

Old Dominion University

ODU Digital Commons

Theses and Dissertations in Urban Services -
Urban Education

College of Education & Professional Studies
(Darden)

Spring 2000

A Power Structure Study of an Urban Superintendent's Tenure in the City of Virginia Beach, 1967–1986

Sophia V. Stubblefield
Old Dominion University

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.odu.edu/urbanservices_education_etds



Part of the [Educational Administration and Supervision Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Stubblefield, Sophia V.. "A Power Structure Study of an Urban Superintendent's Tenure in the City of Virginia Beach, 1967–1986" (2000). Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), Dissertation, , Old Dominion University, DOI: 10.25777/2N5W-1608
https://digitalcommons.odu.edu/urbanservices_education_etds/43

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the College of Education & Professional Studies (Darden) at ODU Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations in Urban Services - Urban Education by an authorized administrator of ODU Digital Commons. For more information, please contact digitalcommons@odu.edu.

A POWER STRUCTURE STUDY OF AN URBAN
SUPERINTENDENT'S TENURE
IN THE CITY OF VIRGINIA BEACH

1967 - 1986

by

Sophia V. Stubblefield

B.A., June 1969, Park College
M.A., June 1983, George Washington University
Ed.S., December 1989, George Washington University

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of
Old Dominion University in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

URBAN SERVICES

OLD DOMINION UNIVERSITY
May 2000

Approved by:

Jane Hager, Ph.D.
Dissertation Director

William C. Cunningham, Ph.D.
Member

Petra E. Snowden, Ph.D., Director
Urban Education Concentration

Wolfgang Pindur, Ph.D.
Member

Donna B. Evans, Ph.D., Dean
Darden College of Education

ABSTRACT

A POWER STRUCTURE STUDY OF AN URBAN SCHOOL SYSTEM SUPERINTENDENT'S TENURE IN THE CITY OF VIRGINIA BEACH 1967-1986

Sophia Vali Stubblefield
Old Dominion University, 2000
Director: Dr. Jane M. Hager

This study examined the 19-year tenure of Dr. E. E. Brickell, superintendent of the Virginia Beach City School System. Specifically, the study has further developed an understanding of the role, expectations, and challenges of the position to identify factors that contributed to Dr. Brickell's tenure longevity.

The literature review conducted in this study revealed that specific factors contributing to a long tenure (more than 2.5 years) for a superintendent is inconclusive. The available data suggest that an interaction of political, environmental, and individual factors could effect the length of a superintendent's tenure.

A qualitative research design was used in this study. The design itself was unique in that it allowed this researcher to conduct a power structure study of the organization and a personal account of Dr. Brickell's superintendency through the life story interview method. The methods for data collection were interviews with 40

participants, a life story interview with Dr. Brickell, and a document review of the public press and public minutes.

Findings indicated that the role of the superintendent has not drastically changed since the turn of the century. The environmental factors on the position of the superintendent have contributed to heightened community expectations for the superintendent causing short tenure. Internal and external factors for Dr. Brickell's tenure longevity are documented and compared to current research findings about superintendent tenure.

Highlights from this study indicate a need for the superintendent and the school division to create a unity of purpose for the educational system that is congruent with the needs and the desires of the community. Dr. Brickell had the unique ability to fight for the issues and marshal the support of the school division employees, the school board, and the community to build a school division that accomplished a unity of purpose. He did so by clarifying the issues that faced the educational system and establishing policies and programs to address those issues.

Implications from this research as to the effect of the community on superintendent tenure are explicit. Recommendations are made for both the community and the superintendent for longevity.

This thesis is dedicated to my family and to all of
those who shared their thoughts with me.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are many people who have contributed to the successful completion of this dissertation. A special acknowledgment to Dr. E. E. Brickell without whose gracious consent and participation in the name of academic scholarship, this study would not have been possible. I extend my thanks to my committee members for their patience and hours of guidance in the editing of this manuscript. Specifically, my gratitude goes to Dr. William Cunningham for sharing his knowledge and research on the American superintendency and brilliant organizational mind, and to Dr. Wolfgang Pindur for sharing his vast knowledge of statistics, which lead to the unique design of this study. The untiring encouragement and true teaching of my dissertation chair Dr. Jane Hager deserves both special recognition and my gratitude.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
CRUCIAL ROLE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT.....	2
TENURE OF SUPERINTENDENT OVERVIEW.....	5
LOCUS FOR RESEARCH.....	9
 THEORETICAL FORMULATIONS	
PURPOSE.....	13
PROBLEM STATEMENT AND QUESTIONS.....	30
METHODS AND PROCEDURE.....	32
 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY	36
REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH.....	36
ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE.....	36
POWER ELITE THEORY.....	43
BIOGRAPHIC GENRE OF RESEARCH.....	52
CHALLENGES SURROUNDING THE SUPERINTENDENCY.....	62
HISTORY OF EXPECTATIONS OF THE SUPERINTENDENCY.....	66
AREAS IDENTIFIED FOR SUCCESSFUL SUPERINTENDENT.....	70
SUMMARY OF PROPOSED RESEARCH.....	74
 ANALYSIS OF THE DATA	77
METHODOLOGY.....	77
PURPOSE OF THE STUDY.....	77
RATIONAL FOR DESIGN.....	77
DESIGN OF THE STUDY.....	80
OVERVIEW OF DATA COLLECTION.....	82
SELECTION OF MATERIAL, PARTICIPANTS AND QUESTIONS.....	88
ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER.....	94
RESEARCH PROCEDURE AND ANALYSIS.....	95
ANALYSIS OF COMBINED DATA DESIGN.....	110
 ANALYSIS OF EVALUATION	113
FINDINGS QUESTION ONE.....	118

FINDINGS QUESTION TWO.....	144
FINDINGS QUESTION THREE.....	158
FINDINGS QUESTION FOUR.....	161
FINDINGS QUESTION FIVE.....	173
FINDINGS QUESTION SIX.....	200
CONCLUSION POWER STRUCTURE NETWORK	206
CONCLUSIONS	211
SUMMARY OF STUDY FINDINGS	213
METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS	218
IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE	222
BIBLIOGRAPHY	228
APPENDIXES	
CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS	246
INTERVIEW GUIDE RELATED PERSONNEL	247
INTERVIEW GUIDE SCHOOL PERSONNEL	249
PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHIC SKETCH	251
QUESTION CODES.....	252
EMERGING THEMES CODES	254
PERCEPTIONS OF PARTICIPANTS FORMAT.....	256
GUIDING QUESTIONS	257
LIFE STORY INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	258
CONSENT FORM	261
LIFE STORY TRANSCRIPT.....	262

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	Page
1. CHARACTERISTICS OF POWERFUL PEOPLE	55
2. DESIGN OF STUDY	86
3. FACTORS FOR LONGEVITY	119
4. INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POWER ELITE	145
5. SUPERINTENDENT ACTION ORGANIZATIONAL OUTCOMES	159
6. DEFINING ISSUES	162
7. POWER ELITE	174
8. INFLUENCE IN SCHOOL SYSTEM TODAY	201

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	Page
1. POWER STRUCTURE CITY/SCHOOL SYSTEM DATA COLLECTION ...	93
2. POWER STRUCTURE CITY/SCHOOL SYSTEM DATA ANALYSIS	109
3. NETWORK DIAGRAM OF POWER STRUCTURE	208

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Public school systems are a mirror of society. These systems provide an invaluable resource base for examining the historical evolution of organizational, social, and economic issues. An examination of what has occurred in school leadership, for example, may shed light on what has happened in many other areas of modern life. As Tallerico, Poole, & Burstyn (1994) have pointed out, "Urban school district governance has long been characterized by turbulence and leadership instability" (p. 439). This is a serious indictment because of the consequences such instability may have for today's students, who come to school with very different social awareness levels than they did even ten years ago. They are not untouched by the problems that plague society--problems such as poverty, high suicide rates, and lack of adult supervision, to name a few.

The well-being of society is regularly measured by Fordham University's Institute for Social Policy which publishes an "Index for Social Health for the United States." The researchers who develop the index take into account the incidence of such matters as teenage suicide,

infant mortality, student school dropout rate, drug abuse, homicide, unemployment, food stamp use, traffic deaths, and poverty among the elderly. Between 1970 and 1992 the index declined from 74 to 41 (on a scale from 0 to 100), marking a significant decrease in the nation's social well-being (Miringoff, 1994). Teachers and professionals who work with children document daily that children are displaying signs of emotional and social problems severe enough to warrant therapy. As the most vulnerable members of society, children are the ones most negatively influenced by an increasingly toxic social environment (Garbarino, 1997, p. 13). Facing today's social issues, students need sound guidance and well-designed educational and social programs that will prepare them for the coming millennium. They clearly need strong and durable leadership in their schools.

The Crucial Role of the Superintendent

The programs, policies and procedures governing the success of a school system in educating students within a community rest in the hands of the school board. The school board is a group of citizens either elected or appointed by the community. In turn, this body (the school board) appoints or elects the master educator--the superintendent. It is then the superintendent's responsibility to provide

both expertise and leadership in all educational matters for the school division.

Leadership positions are pivotal and instrumental to organizational success or failure. A review of the literature indicates that these positions have been subject to changes over the years. One change in the leadership positions is discussed in the following section.

The "Disposable Leader Syndrome"

A trend that emerged in the late 1960s, and exists as an issue in education today, is the short tenure of the public school superintendency. This "disposable leader syndrome" (Brubaker & Shelton, 1995, p. 16) is not only common in the leadership of school systems, but is also evidenced in the short-term tenure of today's leaders in both the business and political arenas. Brubaker and Shelton (1995) stated that "in the years between 1933 and 1961, we had just three U.S. presidents. In the next three decades, however, we saw seven different men come and go from the Oval Office" (p. 16). The leaders of today face the knowledge that their length of tenure will be, at best, precarious. Organizations are faced with the problems that ensue because of the inevitable changes that new leadership requires.

The phenomenon of constant leadership change continues to grow, reflecting both social and psychological trends that have become prevalent within society. Three trends that have eroded the traditional (stable leadership) power base are (a) the emergence of special-interest groups, (b) the strong influence of mass communications, and (c) a lack of loyalty (Brubaker & Shelton, 1995).

Special Interest Groups. People today challenge their representatives, as well as making demands and taking an active role in government by networking with others who have similar beliefs. These special-interest groups have become prominent and well-organized. Their power has influence over what takes place in government, business, and education (Brubaker & Shelton, 1995).

The Mass Media. Television programs and radio talk shows have grown in popularity and have become a major influence on public opinion. People who are charismatic become the leaders of today. The flash that is needed to secure a leadership position often does not produce a leader who has the ability to provide a lengthy tenure (Brubaker & Shelton, 1995).

The Erosion of Loyalty. The third trend leading to the "disposable leader syndrome" is a lack of loyalty. The top leadership of the organization is not loyal to the people

who are a part of that organization. Bottom-line obsession has created a world of downsizing, external recruitment for leadership positions, and mergers. People are not loyal to the top leaders because the leaders are not loyal to them (Brubaker & Shelton, 1995).

Tenure of Superintendents: An Overview

The Council of the Great City Schools is a national organization that represents 49 urban school districts. It is urban specific and is an advocate for urban schools and urban students through research, legislation, and media relations. A survey compiled by the Council of Great City Schools reported that since 1990, 42 of 47 urban districts have hired new superintendents (Winerip, 1993). When the Council of the Great City Schools (CGCS) interviewed its 49 member districts in July of 1997, 47 of the 49 responded with salary data and all 49 responded with both enrollment and tenure data. Average tenure was reported as 2 3/4 years, and average enrollment as 124,833. In the mid-1970s, Samuel Husk, executive director of CGSC, reported that big city tenure was 4 years. A comparison of the data from the 1970 and the 1997 CGSC reports indicates a downward trend in length of tenure.

The average salary reported by the CGSC was \$139,474, with the range being \$103,000 to \$199,800. There was a weak

correlation between salary and tenure due to the short tenure of the superintendents (CGSC, 1997). However, salaries generally increased as student enrollment increased. Yet despite the increase in salaries in proportion to population, large cities like New York, Chicago, Boston, Los Angeles, and Washington D.C. are in constant superintendent search (Cuban, 1976; Yee, 1996).

Carter and Cunningham state that "the superintendent is often the lightning rod for everything related to the youth within the community" (1997, p. 5). The authors believe that the pressure that is being placed on all educational professionals is manifested in the short tenure that has become characteristic of the superintendency. The candidate selection process for the superintendent is often very lengthy and the applicant pool is becoming inadequate.

It is increasingly difficult for big cities to find anyone to run their school systems. Mark Starr calls superintendents, "miracle workers who are scant, and badly needed" (*Newsweek*, 1/14/91, p. 40). Candidates are scarce because the position is vulnerable. According to the American Association of School Administrators, the average "life expectancy" of a superintendent is less than three years. Three years is not enough time to develop relationships within the community, nor is it time enough

to understand the educational system's strengths and weaknesses. Organizational change takes years, and there needs to be a clear understanding of what that change will be. As the formal leader, the superintendent is in the key position within the organization to form a district plan with the stakeholders of the district and facilitate the implementation of that plan.

The need to understand the position of the superintendency is paramount today. Until recently, researchers had only scratched the surface; but interest in the topic has been growing. Carter and Cunningham (1997), in a landmark study, have written a comprehensive biography about the American superintendent. Their study delves deeply into the lives of 250 current superintendents nationally. The authors create a portrait of the position by studying the role, current expectations, and challenges of the position. The final section of their study explains what they believe to be the future of American education.

Current researchers who are studying superintendent tenure are beginning to look for links that can be documented between student success and superintendent driven school system initiatives (McAdams & Zink, 1998). This research about the effect of the superintendent on student success provides an impetus for researchers to

pursue the indicators that are present in long tenured superintendent positions.

The challenges are great for our public schools today. Children are coming to school from diverse backgrounds. Many are disadvantaged and have a growing number of social needs. The public is demanding a position on what should be taught and how it is taught. Accountability has become the "buzz word" of the politicians, and finding the test to measure rigorous academic standards has become the quest of state officials. "The schools have become the focal point for the resolution of broad economic, ideological, and social issues" (Carter & Cunningham, 1997, p. 32). Teachers feel threatened by this well-organized public takeover of their profession. Instability in the tenure of the superintendent position causes changes for the teachers in the school division with each new superintendent appointed. Educators' philosophies and educational beliefs are being challenged, causing their morale to be at an all time low.

"If stability at the top is a key factor in breeding corporate success, perhaps it is no wonder so many of our nation's school systems are in trouble" (McKay and Grady 1994, p. 37). The superintendency therefore must be explored further to provide a better understanding of the position and what it takes to be successful.

Virginia Beach: Locus for Research on the Superintendency

The City of Virginia Beach provides a desirable research base for the continued quest into superintendent tenure because of the city's history, since one superintendent successfully developed the city school system from a rural to an urban economic status. Virginia Beach was identified as a new boom town in the state of Virginia by Bernard Wysocki in "The New Boom Towns" (The Wall Street Journal, 1989). The economic changes were so great that the city ranked second on a list of twenty cities identified throughout the nation for job growth in small business establishments, transforming the city's structure from rural to urban.

The city school system in 1986 was among the largest in the state of Virginia with 62,500 students. It was recognized as one of the twenty-five top school systems in the United States; and the superintendent, Dr. E.E. Brickell, was honored by the Association of School Administrators as the 1986 Superintendent of the Year. That summer, he resigned from the position of superintendent, which he had held since 1967.

After that occurrence the city experienced seven changes in superintendents who all had extremely

short-lived tenure as may be seen in the following list:

James E. Melvin	July 1987-September 1989
E. Carlton Bowyer	September 1989-November 1990
K. Edwin Brown(acting)	November 1990-December 1990
S. John Davis (interim)	January 1991-June 1991
Sidney L. Faucette	July 1991-June 1995
James L Pughsley (interim)	June 1995-February 1996
Timothy R. Jenney	February 20, 1996-present

Virginia Beach Demographic History

The City of Virginia Beach was incorporated in 1952. On January 1, 1963, Virginia Beach merged with Princess Anne County. The population data reported by the United States Census of Population of Counties added the data for Virginia Beach Town and Princess Anne County to create the population data for The Virginia Beach City. At that time, the population was made up of 71,051 (84.4%) White, 12,908 (15.3%) Black, and 256 (0.3%) Other. The employment statistics show that 6,541 people were employed in agriculture, 621 in the construction industry, and 451 in manufacturing.

In 1968, the most important of the area's employers was the federal government, made up primarily of the military and civilian installations of the Fifth Naval District headquarters. Other basic industries were

manufacturing (in particular, the processing of local seafood), agriculture, and resort facilities. Two major problems that faced the city school system in 1968 were desegregation and rapid growth. Currently, the problems that face the school system include the aftershock of the original problems and the associated issues of diversification, funding, and equity.

Today, the statistical composition is very different from what it was in the 1960s. The 1990 United States Census of the Population of Counties data indicated an increase in the population to 393,069. At the same time, the racial distribution changed. The Census Bureau reported a drop in the proportion of the population that is Black (54,800 or 13.9%) and White (316,290 or 80.5%), and a 5.3% increase in the Other category (21,979 or 5.6%). The minority population of Virginia Beach has been increasing over the decade of the 1990s. The total population interpolated by The Hampton Roads Planning District Commission and reported for 1996 is 430,000; of that number, 338,833 (78.7%) are White, 65,331 (15.2%) are Black, and 26,221 (6.1%) are classified as Other.

The Urban Classification of Virginia Beach

The economic base has changed from agrarian to trade, with services being the largest economic base (Annual

Reports to the Citizens, 1996). Arthur Collins, Executive Director of the Hampton Roads Planning District Commission stated that, "Virginia Beach is characterized as an urban community by the United States Census Bureau and Transportation Commission" (Collins, personal conversation, 1998). The definition of urban has not changed for the City of Virginia Beach since the merger in 1963. It meets the criteria set forth by the U.S. Bureau of the Census as follows:

The Census Bureau defines "urban" for the 1990 census as comprising all territory, population, and housing units in urbanized areas and in places of 2,500 or more persons outside urbanized areas. More specifically, "urban" consists of territory, persons, and housing units in:

1. Places of 2,500 or more persons incorporated as cities, villages, boroughs (except in Alaska and New York, and towns (except in the six New England States, New York, and Wisconsin), but excluding the rural portions of "extended cities."

2. Census designated places of 2,500 or more persons.

3. Other territory, incorporated or unincorporated, included in urbanized areas (US Census Bureau, on-line, 1995).

Purpose of the Proposed Study

First, this study will examine the historical evolution of the role of the superintendent in Virginia Beach, pursuing evidence as to the changing scope and sequence of the position. Second, the reasons for a long tenured (traditional leadership) superintendent will be investigated. Third, both internal and external power structures of the educational organization will be examined to determine if those structures have any relationship to the length of the superintendent tenure. Finally, by establishing a cause-effect relationship between superintendent action and organizational outcomes, the research base will be broadened to include the organizational, environmental, and individual factors that effect length of tenure (right to hold office).

Background

Early Historic Issues of the Superintendency

Throughout the literature, the importance of the position of the superintendent is heralded, and the changing role has been historically documented (Cuban, 1976; Carter & Cunningham, 1997). The expectations for the

person holding the position of superintendent have diversified in direct relationship to the economic, social, and political conditions affecting the development of public education.

During the American Colonial and Revolutionary periods, there existed a variety of mostly private schools and only a few public schools. Families paid for the teacher who taught a number of students. As larger town systems were formed, provisions for the education of children began to change. In Massachusetts in 1645, townspeople built a free school and paid twenty pounds annually for the schoolmaster. They set up a seven man governing board with the power to hire or remove the schoolmaster, to oversee the school and students, and to collect and pay the twenty pounds (Cuban, 1976). As a large influx in immigration contributed to the population growth of these cities, the school trustees' administrative job became more cumbersome and it became necessary to appoint a head teacher to assume some of the administrative duties (Cronin, 1973; Cuban, 1976). In 1820, New Orleans appointed the first city director of schools; and in 1837, Buffalo, New York, appointed the first city superintendent to help the lay trustees with supervision of the schools (Cuban, 1976). Interestingly, in 1847, a motion was introduced to

abolish the position of the superintendent. A committee explored that motion and stated that the present board members were not able to devote their time and attention to the supervision of schools (Cuban, 1976). Thus, the superintendent position was retained. Other cities throughout the country also appointed public school superintendents who supervised teachers, students, and the school sites.

These superintendents worked under one-year contracts. They actively worked with their boards to control problems brought about by rapid population growth and archaic village forms of governance (Cuban, 1976). An expanding population, changes in religious preference, and cultural and ethnic differences created a threat to the economic, political, and social order which had been built upon Protestant mores (Peterson, 1985). Many of these superintendents were true proponents of free public education. Education was viewed as the path for homogenizing the diverse population and spreading the democratic ethic (Cuban, 1976; Glass, 1992).

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the superintendents took a more active role in finding solutions to the ever increasing administrative responsibilities and problems that plagued the educational

institutions. Examples of these concerns included reviewing teacher applications, reporting incompetent teachers, visiting schools, enforcing discipline, preparing annual reports, and supervising and improving the educational program (Gilland, 1995). It was the school board who retained the authority to create and carry out policy and appoint and dismiss personnel, including the superintendent. However, due to influence from the business community, the landscape of the school board also began to change. Chief executive officers of corporations were downsizing to provide trimmer more efficient corporations. "When evangelical faith in scientific rational thought gripped the intellectual community, a loosely allied coalition of corporate minded reformers, university professors, and concerned superintendents found urban schools slothful, inefficient and hopelessly mired in corrupt politics" (Cuban, 1976. p. 13). The 30- to 40-member board shrank to 5 to 7 successful professional and business men who wanted to reform school management to mirror the corporate model of decision making (McCurdy, 1992).

After the downsizing of the school board the school boards began to turn their attention solely to legislative functions. The administrative duties of the school system

became the responsibility of the superintendent.

Unfortunately, as the superintendent took over many of the school boards' functions, they became more vulnerable and responsive to political pressure (Cuban, 1976). The superintendents' tenure was directly related to their ability to keep the "city elite" happy while managing the school system (Cuban, 1976).

Much has been written about the factors that influenced the downsizing of the school board and that had an effect on the length of tenure of the superintendents of the early twentieth century. Rival interpretations were evidenced throughout the literature review about both the factors that contributed to the downsizing of the school board and those that contributed to the length of superintendent tenure during this period. Callahan (1962) believed that the length of superintendent tenure was directly influenced by the fact that the superintendents were vulnerable. He believed that they were weak managers who blamed the business world's new methods of efficiency for their increased workload causing their inability to remain in office. Smith (1964), for his part, felt that the business world was not responsible for the changes in the way school systems were run. According to Smith, it was the many strong long-tenured superintendents who understood the

complex educational environment that changed the relationship between the boards and the superintendent. These successful superintendents wanted the authority to run their school division and deal with the community power people.

Early in the twentieth century these strong urban superintendents became more secure in their position and more assertive within the school division and community. The use of tests and reports allowed the superintendent to change many of the features of public education and to become the expert manager with the documentation needed to control policy (Cuban, 1976; Turk & Zeigler, 1980; Carter & Cunningham, 1997). During this period, superintendents appointed middle-level administrators to assist at both the school and central office. This was the golden era of the superintendent. It was a time when graduate schools of education began introducing administrative courses. It was also a time when professional development activities were offered and professional organizations were born (Cuban, 1976). The urban superintendent became the "authority, direction, and inspiration" (Cubberley, 1916, p. 132) who focused on educational cost rather than educational considerations (Callahan, 1962).

The Challenges of a Diverse Population

Factors that had an effect on length of superintendent tenure were created by a social phenomenon. During the thirties, the human relations movement in industry gave birth to the need for a special type of educational leader. This leader had to have the ability to combine business expertise with expertise in instructional leadership (Cuban, 1976). School enrollment, as well as an emphasis on the value of education, grew again in the period between 1950 and 1960. However, funding was difficult to obtain, and the country's population began to shift to the suburbs. The political climate was conservative and concerns about the racial minorities and the expansion of schools kept criticism of the educational system at a minimum (Cuban, 1967).

The 1957 Sputnik launch by the Soviet Union, along with the social unrest of the sixties, brought an end to the golden age of the superintendency and a critical debasing of urban schools (Cuban, 1967). The public, rapidly losing confidence in the public school system, blamed the schools for the Soviet Union's success in the space race. Political activists pressured legislators to become active in the funding and administration of the public schools.

At the same time, this nation became riddled with civil rights battles. "Old belief systems came under attack. Questioning of education as the 'great equalizer' or vehicle for individual success increased" (Cuban, 1967, p. 27). Carter and Cunningham (1997) point to the Kerner Commission's findings that the rioters within the inner cities were Black male school drop-outs and that higher levels of education and income were deterrents to rioters. "Education and income therefore seemed to be the only factors that distinguished the counter-rioters from the rioters and the non-involved" (Carter & Cunningham, 1997, p. 25).

Congress passed three acts that directly affected education: (a) the Civil Rights Act, (b) the Economic Opportunity Act, and (c) the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. These congressional actions strengthened the influence of both the state and federal government on local education, thus ending the realm of the "expert instructional leader" (Carter & Cunningham, 1997, p. 27).

Urban Politics

Superintendents had to face a new crisis--external pressure from the state and federal government as well as from citizen special interest groups. The schools were not meeting individual student special needs so the

superintendent came under fire. During this period tenure declined, with many superintendents leaving their positions. The exit of these superintendents, who were for the most part representative of the majority population, made the position available to minority candidates (Tyack & Hansot, 1982). The role became political, and school boards regained an upper hand. A new set of techniques and skills came to be needed for superintendent success.

Business Interests

The "Negotiator" armed with the skills needed to cope with change, deal with conflict, increase accountability and work collaboratively has surfaced as the current superintendent model. Corporate America, through school business partnerships, school to work partnerships, and corporate/education task forces, now exerts an even greater influence on our schools than at the turn of the century (Cuban, 1976; Cunningham, 1990).

Two major areas of interest in the history of the superintendency come to the forefront in any attempt to understand the role today: First, there is the ambiguity in the historical partnership of board and superintendent. Since the school board decides whom to hire and board members vote on whether to accept or reject the superintendent's recommendations, an amicable working

relationship is essential to protect the superintendent's tenure. Second, there is the lack of "legislative guidance, which has resulted in confusion regarding the status, authority, and responsibility of the superintendent of public education" (Carter & Cunningham, 1997, p. 23). As such ambiguities and uncertainties have increased, the tenure of the superintendency has decreased.

Agreement among the researchers on the nature of the superintendent role and its impact on education is scant but growing (Bridges, 1982; Crowson & Glass, 1993; Pitner & Ogawa, 1981). Carter & Cunningham (1997) provide an evolutionary historical look at the role of the superintendent and how society has affected that role. Through the case studies in their book they surmise that, when key critical incidents came to light, the superintendent's actions had an effect on the educational outcome.

Ravitch (1974), in The Great School Wars, states that a common belief is held by historians that "public schools, apart from any other factors and forces, have the power to transform society" (p. 5). However, the converse is also true. It has been evidenced that political instability in a community leads to defeat at the polls and subsequent loss of the superintendent (Cuban, 1967; Lutz & Iannaccone,

1978; Carter & Cunningham, 1997). In the past, the role of the public has often been dismissed and viewed as an insignificant factor in the process of procedural decisions made by a school board. Baruch and Callaway (1986), however, found that the public had a direct influence on decisions regarding matters of curriculum that were made by the School Board in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. This is only one such example substantiating the fact that the public has a great deal of influence over decisions made by local school boards.

Hentages (1985) linked internal and external variables to the length of tenure of the superintendency. Conflict levels within these two variables have a direct impact on the length of superintendent tenure.

The superintendent's control of internal variables include board members' professional biases, block voting behaviors, length of serving time, interactions with the community, political experiences, influences of group pressure, congruencies between the superintendent's position and that of the public, and the length of the superintendent's tenure. External variables include community tension, congruence between the position of the superintendent and the board, board interaction with the community, community initiation of change in civil rights

policies, superintendent's perception of limitations of his or her own authority, and the frequency of forced cooperation between the board and the superintendent.

The Educational Reform Movement

Educational reform has been on the forefront of the "patch work quilt" of American education for most of the twentieth century. The call for reform has always come from the question as to whether educators are adequately educating the nation's youth. Critics of urban education believe that urban schools are in a state of crisis and have been demanding changes in the educational system that will improve student achievement. Several scathing reports have been issued, the first being, *A Nation At RISK* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983). Hess (1998) found that reform proposals have caused a great deal of activity but very little change. His study of reform activities in 57 urban school districts between 1992 and 1995 substantiated a new reform every three months.

Superintendents in urban school districts are under pressure from their school boards, which rely on superintendents' educational expertise to effect positive change. The superintendent is thus placed in a precarious position. If the reform fails, the superintendent is replaced and a new one is hired. Short tenure means that

urban superintendents are not in a position to effect significant change over classroom performance or prove their leadership value. Knowing that their tenure will be short, superintendents endeavor to establish their reputations rapidly by initiating their own reforms. Hess (1998) found that "reform efforts rarely attempt to alter the nature of teaching and learning significantly, because that can create controversy and further complicate the task for improving district performance" (p. 26).

At a time when students are faced by a devastating social environment, the foundation of education is in a metamorphic state. A massive reform movement is turbulent and the position of the superintendent is in constant flux. As Fullan and Stiegelbauer (1991) have written:

One of the most fundamental problems in education today is that people do not have a clear, coherent sense of meaning about what educational change is for, and how it proceeds. Thus there is much faddism, superficiality, confusion, failure of change programs, unwarranted and misdirected resistance, and misunderstood reform. What we need is a more coherent picture that people who are involved in or affected by educational change can use to make sense of what they and others are doing....Solutions must come through the development of shared meaning (pp. 4-5).

The reform movement of the past and present arose as a direct result of public disenchantment with the performance of schools to educate all students. The relationship of the

superintendent to school board and community, as well as the professional preparation required, indicates that perhaps the characteristics customarily considered to be needed for success constitute merely small ripples in the huge political lake in which superintendents are regularly immersed as they strive toward tenure longevity. The reform movement has created a virtual galaxy of problems, with everyone having an opinion about what education should be. In the midst of it all, "urban school systems are governed by professional superintendents subject to intense pressures from the citizen boards that supervise them" (Hess, 1998, p. 25). The community sounds the battle cry and looks up to the superintendent as the one who will rally the troops and lead the fight for educational reform.

