property (and the Unconscionable Assault on Black New Orleans);" Kenneth J. Saltman, "The Austerity School: Grit, Character, and the Privatization of Public Education;" and Graham B. Slater, "Education as Recovery: Neoliberalism, School Reform, and the Politics of Crisis."

Limitations

There are several limitations to this investigation that warrant identification and elaboration. First of all, tracing the data extracted from historical documents representing a finite time period limits the nature of this inquiry and in the conclusions that can be drawn because the staffing likely continues to change after the time period studied. Also, instructions on how to complete the fields on the Superintendent's Annual Report, were therefore left to the discretion of the individual completing the report on behalf of the Superintendent each year. I did not access job descriptions from the time period studied, nor did I examine records to reveal daily work responsibilities. There are also some notable inconsistencies in the presentation of data that I aimed to articulate through the footnotes associated with Table 4.1. In particular, the role of the non-teaching principal evolves within the time period studied yet is included in the counts of the teaching staff. It was only through piecing together other sections of the reports that I could pull out the non-teaching principals to get a more accurate view of the teacher totals over time.

Conclusions

The specific historical example that was examined through the course of this research has revealed that over the time period studied, non-instructional services increased as represented by the increase in non-instructional staff reported through the Superintendent's Annual Reports from 1944 – 1977; while at the same time—and almost the same rate—instructional staff specifically decreased. Additionally, there is prominent representation that the introduction of federal legislation mandating the delivery of a non-instructional service (in this case school lunch) generated an initiation and steady growth in the staff hired to deliver this specific service.

Additionally, the professionalization of services (in this case counseling) also resulted in the initiation, growth, and permanence of the counseling field.

Recommended Extension of Study

Through this investigation, I have been able to demonstrate the formalization of non-instructional services delivered by public schools through the observation of staffing from 1938-39 to 1976-77 in Cobb County, Georgia. Through the presentation of data situated in the context of hand-written, historical documents, this inquiry has provided a unique perspective of the evolution of staffing and the role staff plays to serve students in one school system. This research, however, has also revealed several areas that would benefit from further research. First, the inquiry could be further enhanced with the addition of data sets from 1976 through today. It would be interesting to see how the onset of accountability in public education and the changing political context could reveal continued or interrupted trends in the non-instructional staff in schools. Additionally, an extension of the three chapters used to organize the evolution of providing non-instructional services through public education (The Formative Era, The Professionalization Era, and the Federal Intervention Era) should continue with a fourth era beginning with the publication of *A Nation at Risk*, 1983. This report successfully elevated the anxiety of the general public about meeting the needs of the country's youth in order to remain economically viable and globally relevant in the decades to come. Local school boards, state governments, and the federal government all directed their attention to the outcomes of public education and the standardization of the academic experience. As schools became increasingly responsible for specific accountability measures, there also came an increase pressure to retain the likely high school dropout, to educate the disruptive student, and to ensure

that all students had access to a competitive and rigorous course of study to ensure they graduated ready to compete in a global economy.[426]

This era should be referred to as the School Accountability Era and can lean on the following context as it is developed. In 1983, at the same time that *A Nation at Risk* was published, the social welfare system distinctly contained three components: education, health, and social services[427] and in the years since 1965, the role of the federal government, state governments, and local governments to coordinate and deliver these services resulted in a complex, often un-navigable system for children and families in poverty. As a result, social service delivery increasingly fell to the responsibility of local schools and "school administrators, willy-nilly, have become managers of schools that deliver complex social and health services as well as academic instruction."[428] Schools have a captive audience and many families see schools as central to the community.[429] "Schools are where the children are in a community and there may be few, if any, alternative places central to a community where sufficient space or community trust is available."[430] David Tyack reports that in the period from 1950 – 1986 alone, the ratio of pupils to support staff (that is non-instructional employees) fell from 83 to 30; the absolute number of support staff rose from 303,280 to 1,348,813."[431] Kirst writes that childhood is changing and "schools must change as well."[432] "Increasingly, practitioners, policymakers, and scholars are recognizing that standard educational models do not provide a compelling response to the often extraordinary challenges facing youth in urban