Heightened Expectations

In an attempt to identify factors enabling superintendents to maintain their position longer than the national average of five years, Edward Chance conducted a study of Oklahoma rural school districts in 1991. His data concentrated on three areas: (a) demographic information, (b) information about the school board, and (c) professional information about the superintendent. This research provides a limited look at the longevity of superintendents' tenures. It focused on rural areas and

suggested that research needs to be continued in the same three areas of investigation to determine if similar results are obtained in urban areas.

The daily political and community problems that superintendents face lead researchers to inquire if the organizational structure of public education and superintendent length of tenure have fallen victim to the complexities of the diverse (urban) communities which they serve. Perhaps the ensuing problems are historically similar to those faced by the educational communities and superintendents in the past. The size of the problems in the past could have been on a smaller scale due to a less politically active community. Publicity involving school system issues was reported rather than investigated. By forming an elite power structure that could contain or solve problems discreetly, the superintendent was able to protect his or her power base, thus ensuring longevity.

Traditionally, the superintendent has been viewed as the central force of the school system--the scholarly educator (Callahan, 1963; Cuban, 1976). Today, this formal leader not only is expected to have a vision that will establish a structure to maximize academic success for all students and to meet the financial expectations within the diverse groups of school and community members; the

superintendent is also expected to eloquently communicate the political and social demands coming from both inside and outside the organization (Davidson, 1987; Hord, 1990; Chance, 1991; Murphy, 1991).

As stated earlier, the "life expectancy" of the superintendent is less than three years. This span of time is the amount of time needed to become familiar with the school system and the community, not the length of time needed to effect positive long-term change (Starr, 1991; Hess, 1998; Yee & Cuban, 1996). As public education enters the twenty-first century, it is faced with more diversity and higher expectations to successfully meet the expanded needs that society has thrust into the realm of educational responsibilities. The studies being pursued by researchers on the history and role of superintendents are continually producing evidence that superintendents define the scope and nature of their profession, thus influencing the character of our nation's public schools (DeYoung, 1986; Carter & Cunningham, 1997).

The body of research on the superintendent is vast because of endeavors to find specific causes for short tenure; however, clear consensus has not been reached. From a historical perspective, a detailed analysis of interrelated organizational, political, financial, and

educational practice within a *long-tenured* superintendency is needed to document a predictive relationship between the superintendent's action (Erickson, 1979), influence, and the organizational outcome.

Foundation for Methodology

Power structure research (Hunter, 1953; Mills, 1956) provides an avenue for interdisciplinary study within its very design. An in-depth study of the connections among and between organizations that have an influence on the organization provides a look at how external factors influence the organization. Researchers study methods implemented by the leader of an organization to find out how such methods are employed to form a power structure within the local community and the nation. Floyd Hunter (1953, 1959) and C. Wright Mills (1956) developed this process of studying the "power elites", their relationships with each other, and the organizational outcomes that resulted from those relationships. The school system, in its unique capacity to engage in daily activities within the intimacy of family and the bureaucracy of politicians, offers historians an existing organizational structure within which to conduct research. This power structure provides an avenue for documentation in political, socio-economic, and demographic trends. A study utilizing

the power elite structure design will add a historical research perspective to the existing documentation on superintendent tenure.

Marx (1851), Weber (1949) and others studied elites to offer a link between contemporary empirical work and historical transformations. In this present study, research on elites will offer an understanding of the subtle connections significant to the body of knowledge on power structure research, as well as the impact and role of the superintendent's tenure on the educational organization.

Statement of Problem

The purpose of this study is to examine the nineteen-year tenure of Dr. E.E. Brickell. A study of Dr. Brickell's superintendency will further develop an understanding of the role, expectations, and challenges of the position of the superintendent. The following research questions will guide this study:

1. What factors accounted for the longevity of the superintendency?
2. Who were the internal and external "power elites" who influenced the organization, and did they change?
3. What organizational outcomes were directly related to what administrative action? How can these outcomes be traced to specific actions?

4. What were the defining issues (operational measures) that occurred during the superintendent's tenure? How did he respond to those issues when he had prior knowledge of them and what was his response when issues came as a surprise?
5. How did the superintendent deal with the power elites? When was it effective (in terms of educational impact), and when was it not effective?
6. What influence does this superintendent have in the school system and the city at the present time?

Significance of Study

In spite of the sizable literature surrounding the superintendency, much still needs to be uncovered about its basic nature. If stability is the key to long-term educational reform then the short-term tenure of the superintendent is detrimental to the education of our nation's youth. Research is needed to understand the reasons why so often after a short tenure, superintendents are ousted from their positions and in many cases, leave the field of education entirely.

Traditionally, historians have examined events that took place in social structures of another time in order to understand reasons for certain other occurrences. Through

an understanding of such past events, historians are able to devise a theoretical framework for the future.

Dr. E.E. Brickell, the superintendent being studied, was at the helm when the school system was transformed from a rural to an urban structure. Desegregation of Virginia Beach, a southern school system, came to fruition without incident. There were momentous challenges confronting the schools and often less than ideal conditions in which to work for change.

Methodological Significance

An in-depth study of the relationship between administrative actions and organizational outcomes during Dr. Brickell's years as superintendent will be examined. The internal and external "power elites" will be considered as to their effect on those outcomes. The long-term tenure of the superintendent will be documented with respect to the power elites' reactions to organizational outcomes.

The investigation of Dr. Brickell's superintendency and the organizational power structure will provide insights into the internal and external characteristics that permitted the tenure of the superintendent to be successful. Extensive investigation of the city's challenges for the educational organization will document similarities and differences that existed at the onset of

this superintendent's tenure and throughout the nineteen years of his tenure--providing insight into the challenges faced by the subsequent superintendents, their organization, and the community.

This study will add to the research base investigating the impact of the superintendent on the educational organization. It will also provide an urban setting for identifying factors enabling a superintendent to maintain tenure, replicating the three areas of questioning Edward Chance (1991) used in his rural study. His data were concentrated in the following three areas: (a) information about the school board; (b) demographic information; and (c) information about the superintendent (Chance, 1991).

Definition of Terms

Terms relevant to this research study are defined below:

1. Power Structure Research. This term refers to exploring the relationship between the power elites and organizations (Hunter, 1953; Mills, 1956).
2. Tenure. This term refers to the length of time the person has the right to hold the office of the superintendent of schools.
3. Long Tenure. This term refers to three or more years as superintendent (Council of the Great City Schools, 1997).

4. Short Tenure. This term refers to serving as superintendent for fewer than three years (Council of Great City Schools, 1997).
5. Reform. This study, this term refers to the restructuring of the interrelationships of the players in the educational organization, as defined by the NASSP Commission on Restructuring (1992).
6. Urban School System. This terminology refers to a school system with a significant drop-out rate, a free or reduced lunch program, diversity in student culture, low test scores, and "a climbing enrollment...of an immigrant population" (Vail, 1996, p.22).
7. Interpretive Biography. Interpretive biography refers to a type of research based on Denzine (1989), as reported in Crestwell (1998). This research method includes written autobiographies by the subject, with the researcher exploring the meaning of the story. Archival information and larger structures are used to provide background and aid in the interpretation of the individual's life experiences (Crestwell, 1998, p.48-51).
8. Power Elite. "A distinctive group holding high status in its community and knit together by a strong group feeling, ethos and style" (Wilkinson, 1969, p.xiii).

9. Life Story. This term refers to a method of research based on the work of Robert Atkinson (1998). It is a qualitative research method for gathering information on one person's entire life in a subjective context. "A life story is the story a person chooses to tell about the life he or she has lived, told as completely and honestly as possible, what is remembered of it, and what the teller wants others to know of it, usually as a result of a guided interview by another" (Atkinson, 1998, p. 8).
10. Epiphanies. This term refers to the telling of events by a person that have a meaningful impact on that person's life (Crestwell, 1998).

Limitations

This study is limited to one superintendent and the relationships that existed within the power structure of the educational organization. The causal relationship between superintendent actions and organizational outcomes was influenced by both internal and external factors that took place in one city, in southeastern Virginia, between 1968 and 1987. Generalizations from this study to determine factors for superintendent tenure in other locations are limited to the causal relationships within that particular power structure.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter presents a review of the literature undergirding the framework that will be used to investigate the research problem. The review is divided into five sections: organizational theory, power elite theory, the biographical genre of research, past and present understandings of the superintendent role, and a summary of the research questions as they relate to the themes identified in the literature.

Organizational Structure

According to Carter & Cunningham (1997), "The success and prosperity of American education may well depend as much on the survival of the superintendent as it does on his or her ability to be an effective educational leader" (p. 3). The performance of the personnel making up the school, the community, and the state and local governments, along with the interpersonal relationships occurring among these groups, is what determines how the school system operates. The superintendent stands at the apex of the educational organization; yet research on the interconnections that make up the educational system and

the superintendent's impact on the system is scant. As Yee and Cuban (1996) have explained:

There are many reasons why researchers have had difficulty in establishing such a relationship, but the absence remains none the less. To do so, researchers have had to deal with conceptualizing how superintendents influence principals, teachers and students to achieve distinct roles. (p. 634)

Researchers in the area of social structures have examined how organizational members interpret the culture of the organization. Weick describes an organization as "a body of thought, thought by thinkers of thinkers" (Weick, 1979, p. 44). Implications of this statement lead one to surmise that members of an organization employ their personal prior experiences to make sense of daily events that transpire within the organization, thus forming the organizational mind.

Rosabeth Kanter (1989) has explored the organizational mind theory as it applies to the corporate world. In her book, When Giants Learn To Dance, she concluded that in the complex, interdependent, highly motivated network of an organization, giants must learn to dance with one another in order to achieve the goals of the organization. The challenge of strategies, management, and concerns of an organization directly relate to the group social structure

as it views the leadership under which that organization is functioning.

Educational research that makes use of organizational studies is in short supply, although such studies are frequently used in business and industry. One example is the work of Gorgon and Backer (1964), who focused on (a) organizational factors and their effect on the stability of the organization and (b) the relationship between the manager and the work force. Organizations are in essence collective minds working either toward the same goals or toward destroying each other's goals.

From a review of power structure research there is evidence that social scientists have historically disagreed as to whether it was more important to study who governs the organization or to study the structure of the organization to find out the how and the why of its success (DiTomaso, 1980). A structural approach to organizational theory states that any action within an organization is caused by the role that was created and nurtured through that organization. Improving the decision-making body of the organization through more cooperation and better communication was considered a desirable goal. Some of those who studied organizational power believed that the

coordination of "power was used to attain objectives that benefited society" (Domhoff & Dye, 1987, p. 8).

Some organizational theorists attempted to explain the working of organizations by noting their intent to structure each decision-making position so that it did not stand alone. The effect of this strategy was to minimize individual power and decrease the influence of social background or conformity. Since this goal was not always met, "rather than opting for a completely structural explanation, organizational theorists..."(Domhoff, 1990, p. 20) made concessions. They looked to the conditions within the structure that made the individual important. These conditions could be caused by external or internal pressure creating a need for a trust factor to be built into the organization. Interestingly, that trust factor was established by selecting individuals for key positions that would have the same value system as the owners or key people within the organization.

Public school systems are presently viewed in the same structural light as major corporations. The position of superintendent has frequently been compared to the position of the chief executive officer in the world of business due to increased community participation and citizens' demands for fiscal accountability (Glass, 1992). The chief

executive officer in the corporate world is also experiencing the short-lived tenure trend because his or her success or failure is directly linked to the quality of the company's product and increases in profit. Similarly, the successful superintendent today is expected to cease being the "bureaucratic manager" and to become instead the "executive leader" capable of increasing school system success (Glass, 1992). Thus, McAdams and Zinck (1998) have observed that "over the past two decades, there has been much cross-fertilization between theorists from the education and business spheres regarding the relationship between organizational culture and the symbolic leadership of the chief executive officer" (pp. 3-4).

Symbolic leadership that effects school system success in the above quote refers to Sergiovanni's description of leaders who "define, strengthen, and articulate those enduring values, beliefs, and cultural standards that give the school its unique identity over time" (1987, p. 104). According to McAdams and Zinck (1998), who used Sergiovanni's description to undergird their study, an emerging relationship between organizational culture and successful leadership has been evidenced through their research.

The qualitative data collected by McAdams and Zinck (1998) for their case studies of three superintendents included interviews and surveys completed by building-level personnel and district personnel. Certain leadership characteristics that had an effect on the organization were identified as being common among the superintendents of all three districts. McAdams and Zinck described these characteristics as follows:

- Focus of Attention -- Behaviors and actions by the superintendent clearly identified the major priorities, interests, and commitments of the superintendent. By word and deed the superintendents provided a strong message about the centrality of these few priorities to the mission of their school district.
- Goal-Directed Activity -- Each of the three superintendents had a process in place for the orderly and systematic monitoring and assessment of progress in those areas that were the focus of attention. District and individual goals for the superintendent and other district administrators were clearly derived from the overall mission of the school district and superintendent.

- Modeling of Positive Behavior -- The typical activities of these superintendents modeled the particular behaviors necessary to meet the goals and fulfill the mission of the school system. These superintendents each interacted frequently with teachers and administrators at the school level and were often directly involved in the instructional process.

- Emphasis on Human Resources -- Each superintendent put an emphasis on staff empowerment, sophisticated staff development processes, and close attention to the hiring practices in the school district. (p. 6)

The above research is significant to the proposed study because it documents a link between superintendent action and school division outcome. This proposed study will explore the effect that Dr. E. E. Brickell had on the school system of Virginia Beach. Exploring the impact of the superintendent's actions, including the effects of the power elite will further define the relationship of the superintendent on the organization and the effect on tenure.

Power Elite Theory

In the seventeenth century the "word 'elite' was used when referring to commodities of a rare particular excellence. The term was later used when referring to an extraordinary military unit or to higher ranks of nobility" (Bottomore, 1993, p. 1). It was not until the late nineteenth century that the term made its debut in both social and political writing in Europe and transmigrated into Britain and America around 1930 (Bottomore, 1993).

Olsen (1970) has pointed out that Vilfredo Pareto, in 1902, used the term *elite* to make a distinction between people, arguing that individuals were not homogeneous but were different physically, morally, and intellectually.

Pareto went on to classify two strata in the population:

- (a) a lower stratum, the non-elite, whose possible influence on government was not to be regarded or of concern
- (b) (b) a higher stratum, the elite, which he divided into two categories, a governing elite and a non-governing elite (Olsen, 1970, pp.114-115).

According to Bottomore (1993), elite theory continued to grow through the work of Gaetano Mosca in 1939, when it took on an organizational component. The theory held that although the ruling class was smaller in number, it monopolized power and enjoyed the advantages of power. The organized minority was also highly regarded and was

considered to have influence within its social class. This distinction was the basis for the evolutionary study of a power elite existing in both government and business.

The idea of a power elite is in opposition to that of democracy. However, Bottomore (1993) made this connection through the work of Max Weber and Karl Mannheim and emphasized that "as long as there is the opportunity for individual citizens to make their desires known democracy exists" (p. 8).

Floyd Hunter (1953, 1959) and C. Wright Mills (1956) founded power structure research out of concern for the effect of societal power on the ability of democracy to flourish in the United States (Domhoff & Dye, 1987). They studied the ways in which the leaders of organizations came together to form a power structure.

Power structure researchers believe that, because our society is economically stratified, our organizations are ruled by those of wealth and power.

The elite do not make all the decisions, just the important ones. "The power elite is composed of men whose positions enable them to transcend the ordinary environments of ordinary men and women; they are in positions to make decisions having major consequences," wrote Mills (1956, p. 4).

The institutional organizations of America are made up of major business corporations, local and state government,

and the military. These organizations form the stage on which the power elite perform. The power elite are not solitary rulers but operate within and among the hierarchy of the institutional organizations of America. Mills (1956) pointed out that the power elite "held the command posts of the major institutional hierarchies" (pp. 4-5).

Many social scientists of the past criticized power research because they did not approve of the journalistic way that data were gathered and presented. However, as the methodology evolved and became more of a sociometric study, using both quantitative and qualitative methods to study the individual and the social network, it became more widely accepted. The concepts and concerns of researchers who have conducted power studies of elites and organizations are important to the design of this present study.

It is not the omnipotent elite who form history nor is it the chance unplanned event. "The course of events in our time depends more on a series of human decisions than on any inevitable fate," emphasized Mills (1956, p. 21). Understanding the power elite is a complex study.

Hunter, in his work, defines a power-structure as a network of organizations and roles within a city or society that is responsible for maintaining the general social

structure and shaping new policy initiatives. He continues to define the "power-elite" as a set of people who are the individual actors within the power structure. It is to protect the organization from both internal and external forces that decisions are made and policies are written by those who make the decisions that shape the future. The emphasis of power structure research is to study the organization by studying the people who make the decisions (Hunter, 1953).

Power structures protect the power elites within their organizations. Two methods, network analysis and content analysis, have been used traditionally to unlock the power structure in order to understand the way power structures work. Network analysis is used to provide an empirical picture of the interconnections among key organizations and people in the power structure. The operations of that network on policy issues provide insight into the power structures. In content analysis, what is said and done within the power network is studied. This method provides information on the substance of new policy and an understanding of strategies and values that undergird the policy planning of the power elite (Domhoff & Dye, 1987).

Domhoff (1990), in the introduction to his book The Power Elite and The State, summarizes the history of power

research in order to provide a basis for his theory. Early power research included three general and accepted theories: pluralist, institutional elites, and Marxist. Thus Domhoff speaks of power research as comprising a "holy trinity"(p.1). Three basic methods were used for data collection: decisional, which uses printed public information; positional, which is based on personal opinion interviews; and reputation, which relies on observations of the power structure itself. There were also three main indicators of power that were investigated by the early power researchers: who decides; who sits; and who benefits (p. 1).

Donhoff (1990) continues his summary by stating that the power research theories of the past needed to be expanded because not everyone had to be put into one category of class or another. His research was concerned with the logistics of power and the theories defined by Mann as the "ideology network in terms of those organizations concerned with meaning, norms, and ritual practice" (Domhoff, 1990, p. 3). Donhoff states that the key to understanding the organization is to develop an understanding of the power elite's human nature, "the repression, ambivalence, and projections that are an inevitable product of a long infancy within a family

structure that evolved" (p. 5). His theory is further developed, underscored by the belief that organizations control what happens according to who rules.

His research is important to this study because it conceptualizes the organizational environment into a network system that forms a coalition that connects the local and national government with the business community. Domhoff stresses that a power structure exists between the power elite of business and government that is not easily displaced. He studied specific individual cases in American history to explain why states have found it difficult to be autonomous.

Most of the theoretical disagreements among power researchers is in the emphasis they give to the five major areas of study: government, political parties, nonprofit organizations, corporations, and social upper class. Robert Dahl (1958), a political scientist, believed that different groups of people influenced different political issues. He stood in opposition to the power elite theory and power structure research that represented the work of both C. Wright Mills (1956) and Floyd Hunter (1953). In 1961, Dahl published a study he had conducted in New Haven, Connecticut under the title, *Who Governs?* He concluded that the government officials were the most powerful people.

Taking issue with Dahl's conclusions, Domhoff (1990) argued that "Dahl's study was in fact seriously flawed...It was clear that the downtown business community and Yale university were the moving forces behind the all-important urban renewal program, not the new Democratic mayor" (p. xv).

Power research on organizations is needed to fully understand the intricacies of power elite relationships. The possibility of overlap between organizational studies and power structure research was pioneered by Nancy DiTomaso (1980). Her research linked the power research and organizational research through the identification of key positions and the social background of people who held the positions. This link provided a theory that the internal values of the managers would be related to their socioeconomic backgrounds and those values could be predicted. According to this theory, this predictability of values leads to a method for controlling discretionary behavior. It is important to the owner, or chief executive officer (CEO), to know that the decisions that are made by others will be in line with what he or she expects them to be. Within organizations where a wide latitude of choice is available for action, owners and chief executive officers know that placing "people of their own kind" in the

decision making positions protects the organization (Domhoff, 1980, p. 15). Such placement removes some of the uncertainty about how choices involving allocation of resources, external contacts, and other important matters will be handled.

The least studied areas of organizations and power are (a) those organizations that are controlled by a board of directors as well as top-level executives and (b) the various organizations that link corporations to each other and to government agencies. This study of superintendent tenure will provide a research base for these two areas. There is a dearth of research exploring how those in top leadership relate to middle and lower levels while at the same time answering to a board of directors. "Work of a historical and interview nature on the role of the boards within organizations and power structures would draw the two fields closer together" (Domhoff, 1980, p. 16).

In educational organizations, the elite power is based in both the public and private sectors within the business community and the city, state, and federal government, thus forming an inter-organizational environment. This environment demands that the organizations must find the resources needed to accomplish their goals. They are a mutually dependent network, and the working relationship

which exists is symbiotic in areas of both legislative and financial matters.

Legislated government programs at state and national levels mandate representation of business groups on committees that control the funding of specific education and training programs. Contractual research and training relationships between business companies, school systems, and universities are flourishing. Business corporations donate money, equipment, and manpower, often filling a void caused by insufficient funding. The call for educational reform has led to government intervention in educational programs and policies dealing with vocational education, testing, ability grouping, scientific management, shaping ideology, and setting curriculum (Kantor, 1982). Local and state politicians have become active in initiating legislation to cure what they believe is needed in public education. President Reagan even named 1983-1984 as the National Year for Business Partnerships.

The contemporary structure of public education has been described as "an organizational theorist's nightmare" (Useem, 1980, p. 157). Previously entrenched education elites, especially school superintendents and other top educators, feel beleaguered and powerless as they confront the demands of a wide variety of constituencies.

The days when a small number of interest groups, business or otherwise, could reshape the school have disappeared. Rube Goldberg himself could not make an organization chart of the official--not to mention the private and informal--lines of authority, regulation, and accounting that now exist in American public education . . . It would take a political scientist's lifelong work to disentangle even the local story (Tyack & Hansot, 1992, p. 248).

Power structure research on the superintendent within an organizational study of the school system will guide this study. Its aim is to further blend these two areas of research and disentangle the local story. In this case, it will allow the researcher to record the feelings of both the primary and secondary individuals who were paramount in the decision-making bodies within the organizational structure of Virginia Beach over the years. These sources will provide an insight into what key community and school board people felt was important to the city's growth and the school system's prosperity. An in-depth analysis of the effect that these decisions had on the city, the school board, and the superintendent will therefore add to the literature concerning superintendent tenure.

Biographical Genre of Research

Studies of power structures within both communities and businesses have in the past decade joined the earlier studies done in the field of government. It is believed by researchers that every social group or system is an

organization of power (Olsen, 1970). In recent years, numerous autobiographical writings by social scientists have been about power structure research. The writers have used this method to project their thoughts into the realm of social science research. It has become a "transformation of social-science research in terms of shifting assumptions about the self as objective and neutral to the self as subjective and inclusive, by conveying the more epistemological issues at stake" (Hertz & Umber, 1995, p. vii).

The use of story telling can be traced back to the beginning of civilization. "The life story evolved from oral history, life history and other ethnographic and field approaches" (Adkinson, 1998, p. 3). This oral history in research was well documented in 1984 when Allan Nevins spearheaded the oral history project at Columbia University. During that project, it was found that, since oral history is built on memory, it is often fallible due to the fact that a person's ego can and will distort the data. As Dunaway and Baum (1984) point out, the evidence has to be substantiated through different sources to avoid such distortion.

Reliability in a historical study is proven through the consistency with which an individual will tell the same

story about the same event on a number of different occasions. Validity in historical research is confirmed through the degree of conformity among the reports of a specific event and the event itself as recorded in other primary resource materials.

The history of our world is the life story of great men and women. Roy Rowan (1996), in his book Powerful People, wrote mini-biographies of people who made a historic difference over the past fifty years. Rowan looked for qualities that separate the power elite from the rest of society. The qualities he looked at that did not apply were raw ambition, a rich inheritance passing from one family member to another, and a high level of education.

The traits that Rowan (1996, pp. 283-288) believed were common are listed on the following chart next to the people in whom he found those characteristics. The chart is a summary of his conclusions and has been designed to provide a visual format that will be easily accessible for application to the elites identified in this study (see Table 1).

Table 1

Characteristics of Powerful People as Identified by Rowan
(1996)

Characteristics	Person	Example
Presence	General McArthur	Exhibited confidence and a strong physical presence
Stamina	Imelda Marcos	Came back (after being thrown out) to win 70% of vote
Boundless energy	Jimmy Hoffa	Worked 18 hour days, craved authority
Sensing when to move ahead and when to fall back	Mao Tse-tung	Military strategy of surrounding his objective and letting it fall under its own weight
Failure to act quickly	Dwight Eisenhower	Waited one week before he sent the 101st airborne into Little Rock
Willingness to fight for a cause	Marshal Tito	Ready to fight for Yugoslavia's independence
Resiliency	Ronald Reagan	Lost the November 1976 party election, came back and served two terms in the White House
Long range planning - where it will come from	Wayne Gretzky	It doesn't matter where the puck is but where it will end up
Strong persona Visionary	Lyndon Johnson	Hounded Congress until "Great Society" legislation became reality

(table continues)

Vivid conception of purpose	Henry Luce	Built Time Life Communications
Great control; seize the moment	Ross Perot	Formed a third party
Creativity	Qi Baishi	Deaf Chinese painter designed a scroll using live shrimp, crabs and crickets
Motivate and inspire loyalty	General Li Mi	Fighting and being followed by his men all the way to Burma
Courage - willing to gamble and take risks	Milton Reynolds	Courage to find a mountain higher than Mount Everest

The relationship between Rowan and the people he wrote about was not always easily established. He used a biographic, not an analytical, approach to write about the people that he actually knew and was able to observe. In describing this process, he wrote, "I have tried to let them tell you by their own words and deeds what spurred them into action, kept them reaching even higher, or, faced with calamity, forced them to retreat" (Rowan, 1996, p. xi).

Procedurally, certain conditions tend to determine that one form of biography or another should be used. A combination of the methods and processes for interpretation can vary, depending on the scope of the overall study. The methods listed below do, however, produce the same outcome, the final product being the history of a life (Crestwell, 1998). These methods are cited in order to facilitate a conceptualization of a combined structure.

1. *Biographical study*--a life story written by the researcher using archival documents and records. The subject may be alive or deceased.
2. *Autobiography*--the life story written by the subject.

3. *Life history*--an account in which social science and anthropology researchers report on how an individual's life reflects social history, cultural themes, institutional themes, and personal themes. The sociologist uses this method to write a full length book in the words of the subject.

4. *Oral history* is used when the researcher collects information from an individual or several individuals recording cause and effect (Crestwell, 1998, p. 49).

The history of a life can be written, as it was by Rowan, in a narrative form; or it can be written using an analytical or interpretive approach. The interpretive approach operates under a set of assumptions that were made by Denzin in 1989 and referenced in biographic research currently. The assumptions are, first, that the researcher begins with a set of experiences told in chronological order; second, that the researcher gathers or uses an interview to construct a story of life experiences; third, that the story unfolds through epiphanies (pivotal events); fourth, that the researcher interprets the meaning; and fifth, that the researcher looks for larger structures, such as historical context, to explain meaning (Crestwell, 1998, pp. 50-51).

This format--the life history interpretive approach--will be used as the structure to provide the background information on the city of Virginia Beach, and secondary interview sources (see Appendix B). Albert Hunter (1995), in his chapter about local community elites, states that "the study of local community elites...requires an intimate knowledge of the community itself" (p. 152). Hunter expresses the belief that the community in which a person lives provides a unique intimate research base.

Ethnographic and power structure research have the invaluable component of researcher observation or reputational data collection. As Hunter (1995) notes,

"Local elites, their 'power structures' and the 'issues' with which they deal, do not stand apart from their...everyday life of community. Reputations are made and broken, heroes made and villains vilified through gossip in the local coffee shops and the notes in the local press" (p. 152).

The component of observation is not possible in this historic study. The thoughts and reflections of those who held power positions along with the archival document research will provide the routine everyday knowledge of the community. The local newspaper has been documented as the source of everyday community life, not only to provide data, but also for corroboration of facts that are related during interviews (Hunter, 1995).

Research in the area of the superintendency has not led to an agreement on where the position has been or where it will need to go in the future. However, understanding the nature and role of the position has been highlighted as a path for future success in that position. In the book by Carter and Cunningham about the superintendency, they state that it is important to know what both past and present superintendents know about the position "to create an overall understanding of this position and the direction it needs to take if education is to appreciably improve in America" (Carter & Cunningham, 1997, p. xix).

Atkinson (1998) has pointed out that through the telling of a story from our lives, we "discover deeper meaning in our lives through the process of reflecting and putting events, experiences, and feelings that we have lived into oral expression" (p.1). The life story interview is the only method to look at a life in an in-depth way (Atkinson, 1998). This method has become the approach used across disciplines to understand a single life and how that individual interacts within society (Cohler, 1993).

Domhoff was cited earlier, in the power elite section, for his belief that understanding the personality formed early in the life of the power elite adds insight to how the elite interact within society (Domhoff, 1990). The "new

ethnography" researcher learns through the personal construct of his or her subjects that "knowledge is a vessel of answers and that access is relatively straight-forward" (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p. 30).

Atkinson (1998, p. 7) has shown that the life story methodology has gained respect, is accepted, and is being used in the following academic disciplines for the stated purposes:

1. In psychology--for understanding personal development
2. In anthropology--in the measuring of cultural similarities and variations
3. In sociology--for understanding, defining, and identifying social groups and group interactions
4. In education--as a teaching tool
5. In history--as part of the oral history approach to enhance local history.

The life story differs from a life history or an oral history only in scope. An oral history focuses on a particular social structure and how people remember specific events. When the interview focuses on one individual it becomes a life history. When the interview is reported in the focus individual's own words it becomes a life story. To both the teller and the listener, the life

story brings meaning about the past and the present and leaves a personal legacy for the future (Atkinson, 1998, p. 8). To gain a comprehensive understanding of the role of the superintendent from an insider's point of view, the life story method will be used.

Challenges Surrounding the Superintendency

As the nation is preparing both economically and politically for the coming millennium, major corporations and the military are defining the changes they believe will be needed for their organizations to be successful in the future. Public education has been in the change mode since its inception. Those who have the initiative and power to change public education are not those who will be directly responsible for implementing the changes. The superintendent of the school district is currently the driving force for change within that district. "The anecdotal evidence keeps piling up: Principals and superintendents are getting harder to find," McAdams (1998, p. 37) has observed. It is necessary to define what the current roles, expectations, and standards are in order to define the changes that are needed for the future (Carter & Cunningham, 1997).

"Even worse, all the struggles and flailing takes place in the public eye. It is a local media event" (Carter

& Cunningham, 1997, p. 9). The research topic of the school superintendency is discussed in scholarly journals as well as the popular press. "These upheavals are so frequent and the discussions which find their way into the public press, so painful to the victim and disturbing to the school system, as to excite more than ordinary interest..." (Callahan, 1962, p.53). This literature review thus encompasses material from both the popular press and scholarly journals.

The Challenge of Finding and Retaining Superintendents

A problem that is impacting school divisions nationally is the inability to find people to fill the positions left vacant by the superintendent. Starr (1991), in *Newsweek* magazine, discussed the plight of school systems in finding and retaining school superintendents. His research involved case studies of three cities' school systems at the edge of the twenty-first century and their inability to find anyone to lead them. Through his case study research, Starr uncovered the following reasons for short tenure:

1. The revolving door of the position hinges on the fact that the job is not as gratifying as it was in the past.

2. It is difficult to keep all of the political and public constituencies happy, especially if the school board changes membership every few years.

3. The school board expects everything to change by hiring a new superintendent.

4. The new superintendent comes into the position without the pleasure of bringing in his own staff (Starr, 1991, p. 41).

The Challenge of School Reform

Mark Starr (1991) completed the report of his study by discussing the school reform movement as needing to focus on the policy makers. He points to the fact that school administrators need to be educated in conflict resolution and community power structures rather than in pedagogy and curriculum development. Starr states that Harvard University, in the Urban Superintendent Program, teaches practical skills for dealing with power and conflict. Administrators need to be prepared for the frustrating paralysis they will face when policy makers oppose innovation or institute new procedures and programs while public outcries are heard from all sides of the issues.

The policy-maker link that surfaces through Starr's research is that the school board, as it is presently structured, is in a pivotal position in relation to the

problem of short tenure for superintendents and the dwindling number of candidates. Two solutions, both extremely political, that have come to fruition have been implemented in northern cities. In one case, the Boston City Council, after abolishing the elected school board, has tried to add education under the auspices of the position of the mayor. In the other example, the state of New Jersey seized control of the Jersey City schools and has been running the school system. One solution that lacked the political influence of the two previously mentioned examples took place in Chelsea, Massachusetts. There, the school board relinquished control to professional educators from Boston University (Starr, 1991). Both of these solutions are working in the localities where they have been implemented. School divisions nationally are struggling to find and retain quality superintendents.

The Challenge of Social and Political Change

The nature of the roles and responsibilities of the position of superintendent is constantly evolving because the role is affected by national and local factors. Changes in the national economy, political disruptions, and population growth often color the way in which the school board will react to the educational environment. In the

past the schools have been viewed as a stabilizing force. Callahan (1962) hypothesized that during times of national upheaval, the stability image tended to mean a longer tenure for the superintendent.

Local politics play a role in superintendent tenure longevity. Political shifts, demographic shifts, and economic conditions effect the school system. In a historical study of Detroit from 1907-1981, factors such as population shifts in and out of the city, increased numbers of special and minority populations, and ultimately the deterioration of city services paralleled the shorter length of school superintendent tenure in that city (Mirel, 1993).

History of Expectations of the Superintendency

The field of education does not stand alone, it is an integral part of the American landscape. Therefore, the role of the superintendent changes as the public's expectations for the position change. What the superintendent role comprises is not only governed by the views of educators themselves. The background section in chapter one of this dissertation provided an in-depth review of the superintendent role over the 160 years of its existence. The following section is an overview of

superintendent tenure as it relates in particular to events that have transpired over the past forty years.

Role changes and Tenure Reduction

An examination of the superintendent position and its changing role and tenure expectations reveals three focal areas that must be considered: national reaction to world events; state reaction to national and world events; and local reaction to state, national, and world events (Yee & Cuban, 1996; Carter & Cunningham, 1997). It is evident from the research that the superintendents of a particular era were often not prepared for the expectations of the public and the demands of the times in which they were serving.

The highly educated, well paid, long-term tenured superintendent of the post World War II era, acclaimed for his efficiency expertise, was highly respected and well prepared for the position. It was not unusual for the superintendent to be the most educated person in the community. Special university programs were available for the formal preparation of school administrators, who were taught scientific principles of management, business administration, and human relations (Getzels et al., 1968).

The sixties brought about a shorter-lived tenure, as education became a political battleground for special interest groups. The superintendents of the 1960s were well

educated, because professional preparation was required for superintendent credentials. History and philosophy of education, as well as empirical research in administrative behavior, became favorite areas of study in preparation for the position of superintendent. The superintendent was ill prepared for the demanding changes associated with the political role. However, this political role suited the school board well, and the power of the school board increased. As a result, political election came to determine educational outcomes (Yee & Cuban, 1998).

A look at the past two decades and the present period shows the complexity of what the superintendent role was coming to mean as the role became enmeshed in the public demand for accountability and improved student outcomes. The superintendent was expected to possess a wide knowledge of pedagogy and curriculum in order to facilitate improved student outcome. Failure of student improvement in a school district came to be blamed on the superintendent, and that often meant the superintendent's tenure was brief. "The call in American education was for leadership, political savvy, reform, community responsiveness, and improved education" (Carter & Cunningham, 1997, P. 24).

Today, superintendent preparation programs include courses in community awareness, one reason being that the

political power structure of the local community is now paramount in the tenure of the superintendent. Solving conflicts that occur among the special-interest groups of the community, effectively communicating through the news media and other means of outreach to the community, collaborating with staff, motivating personnel toward the accomplishment of school system goals, and managing short fall finances have been added to the superintendent's preparation for his or her job (Carter & Cunningham, 1997).

Yee and Cuban (1996) add two significant related areas that have an impact on superintendent tenure. They are not only challenges for the superintendent, but are problems for the community as well. Professional mobility has allowed the superintendents of today to move from a smaller district to a larger one. The larger district has the ability to pay the superintendent a higher salary and to provide a benefit package that is most appealing (Yee & Cuban, 1996).

Changes Occasioned by Diversity

A shift in the personal characteristics of who becomes superintendent today is growing. Glass, in his 1992 study of the superintendent stated that, "...only a small percentage of the nation's superintendents are women or members of a racial or ethnic minority group" (p. x).

However, a trend was noted by Glass, and he made the following prediction: "In future decades the public school superintendency likely will become aligned with the population distribution of the nation...meaning fewer positions for those aspiring to the superintendency in the 21st century...more women and minority superintendents...who have been reared and trained in urban areas will be represented" (p. x).

This prediction has come to fruition as women and minority superintendents are changing the demography of the urban superintendency.

"The consequences of Black and Latino superintendents facing issues of overcoming stereotyping and gaining experience while also responding to the heightened expectations of minority constituents has increased role conflicts that superintendents faced both as chief executive of a public institution and an advocate and role model for minority community interests" (Yee & Cuban, 1996, p. 631).

Areas Identified for a Successful Superintendent

Does the length of superintendent tenure have an effect on student achievement? Do the superintendent's actions link certain qualities to the effective leadership of a school district? The evidence supporting either yes or no answers to both questions is inconclusive. The length of tenure is the measure used today for judging the effectiveness of a superintendent. Research has not

corroborated that measure; however, long-term superintendents are able to set up a power base and convince the community of their effectiveness (Johnson, 1996). In current research, Yee found that the public believes that the superintendent makes a difference and that it takes time for the superintendent to effect reform (1996). Perception is reality; if the public believes that the superintendent makes a difference, then to the public, the superintendent does make a difference.

The role of the superintendent is ever changing. The challenges that the superintendent faces are becoming more plentiful. It is difficult for members of the profession themselves to define what is needed for success. The American Association of School Administrators and the National School Board Association met in 1980 and developed a set of guidelines for roles and responsibilities. More than a decade later, the American Association of School Administrators (1993) published the following eight standards to be used for superintendent accountability and professional development:

Standard 1: Leadership and District Culture. This standard stresses executive leadership, vision, shaping school culture and climate, empowering others, and multicultural and ethnic understanding.

Standard 2: Policy and Governance. This standard centers on developing procedures for working with the board; formulation of district policy, standards, and regulations; and describing public school governance in our democratic society.

Standard 3: Communications and Community Relations. This standard emphasizes skill in articulating district vision and purpose to the community and media. Also, it stresses responding to community feedback and building consensus to strengthen community support.

Standard 4: Organizational Management. This standard calls for skills in gathering, analyzing, and using data for decision making; framing and solving problems; and formulation of solutions to problems. It also stresses quality management to meet internal and external customer expectations and to allocate resources.

Standard 5: Curriculum Planning and Development. This standard tests the superintendent's skill in designing curriculum and a strategic plan to enhance teaching and learning, using theories or cognitive development, employing valid and reliable performance indicators and testing procedures, and describing the use of computers and other learning technologies.

Standard 6: Instructional Management. This standard measures knowledge and use of research findings on learning and instructional strategies and resources to maximize student achievement. It also centers on applying research and best practice to integrate curriculum for multicultural sensitivity and assessment.

Standard 7: Human Resource Management. This standard assesses skill in developing a staff evaluation and assessment and supervisory system to improve performance. It also requires skills in describing and applying legal requirements for

personnel selection, development, retention, and dismissal.

Standard 8: Values and Ethics of Leadership.

This standard stresses understanding and modeling of appropriate value systems, ethics, and moral leadership. It also requires the superintendent to exhibit multicultural and ethnic understanding, and to coordinate social agencies and human services to help each student grow and develop as a caring, informed citizen (American Association of School Administrators, 1993, p.16).

The standards are identified competencies. Performance data can be gathered on each of the above standards for superintendent accountability. However, there is no packaged test to measure the standards. Therefore, according to Carter & Cunningham (1997), "To date, the standards have tended to have a minimal impact on the profession" (p. 19).

The only other document that defines what is expected of a superintendent was published in the 1992 Glass study. The following ten areas are listed in rank order as evidenced by the school board participants.

1. General effectiveness
2. Board/superintendent relations
3. Management functions
4. Budget development and implementation
5. Educational leadership/knowledge
6. Community/superintendent relationships

7. Staff/superintendent relationships
8. Personal characteristics
9. Recruitment and supervision of personnel
10. Student/superintendent relationships

(Glass, 1991, p.43).

Summary and Relationship to Proposed Research

The areas identified by both the American School Board (1993) and Glass (1992) will be examined with respect to Dr. E. E. Brickell's superintendency. These standards for successful fulfillment of the superintendent role will aid in sorting out and understanding the internal and external characteristics that effected his tenure.

The public school systems and superintendents are currently responsible for educating over 45 million children in 15,000 school districts. Five million people work in these school systems and the annual expenditure is \$300 billion. The school governance teams today are in crisis. Edward Chance identified three areas that surfaced from his research as affecting superintendent tenure. The areas are (a) demographic information, (b) information about the school board, and (c) professional information about the superintendent (Chance, 1991). Interview questions in this study have been designed to include some that address the same three areas.

A review of the literature on length of superintendent tenure is inconclusive as to specific causes for short tenure. The available data do suggest that an interaction of environmental, political, and individual factors affect the length of superintendent tenure. Although urban superintendents often write about their experiences in office, selective memory can at times inflate the story. However, a study of the power structure of the city and the school system can shed light on the links between the superintendent's intentions, actions, and results.

In summary, the literature indicates that the duration of individual superintendent tenure within a school division can be attributed to many factors, including both internal and external conflict. The school board, the internal and external conflict faced by the organization, the public disenchantment within the school system, and the role and responsibility that the superintendent faces daily are all related to superintendent tenure. Thus, the three broad research areas this study will investigate are (a) the impact of the superintendent on the organization, (b) the interrelationship of the organization and the environment, and (c) the individual characteristics of the superintendent that effected long term tenure.

The research questions that will guide this study of the power structure of Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure will be the foundation of this study. They are repeated here:

1. What factors accounted for the longevity of the superintendent?
2. Who were the internal and external "power elites" who influenced the organization, and did they change?
3. What organizational outcomes were directly related to what administrative action? How can these outcomes be traced to specific actions?
4. What were the defining issues (operational measures) that occurred during the superintendent's tenure? How did he respond to those issues when he had prior knowledge of them and what was his response when issues came as a surprise?
5. How did the superintendent deal with the power elites? When was it effective, when was it not effective?
6. What influence does this superintendent have in the school system and the city at the present time?

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a description of the methods that will be employed in conducting this research study. The chapter is presented in five parts: purpose of the study, rationale for the design, design of the study, procedures for data collection, and method of analysis.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study will be to examine the nineteen-year tenure of Dr. E. E. Brickell, superintendent of the Virginia Beach City School System. A study of Dr. E. E. Brickell's superintendency will further develop an understanding of the role, expectations, and challenges of the position of the superintendent.

Rationale for the Design

"It is impossible to understand human conduct by ignoring the settings in which they make sense," wrote Czarniawska (1998, p. 4). The dynamics of the power system that existed during Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure will be studied to ascertain the relationship and effect it had on his tenure. "A power structure is a network of organizations

and roles within a city or society that is responsible for maintaining the general social structure and shaping new policy initiatives" (Domhoff & Dye, 1987, p. 9).

The power structure of the city of Virginia Beach, as it relates to the school system, will be examined using an interpretive biography method in order to ascertain the elements and structure of its urban evolution. Specifically, this study was designed to develop, through Dr. E. E. Brickell's own words and through power structure analysis, an understanding of the role, expectations, and challenges of his tenure and the key circumstances that enabled him to maintain the position of superintendent longer than the national average. The identification and solution of the key issues or *epiphanies* (Creswell, 1998, p. 51) in his narrative account or *life story* (Adkinson, 1998), coupled with the power structure research findings, will provide a framework for defining elements that may help explain superintendent longevity and provide insights for the superintendent longevity in the future.

A review of the literature on the power elite theory led to the rationale of blending biographic research methods with a power structure research design. An area of concern that surfaced during the review was that the use of a life story interview of the superintendent might not in

itself provide a complete understanding of Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure or his relationships within the city. At the same time, there was concern that a review of documents and the content analysis of secondary source interviews alone might not provide the very personal view of the position of the superintendent that would be needed to understand the profession. Thus, a desire not to corrupt either the life story method or the interpretive biography method led to asking the advice of an expert in the field of autobiography and life story research.

Dr. Robert Atkinson, Director of the Center of the Study of Lives at the University of Southern Maine was first contacted by e-mail, then by phone, in July of 1998. Through these conversations, it was determined that blending the biographic methods in a power structure study would not corrupt the design. A different standard of analysis for the secondary interviews was mentioned by Dr Atkinson. Dr. Atkinson's comment was that the research plan "sounds very logical." He went on to say, "You will need a different standard for analysis of secondary and primary sources (see Table 2). . . .A lot can be learned from the life story interview--sounds like an interesting man. . . . Let me know how it goes" (R. Atkinson, personal communication, July 20, 1998).

Design of the Study

The research method that will be used for this study will be qualitative. It will follow several of the characteristics of qualitative inquiry listed by Borg & Gall (1989) as being generally accepted among researchers in various disciplines. This study will focus on collecting data that will lead to an understanding of the role, expectations and challenges that Dr. E.E. Brickell faced as superintendent of the Virginia Beach School System, and how he was able to successfully lead the school system over a 19-year period. It is believed that in order to generate theory about tenure longevity, an analysis of the position of the superintendent as it related to the power elites and organizations that comprised the power structure will be necessary.

Two types of analysis will be implemented to uncover the power structure and understand the way it functions: a *network analysis* of the interconnections of people and organizations as they relate to policy issues, and a *content analysis* of what was said in archival and newspaper citations. Actual outcomes will be analyzed to interpret theory.

The life story method will be used for gathering information and transcribing it from the primary source.

The interpretive biography method will be implemented for drawing conclusions and reporting the data. This format was chosen because it demands that the biographer be "cognizant of both how the studies are written and read" (Crestwell, 1998, p. 50). The writer becomes a part of the narrative, "looking for larger structures, such as social interactions in groups, cultural issues, ideologies, and historical context to explain the meaning, and provide an interpretation for the life experiences" (Crestwell, 1998, p. 51).

A well documented reason for a superintendent's short tenure, according to the historical research surrounding the topic, is the superintendent's inability to juggle internal and external audiences, while at the same time dealing with surprise issues and delivering a quality educational program (Carter & Cunningham, 1997). Cuban (1976) has shown that the desire to oust the superintendent was documented as early as 1847. An underlying assumption for this present research is that the problems have changed minimally in their overall content. The scope and complexity of the problems, along with the growing diverse population influencing the decision-making process, have become unmanageable. These unmanageable conditions could be

reasons for dismissal and or resignation, short superintendent tenure.

Overview of Data Collection

This study was based on the power elite theory that the "study of elites offers an opportunity to link contemporary empirical work with major historical transformations" (Hertz & Imber, 1995, p. ix). The *positional analysis* approach will provide background on the power structure (Mills, 1956).

"A positional analysis uses printed public information available in libraries and other archives to establish leadership interlocks among profit, nonprofit, and governmental agencies as well as trace the flow of money, information, and other resources among the same organizations" (Domhoff & Dye 1987, p.10).

Power structure research demands a strong preliminary understanding of the social, cultural, and historical setting in which the elite operate (Hertz & Imber, 1995). In this case, a historical understanding of the city of Virginia Beach and the school system will be ascertained through an extensive archival search. The life story narrative from Dr. E. E. Brickell and interview data from internal and external players will add the *reputational approach* (Hunter, 1959). A reputational approach "...is

based on the personal opinions of a wide range of people who are interviewed about who the key people and organizations in the power structure are" (Domhoff & Dye, 1987, p. 10).

"The life story, then, is very much an interdisciplinary approach to understanding not only one life across time but how individual lives interact with the whole," (Atkinson, 1998, p. 4). With this dynamic and interactive emphasis in mind, it is my intent to paint a portrait of Dr. E. E. Brickell and the effects of both the internal and external power elite on organizational outcomes and superintendent tenure.

The type of qualitative inquiry determines the approaches used for data collection. Data collection must meet three criteria: (a) to elicit sought-after information, (b) to be efficient in both cost and time, and (c) to be ethical with regard to the lives and privacy of the participants (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). For this power structure biography, an individual's life will be created from archival documents, structured interviews with secondary sources, and an unstructured interview with the primary source as the cornerstone of the research. This cornerstone life story interview is the personal story as

it is remembered by the individual; it is very minimally transcribed (Crestwell, 1998).

The following table illustrates the design for this study. The indicator, data source, and data analysis are identified for each of the four research areas that the six research questions were designed to address. The research areas and with an explanation of each source of data follows:

- (a) The nature and role of the superintendent--the indicators that were used in this area were current studies about the superintendency and national expectations for the position. These data sources were identified through the literature review conducted for this study (Chance, 1991, Glass, 1992, Carter & Cunningham, 1987), and transcripts of the secondary and life story interview guides, and the research questions designed for this study. Methods used for data analysis will be content coding, theme identification (Crestwell, 1998), unpacking the transcribed text (Denzine, 1989) and identifying epiphanies (Atkinson, 1989).
- (b) Internal and external power elite--the indicators in this area are, who sits, who decides and who benefits the internal and external organization (Mills, 1956,

Hunter, 1959). The data sources identified the positional, reputational and decisional elite of the organization (Mills, 1956, Hunter, 1959, Dompheff, 1990). Methods for data analysis will include leadership interlocking techniques (Kurtz, 1987), (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, Altheide, 1996, Crestwell, 1998)).

- (c) Superintendent action and organizational outcome--the indicators in this area are the four leadership standards (Mcadams, & Zink, 1998). The data sources will be found in the transcribed interviews, and printed public press. Methods for data analysis include content coding, unpacking text for identifying themes and epiphanies (Glasser & Strauss, 1967, Denzine, 1989, Altheide, 1996, Crestwell, 1998).
- (d) Reasons for length of tenure--the indicators are identified through all of the ones mentioned in the above areas that identified the ethos of the Virginia Beach School System and indicators for Dr. E. E. Brickell's success. The data sources and the data analysis procedures mentioned above will all be included in this research area. (see Table 2).

Table 2

Design of the Study

Research Area	Indicator Source	Data	Data Analysis
Nature/Role of the Superintendent	Chance study (1991) Eight Standards (AASA, 1993) Ten areas of expectation (Glass, 1992) Six expectation areas (Carter & Cunningham, 1997)	Literature review Interview Guide Life Story Interview Research Questions for primary/Secondary	Content Coding Theme identification Epiphanies Unpacking text Create a comparison table Narrative
Power elite	Who decides Who sits Who benefits	Positional Reputational Decisional	Printed text leadership interlock (content) Personal opinion from interviews & newspaper (network) Influence of issue areas policy

(table continues)

Research Area	Indicator Source	Data Analysis	
Superintendent/action Organizational/outcome	Four standards (McAdams & Zink, 1998) School system programs & policies, student & staff outcomes	Archival documents Life Story Research questions for Primary/ Secondary Interview Guide	Content Coding Emerging Themes Epiphanies Unpacking text Create a comparison table Narrative
Factors for length of tenure	School system ethos Superintendent success	Archival documents Life story Research questions Interview guide	All data analysis procedures above

Selection Material, Participants and Research Questions

The background materials that will be studied are archival and will be categorized by themes identified in the literature search as being paramount to the tenure of a superintendent. A compilation of factors that affect length of tenure support the following themes:

1. Open communication, integrity, hard work, positive direction, core values, sound judgment, and effective decision making (Chance, 1992).
2. School board and superintendent relationships (McCurdy, 1992).
3. Fiscal management and dealing with constituencies' diverse needs (Tyack & Hansot, 1982).
4. Educational, political, and managerial leadership skills (Cuban, 1988).
5. Open communication, understanding of diverse interest groups, being accessible, responsive, guiding, facilitating, and coordinating education in a national information infrastructure (Carter & Cunningham, 1997).

The public has a great deal of influence over school board decisions. Therefore, the city Parent Teacher Association (PTA) minutes will be reviewed. School Board

minutes and City Council minutes will be compiled as to subject matter and scrutinized for agreement or disagreement on the same subjects. News articles and letters to the editor from the local newspapers will be reviewed with a focus on the school trends and ensuing problems reported in that data.

Secondary interview participants will be selected using the reputational method (Hunter, 1953). A combination of the decisional method (Mills, 1956) and the reputational method (Hunter, 1953) will be used to identify many of the themes. Sources and themes are usually brought forward through interviews with other sources as well as through archival document searches. Primary sources of information (raw data) will be obtained through the research question structured interview, semi-structured interview, and life story interview methods. Data will be solicited from the following sources:

1. Teachers, principals, administrators (school system personnel).
2. School board members, Parent Teacher Association's past presidents, university professors, superintendents from neighboring cities (education-related personnel).

3. Mayors of the city, past city officials, city council members, civic league members, state officials (city/state personnel).

4. Religious leaders, business leaders (special interest groups)

In order to assure representation from all ethnic groups and a representative sample of the population specified above, both a characteristic form (see Appendix A) and a biographical sketch form (see Appendix D) were designed. The data from those forms will be reported, but the participant's identity will not be disclosed. This research will involve several participants who are still employed by the Virginia Beach School System; therefore, permission to conduct this research will be solicited.

It is the purpose of historical research to collect data systematically. The data which are collected must be objective and relate past occurrences accurately. Because much of the historical data will be obtained through the interview process, cross-validation will be necessary. To facilitate the accuracy of the interview process, a system of triangulation will be implemented through the use of written documents, personal interview, and minutes from the various related groups.

The use of a semi-structured interview in gathering the historical perspective will assist this researcher in the quest for reliability. Through the conformity of data collection provided by the interview guide, a determination of the consistency of the individual's testimony of a specific event will be cross-checked. A review of written documentation will provide this researcher with validation of the data reported through the secondary interview sources (see Appendixes B & C).

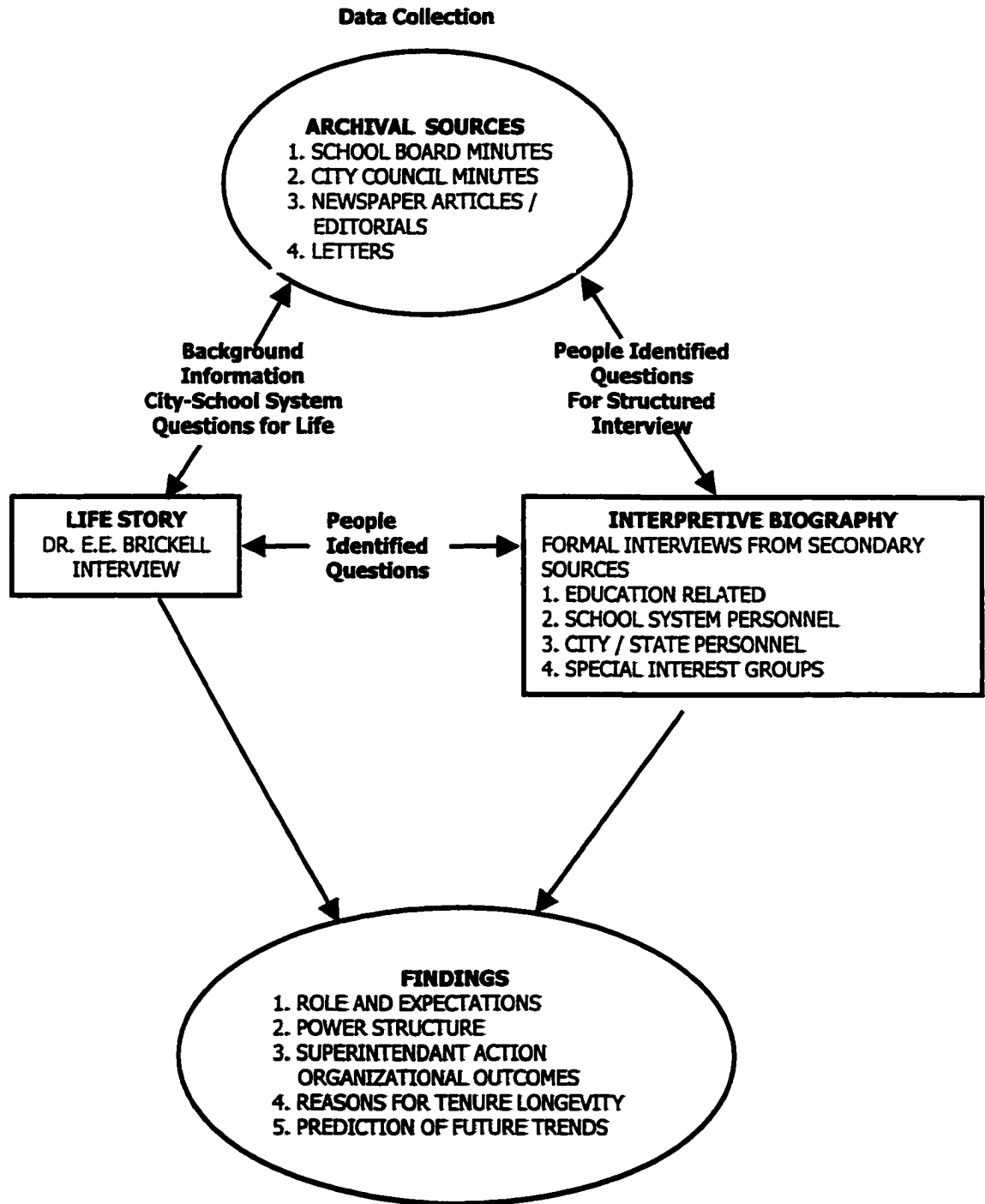
The life story uses an informal interview approach with open-ended questions and is presented in the words of the person telling the story. In this case, the questions will be formatted to follow a chronological order with emphasis on the superintendency and local history. Interpretation consists of two aspects to validate the story itself and to explain the meaning of the story. Categories of analysis and "epiphanies" (Creswell, 1998, p.51) will emerge and the life story will be deemed trustworthy through subject reality. Internal consistency will be substantiated by the lack of contradictions in the story. External consistency is established through what the researcher already knows to be the case. Corroboration and persuasion are forms of validity in that the person and

someone who is familiar with the person is given the edited life story to substantiate (Adkinson, 1998).

It is the general purpose of this study to compile factual knowledge related to the factors that attributed to Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure longevity within the rapid growth of Virginia Beach and its change from a rural to an urban city structure. The design of this power structure research will blend a historical study, using the archival information, with interpretive biography and the life story interview methods.

The following figure illustrates all that has been discussed in this chapter about how a power research study is conducted. This chart is specific for this study. Data sources are identified through archival sources, the life story interview and the secondary interview sources. The areas that are anticipated findings are stated in the bottom oval of the figure (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

Power Structure Study City/School System Virginia Beach1967-1987

The information will be interpreted to produce an in-depth look into superintendent tenure. A patterned interview process will be used with the players who emerge through the life story interview with Dr. E. E. Brickell and interviews with other important players. A comprehensive review of the historical literature research available on the superintendency from its inception to current time will be conducted. The research on superintendent tenure will be studied in-depth, with particular interest paid to rural and urban settings (using the classifications of the U.S. Bureau of the Census), as well as to women and minority participants.

Role Of The Researcher

The role of the researcher will be that of the interviewer, document reviewer, transcriber, and interpreter. Interviews will be audio taped in an attempt to provide an audio documentary as well as a written document. The role of the researcher in a life story is that of guide, collaborating with the narrator in composing a story the teller is pleased with (Atkinson, 1998). The researcher will transcribe the interviews personally.

Pursuant to the writing of this research proposal, the researcher had identified many of the key players in the Virginia Beach City School System. Preliminary contact was

made to ascertain if they would participate in this study. The researcher has taught and been an administrator in this geographic area since 1980. Dr. E. E. Brickell was also contacted and agreed to provide an interview, as he felt that time was of the essence since, as he put it, "many of the key players are past their golden years" (E.E. Brickell, personal communication, April, 1997).

Research Procedure and Analysis

Interview

The primary method of data collection will be the semi-structured interview. The interview strategy was selected because the subjective and sensitive nature of the study required objectivity and depth from many retired participants. Probing of individual circumstances and perspectives will be ascertained through extensive conversation (Borg & Gall, 1989).

Four interview guides have been developed from a review of the literature about superintendent tenure and power structure research. The guides were designed to obtain the same information related to the four research areas: (a) nature and role of the superintendent, (b) identification and influence of the power elite, (c) superintendent action and organizational outcome and, (d) factors for tenure longevity.

Power structure research provides a process of studying the power elites, their relationships with each other, and the organizational outcomes that result from those relationships. The interview process provides an avenue to explore those relationships and is guided by research standards associated with naturalistic inquiry and grounded theory (Glaser & Struass, 1967; Guba & Lincoln, 1985).