[426] Dryfoos, "School-Based Social and Health Services for At-Risk Students."
[427] William A. Morrill, "School Linked Services," *The Future of Children* 2, no. 1 (1992): 32-43.
[428] Tyack, "Health and Social Services in Public Schools: Historical Perspectives," 28.
[429] Kirst, "Improving Children's Services: Overcoming Barriers, Creating New Opportunities," 615-618.
[430] Morrill, "School Linked Services."
[431] Tyack, "Health and Social Services in Public Schools: Historical Perspectives," 28.
[432] Kirst, "Improving Children's Services: Overcoming Barriers, Creating New Opportunities."

contexts."[433] As a result, schools are the primary agency making adjustments to the work of staff and the priorities of funding to address needs that schools may or may not be equipped to meet. Kirst goes on to articulate all of the reasons why schools need to be the entity to take the primary responsibility of providing for the needs of at-risk children because the academic performance of students is directly linked to their emotional, mental, and physical needs being met.[434] "Schools have become 'hubs' for integrated social services, including health care, child care, children's protective services, juvenile justice counseling, and parent education. They stay open from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. and provide breakfast, snacks, recreation, child care, and a variety of social services."[435] The rise of accountability for the academic achievement of students parallel with the growing complexities of children's needs has positioned educators and schools to take responsibility for extending beyond their training and competencies to provide services that go beyond academic.[436] "In the schools, it is increasingly difficult to support students' academic success if they come to school hungry, scared, or sick or if they are unable to see the board or hear the teacher."[437] Joy Dryfoos says it plainly, "Children cannot learn unless their basic needs are met;" and support services for children and families will have little impact unless cognitive development is addressed.[438] Despite some haphazard efforts at the national, state, and local levels, schools are taking on this role for impoverished communities.[439] School reformers and

[433] Joseph Kahne and Kim Bailey, "The Role of Social Capital in Youth Development: The Case of 'I Have a Dream' Programs," *Educational and Evaluation and Policy Analyst* 21, no. 3 (1999): 321-343.
[434] Kirst, "Improving Children's Services: Overcoming Barriers, Creating New Opportunities."
[435] Ibid., 661.
[436] Dryfoos, "School-Based Social and Health Services for At-Risk Students."
[437] Laura R. Bronstein, Elizabeth Anderson, Susan H. Terwilliger, and Kristen Sager, "Evaluating a Model of School-Based Health and Social Services: An Interdisciplinary Community-University Collaboration," *Children & Schools* 34, no. 3 (2012): 155-165.
[438] Dryfoos, "School-Based Social and Health Services for At-Risk Students," 393.
[439] Ibid.

school improvement efforts have identified the local school as the most logical place to address the needs of at-risk children.[440]

There is a lot of literature throughout the 1990s devoted to the topic of integrating social services into schools and there is some evidence of efforts to coordinate the U.S. Departments of Education, Health and Human Services, Labor, and Housing and Urban Development to create conditions for comprehensive, coordinated services for families with challenging social, economic, and health problems.[441] In 1993, the Government Accounting Office (GAO) reported that there were 170 federal categorical programs that provide education and other services to elementary school and secondary school children.[442] Criticisms at that time pointed to the overlapping, complex, and financially unsustainable model as failing the neediest children and families. Despite efforts at the federal and state levels, the condition for comprehensive social services has not changed. There are a number of exceptions in which models to formally unify the health services, social services, welfare services, and family services has unified around the school at its center and professionals from each of those arenas work in coordination under the roof of the school building to meet the complex needs of children and families. However, this is not the norm, nor is it seemingly replicating or expanding. Gerry and Certo write that there has been a "rapid expansion of a wide range of social problems involving children and youth."[443] These needs, as they have in the decades past, cut across categorical service lines and involve

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[440] Bonnie C. Fusarelli and Jane C. Lindle, "The Politics, Problems, and Potential Promise of School-Linked Services: Insights and New Directions From the Work of William Lowe Boyd," *Peabody Journal of Education* 86 (2011): 402-415.

[441] Martin H. Gerry and Nicholas J. Certo, "Current Activity At the Federal Level and the Need for Services Integration," *The Future of Children* 2, no. 10 (1992); U.S. General Accounting Office, "School-Linked Human Services: A Comprehensive Strategy for Aiding Students At Risk for Failure," (Report to Chairman, Committee on Labor and Human Resources U.S. Senate, GAO Report No. GAO/HRD-94-21, Washington, D.C., 1993).; Shari Golan and Cynthia Williamson, "Teachers Make School-Linked Services Work," (presentation, Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, 1994.); Wang, Haertel, and Walberg, "What We Know About Coordinated School-Linked Services."