The interview guides for this study were established to obtain information from the players that were identified by each other, by Dr. E. E. Brickell, and through a review of the newspaper articles. However, during a casual conversation with the past mayor, it became obvious that he wanted to add information that was not included in the interview guide. Therefore, the final question in the planned interview was designed to encourage participants to add any further information they may wish to include after they have completed the other questions in the interview guide. All interviews, whether conducted in person or by phone, will be audio taped in an attempt to compile a documentary of how key players viewed the superintendent's actions and the characteristics they felt led to his successful tenure.

Two of the interview guides were established to obtain the same information from participants who either were or were not in the field of education. These guides will establish a framework for internal and external views and will be used to begin the probe (see Appendixes B & C). The six guiding questions will be asked directly with respect to the relationship of the participant to the study (see Appendix H).

Patterns Used to Transcribe Interviews and Interpret

The process of analyzing the data from the interviews will follow the form detailed by Hubber & Miles (1994). This format was chosen because it upholds the reputational method developed by Hunter in power structure research (1953) and allows for the fact that observation is not an option. Participants within the power structure identified the other participants to be interviewed. The participants will be interviewed using the interview guides and the transcribed texts will be coded and compared in order to obtain a sense of the overall data.

The literature review led to an identification of several factors that were reported as affecting superintendent tenure. Determination of which to use as categories for this research will be through content analysis of the interview transcripts and the written

documents. A coding system will be established to identify which factors were most often identified as a link to long tenure (see Appendix E). The method of summarizing content-analysis data through the use of absolute frequencies is the most common method identified by researchers (Borg & Gall, 1989) and is the one used in this study to choose the tenure categories for the formal interview questions.

The interviews will be coded, and a constant-comparative procedure involving inductive analysis while simultaneously collecting data will be employed. Preliminary counts of the data will be conducted to ascertain the frequency of the codes in the interview data base (Huber & Miles, 1994). Emergent themes and categories will be examined and revised developing an analytical framework. This procedure is founded in grounded theory research (Corban & Strauss, 1990).

Documents

In the words of Altheide (1996), "Documents are studied to understand culture--or the process and the array of objects, symbols, and meanings that make up social reality shared by members of a society" (p. 2). A review and content analysis of newspaper articles and minutes of the PTA, School Board, Virginia Beach Education Association, and City Council meetings will be conducted to

find written documentation that substantiates or contradicts the information gleaned from interviews.

The documents to be reviewed will cover all stories over a 26-year time frame, from 1961 to 1986. This length of time was determined through a preliminary electronic search of the local newspaper listing of articles about Dr. E. E. Brickell using the following key words; tenure, change, policy, student success, and his name. This search revealed a list of over 300 citations in stories and editorials that were contained in two newspapers; *The Virginian-Pilot*, and *The Ledger Star*. A preliminary manual search of the articles was conducted using microfiche. Unfortunately, some of the articles are of poor quality and not readable.

The archival record rooms of the Virginia Beach Public School System and the City of Virginia Beach provided much of the demographic information included in this proposal. Documents in this collection include not only previously published material but also letters to parents about situations that faced the school board in the past. Memoirs that might be presented during the interview process will also be included.

Patterns Used to Transcribe Documents and Interpret Data

Content analysis is "a research technique used for

making replicable valid inferences from data to their context" (Krippendorff, 1993, p. 68). The material that will be analyzed will all be treated in exactly the same way.

Ethnographic content analysis is the approach that will be used for document data collection, data analysis, and interpretation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). "Ethnographic content analysis follows a recursive and reflective movement between concept development-sampling-data, collection-data, coding-data, and analysis-interpretation" (Altheide, 1996, p. 16). This method will allow a constant comparison of the patterns used in the interviews and the themes identified in the literature review as trends in the tenure, nature, and role of the superintendency; power elite theory; superintendent action; and organizational outcome. These themes will be used as the draft protocol. This protocol will be constantly revised to capture an understanding of the themes that surface and of the organization. The data analysis phase will include a conceptual refinement and data coding. Comparing and contrasting this information, will help to unfold the research findings (Altheide, 1996).

Life Story Interview

This life story interview is the cornerstone interview and a major data source in this complex power structure study. It is the purpose of this life story interview to provide an open-ended format of questions that cover Dr. E. E. Brickell's entire life course in chronological order. The emphasis of this story will be within the theme of his role as superintendent within the power structure of Virginia Beach. Personal meaning systems are created from the beginning of a person's life. Questions about characteristics, values, and education will be asked in order to ascertain what influenced him to choose education as his profession and to provide the link with other power elites who influenced his tenure longevity. The knowledge reported from this interview will provide an expanded vision of an understanding of professional responsibility and moral identity and will illustrate possibilities for human action and feeling for others who choose to take on the superintendency as a profession (Witherell & Noddings, 1991).

The questions that will be asked during this interview are open-ended and provide a chronological structure. Information valuable for future superintendents in addition to findings that define tenure longevity will also be a

major focus. "The real heart of anyone's story is that which explains best how they did what they did. It is their subjective sense of what made it all possible" (phone conversation, Atkinson, July 20, 1998).

The following areas were recommended to elicit in-depth comments. This open-ended life story interview is the reality-construction process that will be used to ascertain Dr. E. E. Brickell's personal view of his life and superintendency. The thematic areas that follow undergird the questions that make up the "Life Story Interview" design (Adkinson, 1998).

Birth and Family Origin. In order to know who a person is, it is important to understand the social situation into which he or she was born. The value and belief system that one develops is very much influenced by one's parents, the intimate social structure, and other people who play a significant role within the family structure. Individuals react to different circumstances in different ways. Their reaction is embedded in the personal construct of their birth world. Questions concerning birth and family origin constituted the underlying framework to begin this chronology.

Family and Cultural Traditions. The second area that influences the way a person develops deals with the

cultural setting that one is born into. It is through the cultural environment that value systems and religious customs originate. To some families, the cultural frame of reference is of paramount importance; to others, it means very little. Either way the cultural framework of a person's life will link that person with others who have similar backgrounds.

Community and Social Factors. Experiences with particular people and unique situations help to shape the third area. Through the interaction with others, people start to place themselves in a social group. The community in which one lives, the schools one attends, and the people with whom one associates greatly influence social structure. This area above all others has been found to have the greatest influence on the power elite.

Education. Education is the major focal point of this research project and the fourth thematic area. In all cases this component is important to shaping one's future. In this particular case under study, formal education has been a life long profession as well. Much has been written about the elite and formal education. Certain schools are chosen by the movers and shakers of the world as the places where they send their children. These schools set the stage where close relationships are fostered among the next generation

of elites. "For one thing, some of the educational institutions are or were much more tied to the governing elites than others" (Wilkson, 1969, p. xv).

Relationships. In the adult life, independence starts to take shape when individuals are able to share their lives with others. To become independent in life is to be interdependent with those with whom life is shared. This oxymoron truly undergirds the exploration of a person's quest for others to work with and to love. This section is important to the elite, as this is where friendships are formed and linkages are established for survival in the power structure. "Socioeconomic background is a means to predict what the internal values of managers will be" (DiTomaso, 1980, p.258).

History. Historic events that take part throughout one's life play a role in the decisions that are often made. They can, at times, be the only contributing factor to the decisions that are made.

Retirement/Reflection. Retirement--or in the case of this research study, leaving a position and having time to reflect on that position--allows an awareness of the position to form. This is the area that will provide Dr. E. E. Brickell's sense of the organization.

Life Story Themes in the Framing of the Interview Questions

The major themes of a person's life give shape to that person's life. These themes sometimes shape what will happen in a person's future. The life story questions were framed in order to reflect on the entire life, identifying those factors that became a major influence on the actions that were taken by Dr. E. E. Brickell as superintendent.

The questions that will be asked in the life story interview were designed by this researcher through information obtained during a literature review of three major areas: the life story interview procedure, the "power elite" theory, and superintendent tenure (see Appendix J). The underlying and overall theme of this life story interview is to ascertain how Dr. E. E. Brickell arrived at his set of values and beliefs which influenced the decisions he made and influenced his superintendency.

Paramount to this research is what Dr. E. E. Brickell believes allowed him to have the length of tenure he had. That question, along with the questions that guided this study (see Appendix H), will be asked directly.

Transcription and Interpretation of Life Story Interview

This phase of the life story interview is the post-interview phase. It is the main objective of this phase to transcribe and interpret the data according to the

predetermined objectives (Atkinson, 1998, p. 60). The objective of this section of the research outlined in this proposal is to uncover, through Dr. E. E. Brickell's own words, an understanding of the role, expectations, and challenges of his tenure and the key circumstances that enabled him to maintain the position of superintendent of the Virginia Beach School System longer than the national average.

A complete transcript of everything that was said by Dr. E. E. Brickell will be presented (see Appendix H). The only editing to this transcript will be for accuracy and readability. The questions that were asked by the researcher will be left out. If sentences were completed by the researcher the words added will be placed in brackets. Standard spelling, sentence, and paragraph structure will be used to create a readable first draft. The first draft will then be read while listening to the tape again. This phase of the transcription becomes interpretive because the text is "unpacked" word by word to identify interpretive categories. Interpretation of a life story is in essence the degree to which it is deemed reliable and valid (Ressman, 1993, p.32).

The meaning that is gathered from a life story can depend a great deal on the interviewer. To analyze the data

of a life story is to recognize the interactional context between the interviewer and the respondent (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). The categories and themes emerge from the text of the life story. "A life story interview is a highly personal encounter; an analysis of a life story is highly subjective and may have as much to do with the quality and depth of the interpersonal exchange itself as with any theory that might be applied to the narrative" (Atkinson, 1998, p. 59).

Analyzing the data involves arranging and rearranging the text, looking for linkages and horizons that will show the reader the "hows of the whats of the narrative dramas of lived experience" (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p. 80). In this case, the text will be explored for themes of life including; overcoming difficulties, achieving success, and relationships with power people. The events and happenings that were central to the career path, key turning points, power elite characteristics and important influences in Dr. E. E. Brickell's life that had an effect on his superintendency will be explored (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Atkinson, 1998).

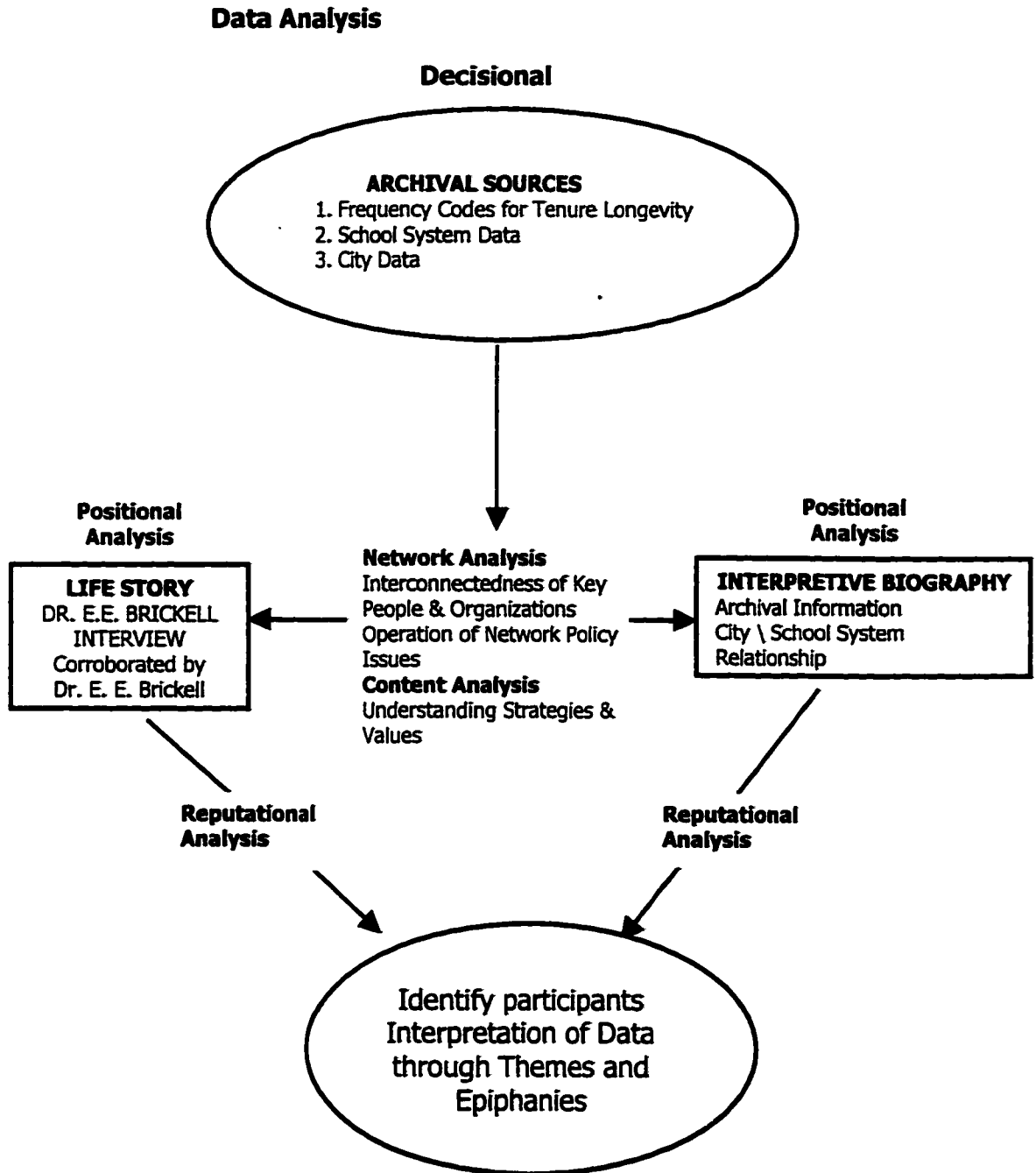
Figure two, which follows, provides an illustration of the data analysis methods that will be implemented in this study. This design combines the use of power structure,

life story, and interpretive biographic methods. The analysis of data and sources of data will be obtained and analyzed as follows:

1. Decisional analysis--will be obtained through archival sources to include; frequency codes for tenure longevity, school system and city data.
2. Positional analysis--will be obtained from the life story interview, secondary interviews and archival information.
3. Network analysis--will be used to determine the interconnectedness of key people organizations that had an effect on Dr. E. E. Brickell and the school division.
4. Content Analysis--will be used to provide an understanding of the values and strategies of Dr. E. E. Brickell and the school division.
5. Reputational analysis--will be used to identify power elite and identify themes (see Figure 2).

Figure 2

Power Structure Study City/School System of Virginia Beach
1967-1987



* Reputational analysis is not traditional as direct observation is not possible. Therefore opinion and written material is used instead.

Analysis of Combined Data

The purpose of this study is to examine the 19-year tenure of Dr. E. E. Brickell to develop an understanding of (a) the nature, role, and challenges of his superintendency; (b) the power structure, made up of the power elite, and the effect of that structure on tenure; (c) superintendent actions as they effected organizational outcomes; and (d) the factors that attributed to his tenure longevity. The six broad research questions that were asked of all participants and explored in the document review are repeated below and will be addressed in the research findings.

1. What factors accounted for the longevity of the superintendent?
2. Who were the internal and external "power elite" who influenced the school division, and did they change?
3. What school division outcomes were directly related to what administrative action? How can these outcomes be traced to specific actions?
4. What were the defining issues (operational measures) that occurred during the superintendent's tenure? How did he respond to those issues when he had

prior knowledge of them and what was his response when issues came as a surprise?

5. How did the superintendent deal with the power elites? When was it effective; when was it not effective?

6. What influence does this superintendent have in the school system and the city at the present time?

The archival information, secondary source interviews, review of superintendent tenure research, and life story interview will provide a starting list of descriptive codes for the emergent categories and themes about the interrelationships of the power elite and the effects these interrelationships had on the organizational outcomes and superintendent tenure. A close examination of the interviews for personal meaning and interpretation will be conducted to factor out information that could not be substantiated. The underlying theory for the approach used for data collection was to allow participants to apply their personal realities and meanings to whatever factors may have contributed to the superintendent's longevity within the school system.

Themes that emerge and can be found in the literature will be revisited and discussed in the findings. These themes are believed to have potential impact on the length

of superintendent tenure. Participants will be identified by the position that they held or the relationship that they had in the power structure.

.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF EVALUATION

The purpose of this study is to examine the nineteen-year tenure of Dr. E. E. Brickell, superintendent of the Virginia Beach City School System to further develop an understanding of the role, expectations and challenges of the position of superintendent. This chapter provides a discussion of the findings of the power structure study of his superintendency relative to the organizational, environmental, and individual factors that contributed to his tenure longevity.

Specifically, six broad research questions were designed to develop an understanding of the factors that attributed to Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure longevity. The primary areas that the questions addressed were (a) the nature, role, and challenges of Dr. E. E. Brickell's superintendency; (b) the power structure, made up of the power elite, and the effect that structure had on his tenure; and (c) superintendent actions as they effected organizational outcomes.

The primary method of data collection was through the interview process. The life story and the semi-structured

interview methods were the two formats used to gather the data for this study.

Dr. E. E. Brickell's life story interview provides a personal view of his operating values and beliefs as they influenced his superintendency (Adkinson, 1998). A complete unedited transcription is presented in the appendix (see Appendix, K). Epiphanies (Crestwell, 1998) from this personal narrative identify themes for tenure longevity and are woven into the power structure findings.

Secondary interviews were conducted using two semi-structured interview guides. Consistency throughout the design of these guides provided the conformity of data collection needed to determine consistency of the participants testimony and recollection of specific events (see Appendix, B & C). These interviews involved 40 participants selected through the reputational method (Hunter, 1953).

The secondary interview guides were designed to obtain information about the participants and their relationship within the school system. The questions also provided inquiry into the power structure of the participant and how the participant relates to the power structure that surrounded Dr. E. E. Brickell. Reasons for Dr. Brickell's tenure longevity were also addressed in the questions.

The data from these interviews provided the identification of themes for tenure longevity and the framework for the interconnections among the key organizations and people who influenced Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure.

An integral part of the power structure methodology is the selection of participants. Since many of the 40 participants hold political office or are members of the current school system they have asked for, and have been assured, complete anonymity. A chart that further disaggregates the profile of each participant and calculates the percent rate for each group of the participants is presented in the appendix (see Appendix, A). The participants are identified here within the four groups as follows:

1. School system personnel--teachers, principals and, upper-level administrators.
2. Education-related personnel-- college professors, school board members, Parent Teacher Association members, and superintendents from neighboring cities.
3. City/state/legislative personnel-- city elected officials, state officials, regional officials, and legislators.

4. Special interest groups-- journalists, business executives, and religious leaders.

The third source of data was obtained from printed text. Information was solicited by locating and examining archival sources such as, School Board minutes, City Council minutes, newspaper articles, and memorabilia that was presented by the participants at the time of their interviews.

A content analysis of the above sources of data allowed this researcher to conceptualize what was said and done within the school system during Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure. This analysis provided a framework to understand the strategies implemented to undergird the policy planning and the values of the power elite.

Throughout the literature it is stated that the power elite who sets the policies and values of the power structure (Domhoff & Dye, 1987) defines and maintains that power structure. An investigation of the policy procedures and values was conducted within the context of the printed text. This content analysis was a part of the data used to uncover the factors that contributed to Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure longevity.

The interview guides were used to develop two sets of descriptive codes used in preliminary analysis of the

transcribed text and archival sources. An electronic word search was conducted throughout all of the transcribed text and a set of theme codes was developed (see Appendix, F). These codes were used to organize and analyze the data.

The findings will be addressed drawing primarily upon the empirical data generated to answer each of the six broad research questions.

1. What factors accounted for the longevity of the superintendent?
2. Who were the internal and external "power elite" who influenced the organization, and did they change?
3. What organizational outcomes were directly related to what administrative action? How can these outcomes be traced to specific actions?
4. What were the defining issues (operational measures) that occurred during the superintendent's tenure? How did he respond to those issues when he had prior knowledge of them and what was his response when issues came as a surprise?
5. How did the superintendent deal with the power elite? When was it effective, and when was it not effective?
6. What influence does this superintendent have in the school system and the city at the present time?

The data for this study was obtained from four sources and will be reported according; (a) the life story interview; (b) the secondary semi-structure interviews; (c) the printed public press; and (d) a review of public minutes. Content analysis will be used to identify the defining issues, epiphanies, and values evidenced for tenure longevity. The final section of this chapter is a summary of the findings from this power structure study with a network analysis of the power players as they related to Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure.

Findings

Question 1: What factors accounted for the longevity of the superintendent?

The following table lists the factors that accounted for tenure longevity. An asterisk indicates the data sources that these findings were substantiated in and a percentage of the respondents is indicated where warranted. These findings will be included in the discussion that follows of the results; the richness of the interviews will be included to allow for another avenue of consideration.

Table 3

Factors for Tenure Longevity

Factors for Tenure Longevity	Life Story Interviews	Secondary Interviews	Printed Public Press	Public Minutes
Backing of Power Elite		100%	*	*
Ability to Reach the Public	*	100%	*	*
Ability to handle Growth	*	90%	*	*
Unity of Purpose	*	100%	*	*
Political Acumen		98%	*	*
Work Ethic	*	100%	*	
Expert Speaker Writer	*	100%	*	
Made Policy	*	98%	*	
Defined The Role and Nature Of the Position	*	100%	*	

* Substantiates data source.

Power structure research demands a strong preliminary understanding of the social, cultural, and historical setting in which the elite operates (Hertz & Imbed, 1995). The power structure of Virginia Beach was deeply seeded by the values of the founders of the city. In the case of this research, it therefore, became paramount for the researcher and the reader to have a strong understanding of

the history of the geographic area that Dr. E. E. Brickell's power structure was based in, Virginia Beach. At the beginning of each interview the first factor that was brought up by the participants was the importance of the history of the city to Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure.

Backing of the Power Elite

The first factor for tenure success was the backing of the power elite and was mentioned by 100% of the participants. They stated that the underlying reason for the appointment and the early success of Dr. E. E. Brickell as superintendent of Virginia Beach was due to the political power structure of the city.

The political climate was very different when Dr. Brickell was superintendent. There was, in those days, a political system, a political machine that called the shots. It transcended the school system and was in the political structure of the city and state as well. The political machine set the stage for the merger of Princess Anne County and the resort strip of Virginia Beach. It set the pace and the stage for the future of every system within the city. It selected the superintendent and supported those who supported the power structure. This was a self-perpetuating system (Upper Level School System Administrator, 1).

The internal and external power elite who influenced the school division during Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure were descendants of the power elite who were responsible for the early development of the city. Three families can be traced today to the "founding fathers" of Princess Anne County.

Power structure research has shown that one way to control what happens in an organization is to select individuals for key positions that have the same value system as the key people within the organization (Domhoff, 1990). The value system that permeated the city early in its inception and continued through Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure is explained through an investigation of the power elite that built the city.

Background, the Early Power Structure

The actual history of the power structure of what is now known as the city of Virginia Beach can be traced to the Lynnhaven Parish as far back as 1639. The House of Burgess in 1691 divided Lower Norfolk, the eastern third became Princess Anne County and the western two-thirds became Norfolk County.

Education was an important value to the early settlers as it was throughout Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure. Schools during this time in Princess Anne County were rare. "From the colonial period through the 19th century many Princess Anne families moved to Norfolk for the stated purpose of assuring schooling for their children" (Mansfield, 1989, p. 27).

Prior to the Civil War in 1847, Princess Anne County with a population of 7500 was faced with the dilemma of the

flight of its residents to Norfolk for educational reasons. The county elite solved the education flight problem by bringing an education referendum to the people. The people passed a referendum to fund a tax-supported public school system. In 1870 the Virginia Constitution stated that all localities had to establish a system of tax supported public schools for children, including black children, presided over by a superintendent of schools.

In 1879 Edgar Macon was selected as the first superintendent. The court ordered that all of the free school properties be turned over to him. A smooth transition took place and the school system was made up of 21 white schools and 10 "colored" schools (Mansfield, 1989, p. 68). The connection between the school system elite and the political elite is evidenced early in the history of Princess Anne County. In 1880 Macon was elected to the state senate and A. B. Malbone became superintendent.

Five years later the first long-tenured superintendent took the position. Oswald B. Meyers become superintendent in 1885 and was responsible for the movement toward the consolidation of the one room school house to larger schools throughout the system, and the opening of the first high school. Oswald Meyers served as superintendent for 36 years.

The above mentioned 19th century superintendents functioned exactly as cited in the literature review. They had no staff to help them and traveled by horse and buggy. The nature and role of the superintendent was that of being responsible for hiring teachers, selecting textbooks, monitoring school buildings, submitting state reports, and keeping the city power elite happy.

J. H. Carroll succeeded Meyers and served two terms from March 1921-February 1929. During his tenure the Parent-Teacher activities, athletics and literary activities expanded. Difficulty between the school board and the superintendent is often cited in the research as a reason for superintendent dismissal (Carter & Cunningham, 1997). In this case the reason for the breakdown in relations between the school board and the superintendent was not an educationally related one. It was a political one.

The school board turned against Carroll because he was opposed to the 1928 presidential campaign of Al Smith who was supported by the county leaders. Robert Johnson became superintendent. He held the position for four years. Then the same county politics turned the school board against Johnson and Frank Cox became the superintendent in 1933. Mr. Cox held the position for 35 years succeeded by Dr. Brickell in 1968 (S. Mansfield, Personal Communication, August 6, 1989).

Background Power Structure, Politics and Changing Times

The Depression has been established as a key factor in county politics and the county "organization" changed with the election of Sidney Kellam as city Treasurer in 1931. This "revolution" in the county political machine gave way to many political changes. The appointment of Mr. Cox as superintendent was by an electoral board named by the county judge rather than directly by the board of supervisors. The "Old Guard" petitioned for a referendum to determine if Princess Anne County should shift to a county executive form of government. The county executive format would have given direct appointive power to the Board of Supervisors eliminating a number of offices, including treasurer. The voters rejected the change by more than two to one. "The outcome also provided an early example of the effective way in which Sidney Kellam and other leaders of the newly emerging organization could marshal voters for a political position" (Mansfield, 1989, p. 137).

Population growth came to Princess Anne County and Virginia Beach due to the many military facilities that were established in the area. County school enrollment increased 40% between 1940 and 1942 and the population continued to grow. The town of Virginia Beach had many hotels that supported gambling. The state of Virginia had

anti-gambling laws. The value system that was formed during this time and continued through Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure was one that enforced state statutes and shunned scandal.

The basic element in Virginia politics for decades had been efficient, incorruptible courthouse organizations loyal to Democratic Senator Harry F. Byrd, and by general consensus one of the most effective was the Princess Anne organization molded by County Treasurer Sidney Kellam (Mansfield, 1989, p. 173).

The Byrd machine was known for its honesty and integrity in both public and private life. "The local Kellam organization shunned scandal and protected the integrity of its constituency" (College Professor, 1). The issue of gambling at the hotels caused the Princess Anne political machine to interfere in the town affairs of Virginia Beach and the political machine of the Princess Anne organization took control. It was the external threat from Norfolk of annexation that brought the town and county together behind the Princess Anne organization to stop annexation.

Norfolk continued to annex land from Princess Anne County and the reduction in size of the county was creating problems with both bond ratings and county development. The county attempted to change the state annexation laws. The city of Norfolk, in retaliation, imposed a restriction on the amount of water it would make available to the county. This limit stopped any new development from occurring in the county. The leaders of Princess Anne County worked to change the merger laws in the state (College Professor, 1).

In September 1960, the General Assembly passed an act that permitted the merger of counties and towns without any minimum population limits. "The 1960 amendment clearly invited governmental mergers throughout Virginia" (Temple, 1972, p. 27).

In 1963 Princess Anne County merged with Virginia Beach and became the city of Virginia Beach. The local political officials were "prominent as initiators and/or directors of these efforts" (Temple, 1972, p. 37).

Mr. Sidney Kellam was the architect of the merger of the ocean front enclave of Virginia Beach and Princess Anne County. This merger became a reality because a city by law cannot annex from another city. Therefore, if they became a city then Norfolk would no longer be able to annex from Princess Anne County, which they had been doing. (College Professor, 2).

The merger and immediate consolidation of local government was very rare but occurred in Virginia Beach. "The voters opted to consolidate city governments without any in-depth studies of merger on public service or finance" (Temple, 1972, p. 3). Schools were a major consideration in the merger process. The superintendent of the school division at the time was Mr. Cox. He reported that the merger would have no effect on either the county or the city school system. He had been the superintendent of both for twenty years (Temple, 1972). The close-knit

Kellam organization was responsible for the success of the merger. The organization had been in control of the political milieu since the early 1950's.

The new city council met in 1963 and Virginia Beach became known as "The World's Largest Resort City". At the time of the merger the population was 111,400 and grew to 360,000 in 1988. Growth was evident throughout the city. Problems created by the population growth permeated all city areas, especially the area of education.

The continual decline in agriculture and the exploding resort area brought a need for greater cooperation among the Virginia Beach businessmen and the regional planners. The Hampton Roads Chamber of Commerce and the Southeastern Virginia Planning Commission were established and exist today for that purpose.

The expanding population and land development in the Tidewater area lead to additional government clout. A third senate seat was added to the state power structure. This senate seat created a stronger voice for the Tidewater area in state politics.

In 1966 there was a split within the Kellam organization caused by "opposing Democratic candidates for one of Virginia's seats in the United States Senate" (Temple, 1972, p.164). The Kellam family, which had been

significant in both political and civic affairs since the turn of the century was suddenly, challenged (Mansfield, Personal Communication). This challenge was personal and the reason that is cited below for the split was stated by four of the participants. The account that follows summarizes what the four participants stated. It does not appear in any printed public text but was substantiated verbally by a local historian.

At the state level because Virginia Beach was growing in population, a third senate district was formed comprised of Chesapeake, Virginia Beach and Portsmouth. It would have three senators, Judge Bill Hodges, Bill Spong, who later became the United States Senator, and Bill Kellam, Sidney's Brother.

There was bad blood when Bill Spong would not come into Virginia Beach to campaign for Bill Kellam in 1965. In 1966 when it was time for the Senate race, Pat Robertson's father, Willis, who was 78, ran for re-election. He was the junior senator and Harry Byrd, who was the same age, was the senior senator.

Sidney Kellam really did not want Robertson to run but was unable to get him to step aside. Bill Spong decided to run against him and some of that bad blood between them showed up. He really had wanted Downing, the first district congressman, to run but he would not run against his mentor Robertson, so Sidney was lost on a couple of things.

At that time the political split came. Jack Etheridge, who was the city treasurer and Sidney's lieutenant, supported Bill Spong and the two organizations split, and the split was fatal. They did come together again much later.

Spong was elected to the Senate even though Sidney was still the Democratic National Committeeman. The one party system split, even though you could never tell the Republicans from the Democrats. I once asked Sidney the difference between an organization and a machine. He said, "it depends on what side you are on" (Journalist, 1).

In 1968, even with the loss of a Senate seat, the "Kellam men still controlled the city council and won most of the other constitutional offices" (Temple, 1972, p. 164). The Kellam "organization's influence lessened but a number of people from that organization still influence the city politics today" (Journalist, 1).

Other voices began to emerge and influence policy in the seventies. The election of Meyera Obendorf in 1976 as the first of several women to serve on the Virginia Beach City Council and the election of John L. Perry a decade later as the first black councilman symbolized new perspectives in municipal decision making (Mansfield, 1989, p 198).

The Internal, External Power Elite and the Organization

Power research on organizations and the power elite of those organizations develops an understanding of the intricacies of the power elite relations (DiTomas, 1980). The research on this educational organization focused on an understanding of Dr. E. E. Brickell's relationship with the public, private and governmental institutions that were a part of the network that formed the inter-organizational environment (Domhoff, 1980).

The political power structure of the Kellam organization has been cited by the participants in this study as the first reason for tenure longevity. They stated that the organization directly influenced the appointment

of Dr. E. E. Brickell to the position of superintendent of the Virginia Beach School Division.

A content analysis of the historic organization and the organization at the time of Dr. E. E. Brickell's appointment indicates that city, state, and local elite made up the inner circle. Business people in the community were the ones who held public office. Four of the governing inner circle had family members who were prominent judges and lawyers and two held positions in the state government. All of the elite of the city were members of the Rotary Club. Four family interlocks were evident. Members of four families held positions in major city and state positions at the same time (Kurtz, 1987).

Dr. E. E. Brickell did not believe that he had a power base in Virginia Beach at the time of his appointment to the superintendency. To this day, Dr. E. E. Brickell says he does not know why he was appointed superintendent. The following epiphany clearly illustrates the power elite relationship that surrounded the appointment.

I had talked to Mr. Frank Cox who was the superintendent of schools in Virginia Beach at the time. See, I had known Mr. Cox because when I was superintendent in South Norfolk. Mr. Cox, was in Virginia Beach, Mr. Lambert in Norfolk, Dr. Alford from Portsmouth, and sometimes Mr. Chittum from Norfolk County, we would all meet at the bridge tunnel and get in one car and go to monthly Williamsburg Superintendents' meetings. So I knew him. He said,

"How would you like to come to work for me?" I said, "I think it would be all right." So I don't know all the details and stuff but he offered me a job as, I think it was director of secondary education. So I came here in '66 (pause).

Now, in '67 Mr. Cox retired. I tell you how I remember the day, August 15, 1967. Mr. Cox turned in or made public his letter of retirement at the school board meeting. I remember that meeting well. I always went to the board meeting and sat on the back row way back out of everybody's sight.

There were a few moments of eulogy. Mr. Kenny Jard said some nice things about him and Mr. Buffington, who was chairman, J. W. Buffington. Then they appointed me superintendent, it might have taken 90 seconds (pause). I am just guessing but it was very fast (very loud laugh).

I don't know, and I am being 1,000% honest, I don't know the story of how that happened. I know that there were people who wanted to be superintendent. I had been there one year. Clearly, I had no political base (Life Story Interview).

The above epiphany contradicted the political ties substantiated through the School Board minutes (August, 1967) and several secondary interview sources. They recalled the event of the board meeting the same way but said that the Kellam machine backed the appointment.

The Kellam machine, which was instrumental in helping Dr. E. E. Brickell become the superintendent of the Virginia Beach School system, was not an isolated Virginia Beach phenomenon; it tied into a larger political organization in Virginia, the Byrd machine. That machine was throughout every jurisdiction in the Commonwealth. The following accounts indicate that Dr. E. E. Brickell was

very tied into the external power structure by virtue of his education and prior positions.

His work at William and Mary tied him into the power structure of the state. He worked as the administrative assistant to the president and for Davis Pascal who in turn became the state superintendent. Dr. Pascal was very definitely tied into the Byrd machine.

I think it was a very wide spread network throughout the state. Clearly, for a long time in Virginia, this insured stability and continuity between the state and the local government. This network was so powerful it probably helped President Johnson with his campaign (Upper Level School System Administrator, 1).

The quote that follows is one on a very personal level. It is an additional piece of evidence that substantiated what many believed that Mr. Kellam selected Dr. E. E. Brickell for the position of superintendent. This appointment further entrenched Dr. E. E. Brickell into the city and state political arena.

Captain Sidney Kellam, was the captain of the ship and a good friend of mine. He was here and he was a very powerful man. He could pick up the phone and call the President of the United States, if he was a Democrat, or call Harry Flood Byrd, Junior or Senior, or Willis A. Robertson who was a senator then. He was a man of tremendous power and the Kellam machine basically ran the city. The city ran pretty well and I enjoyed knowing them. They were behind Dr. Brickell and they realized that changes had to be made, and they supported and helped him to make them (Principal, 3).

The power structure that supported Dr. E. E. Brickell encompassed a wide geographic area. Dr. Brickell had many

long-standing associations with people in the state and region due to the geographic locations where he worked, and the types of positions that he held. These relationships were evidenced not only within a content analysis of the transcribed interviews but also through analysis of the printed public press.

Power structure researchers compare patterns of interlocking to penetrate and understand the power structure of major institutions and all levels of government. "A geographic interlocker is an interlocker who meets one or both of the following tests:

- (1) an individual who holds positions in at least two institutions domiciled in different cities
- (2) an individual who holds positions in at least two institutions, one or more of which is not by nature tied to a particular domicile" (Kurtz, 1987, p.134).

The application of these two tests resulted in six position interlocks representing three school divisions and three city governments. The relationships that Dr. E. E. Brickell established in these positions formed interlocks to state and federal geographic areas as well. The following public press sources validate his geographic interlocks.

Dr. E. E. Brickell was brought up in Berkley, a section of Norfolk, Virginia. He went into the service during World War II. The following is a listing by date of his academic accomplishments and the positions he held:

- In 1950--he graduated from William and Mary.
- In 1951--he graduated from the University of Chicago.
- In 1952-1954--Dr. E. E. Brickell taught and coached and became an assistant principal in South Norfolk.
- In 1958--he was named South Norfolk's outstanding citizen ("Brickell, School Official, South Norfolk's No. 1 Citizen", 1958).
- In 1959--he made an unsuccessful bid for the Virginia House of Delegates from the South Norfolk and Norfolk County district ("Smith Baseball Coach Switches to Politics", 1959).
- In 1961--Dr. E. E. Brickell was named Superintendent of South Norfolk, the youngest superintendent named in Virginia ("Brickell Reported Story Successor", 1961).
- In 1962--he was named superintendent in Franklin, Virginia ("Franklin Hires Brickell", 1962).
- In 1965--he became administrative assistant to the President of the College of William and Mary ("Schools' Head Resigns", 1965).

- In 1966--the position of Director of Secondary Education was created for him in Virginia Beach ("Beach Hires Brickell", 1966).
- In 1967--he was named superintendent of Virginia Beach ("Brickell New Chief At Va. Beach", 1967).

Personal Contact

One hundred percent of the participants believed that the second reason for Dr. E. E. Brickell's lengthy tenure as superintendent was directly linked to his ability to make personal contact with people and reach the public. "He cultivated friendships with many people throughout his career even before he became Superintendent in Virginia Beach" (Regional Businessman, 1). He always said, "the time to make friends is before you need them" (School Board Member, 3).

Dr. E. E. Brickell was a regular when the General Assembly was in session. "It has often been said that you know when something is going on in Richmond because Brickell is there" (Parent Teacher Association Official, 1). "He knew all of the money people in Richmond and was very close to the keeper of the budget, he knew where all of the skeletons were buried" (Journalist, 1).

At that time there was also a strong Democratic general assembly and Ed had all those people like Stanley Walker from Norfolk, chair of the education

committee. Ed worked closely and was a good politician even though he would say that he was not. But he was, and is to this day, a consummate politician.

On the federal level, he knew all of the right people. Kellam was the number one Byrd lieutenant that helped in the senate first district. He also knew Congressman Tom Downing and all the other people in the high places branching the city, state and federal government. At that time, the network was not as large as it has to be today because it was much more close knit (Journalist, 1).

Ability to Deal with Growth

A third reason that was cited by 100% of the city, state, regional participants and upper level school administrators for Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure success is his ability to deal with issues the city was faced with due to population growth. The city of Virginia Beach experienced a growth period that began to explode around the time of the merger and continued through Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure. The city power structure wanted someone who could handle and manage the growth. "They expected the superintendent to manage that growth while maintaining an academic focus" (Principal, 4).

One percent of the journalists and 50% of the school administrators reported that, prior to Dr. E. E. Brickell's appointment as superintendent, no major power structure existed within the school division and the ability to deal with larger growth issues was non-existent. People believed

that, "it was just a small southern school system with no structure for accountability" (Principal, 3).

The following account of the school division describes the conditions that existed prior to Dr. E. E. Brickell's appointment. A content analysis of the transcribed interview text corroborated the account. Dr. E. E. Brickell in his life story interview would not go into detail about the condition of the division prior to his appointment. One participant stated that, "legal action had been rumored against the previous administration for accepting bribes" (Superintendent, 1). This fact could not be substantiated through the public press or a review of the school board minutes.

The superintendent before him was a wonderful man. During his time things were different. He went before the City Council and the Board of Supervisors and got some money to run the little Virginia Beach City and then also the county.

He did his thing after that, and nobody interfered. Nobody asked any questions because there was one Superintendent and one Assistant Superintendent. He wanted to be the superintendent, heir apparent after the superintendent left and the superintendent wanted that, too.

Every thing was done in the back room so to speak. I know when the clerk died, they found checks that had not been cashed and bills that had never been paid. It was a mess. There really was no accountability, the seat of the pants ran things and the records were kept in a book. We were on the brink of becoming a big school system with a huge increase in students and we were operating in the Bob Cratchet, from a *Christmas Carol*, way of doing things.

Everything was the "Good Old Boys" way of doing things (Upper Level School System Administrator, 2).

The superintendent before Dr. E. E. Brickell had been in the position for 35 years. Many of the people interviewed had recollections similar to the one above. Further research and interviews with participants who were not members of the school division provided another point of view.

The school division grew from 3,500 to 33,000 students. School Board minutes from July 19, 1966 through August 15, 1967 indicate that new schools were being built, citizens were being heard, and contracts were issued. The school division appeared to be looking toward the future. One indication from the July 19, 1966 School Board minutes indicated a contractual agreement was made between the division and the Hampton Roads Educational Television Association. Dr Mansfield gave the following overview of what was accomplished while Mr. Cox was superintendent.

He led the Princess Anne system through the problems that came with the Depression, health scares, World War II and an effort to begin the merger and integration. The efforts by Cox toward equalization of school facilities for black and white children was one of his enduring legacies (Mansfield, personal communication).

On August 15, 1967 Mr. Cox gave notice and a release from his contract was granted as of March 1, 1968. Mrs.

Kelberg immediately moved that E. E. Brickell be appointed Acting Superintendent until March 1, 1968, then Superintendent to complete Mr. Cox's four-year contract. The vote to do so was unanimous (School Board Minutes, August 15, 1968). "The School Board picked him because of his youth, his energy and his thoroughness with which he has solved the projects assigned to him. He remains calm under pressure" ("The Best for the Beach," 1967).

In the epiphany below Dr. E. E. Brickell recalls the events surrounding his appointment as a pivotal point in meeting the needs that the internal and external power elite set for the city. He believed that the city wanted a person from outside of the school division who had local historic knowledge to be appointed to the position of superintendent.

There had been a meeting in Charlottesville where this board had gotten together. I think I am telling the truth, I don't want to do anybody wrong. They had decided that they wanted some changes. Even Mr. Cox said to me that day, "I think they are going to appoint you, Ed. There are three things I want to ask you to do." He asked me the three things and I was able to do those. They were not major things just little small personal things, which he certainly deserved.

He said something to the effect, "You know, I have been here a long time and it has changed and it has sort of gotten out of my hand." It was an old county school system run in that way just like every other one in Virginia over the years but there had been massive changes in Virginia Beach not only in the demographics but in a lot of other ways.

I will say to you that the School Board and the City Council ought to be blessed to this day and I won't go into details. They sort of said to me, all right Ed fix it. They didn't say, "tell us what you think is wrong and who has been doing what, and this and that, and the other". The whole culture they understood it. I don't think they could have articulated it but they understood that the culture needed to be changed (Life Story Interview).

At the time of Dr. E. E. Brickell's appointment, "the city was growing at a rapid clip" (Teacher, 4). The school division was the primary attraction that the city of Virginia Beach held for people who were relocating into this area. "It fueled the population growth, the growth of industry and the building industry" (Upper Level School System Administrator, 1).

There was a clearer focus for the school division then. The school division was more focused on an academic mission. As long as the school system was able to maintain that academic focus, a symbiotic relationship existed between the school division and the political machine that orchestrated the growth of the city (Principal, 4).

Unity of Purpose

The fourth reason that was given by 80% of the participants, including Dr. E. E. Brickell, for his successful length of tenure was linked to the actual makeup of the city population that created a unity of purpose. The city of Virginia Beach was demographically homogeneous and the elected officials were supportive of the school system. "It was a more compliant, homogeneous population through

the seventies. Then the eighties, things started to change slowly" (Regional Official, 1).

The City Council was supportive of Dr. E. E. Brickell and the job he was doing as superintendent. Any disagreement that came up was usually with the City Manager and was always about money. There were other places the City Manager felt the need to place the money. "Virginia has never properly funded local government, or education. It is as true today as it was then" (Regional Official, 1). "Dr. Brickell very appropriately wanted to adequately fund the schools, to develop schools, the plants, and to make sure his teachers were adequately compensated" (School Board Member, 1).

You had rapid growth in Virginia Beach and there was a need to build roads, libraries and get a water supply. The fact that Virginia Beach suffered more than the communities around was due to rapid growth that caused this tension to develop between School Board and City Council. The school needs used 50 percent of the budget and everything else had to be funded from the remaining 50 percent.

I think the sense of City Council was that the School Board and the superintendent did not appreciate the pressures from everything else, the other aspects of municipal needs. I think there was a sense that school people think, "Here is the bill, City Council, go ahead and pay it" without considering the tremendous pressures for other community needs. Other needs that they had to cut back on libraries, roads, and all the other aspects of city life that council is responsible for paying. I think the system worked against him and education as it does today (Regional Official, 1).

"I do not think that the problems that Dr. E. E. Brickell had with City Council were anything but financial and not a crisis with his leadership" (Business Man, 2). Dr. E. E. Brickell was very active in both city and civic organizations. He had a strong alliance with the city and state Parent Teacher Associations. "Nobody could have survived as long as he did without the business community. There was not a whole lot of industry, but the builders were always on our side" (Upper Level School System Administrator, 2). "Dr. Brickell, due to his long-standing association with the power people in the city, was able to accomplish and overcome" (City Official, 1).

The solution to the problems that were encountered by Dr. E. E. Brickell in securing adequate funding for the school division is cited by 100% of all of the participants as the fifth reason for his tenure longevity. Dr. E. E. Brickell possessed the ability to communicate the important issues with the people who need to be informed. The people who needed to be a part of the solution to the issues always showed up in great numbers.

I remember people in the city at the council level reacting to his ability to push things through. The time we were in the midst of a budget phase and Dr. Brickell literally rallied the troops and we had thousands of employees on the lawn and I can remember council's reaction to that. They thought he was being heavy handed (Parent Teachers Member, 2).

The above incident has become a legendary story and was told in one form or another by 100% of the people interviewed. In 1981, Dr. E. E. Brickell asked for an increase in the school budget of 37% in order to increase teacher salaries. The city manager at that time recommended a 22% increase. The story follows below:

So Brickell got 3,000 teachers and PTA members to turn out at the budget hearing at City Hall. During the break, Hanbury saw Brickell working the crowd, shaking hands and backslapping, like a seasoned politician. Hanbury said, "like he was the Pope." Before the meeting resumed, Hanbury ran into Brickell at the water fountain. "Ed", Hanbury quipped. "I didn't know you drank it. I just thought you walked on it" ("The Brickell File", 1987).

Political Acumen

The sixth reason for tenure longevity within the power structure section of this study is Dr. E. E. Brickell's political acumen. Dr. E. E. Brickell's political acumen to work within the structure of Virginia Beach and the State was reported by all of the participants, except two teachers, as a major reason for his tenure longevity. He made the final decisions that set policy for the school division. "He came along at a time when the machine politics was at its peak... He gingerly walked the tightrope between factions and usually got things done" ("Dr. E. E. Brickell's suit fit him quite well", 1987).

The following three areas are individual factors for Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure longevity; was an expert communicator (speaker and writer), made policy, and defined the nature and role of his position. The narrative of these factors will be presented later in this chapter. The content analysis of the life story interview, the secondary interviews, the printed public press, and public minutes indicates that these areas need to be addressed separately.

Question 2: Who were the internal and external "power elite" who influenced the organization, and did they change?

The following table represents the internal and external power elite. An asterisk indicates the data sources that these findings were substantiated in and a percentage of the respondents is indicated where warranted. Public minutes did not reference external power elite.

These findings will be included in the discussion that follows of the results; the richness of the interviews will be included to allow for another avenue of consideration.

Table 4

Internal and External Power Elite

Who were The Power Elite	Life Story Interview	Secondary Interviews	Printed Public Press	Public Minutes
Internal Power Elite	*	98%	*	*
External Power Elite	*	90%	*	

* Substantiates data source.

The Internal Power Structure

Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure longevity was directly linked to the structure he designed for the internal power structure of the school division. His ability to appoint and manage capable, supportive people to key positions within the school division emerged throughout the content analysis of the transcribed interview text, his life story interview, the printed public text and school board minutes.

When he was appointed to the position of superintendent he did have to deal with some conflict. Dr. E. E. Brickell stated that he did not have the support of all of the people important to the organization when he was appointed. "Did they, the folks in the school system, greet me by rolling out the red carpet? Not that I recollect.

Changes were recommended in the curriculum and changes in the way we do business" (Life Story Interview).

Dr. E. E. Brickell made some major changes in the people who held key positions within the school division after his appointment. The internal power people in the school system were Dr. E. E. Brickell and the assistant superintendents he appointed at the beginning and those he appointed to the leadership positions throughout his tenure. Dr. E. E. Brickell brought several of these key people into the school system. They had been colleagues in the other cities where he had worked.

Many of the people who were in the school division prior to Dr. E. E. Brickell's appointment were suspicious of the new administrators. "The changes that Dr. Brickell implemented after his appointment were not appreciated by those on the top level of management within the division" (Upper Level School System Administrator, 1).

One key administrator gave the following account which was indicated in the interview transcripts of four others administrators. "We were called the South Norfolk Mafia. People were afraid to come to my office, they thought I was a hatchet man" (Upper Level School System Administrator, 3).

Four of the first assistant superintendents were in lower positions within the system when he came. He appointed them as assistant superintendents after he took office. "They all befriended him in the beginning and even helped him to attain the superintendency and later in turn became assistant superintendents" (Upper Level School System Administrator, 2).

It was reported by 90% of the school personnel that Dr. E. E. Brickell was kind to those who supported him, and that those who did not were removed from their positions. "He rewarded his supporters by giving them titles. Those who did not were dismissed" (Principal, 2).

The city power elite supported the changes that Dr. E. E. Brickell implemented in the school division. They were not directly involved in the accomplishment of those changes. The people that Dr. E. E. Brickell appointed to the school division supported the changes and worked toward the implementation of those changes. The power elite of the city wanted a school system that would emulate the values of their forefathers.

We had to get on a more business-like basis. There were a lot of things that we didn't have that we needed. We needed to be more sophisticated in our approaches. They didn't ask a lot of questions. We just kind of fixed it (Life Story Interview).

The members of the school division who worked for the assistant superintendents were loyal to them. The school division participants in this study all stated that they were working with quality people to accomplish the changes that Dr. E. E. Brickell wanted to implement. They also stated that the changes that were being made were needed in order to improve the educational process within the school division.

The other key player was later named Deputy Superintendent. It was difficult to establish a political link to Dr. E. E. Brickell's appointment. It was reported that the Deputy had a longstanding connection with the school system. The deputy bonds the inner circle together through the family interlock to the internal power structure (Kurtz, 1987). He was the son-in-law of the previous superintendent. "He gave the school system a sense of balance and integrity, he had a real ability to work with the principals. He developed a relationship with the principals" (Principal, 4.).

Power Structure and the City and State Government

Throughout his career as superintendent, Dr. E. E. Brickell nurtured relationships with City Council and the General Assembly. He believed that in order to be

successful as superintendent he needed to have the support of all governing bodies.

Whenever you are in a situation where someone else controls the purse strings, ultimately, you know, like Virginia, the governing bodies, local governing bodies, the city, the council and the board of supervisors.

Obviously you not only have to make friends, so to speak, with those people. You do that, I think, by running a good shop, but you must communicate with them almost as much as you do with your school board. So that they have an understanding of what's going on in the school system (Life Story Interview).

The relationships that were fostered not only provided economic support they provided an avenue for local people to become active in the political process. People from the school division became an integral part of the decisions that were being made in public educational policy. The bonds that were formed through these associations formed the interlock with other key institutions (Kurtz, 1987).

The fact that he was superintendent in other localities in Virginia and had connections with the political machine, no matter what else you say about Dr. Brickell, he had a great deal of clout in Richmond.

Our school division was frequently consulted first before lots of major decisions were made. Dr. Brickell and his staff read reports, before policies were made. Therefore, we were frequently privy to things that were being discussed and were under development in Richmond. That is a very valuable link for the school system. It allowed other people in our division access to the information within the PTA as well as administrators to assume leadership positions in respective organizations. Virginia Beach, therefore, held a great deal of clout in the state in educational circles at that time (Principal, 4).

Leadership Style Within the Power Structure

Within the power structure analysis a factor that surfaced and attributed to his tenure longevity was his leadership style. One hundred percent of the school division participants knew that Dr. E. E. Brickell ran the school system, he was the superintendent, he was in charge, there was no question about that. "He had his finger in every component of the school division. No one else had the power, he was it" (Principal, 1). "You knew that Dr. Brickell was in charge. He would visit our school and cheer us on" (Teacher, 6).

Between you and me, in going into the school, I never went into a school looking for anything, never. I went in to say hello, how you doing, what's going on, stuff like that. I never had a name at the school. I would hit the front door and it was like tom toms in the jungle. They would know at the end of the hall that "he's" here. "He" never had a name. "He's" here. I am not sure it was done in a negative fashion its just "he's" here. By the time I got to any door, the teacher already knew that "he" was in the building. I don't remember, it could have happened, I don't remember ever going to a school unless I went on a purpose, looking for something to criticize. You can find that anywhere at any time (Life Story Interview).

The teachers who participated in this study all spoke of the "trust" that they had for Dr. E. E. Brickell and the other power people of the school division. "We knew that there was a clique down in the administration building but we trusted them. They were the "good old boys" who cared

about our school system" (Teacher, 7). Dr. Brickell stated that the teachers and students are the most important components in the educational process. He respected those who worked for him but he cited the education of the children as the most important factor in the educational process.

Everything else, and I think we lose sight of this, everything else that is done in the school system ought to be done, where ever possible, to improve, to enhance, and to supplement the relationship between the faculty and the students. All else to, (pause) how do you say, expedite, I don't know if that is the word, the processes of teaching and learning.

Now if you can keep that in mind and I used to have a lot of fun and make some people angry. I had a little, small group of people, my assistant and couple people. We would meet. I called it the "little staff". And we would meet and it was in a room that had one, two, three doors and one window. I often said we could shut those three doors and pull the blinds on that window and we could convince ourselves of damn near anything. It was a wonderful idea. Then we would get out in the real world and we would get knocked upside the head and you would wonder why didn't we think of that.

These ideas would come, and these were bright people, intelligent people, and an idea would be put forth. The first thing I would ask is how is that going to help the children? And the second thing was don't come to me and say, let's change this for ease of the administration. Ease of the administration is never a valid reason for me. Ease of the administration that is going to result in something beneficial for students. If you keep that in mind there is a singleness of purpose (Life Story Interview).

The people who worked for Dr. E. E. Brickell stated that he gave them the authority to do their jobs. They also stated that he made the final decisions.

He tended to let you do the job. He would let you argue with him. We had some very interesting discussions throughout the years and would, from time to time, disagree. He would say, "Have you said all that you wanted to say? You are probably right but we are going to do it my way". That was fine with me I had no problem (Upper Level School System Administrator, 3).

The local newspaper supported the belief that Dr. E. E. Brickell gave the authority that was needed to accomplish a job to the people who held the job. A journalist reported on the power structure of the school system. "Beneath the Superintendent were five right-hand men ... Each has been given the authority in his particular area of education, and each is responsible for keeping the Superintendent informed" ("E. E. Brickell Directs a Cast of Thousands", 1976).

There was careful and a neat division of labor. One Assistant Superintendent worked with the day to day operation, the staff allocations, the budget. Except to review, Dr. Brickell did not attend to those details. He expected a lot of those who worked for him but he gave them a certain amount of the autonomy they needed to go ahead and do what it is they needed to do. This freed him up to do the important things that were very valuable to the school system in the long run, which was to nurture relationships with city Council, the General Assembly (Upper Level School System Administrator, 1).

The Power Structure and the School Board

The city elite, specifically the three mayors who were in office through Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure, appeared to work well with him. "The mayors were people who were respected and had respect for the school board. They were not wheedling power to run the school system" (School Board Member, 1). "You might say that the city and the school system (school board included) had a wonderful relationship. They were married to each other and it was a good marriage" (Principal, 1)

One of the main factors for Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure longevity is evidenced in the actual makeup, philosophy and relationship that existed with the School Board at that time. The School Board was an 11-member board appointed by City Council for a three-year term. They came from the city's boroughs and were recommended by the City Council member from that borough ("E. E. Brickell Directs a Cast of Thousands", 1976). A separation of power between the City Council and the School Board existed ("Brickell's Pay Raise is Questioned", 1986). Each member of City Council had the right to appoint someone from his constituency to the School Board. City Council members often asked Dr. E. E. Brickell for recommendations for the School Board. "After all, who would know about people who

have an interest in education better than him" (Elected City Official, 1).

The school boards in the past understood the role that they were policy makers and they hired capable people to administer the educational program. They did not involve themselves in the day to day operation of the school.

The power people, it was a different time, politics with a small "p". The School Board was appointed by the City Council and the Council was careful about who was appointed to the Board. They were usually people of prestige, character, and interested in the community. They came from varied backgrounds farmers, bankers and people concerned about the city and interested in seeing that good things happening to the school system (Upper Level School System Administrator, 3).

"The superintendent had complete control over the School Board" (Principal, 1). A review of the School Board minutes and newspaper articles indicate that the School Board did not involve themselves in the day to day operation of the schools. They did not sit on committees. "If the superintendent made a recommendation, and he made all of the recommendations, that was in question, it was settled in private" (Upper Level School System Administrator, 4). His stamp and his philosophy set policy. School boards were not that active. "They were political appointees and qualified people. As long as everything was

going along fine and they had their annual fight with City Council, that was it" (Business Man, 1).

Dr. E. E. Brickell put much of his energy into establishing relationships between himself, the School Board and the community. His relationship with the School Board started early in his career as superintendent. He stated that, "Most important, as superintendent, is that you need the support of your board" (Life Story Interview). The following epiphany describes what he believes that relationship should be.

In 1967 Mr. Buffington said, "Ed, we hired you to run the schools and if you don't run them to suit us, we'll tell you. If we have to tell you twice, we'll get somebody else to run it." He kind of smiled and I smiled and I said "Mr. Chairman, that is fair enough, now don't you get in my way and let me run it."

Of course some people in the audience said he won't listen to him. He was just appointed and he's going to get fired right away. Mr. Buffington, I thought I knew him well, said "That's fair enough, you let us know when we get in the way."

That's the way it was for almost all the time I was there. And when it no longer was then came that time, that's when I left. When I found I had board members who knew more about running schools than I did I thought it was time to retire.

Ultimately, you have to produce. I was very fortunate with the School Board I had great support. I didn't have a group of micro-managers who thought they knew more about running the schools than everybody else. They knew they weren't put there to run the schools. They were put there to establish certain policy and to see that policies were executed and implemented appropriately. They recognized that and I would say that, with some rare exceptions, my God, over almost twenty year period, you are bound to have

one or two exceptions. With very few exceptions, they stuck to that. They really did (Life Story Interview).

Internal Administrators and Political Duties

Dr. E. E. Brickell has stated that school administrators have specific job related duties to perform. He does not to this day subscribe to the belief that those duties involved the politics of the school board, the state, or the city.

At that time you never attended School Board meetings. Up until toward the end of his tenure the school board meetings were very different. They were more like City Council meetings today. In that the business took place before the meeting.

I think the superintendent, the chair, and the board members did a lot of talking about the issues before hand and so the contiguous issues were dealt with up front, they were dealt with privately. As a result, there was a united front, the meetings were one hour (Upper Level School System Administrator, 1).

Summary of the Power Structure

A summary of this power structure section reveals that Dr. E. E. Brickell dealt in a positive manner with the city, business, and school power elite. He did so because they hired him and he had a mission. He gave them what they wanted, a highly regarded school system operating in a "cost effective" way.

He knew the people in the school division, the city, and the state on a personal level. He knew things about them, about their children, and their spouses. "He was

southern, so he approached them on a personal level first. There was always conversation on the personal level before the business took place, he was comfortable doing that" (Principal, 4). "He also could drive a hard bargain if need be. So he could escalate to that level if need be, and he did" (Regional Official, 1).

As his following and clout in the community grew, especially with the parents, he was able to put pressure on the School Board and city elite. "Our council became more populist and that caused concern about growth and business. Some friction about money and power surfaced. The rally on the lawn, cited earlier, was an example of that friction" (School Board Member, 1). "Friction also surfaced as to programs that he wanted for the system that not everyone wanted. However, those same people still had children in the system and so there was a certain amount of compliance and agreement" Journalist, 2). The disagreement never reached the discourse that it has in recent years because everyone was able to reach an agreement and put the system first.

The only differences that were reported with the power elite of the city were over money. The reason for that was because the city powers needed to spend for other things in the city. "At some time there might have been one or two

members of City Council and School Board who, from time to time, had a personal envy about his power versus their power but it never escalated to something that they could not work through" (School Board Member, 1).

School systems have always been political. You have to ask for political support. As a superintendent you need access to the power structure and you need to keep them informed. In this division you always take the budget to city council. It is your job to take the heat (Life Story Interview).