[442] U.S. General Accounting Office, "School-Linked Human Services: A Comprehensive Strategy for Aiding Students At Risk for Failure."

[443] Gerry and Certo, "Current Activity At the Federal Level and the Need for Services Integration," 119.

health, mental health, employment, housing, nutrition, and social services.[444] Gerry and Certo relate these problems to problems with the context of the family structure and this perspective represents a continued underlying sentiment of the need to provide services because of the inability of immigrant parents or single mothers or double-working parent structures, and multi-family households to provide and to assimilate children into the dominant culture; but now the efforts to address children's social, emotional, and physical needs is also positioned under the premise that children cannot succeed academically if their basic needs are not being met.[445] This is the same rationale shared by education reformers of the early 1900s.

Wang, et al., studied 44 different school programs aimed at providing for the social welfare needs of children in poverty.[446] Wang et al. found that there were various goals of each of the programs but generally included parent education, school readiness programs, teen pregnancy prevention and parenting, drop-out prevention, parent involvement, parental competencies, family literacy, and mental and health services.[447] Each of the programs studied claimed to ultimately improve student academic achievement by addressing the social, emotional, and physical needs of at-risk children.[448] Golan and Williamson report that school-based social programs most often include counseling, food distribution, parenting education, physical examinations, acute medical care, and individual or family therapy.[449] Golan et al. associate the goal of school-based social programs to "combating the recent declines in children's economic and social conditions as well as in student performance."[450] The premise for this type of work again echoes the sentiment that "schools cannot succeed at educating

[444] Ibid.
[445] Ibid.; Golan and Williamson, "Teachers Make School-Linked Services Work."
[446] Wang, Haertel, and Walberg, "What We Know About Coordinated School-Linked Services."
[447] Ibid.
[448] Ibid.
[449] Golan and Williamson, "Teachers Make School-Linked Services Work."
[450] Ibid., 3.

students as long as students' basic needs are not met."[451] In a report to the Senate Committee on Labor and Human resources, school-based social services were said to be designed to deliver a "variety of health, social, and education services…to students."[452] The goal of the report was to recommend the role that the federal government should play in "attempting to improve the educational performance and well-being of at-risk, school-age children by addressing their multiple needs…at a school site."[453] In the report, an overview of the services provided by schools was described as "prenatal and child care for teen mothers, immunizations, health screenings, job training and referrals, substance abuse and mental health counseling, parenting courses, food and housing assistance, adult education, family planning, and recreation to address problems that can interfere with student learning."[454] The mounting pressures faced by public schools since the release of *A Nation at Risk*, is further emphasized by Joy Dryfoos.

> There is a rapidly building consensus among educational reformers and child advocates that the school must become a center for a wide range of psychological, health, social, recreational, and treatment services. In the evolution of this concept…the momentum is being provided by the mounting pressures on school systems. Schools are pushed to offer educational programs capable of maintaining and improving national performance, that is, to produce better outcomes measured in test scores and graduation rates, and at the same time to include the excluded and to rescue at-risk youth.[455]

Pressured by rising accountability through the 1990s and into the 21st Century has, I argue, resulted in public schools absorbing the responsibility to provide for the extensive and complex needs of children today. To what extent does this burden schools financially and distract school leaders, educators, and school staff from the responsibility to ensure a strong academic environment remains intact is still unknown.

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[451] Ibid.
[452] U.S. General Accounting Office, "School-Linked Human Services: A Comprehensive Strategy For Aiding Students at Risk of School Failure," 3.
[453] Ibid.
[454] Ibid.
[455] Dryfoos, "School-Based Social and Health Services for At-Risk Students."

Recommended Additional Studies

A very important additional study related to this line of inquiry would be a parallel examination of the funding associated with the delivery of non-instructional services. There is most certainly a shift from community subsidies and personal donations during the time of volunteers providing services that quickly becomes formalized into school district expenditures. An additional study could monitor the federal and/or state flow of dollars into a school system for the delivery of a specific non-instructional service (school lunch programs are a good example) and the local flow of dollars needed to subsidize or the revenue generated in order to comply with the federal requirements to provide that service. An historical examination of budgets over the same time period could reveal more prominent examples of the burden or benefit of schools taking on more social service responsibilities. It is significant to note that in the state of Georgia funding flows through the Georgia Department of Education in categories therefore (in theory) preventing the crossing-over of dollars dedicated for one category to be spent in another category. However, Georgia is one of the rare states that allows school districts to waive categorical spending therefore making the tracking of dollars a little more difficult.