Superintendent Action and Organizational Outcome

Question 3: What organizational outcomes were directly related to what administrative action? How can these outcomes be traced to specific actions?

The following table lists superintendent action and organizational outcomes. An asterisk indicates the data sources that these findings were substantiated from and a percentage of the respondents is indicated where warranted. These findings will be included in the discussion that follows of the results; the richness of the interviews will be included to allow for another avenue of consideration.

Table 5

Superintendent Action and Organizational Outcomes

Outcomes Related to Specific Action	Life Story Interview	Secondary Interviews	Printed Public Press	Public Minutes
Academic Mission Curriculum Instruction Alternative Programs	*	100%	*	*
Business Standards Policies Procedures Pay and Leave Work Ethic	*	100%	*	*

* Substantiates data source.

The review of literature for this study indicates that research is needed within an educational organization to explore the relationship of the superintendent's impact on the system (Yee and Cuban, 1996). "America's future is inextricably linked to the quality of its public schools, its K-12 educators, and the leadership of its superintendents" (Carter & Cunningham, 1997). Symbolic leadership that effects school systems is described by Sergiovanni as leaders who "define, strengthen, and articulate those enduring values, beliefs, and cultural standards" (1987). Four leadership characteristics have been

identified in the research of McAdams and Zinck as having an effect on the organization (1998). The four characteristics that were identified as attributing to superintendent action and organizational outcome were; (a) focus of attention, (b) goal directed activity, (c) modeling positive behavior, and (d) emphasis on human resources (McAdams & Zink, 1998).

These characteristics will be used to trace the impact of Dr. E. E. Brickell's specific actions on the organizational outcomes of the school division during his tenure. They will further provide an avenue for defining the issues (operational measures) that occurred. It has already been established that issues were consistently dealt with in the same way because nothing came as a surprise to Dr. E. E. Brickell. The unusual factor that surfaced at this point of the research is that 100% of all of the data supports the same findings in each area.

The focus of attention during Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure was to develop goals and implement activities to accomplish the academic mission. He began by bringing order to the school division so that the academic mission could be accomplished. "He brought stability to the system and that is something we have not had since he left. He had an impact on curriculum, instruction, all of the operations.

He brought us forward in every operation in the school system" (High Level Administrator, 2).

The organization that was designed by Dr. E. E. Brickell dealt with the defining issues as they impacted the school system. These issues were then dealt with by designing programs to solve the problems that dealt with the defining issues. Dr. E. E. Brickell directly influenced these issues by setting policy directly related to the issues. In order to continue the pattern of this research (McAdams & Zink, 1998) question four will be dealt with simultaneously with question 3.

Question 4: What were the defining issues (operational measures) that occurred during the superintendent's tenure? How did he respond to those issues when he had prior knowledge of them and what was his response when issues came as a surprise?

The following table lists the major issues that occurred during the superintendent's tenure and required his attention and action. An asterisk indicates the data sources that these findings were substantiated from and a percentage of the respondents is indicated where warranted. These findings will be included in the discussion that follows of the results; the richness of the interviews will be included to allow for another avenue of consideration.

Table 6

Defining Issues

Defining Issues	Life Story Interview	Secondary Interview	Printed Public Press	Public Minutes
Rapid Growth	*	100%	*	*
Work Ethic	*	100%		
Financial Burden	*	100%	*	*
Integration	*	100%	*	
Lack of Rigor Curriculum	*	100%		
Unity in Academic Mission	*	100%		

* Substantiates data source.

Growth

The city was living on credit when Dr. E. E. Brickell became superintendent. The first major defining issue was that the city was growing very rapidly and money was needed to help finance the growth. The school division was in debt eight thousand dollars, "I had to go to City Council and get the money to pay off the debt. City Council did not ask any questions they just appropriated the money" (Life Story Interview). One interview participant did not want to discredit Dr. E. E. Brickell's ability to get what he wanted from the city elite but felt that the money was insignificant. "The city was in debt but a lot of that was

on paper and was nothing compared to the twelve and one half million when the current superintendent came in" (Journalist, 1).

Dr. E. E. Brickell focused on bringing the school system to a professional business standard. He worked with the school board association and with the other superintendents holding leadership positions and was highly respected for his acumen. When it came to the preparation of a budget he was reported to be a master. "Everybody got what they wanted and there was always money left over" (Upper Level School System Administrator, 2).

When it seemed that an educational need couldn't be met because the money wasn't there, Dr. E. E. Brickell would find the funds somewhere. The participants in this study stated that once fiscal credibility was established, the power elite of the city allocated funds to the school division. "You got the distinct impression that he not only found the money; he hid it in the budget in the first place, just in case" ("Dr. E. E. Brickell's suit fit him well," 1987).

Professionalism, Work Ethic

The second defining issue that existed within the organization was a lack of professionalism and work ethic. Within the school division before Dr. E. E. Brickell became

superintendent it was reported by participants who were in the school division prior to Dr. E. E. Brickell's appointment that it was acceptable to have favors returned for favors. "What I gathered later from some of the other board members and random comments was that they just thought it was necessary that an outsider who may have known something about the area be brought in, because of the long affiliations that people have had" (Life Story Interview). "We moved into a more professional atmosphere. You did not have people from school plant on the weekends working on your house" (Principal, 1). "He was very professional, his secretary was the consummate professional. When you were called to his office that was a part of his aura, you were there for business, you knew you were a professional. Every thing was very organized, it was all a part of that work ethic" (Upper Level School System Administrator, 1).

The issue of professionalism transcended into the development of policy in both business and curriculum. The secondary interview transcripts were very specific and all had the same account of what policies were designed and implemented. The following accounts describe how Dr. E. E. Brickell set policy. "There were so many examples of superintendent action in the business side that took place

in accounting, bidding, purchasing and finance, and auditing" (Upper Level School System Administrator, 3).

"One of the accomplishments of his administration is that we did not have policy books, they first came out and we were trained under Dr. Brickell to use them" (Upper Level School System Administrator, 1).

We had an administrative guide that came out of the Deputy Superintendent's office which was basically the Principal's guide to school policy and regulation and the "nitty-gritty" of what you did in your school which gave us the underpinnings for a lot of consistency in our schools (Principal, 1).

Policy and Curriculum

Dr. E. E. Brickell valued education and believed that schools were places that should provide academic excellence. The third issue that was established through the participants in this study was a lack of consistent policies and curriculum. "I still cling to that admittedly outmoded notion that schools are places where children go to be instructed in certain subject matter material. I understand that that's no longer in vogue but that was mine" (Life Story Interview).

"Prior to Dr. Brickell's time the only curriculum document that we had was in physical education, not health" (Upper Level School System Administrator, 4). Curriculum development was a major accomplishment of his tenure. The

Curriculum Assessment and Development Project, completed in 1983, was nationally heralded. It looked at the heart and soul of the school system and the curriculum ("The Brickell File", 1987). The project allowed the direction of a more consistent curriculum at all levels within the school division.

Dr. E. E. Brickell reported that he valued using time and energy to a student's advantage. He believed that it is necessary to meet the academic level of each student and to provide academic rigor. This belief was stated by Dr. E. E. Brickell when he spoke about his high school years.

Margaret West, Mrs. West, Miss West, I had her for homeroom and I had her for what we called Senior Civics at the time, US Government, and for English, 12th grade English. She sent me out of the classes and she said, "there was no need for me to sit in there and waste my time and get into trouble conjugating verbs because I already knew how to conjugate verbs". Those were almost her literal words and all these years later I still remember them.

She sent me to the library upstairs with a list of books to read and report on to her. Now that particular librarian, God love her, was Myrtle Smith. Worked for me later when I became superintendent of South Norfolk. Miss Myrtle was also a librarian. You didn't talk in her library and you didn't move around and you came in there and you got what you needed and you sat down.

She was tough, she was tough. I went up there and I read those books, God, I still remember some of them, and I'd have to give reports to Miss West and so on and so on (Life Story Interview).

Dr. E. E. Brickell was instrumental in designing and implementing alternative education programs for students.

Programs were added in vocational and special education areas. He also established programs for gifted students ("The Brickell File", 1987). "Dr. Brickell had found out that the parents were very interested in a gifted program, I do not know who his sources were. The gifted program was really his vision" (Principal, 4). "Education to me is a stretching process. You put it up here and get it up there and they reach it and then you move it a little higher and a little higher until they can't reach it anymore" (Life Story Interview).

He lifted the bar on the educational standards. The gifted program and AP classes were available in all the high schools. The Student Leadership and Development Program was established for all the students in Virginia Beach. It still takes place at Virginia Wesleyan College every summer. He started a program of student activity drama, debate and the centralized athletics program. The blanket insurance program for all of the athletes in our schools was Dr. Brickell's baby (Principal, 3).

Desegregation

In 1968, Dr. E. E. Brickell was faced with the fourth defining issue, "a delicate problem: how to desegregate schools without letting the black and white mixture blow the city into turmoil or into the courthouse" ("Brickell looks back on an era of change", 1987). "Integration, he was the last of the orators and he could preach a sermon like no one else could and had Biblical resources at his

fingertips and he did that in all the Black churches. In 1968, 1969 it happened without incident or anybody saying anything. That shows you that he handled any situation" (Journalist, 1).

Integration was very successful because there was freedom of choice. That lead to the rezoning of schools. The Health Education and Welfare Department (HEW) was against our rezoning effort so they came once a month to check. It was because of Dr. Brickell's leadership that we had no major problems with integration.

Kellam High was the most integrated school in the division. I remember one day we were told to have all the men in central office go to the school to stop any problems that were suppose to take place. Dr. Brickell went on the stage and told the students that, "If there were problems then we will solve them, you will go to class or I have buses ready to take you home". They went to class. Dr. Brickell always made a decision (Upper Level School System Administrator, 3).

He handled integration and kept us out of court, he believed the schools should be integrated. He did not come from the rich and famous but from where it was really tough. He felt like people should be treated fairly and equitably. He kept the high school open in South Norfolk when the schools were closed and did not believe in closing schools.

He felt we should follow the federal laws and believed that integration should take place in peace. He provided us with a lot of guidance and support (Principal, 3).

There was great disparity in the segregated schools. The desegregation plan, discussion about the freedom of choice, and the inequalities in schools is documented in the School Board minutes (March 19, 1968). The following

excerpts from the transcribed interview texts give a rich description of the conditions before integration.

Dr. Brickell was instrumental in desegregation. The black schools had no supplies. We did not have any black school administrators. We had trouble finding black administrators. At that time we had migrant workers in the fields and we needed to make arrangements for them to go to school (School Board Member, 3).

We were asked which integrated school we wanted to be transferred to teach in. Dr. Brickell was so nice that he remembered which school I had picked back then when he saw me years later at my retirement (Teacher, 10).

Defining Issues and Surprise

One of the reasons cited in the literature for superintendent dismissal is the inability for a superintendent to handle the situation when an issue catches the superintendent by surprise. The participants in this study stated that the surprise issue was not one that would have had the ability to undermine Dr. E. E. Brickell's superintendency. One hundred percent of the participants who worked with Dr. E. E. Brickell and the journalist who wrote about the school division attributed his leadership and communication skill to the fact that nothing caught the man by surprise. He had a way of knowing what was going to happen before it did. "I always admired that in him. His reactions were always calculated and decisive. He was behind the scenes working with the power

elite of the city. He was never a politician in public. He worked with the powers that be, the quiet money"

Journalist, 2). An excerpt from Dr. E. E. Brickell's life story interview supports the fact that he takes pride in keeping everyone informed and never being surprised by an issue.

I have never treated a situation differently if I knew or did not know about it. I was never caught blind sighted. I've done this since 1961. I do everything I can to keep my boards informed. I send them once a week or twice a week, what I call an informational memo. To let them know good things that have happened, bad things that have happened, they are smart enough to know everything is not good, impending suits. It's my judgment and sometimes I may send too much sometimes maybe not enough. The boards that I have had appreciate that more than any one single thing that I have done, so help me God, to keep them informed. The ruling principle of my life in dealing with them is that if there is any way, never let there be a surprise (Life Story Interview).

The last two areas mentioned by McAdams and Zinck are modeling positive behavior and an emphasis on human resources (1998). Examples of both of these characteristics have been evidenced throughout this chapter. A summation of these areas follows in the words of a school division administrator who was a participant in this study. The epiphany that follows brings to the forefront what was cited by the participants in this study as Dr. E. E. Brickell's legacy to the school division.

However, to think that the major contribution that Dr. Brickell made was related only to the systematic process on paper and pencil is not correct. The heart of the school system and what I cherished the most was the work ethic that existed during Dr. Brickell's tenure.

Having been here before Dr. Brickell, and granted that you cannot inject someone with the work ethic, he did. One of the things about him that we all knew that no matter how early you got to work, he was already there; no matter how late you stayed he was still here; no matter what you sent him to read, he read it.

You always got a response and sometimes it was with red ink, he was thorough, he was detailed, he was vitally interested, and he wanted the school system to be successful.

Those are the kinds of things that you find in research for effective schools. He had high expectations for himself and for other people. He drove himself and, therefore, it was easier for others to do and for others to ask your employees to do.

During Dr. Brickell's administration all of those people had the same high work ethic, the same loyalty to the division, the same determination to make this system work and be efficient and get results. So you had everyone focused on pushing the division in a similar direction.

We did not talk about missions and goals so much in those days but everyone wanted the system to be good. It was like a family. We took that over from the earlier days, it was a family who wanted to be the best. So that is what I cherished most about those years.

Even people that you might not like or might not socialize with, you felt one with because you were pushing in the same direction and because there was this unbelievable work ethic.

The last big project that we worked on the last year of his superintendency was an administrative review. We were going to be scrutinized in every area that had a state or federal mandate. I remember the amount of time many people who had that work ethic put in because we were determined that we would come out without any blemishes or marks against our school division. We were successful because we had that drive. It took a lot of extra time above the regular day (Upper Level School System Administrator, 1).

According to the participants in this study, Dr. E. E. Brickell clearly defined, strengthened and articulated the direction that the school division took. He believed in the people who worked in the division, the state and the city. The school division was named one of the country's top 25 school systems by a national magazine. Dr. E. E. Brickell said, "In final analysis I would not give the school system much lower than an A minus. It is a good system. And I hope I'm not an easy grader" ("Brickell looks back in an era of change", 1987).

Individual Factors for Dr. E. E. Brickell's Tenure

Longevity, Benchmarks from Literature Review

The review of the literature relates the length of superintendent tenure to success. Areas mentioned for further research on successful tenure include the effect on student achievement and how the superintendent's actions link certain qualities to the effective leadership of a school district. These two areas were discussed in detail in the section above. In this study both were evidenced as a part of Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure.

The length of tenure is the measure used today for judging the effectiveness of a superintendent. Research has not corroborated that measure; however, long-term

superintendents are able to set up a power base and convince the community of their effectiveness (Johnson, 1996). In current research, Yee found that the public believes that the superintendent makes a difference and that it takes time for the superintendent to effect reform (1996). Perception is reality; if the public believes that the superintendent makes a difference, then to the public, the superintendent does make a difference. It has been cited in the above section that Dr. E. E. Brickell made a difference in the education of students in Virginia Beach.

Question 5: How did the superintendent deal with the power elite? When was it effective, and when was it not effective?

The following table lists the methods that the superintendent used for dealing with the power elite. An asterisk indicates the data sources that these findings were substantiated from and a percentage of the respondents is indicated where warranted. Political acumen was a phrase used constantly by the participants. They used it describe Dr. E. E. Brickell's keen insight and ability to work with the power elite. These findings will be included in the discussion that follows of the results; the richness of the interviews will be included to allow for another avenue of consideration.

Table 7

Power Elite

Power People	Life Story Interview	Secondary Interviews	Printed Public Press	Public Minutes
Political Acumen	*	100%	*	*
Education Expert	*	100%	*	*
Personal Communicator Writer & Speaker	*	100%	*	*
Leadership	*	100%	*	*

* Substantiates data source.

The following section will describe how the power people both within the organization and outside of the organization believed that Dr. E. E. Brickell made a difference. Dr. E. E. Brickell was successful with the power elite when he made policy that allowed the school system to prosper. When the school system prospered so did the city. An investigation of the transcribed interviews brings to the forefront the abilities that the interview participants cited as relevant to tenure longevity and the ability of the school system to prosper under his tutelage.

Political Acumen

In the political arena Dr. E. E. Brickell was very well connected. The first individual characteristic that had an impact on his tenure longevity was his political

acumen. "Political acumen! He is very smart in terms of knowing his constituency. He can marshal people. That's leadership to get votes when he needed. He in his time absolutely baffled City Council. He would round up his troops, surround City Hall and affect budget votes" (Regional Official, 1).

It was reported that Dr. E. E. Brickell was able to get impact aid for the school division through his alliance with the political representatives. He had the support of parents, School Board, City Council, and administrators.

One group that was specifically cited as important to superintendent tenure in this study was the support of principals. Dr. E. E. Brickell was reported to have had the support of the principals by all of the principals who took part in this study. "People overlook that you need principal support to be successful" (Principal, 3).

Dr. E. E. Brickell was able to establish tenure longevity in this school system because he had the knowledge and the support to effect change within the school division. "Ed had enough stature and support within the school division and the community that they gave him what he wanted" (School Board Member, 1).

Dr. E. E. Brickell was respected for his knowledge as an educator in the community and in the state of Virginia.

The following citations are examples of the respect that Dr. E. E. Brickell gained as an educator.

- He was elected to the Executive Committee of the Virginia High School League ("Brickell Named Exec In VHSL", 1970).
- In 1972, he was named chairman of the Tidewater Division of Virginia School Superintendents making him a member of State Superintendent Advisory council ("Brickell Named Chair", 1972).
- In 1975, he was nominated for State Superintendent ("Brickell Won't Seek Top VA School Job", 1975).
- In 1978, he was named Rector of the William and Mary Board of Visitors ("Brickell, Named Rector", 1978).
- In 1978, he was named chairman of the Tidewater Community College Board ("Rector Brickell", 1978).
- He was inducted into the Old Dominion chapter of the national honor society of Phi Kappa Phi, and also a member of Phi Beta Kappa ("Honor Society Inducts School Head Brickell", 1978).
- In 1979, Dr Brickell turned down the State Superintendency for the third time ("Brickell 'No' to offer Of State Post", 1979).

Expert Educator

On the personal side, it was reported by the participants in this study that he was respected for his knowledge, his sense of humor, and his ability to get what he wanted, what he believed was right for education. Three quotes obtained through the participants in this study that support the above characteristics follow.

I think Dr. Brickell is very smart. He had the highest grade on the Graduate Record Exam from William and Mary, and went to the University of Chicago. He had a Phi Delta Kappa pin. He is one of the smartest men I know. He had a sense of knowing and reacting to what the future would bring. I do not think any one told him what to do or say (Principal, 3).

School board members believed that Dr. E. E. Brickell had the ability to keep the school system in touch with the benchmarks of educational excellence.

The characteristics he had were charisma and a knowledge base. People like to think you have a technical expertise that they can count on when they need it. He had legal authority and understood the historical tradition. He knew schools. If he did not have the answer he would find it and it sounded good, political expertise. He could get things done in the community for the schools (School Board Member, 1).

Educational experts in the area believed that Dr. E. E. Brickell's excellence as an educator added to his tenure longevity. A majority of the transcribed interview text supported the following account of Dr. E. E. Brickell's

ability to communicate as method that aided to his success with the power elite.

He was talented himself. He was good with the grammar and could write. He was truly an educator. Those kinds of things made people see him as an educator. That gave Virginia Beach a type of prestige. I did find people who were envious about Virginia Beach. At conferences they were looking at Virginia Beach and wondering what they were doing. That always worried me that the school system started to slip when he left. He received two thousand rewards for the changes that he made (College Professor, 1).

Communication

The third personal factor that emerged from the interview information was Dr. E. E. Brickell's ability to communicate. The participants indicate that Dr. E. E. Brickell was a complex man as superintendent. He appeared to have the ability to communicate with everyone. It was reported that Dr. E. E. Brickell practiced close, personal contact with the power elite of the city and state. He also maintained that relationship with the people he worked with. Many of the participants in this study reported that Dr. E. E. Brickell had a phenomenal memory for names and faces. One of the participants in this study summarized Dr. E. E. Brickell's communication skills by saying, "He had the mind of a CEO, heart of an educator, and the soul of a blue collar worker. He could 'jawbone' people into anything" (Journalist, 2).

Personal Leadership Style

Dr. E. E. Brickell's personal leadership style was cited as the fourth factor in dealing with both the internal and external power elite that attributed to his tenure longevity. His close personal way of doing business permeated the school division. It was reported that Dr. E. E. Brickell did not leave anything to chance. He and his key people were present at every function that had an impact on the educational organization. Dr. E. E. Brickell personally believed in attending all functions. He stated that to run a school division you have to be personally involved.

Looking in the direction of running the school system, this is assuming a lot, you don't do this over night. You had to work like hell to do this. You've got to show up. You have to be all over everywhere. What did Woody Allen say? That life is 80% just showing up. Well, man, you've got to show up. You've got to let them know you're interested.

Working with the community means showing up (pause). I hope that years have not dimmed my memory to the point so that I don't recall some of the negative things. Time has a way of; they teach you that time is a great healer. But I had wonderful support from the PTA. I supported the PTA and insisted that we had them in every school including the high schools when you couldn't get 15 people there to a meeting.

The PTA was some of the greatest friends you ever have. There was at least one meeting a year, the last PTA meeting of the year, the council, the PTA council and we requested that all administrators be present and I think most of them were there. It was important to show up. We didn't ask you that night to do much of anything else just to show up. That sometimes defines

interest. That's when they say oh, hey, he's here (Life Story Interview).

The participants in this study who were not members of the upper administrative core believe that Dr. E. E. Brickell included many people in the decisions that dealt with school system objectives. The upper administrators and the content analysis of the printed material indicate that Dr. E. E. Brickell listened to people but that ultimately he made the decision.

Dr. Brickell is a very amiable, a very pleasant man. People like him. He is easy to talk to. He listens to people. He formed groups before the "Meet and Confer Process" was put into place. Dr. Brickell was instrumental in the inception and development of the "Meet and Confer Process" between the school system and the Virginia Beach Teacher Association (Teacher, 8).

The Virginia Beach Teacher Association was not as structured as it is today. He listened to the Student Council Association presidents and those suggestions turned into programs as long as there was money (School Board Member, 2).

The life story interview with Dr. E. E. Brickell indicates that he has a different mindset as to what relationship the community should have with the school division than what is accepted practice today. His leadership in this area is different because current practice is that the community expects to make the educational decisions. The following epiphany describes what Dr. E. E. Brickell felt was the job of a

superintendent in dealing with the public. He believes what he said to this day.

I am going to say, I am going to give you some heresy. I never met many parents who knew more about running schools than I did. I met a lot of them who thought they did. When we say involvement of parents, you know what I think, you know how I think parents ought to be involved? You listen to an old man talk. I think parents have an obligation to know as much as possible about what a student is doing in school and to provide a place for that student to study and to do his or her work at home or where ever. A clean, well-lighted place, a comfortable place, if possible, books (chuckles). Background does betray me every once in a while, doesn't it? The whole idea that parents need to be responded to is fine if it involves the welfare, especially the academic welfare, of the student.

Letting parents decide attendance boundaries and bus routes and all that kind of stuff, as far as I'm concerned is ridiculous. They don't know anything about it nor should they be expected to. You shouldn't expect them to. You hire people to do that. Bruce McGuire and I used to handle boundaries. We built all those schools while I was there. If you go back, you'll see that the time I was there was a major growth period in Virginia Beach. It was a ten or twelve year period. We were flooding. We were hiring 400 teachers a year. We were getting 3,000 additional pupils. Building schools right and left. Big schools, too big, admittedly too big, educationally. But we couldn't get any more money, constrained by that often.

Bruce and I, he would get advice from various principals who were pretty good at this thing. We would check the telephone company, the power company, this, that, and the other, we would get all this data through the principals. Use the cohorts survival business. How many you think will come? Get all that together and then we would try to fill up the schools the best we could. I would come out and announce the boundary changes. I used to laugh and then Bruce and I and a few other people would duck down behind the wall for about a week. Okay? And then it would all die down. In my time, the school board of Virginia Beach never changed one single boundary recommendation that

we made, not one, regardless, and that made it work.
(pause) That made it work.

People would call and Bob DeFord [School Board Chair], God love him, people would call him and complain. Brickell so and so and old Bob would say, "Oh, well you know how Ed is." That was so off putting. Bob wouldn't say "Oh, tell me and maybe we could get him to change." There wasn't any of that. He would just say that's how Ed is. That was a perfect out for him. He didn't have to, he didn't know anything about running the schools and I didn't know anything about developing land. We had a division of labor that each understood (Life Story Interview).

In summary, the four personal characteristics that surfaced through the transcribed text that allowed Dr. E. E. Brickell to be successful with the power elite and the public were; political acumen, knowledge of the position, communication, and leadership. The above personal characteristics are also cited within the power structure section of this chapter. The four personal characteristics were also evident throughout the positional analysis of the printed public information use in this study.

Factors that Effect Tenure as they Relate to Dr. E. E. Brickell's Tenure

In Chapter II a review of the research discussed many factors that effect superintendent tenure. A compilation of factors that effect length of tenure was designed and presented. Those factors lead to the identification of the following three categories, personal characteristics, professional relationships, and job related expertise. Each

area had key words assigned to it. The key words are listed below and are the words that were used for an electronic search of every participant's interview transcription to organize information for this section.

Personal Characteristics-- Open communication, being accessible, responsive, guiding, facilitating, integrity, hard work, positive direction, core values, sound judgment, and effective decision making (Chance, 1992), (Carter & Cunningham, 1997).

Professional Relationships--School board and superintendent relations (McCurdy, 1992).

Job related Expertise--Fiscal management and dealing with constituencies' diverse needs (Tyack & Hansot, 1982).

Educational, political, and managerial leadership skills coordinating education in a national information infrastructure (Cuban, 1988, Carter & Cunningham, 1997).

Several examples of the above factors have been presented in this chapter from the data cited by the interview participants. Two of the factors that have not been addressed are dealing with constituencies with diverse needs, and coordinating education in a national information infrastructure.

It has been reported by the participants in this study that, during Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure, the population of

Virginia Beach was not diverse. The only information that could be found in the transcribed interview text dealing with the needs of a diverse population was in the development and implementation of academic programs. Carter and Cunningham have identified the theme of a national infrastructure for education as an answer for the success of education in the future (1997). Future concepts will be discussed in Chapter V.

The prevailing topic that continued to emerge throughout the interview transcriptions was that the city had a very homogeneous population at the beginning of Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure and that changed toward the end of his tenure. Interestingly, the question did surface whether it was the change in population or the inability to abandon his principles that caused Dr. E. E. Brickell to leave the superintendency. The following excerpts illustrate the population and the community.

The school division was demographically more homogeneous. It was an overwhelmingly white suburban/rural school division. I think that homogeneity set the expectation for stability rather than change. There was a clearer focus for the school system then. The school system was more focused on an academic mission (Upper Level School System Administrator, 1).

The issues were those that were evidenced because of rapid growth and they just expanded. I do not recall integration as being a big problem. The entire minority population at the time was less than ten

percent. The demographics did not cause the racial tensions, which existed then, and today. It was something that had to be confronted. He spoke at all of the black churches. Did the white population just accept integration?

In Virginia Beach, things were going along very well. Students were achieving, going on to college. There were no disruptions in the schools: a long list of merit scholars, the sports teams were doing well, what was to say was bad. In 1969-72 half of the economy was the military.

The officer class lived in Virginia Beach. You had a population that was not inclined to any type of political advocacy. They were inclined to the wife participating in the Parent Teacher Association and they coached sports. It was not expected that military people would take part in public policy let alone school board policy. As long as their kids did well they were happy. It was a more compliant, homogeneous population in the seventies, then things started to change in the eighties. Virginia Beach was faced with more diversity, foreign languages, and the large Asian community (Regional Official, 1).

The population was different, the public was not so inquiring or critical, the money situation was good, we were growing and becoming more sophisticated. We had high-test scores because all of the students were coming from the same types of homes (Journalist, 1).

The population of Virginia Beach has become more diverse and with that change a different type of person has emerged in leadership positions. Several of the participants discussed that issue. The participants were divided in their opinions as to why Dr. E. E. Brickell retired.

He had been around and liked to have final say. He had a conservative board in the past but as time went on people of middle to upper income families, educated populous, they ask questions and they do

their homework. These people called YALE and Harvard and knew that the grading scale that Dr. Brickell wanted would hurt their students. Eighty percent is not a D in our culture. And these people said, 'No Way'. The board was beginning to change and I believe the people were correct. That day the board voted unanimously to not have that grade scale. That bothered Ed. He knew everyone liked him but he did not like the change. He said it looks like you guys just voted for my retirement, and he did. We felt the people should have that vote in their favor. Back then, when a vote looked like it was going to pass it became unanimous (School Board Member, 1).

The following epiphany told by Dr. E. E. Brickell indicates his feeling toward the School Board's decision that day. This clearly was a time that Dr. E. E. Brickell did not handle the power elite of the school board.

I think they didn't even recognize, that board, that the night that they changed the grade schedule was it. I told them, I said, "You've just signed my retirement papers." Van Spiva turned to me and said "Oh, no, no we can work it out". I said, "No, no, no, not for someone who devoted his whole damn life to academic excellence, and you're going to come in and lower the standards, no, not on my watch" (laughs heartily) (Life Story Interview).

Further research into the grading scale issue that was said to have caused Dr. E. E. Brickell to retire revealed that the school division had commissioned a study to ascertain if the proposed scale was too high for our students to be competitive and accepted into the colleges. It was found that the scale was not out of line and that the local colleges were well aware of what a grading scale meant. The report revealed that Fairfax County had lowered

their scale to ten point increments. "It was not the grading scale but the fact that certain people were looking for an issue to make his swan song a reality" (Principal, 5).

It has been reported by all of the participants in this study that Dr. E. E. Brickell had an impact on the school division. Dr. E. E. Brickell was able to bring the school division through integration. He was instrumental in setting up educational programs for students with diverse educational needs. Fifty percent of the participants stated that Dr. E. E. Brickell retired because his educational values were not the same as the members of the school board. "The one thing he was not able to do was to go against what he believed. He was a man of principle" (Upper Level School System Administrator, 3).

He believes that kids are our future, and if we do not take care of kids, then this society and community would be troubled. He was educated in the classics, *Plato's Republic* --things that get to a citizen's role in their society--things that are cherished principles that are short-shrifted today. He believes in those things. He sees his role in society as an educator, he does not wear it on his sleeve, but as a society, we benefit from education and, as a society, we suffer when our populace lacks education and why the rules are what they are. There is a fundamental reason why we operate as a society the way we do. As a society, there has to be a foundation and he understands that foundation. The basic human values that people must subscribe to over time and build from there. He believes that a very big part of that

foundation is education. It is a good view of the world to have (Business Man, 1).

The Nature and Role of Dr. E. E. Brickell, the Power Elite and National Standards

The role of the superintendent is ever changing. The challenges that the superintendent faces are becoming more plentiful. It is difficult for members of the profession themselves to define what is needed for success. However, those superintendents asked were able to come to agreement on the eight standards listed below.

A review of the transcripts of the interviews conducted for this study indicates that Dr. E. E. Brickell accomplished and met the set of guidelines for roles and responsibilities designed by The American Association of School Administrators and the National School Board Association (1980). Examples of the way that Dr. E. E. Brickell achieved the eight standards, published by the American Association of School Administrators (1993) have been addressed within this chapter.

These standards are currently used as the measure for the role and responsibilities of superintendents. They will be further addressed in the section below. The eight standards are listed followed by documentation cited by the participants in this study.

Standard 1: Leadership and District Culture. This standard stresses executive leadership, vision, shaping school culture and climate, empowering others, and multicultural and ethnic understanding.

The district culture was defined by Dr. E. E. Brickell in that he was said to have had a very distinguished work ethic that permeated the school division. His focus was academic excellence and he led the school division with that as the goal.

At the time of Dr. E. E. Brickell's appointment, there was a lack of school system structure. It was reported that there were no policies and no files. The job was given to Dr. E. E. Brickell with the caveat that he create an orderly and corporate style of administration. This he accomplished with an emphasis on efficiency and cost effectiveness.

Many people who were in the division when Dr. E. E. Brickell was appointed were promoted because they had the knowledge and ability to do the job. He removed people from positions if they were unable to perform their jobs. In those positions, he put people with whom he had worked.

Brickell brought many of his own people in, which was not uncommon, some from South Norfolk, some from Franklin and some of the power brokers from here. The people he brought in were hard workers who learned to really love the school division. He dealt with

supporters by promoting them. In the early days those who did not, left (Journalist, 1).

He created a system of people who had the same goals and were loyal to the school division. He empowered them to do their jobs. "He expected a lot from the people who worked for him and gave them the autonomy to accomplish their mission" (Principal, 3). "He was demanding, exacting and argumentative. He could be all of those things. He caused you to do good work" (Principal, 6). It has not been stated here that all of the people who worked for him were loyal to him. They all were not. They were all loyal to the school division.

It was reported that, "Dr. E. E. Brickell was a unique and unusual person who could keep more balls successfully in the air than any one else" (School Board Member, 3). He did not allow himself to let his guard down, or not know exactly what was happening in the school division. People believed that he had a superior support staff. They took care of the day-to-day and Dr. E. E. Brickell, was the visionary.

It appears from the data that Dr. E. E. Brickell was able to manage desegregation without significant problems. He put programs in place for students whose needs were different. The people interviewed represented a cultural

mix similar to that of the city during Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure. They reported that he cared about education and treated all people with respect. "Even though we did not have many minority people in administrative positions, we started to recruit them" (School Board Member, 3).

"The key to his leadership was that he created an aura of excellence and modeled the work ethic for that excellence to be achieved" (Upper Level School System Administrator, 2).

He put in a salary and leave structure and job description for every one and every job, even classified. These were written and positions were advertised so people could apply. The classified employees had a similar personnel plan put into effect. If you look back before those policies, only white males were head custodians in the high schools. I appointed the first black man as a custodian at the high school level because now people could apply and we could interview. Dr. Brickell brought a lot of structure and guidance. This brought the school system into line to be the quality and type of school system we should be with the increases we were going to see in the future. I think he knew there were going to be big increases in student numbers (Principal, 3).

The teachers who worked in the system believed in Dr. E. E. Brickell. They often spoke of him as their cheerleader. They reported that he knew them by name and knew their families. "We felt valued as members of the school system " (Teacher, 1). "He put a lot of time in and worked hard for our school division and the children" (Teacher, 4).

Standard 2: Policy and Governance. This standard centers on developing procedures for working with the board; formulation of district policy, standards, and regulations; and describing public school governance in our democratic society.

It has been well documented that Dr. E. E. Brickell set policies and procedures in place for the school division. He reformatted the way that the School Board meetings were structured. School Board members were sent a packet of information prior to the meeting. Interested citizens were given a time block to address the board before the business meeting took place (School Board Minutes, November 17, 1971).

The School Board was an appointed body and was made up of responsible people that believed in education. A content analysis of the transcribed interview text indicated that the School Board was not directly involved in the day to day operations of the schools. When recommendations were brought to the board, they either accepted or rejected them. If they rejected a recommendation they would ask the administration to, "go back to the drawing boards and bring us something else" (Upper Level School System Administrator, 3).

Committees of teachers, parents and students were formed to give recommendations to Dr. E. E. Brickell and his staff. He took the recommendations under advisement but then made the decision. One PTA president said, "When the report came out, not one single idea we gave was incorporated" ("The Brickell file", 1987). In current times the lack of using recommendations from a committee or parents is often reacted to in a negative way in the local paper. The above reaction was made in retrospect years after the incident occurred.

Dr. E. E. Brickell was instrumental in bringing to the board the fact that the term of the board members was not being staggered the way that it was originally set up by charter. The City Manager said that the staggering of terms had been overlooked and proceeded to activate it immediately (School Board Minutes, 1969).

Standard 3: Communications and Community Relations.

This standard emphasizes skill in articulating district vision and purpose to the community. Also it stresses responding to community feedback and building consensus

The area of communication was one of expertise for Dr. E. E. Brickell. He was known by all as a great speaker and a masterful writer. "It was positive to have a boss who was

a master of the language" (Upper Level School System Administrator, 2). It was frequently reported that he knew the exact person to approach to accomplish his mission.

Ed Brickell and I were the co-chairs of the transition team to merge the policies of the two school systems. There were times that I felt, and I am sure that Ed felt, like we were involved in labor negotiations, and I found him to be a very sharp adversary. We adopted some from both school systems. It took months to accomplish our task. This was between the proposal and the marriage of the South Norfolk and Norfolk merger (Superintendent, 1).

The lines of communication were clearly understood. Everyone knew who the superintendent was and there was minimal effort to second guess him or try to get his staff to say anything to the media that was about him or the system (Upper Level School System Administrator, 2).

Dr. Brickell listened to others. He listened to the Student Council Association on a regular basis. Thus, he got a lot of first hand information about the kinds of things that were and were not happening in the community. Frequently, he would surprise the staff members with knowledge he had about the community and what or what was not going on in their schools (Principal, 3).

"He worked on many community committees and kept in constant communication with all of the movers and shakers in the community" (Journalist, 2).

Standard 4: Organizational Management. This standard calls for skills in gathering, analyzing, and using data for decision making; framing and solving

problems; and formulation of solutions to problems. It also stresses quality management to meet internal and external customer expectations and to allocate resources.

Dr. E. E. Brickell was a master with the budget. He was able to run the school division on a very meager budget. Dr. E. E. Brickell, toward the end of his tenure, felt that more money should have been allocated for educational purposes. He believed that more money would have meant more schools and more programs for the students. "We've been very conservative here fiscally, perhaps too much. I've been the one to either ask or not ask for money, so I guess I am to blame. I probably should have asked for more. I might have gotten it" ("The wheels just keep turning", 1987).

The school division was reorganized five times during Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure. Some people felt that the reorganization was due to a need to improve the division. Some people believed it was a way to get rid of the old guard and punish people. "In May of 1978, a reorganization took place that devastated many high level administrators" (Journalist, 1). Consultants were often called to assess the system (School Board Minutes, May 18, 1971). The first assessment of the division was chaired by Dr. E. E.

Brickell while he was still Assistant Superintendent for Secondary Education (School Board Minutes, October 18, 1966). The School Board minutes that were reviewed showed that the board was constantly being informed of test scores and how the students were achieving. That data was used to design programs for instruction.

Standard 5: Curriculum Planning and Development. This standard tests the superintendent's skill in designing curriculum and a strategic plan to enhance teaching and learning, using theories for cognitive development, employing valid and reliable performance indicators and testing procedures, and describing the use of computers and other learning technologies.

The curriculum in Virginia Beach was nonexistent before Dr. E. E. Brickell became superintendent. Examples of the creation of curriculum guides and the writing of curriculum are documented earlier in this chapter. The school division won national recognition for the Curriculum and Assessment project. The curriculum expanded throughout Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure. When he left, there were classes for college bound students, adults and special education. "When I first started teaching, before Dr. Brickell, we had no curriculum, no specific text books. You

scrounged whatever books you could from the storage room at school" (Teacher, 5).

Standard 6: Instructional Management. This standard measures knowledge and use of research findings on learning and instructional strategies and resources to maximize student achievement. It also centers on applying research and best practice to integrate curriculum for multicultural sensitivity and assessment.

The curriculum and the instructional management changed throughout Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure. State mandates and community needs dictated these changes. The Virginia Standards of Quality that addressed the goals of public education was one such mandate.

In 1981 the school division went through a complete revision in the area of instruction. "It must be made clear that public education is a public function and that we are ... committed to the full-scale involvement of the citizenry" ("Brickell's case for overhauling schools, 1981). "We were all on committees, teachers, college professors, parents, government people, and students. We looked at every aspect of instruction and curriculum" (Teacher, 9).

Standard 7: Human Resource Management. This standard assesses skill in developing a staff evaluation and

assessment and supervisory system to improve performance. It also requires skills in describing and applying legal requirements for personnel selection, development, retention, and dismissal.

The writing of policies and procedures that took place when Dr. E. E. Brickell became superintendent involved the personnel issues of the school division. The administration believed that they had the best and the brightest teachers. Principals were trained in evaluation. "It is up to the principals now ... whether to extend personal leave or hire additional reading aides" ("Brickell at ease with streamlined organization", 1978). "The education of the children was always first, we all worked hard to help them learn. We helped each other" (Teacher, 4).

Standard 8: Values and Ethics of Leadership. This standard stresses understanding and modeling of appropriate value systems, ethics, and moral leadership. It also requires the superintendent to exhibit multicultural and ethnic understanding, and to coordinate social agencies and human services to help each student grow and develop as a caring, informed citizen (American Association of School Administrators, 1993, p.16).

Dr. E. E. Brickell has been noted as having a very high work ethic. Throughout this chapter people have almost eulogized the way he modeled the work ethic he expected. The extensive work that Dr. E. E. Brickell does within the community further highlights his desire to serve his community. To this day, City Council asks him to chair committees dealing with education. Last year he was asked to chair a committee to determine the need of individual schools for renovation. He also served on the interview committee for the man who is now superintendent. "He feels very deeply to this day that education is his expertise and the place to serve his community. His work with the Eastern Virginia Medical School as President is a tribute to our community" (Business Man, 2).

Dr. E. E. Brickell was able to meet the standards that were put forth by superintendents as important to maintaining a successful tenure. The research indicates that the role and responsibilities are in constant flux. It is the execution of these standards by the superintendent within the unique power structure that effects tenure and the educational process of the children in the community. The people interviewed for this study were asked if Dr. E. E. Brickell would be able to have a long tenure today. People believed that Dr. E. E. Brickell ran the municipal

government for years ("Dr. E. E. Brickell's suit fit him well", 1987). He was a master at dealing with the people and had power with the power brokers. In the end some believe that it was his power and his enemies that were his downfall.

Influence of Dr. E. E. Brickell Today

Question 6: What influence does this superintendent have in the school system and the city at the present time?

The following table lists the influence that Dr. E. E. Brickell has today in the city and the school system. An asterisk indicates the data sources that these findings were substantiated from and a percentage of the respondents is indicated where warranted. Two areas on this table do not show evidence of substantiation. The other two areas show data to support that Dr. E. E. Brickell does have an influence today in the city and in the school division. These findings will be included in the discussion that follows of the results; the richness of the interviews will be included to allow for another avenue of consideration.

Table 8

Influence in the School System and the City Today

Influence Today	Life Story Interview	Secondary Interviews	Printed Public Press	Public Minutes
City		100%	*	
School System		100%	*	
Direct		98%	*	
Indirect		100%	*	

* Substantiates data source.

Five of the six research questions have been addressed within the content of this chapter. The sixth question is one of constant discussion in Virginia Beach at the present time.

It has been reported that Dr. E. E. Brickell still has an influence in the school division. The people interviewed for this study all believe that his influence still exists within the city and the school division. Articles have been published in the local newspaper and the participants in this study have stated that people on both City Council and the School Board seek Dr. E. E. Brickell's advice. "They still look to him for leadership" (College Professor, 2).

Sometimes it is not just seeking his leadership it is a request for him to become actively involved in the school system. Recently, a report in the Virginian-Pilot accused a school board member of "recruiting a slate of candidates to

run for School Board that would eventually fire the Superintendent ... with the support of the City Treasurer and Ed Brickell" ("Ambushing Jenney", 1999). Today his influence is that people still go to him, they are loyal to him.

When Dr. E. E. Brickell was the superintendent it was reported by three of the participants in this study that, "If Dr. Brickell wanted to dismiss someone he had his supporters dig up compromising information about that person" (Journalist, 1). He had other "puppets do his dirty work" (Principal, 1).

Dr. Brickell has influence in the school system today. People listen to him now more than ever. People realize that we are now a day late and a dollar short. I think they listen about things that need to be done, that need to be corrected in the school system (Principal, 3).

People who hold high positions within organizations are often said to have an influence that goes beyond their time of leadership in a particular position. Many people in Virginia Beach today believe that Dr. E. E. Brickell's influence is deeply seeded in the school division. Several of the participants have stated that, "Dr. Brickell is the reason why no other superintendent could be successful in our city" (Upper Level School System Administrator, 1). A majority of the participants believe that his influence in

the city and the school division is overrated but still present.

I think people credit Dr. Brickell for a lot more influence than he has. You know, Sidney Kellam used to say, "I get credit for a lot of good things that I had nothing to do with and I get credit for a lot of bad things that I have nothing to do with". I think that is how it is for Dr. Brickell. I think people have a lot of respect for him and city council and School board members go to him to get his advice. Maybe even more people on city council than the school board. Today he brought the Eastern Virginia Medical School back in business. In order to make a difference in our community he has formed the Virginia Beach Vision committee and serves on many regional committees (Upper Level School System Administrator, 2).

Many of the participants spoke of Dr. E. E. Brickell's ability to make and keep personal relationships. The power structure that existed during Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure still exists in the city, state and school division.

Today, he has contributed to the institutional memory of Virginia Beach. He has so many people he can just call on. He builds relationships that last. He truly is the last of the legendary leaders (Journalist, 2).

In Virginia, the school divisions now have an elected school board. When Dr. Brickell was superintendent that was not the case. The elected school board members are voted into office and have constituencies other than the children in the school system. The elected school board is equal to city council and is no longer beholden to city council, as the appointed system would suggest (School Board Member, 1).

Dr. E. E. Brickell himself does not believe that he would be able to work with an elected School Board. The

power elite of the school division believe that he still has a support base and that he would be able to use the same methods as he did in the past to have a long tenure as superintendent. The following quotes from the transcribed secondary interviews are the only ones that had negative implications toward Dr. E. E. Brickell. "The cannibals exist to this day. When Brickell left we have not had a superintendent that has been able to stay" (Upper Level School System Administrator, 2). "I am not so sure that the job has not changed, that the superintendency has not changed, that Virginia Beach has not changed but there have been rumors through the years of these undercurrents working against the superintendents" (Upper Level School System Administrator, 1).

The following quotes from the transcribed interview text are not negative but speak to the position and how it has changed. "Most of the long tenured superintendents are gone now and I do not think he has lost any interest in the school system today. In my few conversations with him recently, he knew an awful lot about what is going on" (Journalist, 1).

It was a different climate back then. Physically, a person could not survive, the mobility of the population, the population becoming less stable. Elected school boards are new to Virginia and we are going through the growing pains. We have lost our

nucleus of leadership over the grand jury indictment [the indictment was against the school board and the 1991-1995 Superintendent for misappropriations of funds]. The elected school boards tend to micromanage because they are beholden to the people who elected them. They do not understand that they are a corporate body and can not have three or more of them meet without it being a public meeting (22.1-71 Code of Virginia). City council wants to micro-manage the school board and the school board wants to micro-manage the schools (Section 8 Article 7). The supervision of the school system rests with the school board (College Professor, 2).

"It would be difficult today to hold a long tenure.

Dr. Brickell was a politician. He was a master at allocating resources. He was very smart, articulate and politically astute" (Other City Superintendent, 2).

However, Dr. E. E. Brickell himself does not believe that he would enjoy the same length of tenure that he did in the past. His life story interview articulates his reasons.

Dr. D. W. Domhoff stated that the key to understanding the organization is to develop an understanding of the power elite's human nature (1990). The life story that Dr. E. E. Brickell tells is consistent with what others have said during the interviews, in the newspaper articles and School Board minutes that were reviewed. The traits that Rowan (1996) found to be common in powerful people were evidenced throughout the life story narrative. Dr. E. E. Brickell's presence, his stamina, boundless energy, sense of leadership, willingness to fight for a cause, visionary

long range planning, creativity, inspiration and courage have been identified as the powerful people traits by Rowan and have been documented throughout the interview transcripts. The complete unedited life story interview adds a personal perspective to this study (see Appendix K).

Conclusion Power Structure Network

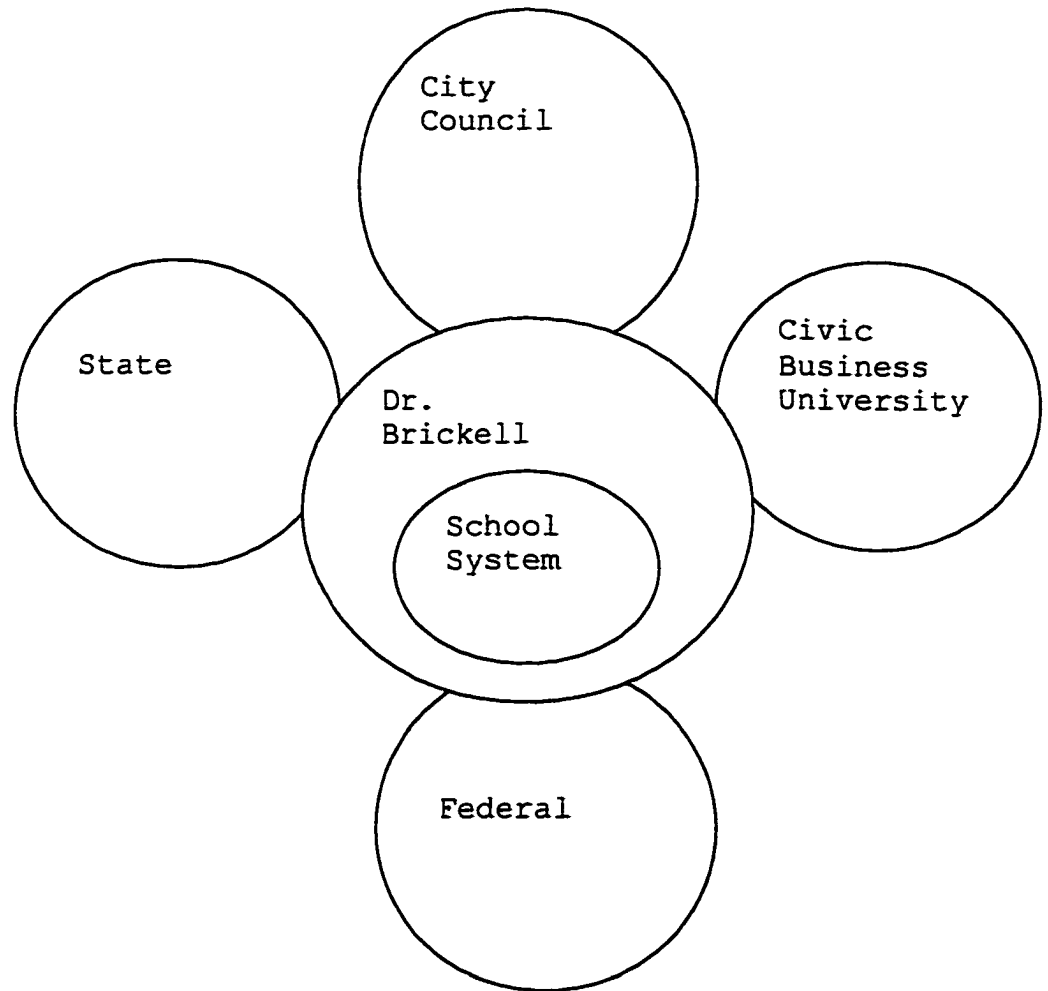
The power structure that surrounded Dr. E. E. Brickell did not appear to have any consistent social or economic groups as significant members. The members of this power structure were members of the elite of the universities, the localities and the state that had an influence on educational organizations with which Dr. E. E. Brickell was affiliated. They clearly provided the interlocks that were essential to his tenure longevity. Sequential interlocking, association with key institutions, geographic interlocking, and family interlocking (Kurtz, 1987) were evidenced throughout this chapter.

It is difficult to establish the exact size and composition of Dr. E. E. Brickell's power structure. Many people, who were mentioned in the interviews by the participants in this study, could not be contacted; therefore, they were unable to participate.

The power structure appears to have an inner circle that surrounds Dr. E. E. Brickell. This circle is made up

of people who were in the organization or have had a direct working relationship with the organization. Individual circles of power people from the region, the city, the state and the legislative governments surround that inner circle and touch the inner circle. All of the circles that effect the school system go through Dr. E. E. Brickell's circle before they penetrate the school division circle (see Figure 3).

Figure 3

Network Diagram of Power Structure

The power structure that Dr. E. E. Brickell operated in was small but spread throughout the city, state and federal levels. The central link in his power structure was him. He nurtured relationships and those people who were loyal to him in the past are loyal to this day. "He has always been able to get what he wanted through the representatives from this district" (City Representative, 1).

The people that Dr. E. E. Brickell associated with in the early years of his career became State and District Representatives. Three of them became State Superintendents for Education. The superintendents that he rode back and forth with to meetings supported him when he became the Tidewater Representative to the State Board. "He was closely aligned with the thinkers who had the intellect to achieve high positions at the State and Federal level. He did not suffer fools well" (State Official, 1).

Dr. E. E. Brickell had been in education for his lifetime. The political machine that ran the city and the state supported him. On the city level, the City Council and the School Board supported his administration. To this day participants have reported support for Dr. E. E. Brickell. "He is still consulted by our School Board and City Council. He was recently made chair of a committee

formed by City Council to study school renovation. No matter how you read it they wanted his approval that the expenditures were legitimate and valid" (Upper Level School System Administrator, 2).

Dr. E. E. Brickell had a personal way of doing business. He made personal contact and always had personal communication. The personal communications that Dr. E. E. Brickell carried out have been referenced by the parents, teachers and residents of the city as a reason for his tenure longevity. Dr. E. E. Brickell is said to have a phenomenal memory for names and faces.

There were members of the school division who did not support Dr. E. E. Brickell and in most cases it was said, "you either love the man or you hate him" (Upper Level School System Administrator, 2). The organization was not a dictatorship. It listened effectively to the constituency but in the end Dr. E. E. Brickell was said to have made the decisions. There were, however, reports from 30% of the participants in this study of substantial pressures that were presumably placed on those who were against him.

Chapter V

Conclusions and Recommendations

This power structure study of Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure has been conducted to fill the gap in the literature for developing an understanding of the organizational, environmental and individual factors that contribute to the role, expectations, and challenges of the position of a school system superintendent. The review of the research in Chapter II identified the four themes that were used in this study to investigate Dr. E. E. Brickell's superintendency. Reasons for tenure longevity, the role and expectation of the superintendency, the effect of the power structure on superintendent tenure, and the ability to define superintendent action as it pertains to organizational outcomes are the themes that were used in this investigation.

This chapter provides a narrative in the following four areas.

1. A summary of the research method and themes related to the findings.
2. Methodological concerns that surfaced during this study.
3. Recommendations for further research.

4. Implications revealed from the data obtained in this study relative to tenure longevity for future superintendents.

The study examined the power structure that surrounded Dr. E. E. Brickell, Superintendent of the Virginia Beach School System during the 1967-1986 time frame. Six research questions provided the framework for investigation of the problem:

1. What factors accounted for the longevity of the superintendent?
2. Who were the internal and external "power elite" who influenced the organization, and did they change?
3. What organizational outcomes were directly related to what administrative action? How can these outcomes be traced to specific actions?
4. What were the defining issues (operational measures) that occurred during the superintendent's tenure? How did he respond to those issues when he had prior knowledge of them and what was his response when issues came as a surprise?
5. How did the superintendent deal with the power elite? When was it effective, and when was it not effective?
6. What influence does this superintendent have in the school system and the city at the present time?

Summary of the Study

A qualitative research study was designed combining the power structure study method and the biographic life story method. Interviews were conducted with Dr. E. E. Brickell and 40 participants. The 40 participants are promised total anonymity. In order to obtain information through the interview process that would be open and frank the interviews were private, confidential and transcribed by the researcher. Anonymity was an important condition for this research because many of the participants still work in the school division and within the political arena of the city and legislative government. Data were also obtained through printed material including minutes from civic league meetings, school division meetings, and the public press.

Data for this study were obtained and analyzed using a variety of methods. Ethnographic content analysis provided the framework for published and public printed text (Altheide, 1996). Power structure research dictates the methods that were used for this research study as follows: reputational (Hunter, 1953), decisional (Mills, 1956), network (Domhoff, 1990), content (Borg & Gall, 1989), and positional analysis (Mills, 1956). The Life Story method is biographic by design and data analysis is subjective using

epiphanies to substantiate the identified themes (Adkinson, 1998, Crestwell, 1998).

Role and Responsibility

The findings from this study indicate that the areas of responsibility for the superintendency have not changed significantly since the turn of the century. The role of the school superintendent is still to be the chief executive officer of the school division and the preeminent educational leader. Essential areas of responsibility include meeting the federal and state mandates for education, the development of policy and procedure, the selection of personnel, the development of the instructional program, development of the budget, and the development and funding plan for the budget.

Paramount to the length of superintendent tenure is the effect of the environmental factors on the position. The environmental factors have contributed to the change in expectations that the public has for education. Carter and Cunningham cite the complex, more threatening forces and incidents that the superintendent faces today as the crucial change in the position (1997).

This research corroborates that finding. Toward the end of Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure complex issues started to surface from the community and challenge the

superintendent. One predominant issue was the communities' demand to lower the grading scale. Dr. E. E. Brickell had an aversion to the lowering of the grading scale. The School Board did not support Dr. E. E. Brickell on this issue and the grading scale was lowered.

Dr. E. E. Brickell has stated that it is the superintendent's responsibility to have a vision for the school system and be able to effectively communicate that vision for the development of a system wide plan to provide academic excellence for the student. The articulation of that vision to the internal and external public was cited throughout this research as one of Dr. E. E. Brickell's strong characteristics.

Reasons for Tenure Longevity

This research study in both Chapter I and Chapter II identifies and discusses several of the characteristics found in the literature for short tenure. The research study was designed to identify themes that attributed to Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure longevity. The characteristics that were cited by the participants in this study for Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure longevity have been divided into two domains, internal and external.

1. Internal Domain--characteristics included values, educational expertise, organizational management,

leadership characteristics, written and verbal communication, a sense of humor, boundless energy, decisiveness, and professionalism.

2. External Domain--characteristics include political acumen, relations with the school board, financial expertise, and relations with the power elite of the community, city and state.

The above internal and external domains have been cited in this study by all of the participants as strong characteristics that were evidenced by Dr. E. E. Brickell during his tenure as superintendent. However, one hundred percent of the participants in this study cited the support of the power structure of the city as the reason for Dr. E. E. Brickell's appointment and early success as superintendent. Dr. E. E. Brickell's communication skills and his political acumen were cited as the overriding factors for his tenure longevity.

Power Structure

The literature review in Chapter II shows evidence that the affect of the power structure of both the school board and governing bodies has had an effect on the length of superintendent tenure. Establishing positive relationships with both the internal and external power structures has been cited by the participants in this study

as a part of Dr. E. E. Brickell's ability to get what he wanted from the community, the school system, and the governing bodies. The review of printed public text for this research study evidenced the fact that Dr. E. E. Brickell had a close relationship within the power structures that influenced the school division.

Dr. E. E. Brickell has been reported as having a clear understanding of the community and the governmental power structures during his tenure as superintendent of the Virginia Beach School Division. Chapter IV of this research study cites many examples of the power structure relationships that were nurtured by Dr. E. E. Brickell.

Twenty percent of the participants stated that Dr. E. E. Brickell had the newspaper on his side. The public press provides an avenue for either harmony or discourse to be reported to the community. The articles that were written during Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure appeared to support the school division and provided an avenue to explain changes that were being implemented within the school division.

Superintendent Action and Organizational Outcomes

Chapter IV of this research study explains many of the changes that were implemented within the school division during Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure as superintendent. Important to this research is that one hundred percent of

the participants attributed the changes that were made in the school division directly to Dr. E. E. Brickell's initiative and innovation. According to both sources of data the participants and the printed public press, Dr. E. E. Brickell had the ability to transform his vision for the school division into programs for both the organization and the students.

Methodological Concerns

In the tradition of qualitative research, this study has provided rich descriptions of Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure and the characteristics and conditions that contributed to his tenure longevity. The voices of the 40 participants, the community through the printed public press, and Dr. E. E. Brickell himself provided the foundation for the data analysis in this power structure study.

This is a power structure study; therefore, the findings of this study are specific to the power structure that existed in the Virginia Beach School Division, the community and the governing bodies that influenced the school system during the 1967-1986 time frame. Themes that were identified in the literature review were used to form the framework for the interview guides. The patterns and themes that were identified through the interview

transcripts were cross-referenced with the themes and patterns that emerged in the content analysis of the printed material and the life story interview with Dr. E. E. Brickell.

The participants were assured that their anonymity would be preserved throughout the study and that their identity would not be disclosed during any phase of this study. Interview guides were transcribed exactly as they were spoken. The researcher used a word processing program and transcribed each interview personally. An analysis of the participants was conducted to determine group percentage. These percentages were used to ascertain the consistency of response in the theme analysis. A word search was also conducted through each transcribed interview to determine the characteristics that the participants valued as reasons for tenure longevity.

In a power research study the participants identify the other participants. This process provided the list of participants who took part in this study. As the participant pool increased the data that was being obtained appeared to mirror the previous interview. At that juncture the researcher reviewed the printed public text to ascertain participants to start a second group to be interviewed. The second participant group was willing to

provide information, but hesitant to provide the names of other participants to interview. The groups did even out as the research continued and the data obtained was consistent.