Another extension of this research would be the coupling of staffing trends with oral accounts of the nature of the work as it has changed over time. I imagine that narratives from lunchroom employees who served at local schools over the course of thirty years would further enrich the story behind the data. I also imagine the narratives from a school counselor who began in the 1960s but continued in the counselor role for thirty years to share perspective and experience on the role as it evolved over time. A subsequent line of inquiry could be the examination of job descriptions or vacancy announcements over the time period studied to again provide more clarity on the type of work that was needed to serve students through schools.

This line of research was designed to examine the delivery of non-instructional services as it was formalized through staffing over time, but a very interesting expansion of this research would be the examination of the delivery of non-instructional services as it evolves through non-formal arrangements. Possibly a study of local school yearbooks would reveal staff that were not officially hired through general funds or grant funded dollars but instead paid for by a partner organization. A study of PTA minutes of a local school over the time period studied might also reveal the role of volunteers or business partners in providing services that are not captured in official reporting documents prepared by the school system and annually sent to the State Department of Education.

The data available in the Superintendent's Annual Reports included detailed information regarding building types, structures, facilities, and property values. These data might contribute to a study of the changes in facilities over time or the differences in facilities for white schools and colored schools. I also found the detailed information regarding transportation to be fascinating and an historical study regarding the changing transportation over time would be interesting, as would a comparison between transportation conditions between white students and colored students. Since the names of drivers are actually included in the Reports, it might provide a unique opportunity to conduct an oral history review of the men and women who actually served in these roles. Many could surely still be alive today.

I also find that there is an interesting question that coincides with this research and that is to dive more deeply into the role of the teacher changing over the time period studied. While the term teacher remains consistent in the reporting available, oral history narratives of teachers could offer an interesting insight into the non-instructional services that teachers provided informally over time. This intrigue is initiated through my own personal observation of teachers

today using their own time and financial resources to provide for the emotional, physical, and social needs of young people.

I have not pursued this line of inquiry, nor express intrigue in any subsequent studies that might be valuable, because I do not believe in the essential role that local schools and systems of schools play in meeting the many needs of a community and the needs of the children and families in that community; but instead I aim to illuminate for policymakers and the general public that those serving in education are extending their reach far beyond what is noted in their job description or suggested through local media outlets. Schools, systems of schools, and the people that are employed within are increasingly the backbone to healthy and stable communities because they have not turned their head to children in need, they have not stayed within the boundaries of the work articulated on their job description, nor because they are worried only about test scores. Instead there is evidence of their care for children from their academic needs to those needs far beyond. Policymakers would be wise to consider how schools today are supplemented with the necessary revenue sources, external expertise, and partnering agencies so that the delivery of non-instructional services is strong and vibrant but does not dilute the expertise of educators to deliver exceptional instruction for every child every day as well.

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Appendix A

Year	Census Population Data[456]	Number of Schools	Number of Students	Superintendent	Board Chair
1900	24,664				
1910	28,397				
1920	30,437				
1930	35,408				
1940[457]	38,272	26 (W) / 3 (C)	6,882 (W) / 920 (C)	Wills	Kent
1950	61,830	15 (W) / 8 (C)	9,585 (W) / 650 (C)	Sprayberry	Lassiter
1960	114,174	32 (W) / 3 (C)	21,124 (W) / 1,016 (N)	Griffin	Mitchell
1970	196,793	55	49,277	Crews	McCreary
1980	297,718				
1990	447,745				
2000	688,078[458]				

[456] Georgia; Population of Counties by Decennial census; 1900 to 1990. Compiled and edited by Richard L. Forstall. Population Division. US Bureau of the Census. Washington, DC. March 27, 1995. http://www.census.gov/population/cencounts/ga190090.txt. Retrieved on December 29, 2015.
[457] Years included in study; 1938-39 to 1976-77.
[458] U.S. Department of Commerce. U.S. census Bureau. http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=bkmk. Retrieved on December 29, 2015.