The interviews were audio taped. None of the participants objected to the process. A note of interest is that the researcher, at the beginning of the interview, offered to stop the tape at any time during the interview. All of the participants said that that would not be necessary, but all of the participants asked for the taped to be stopped at various times during the interview. There was not a particular question that triggered that request. During the pause in of the recording, other issues, not related to the questions, were discussed.

Participants appeared to be comfortable and very willing to share information. Four of the participants stated that this interview was cathartic for them. They felt that the interview provided them with an avenue to reflect on the past. All of the interviews took longer than had been expected by the researcher. None of the interview sessions was shorter than two hours.

Recommendations for Further Research

This research has examined the tenure of Dr. E. E. Brickell. The data collected identified reasons for his

tenure longevity as superintendent of the Virginia Beach School Division during the 1967-1986 time frame. This study adds to the research by examining a superintendency that was longer than the national average during that time frame and in education at the present time. The research design is unique and was designed to offer a method to research the complete power structure and the individual as well.

This study provides insights into the characteristics and conditions that were the foundation for Dr. E. E. Brickell's tenure longevity. The data clearly establishes a link between superintendent action and organizational outcomes. The Virginia Beach School Division prospered under Dr. E. E. Brickell during his tenure.

Further research in the area of superintendents with tenure longevity is needed to explore more current superintendents and their organizations to determine other characteristics needed for tenure longevity. This research is needed to establish the characteristics that other long tenured superintendents possess. The condition and needs of the power structure in the same organizations need to be addressed in order to determine the effect of both the internal and external power structure on the superintendent and the school division.

The research finding in this case described a superintendent who left because it was time for him to go. He believed that he had done all that he could do and had brought the school division as far as he could. This division has struggled to retain a superintendent for more than four years over the past thirteen years. The men who were appointed by the School Board of Virginia Beach to the superintendency all left their superintendency under indictments or scandal.

Implications for the Future

Based on the findings of this research study the following implications for the superintendency of the future are presented.

1. School divisions have the responsibility to choose a superintendent who understands the school division's culture. The superintendent taking the position needs to possess the same values and goals that are evident in the division at the time of the appointment.
2. The superintendent and the school board should have a clear understanding of their position, what the job expectations are, and the evaluation criteria for their jobs.
3. The superintendent, school employees, and the school board work together in a continuous improvement model for

the educational program, and become advocates for students. They need to clarify the issues and establish programs and policies to address those issues.

4. The superintendent needs to understand and build a coalition to form alliances within the power structure of the community and the school division.
5. The superintendent needs to form a vision of education that meets the needs and expectations of the community (unity of purpose).
6. The superintendent needs to form a friendship with the local public press and then communicate the vision of the school division to the community (a strong public relations system).
7. The superintendent needs to communicate the school system vision with the school board and the employees of the school division and be able to marshal the support of the community toward the school division program.
8. The superintendent must oversee the design of the educational program and the design of the staff, community and school board development needed to execute the program.
9. The continuous improvement model dictates the development of leadership capacity at all levels of the organization.

The superintendent must trust others to take leadership positions within their area of responsibility.

10. The school board should have one constituency, the student.

11. Personal and family sacrifice exists--a superintendent must have the physical and mental stamina to perform this job.

12. The superintendent is directly responsible for the development, presentation and funding of the budget and needs to fight to obtain the funding required to accomplish the school division needs.

13. Thought needs to be given to the superintendent "circuit" that exists today. One has to question the caring of people who have to move from place to place to receive prestige and money. A national infrastructure for education that would include educational curriculum and compensation for superintendents might end the "head hunter" aspect of the job.

The final implication for the future from this research is the direction that Dr. E. E. Brickell believes that education must take. It is presented in the following epiphany from the life story interview with Dr. E. E. Brickell.

I wonder sometimes, and I don't want to get on the critical side of things too much, and I'm not talking about Virginia Beach Schools per se but schools generally. Have we stopped expecting enough from students, I think we have lowered our expectations to the point where maybe it's not a good thing? Education to me is a stretching process. You put it up here and get it up there and they reach it and then you move it a little higher and a little higher until they can't reach it anymore.

If someone reads 39 books, you say, read 50, and they read 50, then you say read 51. Or they do 12 Algebra problems, you do those in nothing flat and they are perfect, and then you say you do 15 tomorrow. And at some point you will find out that, hell, I can't do 15, 14 is my limit. But to say that we are going to do 10 Algebra problems and that's it?

To lower the standards I think is very unfair to young people. Because they get a false idea of what the world is. They begin, unfortunately, to think that they are entitled and that they live in a land of entitlement and not in a land where you earn and you are responsible. I really do believe most, 95%, of the young people in our public schools are decent, upstanding, fine, folks. Not necessarily ensued with a strong desire to learn all the history they can learn in the next 50 minutes. But it has always been that way. It is up to the teacher to motivate them to decide to learn to do something to make them want to learn. You can't expect a 15-year-old to come in and say, hot dog, here I am in Algebra and this is the greatest thing in this world. I am going to tell you that if I had a bunch of 15-year-old boys saying teach me all the Algebra you can in the next 50 minutes, I'd probably send them to the nurse. There's something wrong with him. I have seen so many teachers who could fix that young 15-year-old with the idea that this isn't so bad after all. "I can learn this Algebra, this is all right". Good teachers have always done that.

We used to expel children. Joe Smith, the old Sheriff, told me one day, and I had to laugh, "Look at my jail over there, that jail is filled with Ed Brickell's failures." He was laughing. I said, "Joe, you are probably right." I was looking at the 95%, I am going to say 95% because our drop out rate never exceeded 5% as I recall, and all of them were not

expelled, but some of them were. I looked at those 95% of decent young people, maybe not totally in love with school, at least went out there and did what they could and behaved themselves and were civil to people and so on and so on. I said to myself they require and deserve protection from that small, small minority that doesn't want to be there. I also had the notion, which was a problem to some people, and probably ought not to be stated, but I don't think you can save them all. If you could save them all we wouldn't need any penitentiaries. I don't know how you can save them all. You have so many more good ones than those you need to get rid of.

I don't know what you have in your school? About 500, that's a good number. You probably don't have 15 that give you problems constantly. I am not talking about breaking a little old school rule. In some of those schools they have 900 students, in one of these elementary, you wouldn't have to remove more than 20. In a high school with 2000 students, you wouldn't have to remove more than 50 of them; it would be like paradise because it is the same damn ones over and over and over.

I never saw any reason to ship them from one school to another. They're just as bad. One time there was a fellow in a city, I won't say which one, working and he was advertised in the paper that he was on the take. He was providing extra services or whatever. He was doing something illegal. So some of the people in the city came to me and said, "Ed, would you take so and so with you in the school system in the maintenance department or whatever? Until everything dies down." I said, "I love all of you like my brother but no. He is going to smell just as bad in the school system as he smells with the city." They looked at me, and these were some political leaders, they looked at me and said, "You are probably right." I never heard another word about it. Same thing with these children, time and time again, they go from one school to another to another.

I don't know, and I could sit here and talk about that schools have too much responsibility. It has always had too much assumed responsibility, to be everything to every body. You, trust me, schools can't do it.

People of the Commonwealth and the people of the country have never quite decided what they want the

public schools to be. They really have not. There is no firm, clear-cut decision ever been made that this is what we want to be. Is that one of the strengths of the systems, the diversity? Maybe so, I don't know, I will leave that to someone else, wiser than I, to decide. Academic excellence was important to me (Life Story Interview).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alley, J. (1987, June 28). Dr. E. E. Brickell's suit fit him quite well. Beacon, p. 6.
- Altheide, D. (1996). Qualitative media analysis. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ambushing Jenny. (1999, April 22). The Virginian-Pilot, p. B8.
- American Association of School Administrators. (1993). Professional standards for the superintendency. Arlington, VA: Author.
- Anderson, S. (1989). How to predict success in the superintendency. The School Administrator, 46(7), 22-26.
- Atkinson, R. (1998). The life story interview. University Papers Series on Qualitative Research Methods, Vol. 44. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Baruch, S. & Callaway, R. (1986). Public participation in the process of curriculum formation in Milwaukee Public Schools. Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, CA.
- Bass, M. E., Barry, A. (1986, August 20). Observers say Brickell may be admitting losses. The Virginian-Pilot, pp. A1, A3.

- Borg, W., & Gall, M. (1989). Educational research: an introduction (5th ed.). White Plains, NY: Longman Inc.
- Borjes, R. (1974, April 17). Brickell may ask delay on plan for more schools. The Virginian-Pilot, pp. B1, B11.
- Borjes, R. (1972, June 3). Brickell raps radio's protest rally call. The Virginian-Pilot, p. B1.
- Borjes, R. (1974, January 1). Kids to attend night school, sort of. The Virginian-Pilot, p. B1.
- Borjes, R. (1959, April 12). Smith baseball coach switches to politics. The Virginian-Pilot, p. 3D.
- Bottomore, T. (1993). Elites and society. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Brickell addresses graduates at W&M. (1977, August 24). Beacon, p. 12.
- Brickell to address ALA Group. (1970, June 5). The Virginian-Pilot, p. C7.
- Brickell's case for overhauling schools. (1981, February 20). Beacon, p. 7.
- Brickell file: friends and foes. (1987, June 28). Beacon, pp. 11-12.
- Brickell will head schools. (1961, March 21). The Virginian-Pilot, pp. 15, 24.

Brickell named chairman. (1972, June 2). The Virginian-Pilot, p. C7.

Brickell named to 3rd term. (1975, June 7). The Virginian-Pilot, p. A3.

Brickell named exec in VHSL. (1970, August 2). The Virginian-Pilot, p. B5.

Brickell named rector of W&M board. (1978, February 28). The Virginian-Pilot, p. B3.

Brickell in new post in south side schools. (1959, April 14). The Virginian-Pilot, p. 9.

Brickell reported story successor. (1961, January 13). The Virginian-Pilot, p. 44.

Brickell says 'no' to offer of state post. (1979, April 6). The Virginian-Pilot, p. D4.

Brickell, school official South Norfolk's no. 1 citizen. (1958, May 1). The Virginian-Pilot, p. 9.

Brickell to urge money, not site. (1970, November 17). The Virginian-Pilot, p. B3.

Bridges, E. M. (1982). Research on the school administrator: The state of the art, 1967-1980. Education Administration Quarterly, 18(3), 12-33.

Brubaker, D., & Shelton, M. (1995). The disposable. The Executive Educator, 17(3), 16-21.

Callahan, R. E. (1962). Education and the cult efficiency.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Carter, G. R., & Cunningham, W. G. (1997). The American school superintendent: leading in an age of pressure.

San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Inc.

Chance, E. (1991). Long term rural superintendents. Paper

presented at the Annual Convention of the National

Rural Education Association. Jackson, MS.

Coffey, A., & Atkinson P. (1996). Making sense of qualitative data: Complimentary research designs.

Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (1990). Grounded Theory research:

Procedures, canons, and evaluative criteria.

Qualitative Sociology, 13(3), 3-21.

Council of the Great City Schools. (1997). Urban school

Superintendents: Tenure and salaries. Urban Indicator

4(1), 1-5.

Crist, H. (1970, January 29). Brickell faces civic league.

Beacon, p. 1.

Cronin, J.M. (1973). The control of urban schools:

Perspective on the power of educational reformers. New

York, NY: Free Press.

Crowson, R. L., & Glass, T. E. (1991). The changing role of

the local superintendent in the United States.

Occasional Papers: School Leadership An Educational Reform, OP #2. Urbana, IL: National Center for School Leadership.

Cuban, L. (1976). The urban school superintendency: A century and a half of change. Bloomington, IL: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation.

Cubberley, E. (1916). Public school administration. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

Cunningham, L. L. (1990). Educational leadership and administration: Retrospective and prospective views. In B. Mitchell & L.L. Cunningham (Eds.), Educational leadership and changing context of families, communities, and schools (pp. 1-18). Chicago, IL: National Society for the Study of Education.

Czarniawska, B. (1998). A narrative approach to organizational studies. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Dahl, R. (1958). A critique of the ruling elite model. American Political Science Review 52, 463-469.

Dahl, R. (1961). Who Governs? New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Davidson, J. L. (1987). The superintendency: leadership for effective schools. Jackson, MS: Kelwynn Press.

Davis, M., Trevor, G. (1986, June 30). Brickell's pay raise

- is questioned. The Virginian-Pilot, pp. D1-D2.
- Denzine, N.K. (1989). Interpretive biography. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- DeYoung, A. (1986). Excellence in education: The opportunity for school superintendents to become ambitious. Educational Administration Quarterly, 22(2), 91-113.
- DiTomaso, N. (1978). The organization of authority in the capitalistic state. Journal of Political and Military Sociology, 6, 189-204.
- DiTomaso, N. (1980). Organizational analysis and power structure research. In G. Domhoff (Ed.), Power Structure Research. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Domhoff, G. W., and Dye, T. R. (1986). Power elites and organizations. Newberry Park, CA: Sage.
- Domhoff, G. W. (1990). The power elite and the state: How policy is made in America. Hawthorne, NY: Walter de Gruyter, Inc.
- Dunaway, D. K., and Baum, W. K. (1984). An Oral History. An interdisciplinary anthology, 67-69.
- Dr. E. E. Brickell on education, money, politics and baseball. (1987, February 21). Virginian-Pilot and Ledger Star, p. B3.
- Educational standards the best for the beach. (1967, August

- 17). The Virginian-Pilot, p. 6.
- E. E. Brickell directs a cast of thousands. (1976, August 18). Beacon, pp. B14-B16.
- Erickson, D. A. (1977). An overdue paradigm shift in educational administration. In L. L. Cunningham, W. G. Hack, & R. O. Nystrand (Eds.), Educational administration: The developing decades (pp.329-357). Berkley, CA: McCutchan.
- Forbes, M. (1976, October 22). City schools kept 'basics', Brickell says. Beacon, pp. 1-2.
- Franklin hires Brickell. (1962, August 28). The Virginian-Pilot, p. 11.
- Fullan, M. G., and S. Stiegelbauer. (1991). The new meaning of educational change. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Garbarino, J. (1997). Educating children in a socially toxic environment. Educational Leadership, 64(7), 12-16.
- Garreau, J. (1991). The cities of the future. U.S.News & World Report, Vol. 3, 13, pp. 66-67.
- Geske, B. (1979, April 22). Brickell finds ignoring HEW can be effective. The Virginian-Pilot & Ledger Star, p. B7.

- Getzels, J. W., Lipham, J. M., & Campbell, R. F. (1968). Educational administration as a social process. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- Gilland, T. M. (1935). The origin and development of the powers and duties of the city-school superintendent. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Glass, T. E. (1992). The 1992 study of the American school superintendency: America's educational leaders in a time of reform. Arlington, VA: American Association of School Administrators.
- Glasser, B.G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). The discovery of grounded theory. Chicago, IL: Aldine.
- Gordon, G. E., and Becker, S. (1964). Organizational size and managerial succession: A reexamination. American Journal of Sociology, 70, 215-322.
- Got his number. (1975, March 19). The Virginian-Pilot, p. A1.
- Grady, M., & Bryant, M. (1991). School board turmoil and superintendent turnover: What pushes them to the brink? The School Administrator, 48(2), 19-26.
- Grady, M., & Bryant, M. (1991). A study of frequent superintendent turnover in a rural school district: The constituent's perspective. Journal of Rural and Small Schools, 4(3), 10-13.

- Guba E. & Lincoln, Y. (1985). Naturalistic inquiry. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Hentges, J. (1985). The politics of superintendent school board linkages: A study of power, participation, and control. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Association of School Administrators. Dallas, TX.
- Hertz, R., & Imber, J. (1995). Studying elites using qualitative methods. Focus Edition, 175. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hess, F. (1998). The urban reform paradox. The American School Board Journal 185(2), 24-28.
- Honor society inducts school head Brickell. (1978, May 5). The Virginian-Pilot, p. B3.
- Hord, S. M. (1990). Images of superintendents' leadership for learning. Austin, TX: Southwest Educational Development Lab. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 355 652).
- Hunter, A. (1995). Local knowledge and local power: notes on the ethnography of local community elites. In Rosanna Hertz & Johnathan Imber (Eds.), Studying Elites Using Qualitative Methods (pp. 151-169). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Hunter, F. (1953). Community power structure. Chapel Hill,

NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Hunter, F. (1959). Top leadership U.S.A. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Johnson, S. (1996). Turnover in the superintendency: A hazard to leadership and reform. Education Week, 3(13).

Kanter, R. M. (1989). When giants learn to dance. New York, NY: Simon & Shuster.

Kantor, H. (1982). Vocationalism in American education: the economic and political context, 1880-1930. In H. Kantor and D. Tyack (Eds.), Work, youth and schooling: Historical perspective on vocationalism in American education. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Kelly, G. M. (1959, April 12). Segregationalists rush into political scraps. The Virginian-Pilot, pp. 1-2.

Krippendorff, K. (1993). Content Analysis: An introduction to its methodology. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Lake, M. L. (1979, May 6). Figuring wages of city officials no easy matter. The Virginian-Pilot and Ledger Star, pp. B1, B10.

Largest city school system gets larger. (1976, August 18). Beacon, p. B2, B3.

Lutz, F. W., & Iannaccone, L. (1978). Public participation in local schools: The dissatisfaction theory of

- American democracy. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- Mansfield, S. (1989). Princess Anne County and Virginia Beach. Norfolk, VA: The Donning Co.
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. (1989). Designing qualitative research. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- McAdams, R. P. (1998). Who'll run the schools? The coming administrator shortage. The American School Board Journal, 185, 8, 37-39.
- McAdams, R. P., & Zinck, R.A. (1998). The power of the superintendent's leadership in shaping school district culture: Three case studies. ERS Spectrum, Journal of School Research and Information, 16(4) 3-7.
- McCurdy, J. (1992). Building better board-administrator relations. Arlington, VA: American Association of School Administrators.
- McKay, J, & Grady, M. (1994). Turnover at the top. Executive Educator, 16(8), pp. 37-38.
- Meeks, N. (1998, June 30). New Beach School Board. The Virginian-Pilot, pp. B1, B4.
- Mills, C. W. (1956). The power elite. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Mirel, J. (1993). The rise and fall of an urban school system. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

- Miringoff, M. (1994). Monitoring the social well-being of the nation: the index of social health. Terrytown, NY: Fordham Institute for Social Policy.
- Mosca, G. (1939). The ruling class. Arthur Livingston (Ed.), Hannal Kahn Translated. New York, NY: McGraw Hill.
- Murphy, J. (1993). Restructuring schools: capturing and assessing the phenomena. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- NASSP Commission on Restructuring. (1992). A leader's guide to school restructuring. Reston, VA: National Association of Secondary School Principals.
- Olsen, M. E. (1970). Power in societies. New York, NY: Macmillan.
- Outstanding citizen award winner honored at banquet. (1958, May 12). The Virginian-Pilot, p. 9.
- Own top staff to evaluate beach schools. (1969, August 28). The Virginian-Pilot, p. C13.
- Paige, G. (1977). The scientific study of political leadership. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Pareto, V. (1963). A treatise on general sociology. In T. Bottomore, Elites and Society. (pp. 35-42). New York, NY: Routledge. (Original work published 1915-1919)

- Pitner, N. J., & Ogawa, R. T. (1981). Organizational leadership: The case of the school superintendent. Educational Administration Quarterly, 17(2), 45- 65.
- Ravitch, D. (1974). The great school wars. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Rector Brickell. (1978, March 5). The Virginian-Pilot, p. C4.
- Riessman, C.K. (1993). Narrative analysis. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Rohrer, B. (1973, December 11). Beach council hears gasoline-ration plan. The Virginian-Pilot, p. B1.
- Rohrer, B. (1974, March 30). Brickell adds 2% to teacher salary offer. The Virginian-Pilot, p. B1.
- Rohrer, B. (1975, January 10). Brickell won't seek top Va. school job. The Virginian-Pilot, pp. B1, B3.
- Rohrer, B. (1971, January 20). School land requested. The Virginian-Pilot, p. A14.
- Rohrer, B. (1974, March 28). Virginia Beach Education Association: school heads brief council on pay status. Ledger Star, p. A2.
- Rowe, M. (1966, May 18). Beach hires Brickell. The Virginian-Pilot, pp. 19, 28.
- Schools: an austere budget. (1970, March 22). Beacon, p. 2.

Schools' head resigns. (1965, March 24). The Virginian-Pilot, p. 17.

Sergiovanni, T. J. (1987). The theoretical basis for cultural leadership. In M. B. Schoenheit and L. T. Sheive (Eds.), Leadership: Examining the elusive (pp.116-127). Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

Smith, A. (1977, August 14). They'll use plain English-if they remember how. The Virginian-Pilot, p. G1.

Smith, T.L. Callahan, R. E. (1964). Education and the cult of efficiency. History of Education Quarterly, 4, 76-77.

Starr, M., (1991). Miracle workers wanted. Newsweek, 40-42.

Stover, C. (1970, February 26). Brickell denies he tries to stifle beach's growth. The Virginian-Pilot, p. D8.

Stover, C. (1967, August 16). Brickell new school chief at Va. Beach. The Virginian-Pilot, p. 17.

Stover, C. (1968, June 19). Brickell's salary set at \$25,000. The Virginian-Pilot, p. 23.

Students talk to the boss. (1978, February 19). Beacon, p. 4.

Sussman, P. (1987, June 28). Brickell looks back on era of change. Beacon, pp. 10, 12.

Sussman, P., & Messina, D. (1986, August 20). School

superintendent leaving after 18 years. The Virginian-Pilot, pp. A1, A3.

Tallerico, M., Burstyn, J., & Pool, W. (1993). Gender and politics at work: Why women exit the superintendency. Fairfax, VA: The National Policy Board for Educational Administration. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 361 911).

Tallerico, M., Burstyn, J., & Pool, W. (1994). Exits from urban superintendencies: The intersection of politics, race, and gender. Urban Education, 28(4), 439-454.

Taychert, B. (1978, December 31). Brickell at ease with streamlined organization. Beacon, p. 3.

Taychert, B. (1978, September 8). Brickell favors 'single standard' diploma. Beacon, p. 3.

Taychert, B. (1978, October 22). Grammar indeed being taught in high schools, Brickell says. Beacon, p. 13.

Temple, D. (1972). Merger politics local consolidation in Tidewater, Virginia. Charlottesville, VA: The University Press.

Tucker, H. J. & Zeigler, H. (1980). Professionals versus the public: attitudes, communication, and response in local school districts. New York, NY: Logman.

- Tyack, D., & Hansot, E. (1992). Managers of virtue: public school leadership in America, 1820-1980. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Useeme, M. (1980). Which business leaders help govern? In G. Domhoff (Ed.), Power structure research (p. 157). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- US Census Bureau. (1995). Urban and rural definitions. [On-Line] Available: <http://www.census.gov/population/censusdata/urdef.txt>.
- Vail, K. (1996). No entry. The American School Board Journal, 183(6), 20-25.
- Vinyard, C. (1978, January 13). Board on 'education for all' law. Beacon, p. 2.
- Vinyard, C. (1978, January 27). Brickell and the school board. Beacon, pp. 8-9.
- Warchol, A. (1999, April 23). Many hope compromise becomes beach benchmark. The Virginian-Pilot, p. B4.
- Webber, M. (1949). The methodology of social sciences. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Weick, K. E. (1979). Cognitive processes in organizations. In B. Staw (Ed.), Research in Organizational Behavior, vol.1, (pp. 41-74). Greenwich, CT: Addison Wesley.
- Wilkson, R. (Eds.). (1969). Governing elites, studies in training and selection. New York, NY: Oxford

University Press.

Witherell, C., & Noddings, N. (1991). Stories lives tell: narrative and dialogue in education. New York, NY:

Teachers College Press.

Work Together. (1999, April 23). The Virginian-Pilot, p. B10.

Wysocki, B. (1989). The new boom towns. The Wall Street Journal, 3, p. 27.

Yee, G. (1996). Executive succession and organizational change in an urban school district. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, Stanford, CA.

Yee, G. & Cuban, L. (1996). When is tenure long enough? A historical analysis of superintendents' turnover and tenure in urban school districts. Educational Administration Quarterly, 32, supplemental, 615-641.

Young, P. (1984). An examination of job satisfaction for female and male public school superintendents. Planning and Changing (6), 115-124.

Appendix

.

Appendix A

Characteristics of Participants Positions

Participants

<u>Group</u>	<u>School Related</u> * (a)	<u>Education Related</u> * (b)	<u>City/State Federal</u> * (c)	<u>Special Interest</u> * (d)	<u>Percent</u>
<u>Gender</u>					
Male	8	9	5	3	62.5
Female	10	3	2		37.5
<u>Age</u>					
40-49	2				0.05
50-59	10	2	3	2	0.425
60-69	3	8	6	1	0.525
70+	2	1			0.075
<u>Ethnicity</u>					
Black	4	2		1	0.175
Caucasian	14	10	7	2	0.825
<u>Years Experience</u>					
1-9		3			.075
10-19	1	5			.15
20-29	11	4	6	3	.6
30+	6		1		.175
<u>Highest Degree</u>					
B.A./B.S.	6	4	3	1	.35
M.A./M.S	5	2	2	1	.25
Ed.S/Ca.S	4			1	.125
Ed.D/Ph.D/	3	4			.175
M.D/D.D.S		2	2		.1

Note: N=40

*** (a) n=18 (b) n=12 (c) n=7 (d) =3**

Two of the participants would not sign the permission form. The information from their interviews is not reported.

Appendix B

Interview Guide for Power Structure Related Personnel

A. Background

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

B. What was your role in the educational system?

C. School Board/System

1. What were the internal and external characteristics that you believe effected Dr. Brickell's tenure?
2. Who were the most powerful members of the school board?
3. How did they influence policy, administration, and instruction?
4. What were Dr. Brickell's major achievements?
5. What were Dr. Brickell's major conflicts?
6. How were they resolved?
7. Who were some of the other power players within the school system?
8. How was resistance and oppositional power controlled by Dr. Brickell?
9. How did Dr. Brickell avoid making enemies and defuse animosity against him?

D. City/State

1. Who were the power players?
2. What relationship did Dr. Brickell have with the city?

3. What were some of the major issues faced by the city?
 4. What changes took place in roles, responsibilities, relationships between the school system and the city?
 5. What was the city like when Dr. Brickell became superintendent?
 6. What changes occurred in the city over time?
 7. How did those changes effect Dr. Brickell's power base?
 8. Which supporters were needed for Dr. Brickell to survive?
 9. How did Dr. Brickell handle or reduce turbulence?
 10. Why was Dr. Brickell unable to control the efforts of others that ultimately caused him to resign?
- E. Any information you wish to add about Dr. Brickell's tenure.
- 1.
 - 2.
 - 3.

Appendix C

Interview Guide for School Related Personnel

A. Background

- 1.
- 2.

B. Internal

1. How long did you serve the school system?
2. What impact did Dr. Brickell have on the organization?
3. Who were the power people in the school system?
4. Who were Dr. Brickell's major supporters?
5. How did he deal with them and what happened to them?
6. Who were his opponents?
7. How did he deal with them and what happened to them?
8. How did Dr. Brickell change the school system over time?
9. Did many changes occur, or was the status quo maintained?
10. What allowed these changes to be made?
11. What changes in roles, responsibilities, and relationships occurred over time?
12. How was new policy shaped?
13. Who influenced policy changes?

D. External

1. What was the relationship between the school system and the city?

2. How were these relationships developed?

E. Internal/External-Board Members

1. What were some of the major issues that the school system faced?

2. Did you feel valued in your role with the school system?

3. What key organizations influenced the school system?

4. Was the school board supportive of Dr. Brickell? Did that change?

5. What power shifts were you aware of over time?

6. Since Dr. Brickell left, what do you see as the reasons the Virginia Beach school system has had such leadership shifts?

7. What external/internal groups had the most influence in shaping the issues and policies under Dr. Brickell

F. Any other information you wish to add about Dr. Brickell's tenure

1.

2.

3.

Appendix D
Participants Biographical Sketch

1. Interviewee Number: _ of Interview:
2. Name:
3. Occupation:
4. Position held:
5. Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female
6. Age: ☐ 20-29 ☐ 30-39 ☐ 40-49 ☐ 50-59 ☐ 60 or over
7. Ethnicity: ☐ African-American ☐ Hispanic ☐ Asian
☐ Native American ☐ Caucasian ☐ Other
8. Highest degree received:
☐ B.A. or B.S. ☐ Ed.D. or Ph.D.
☐ M.A. or M.S. ☐ Other
9. How long did you hold your position _____ years
10. During what time frame did you hold your position? From
Until
11. Please indicate your previous positions in
☐ City Related Personnel ☐ School Related Personnel

Appendix E
Question Codes
(Based on Interview Guides)

Topic Area	Question	Government P.	School P. School Board	Supt.
Background	What was your role?	Role C/S/F	Role SS/SB	Role LSI
	How long did you know Dr. Brickell?	HOW C/S/F	HOW SS/SB	HOW LSI
Internal Power Structure	What impact did he have on the organization?	IPS C/S/F	IPS SS/SB	IPS LSI
	Who were school system power elite?	IPE C/S/F	IPE SS/SB	IPE LSI
	Who were supporters?	S C/S/F	S SS/SB	S LSI
	Who were opponents?	O C/S/F	O SS/SB	O LSI
	How did he deal with them?	DWO C/S/F	DWO SS/SB	DWO LSI
	Who influenced policy?	IP C/S/F	IPS S/SB	IP LSI
	What were major conflicts?	MC C/S/F	MC S/SB	IP LSI
External Power Structure	Who were the external power elite?	EPE E/S/F	EPE S/SB	EPE LSI
	What impact did they have on the organization?	IEPS C/S/F	IEPS SS/SB	IEPS LSI

Internal/ External power structure	Who were supporters?	ES C/S/F	ES SS/SB	ES LSI
	Who were opponents?	EO C/S/F	EO SS/SB	EO LSI
	How did he deal with them?	EDWO C/S/F	EDWO SS/SB	EDWO LSI
	Who influenced policy?	EIP C/S/F	EIP SS/SB	EIP LSI
	What were major conflicts?	EMC C/S/F	EMC SS/SB	EMC LSI
	Was he ever caught unaware?	ECU C/S/F ICU C/S/F	ECU SS/SB ICU SS/SB	ECU LSI ICU LSI
	What were major issues?	EMI C/S/F IMI C/S/F	EMI SS/SB IMI SS/SB	EMI LSI IMI LSI
	How did the power elite change?	EPEC C/S/F IPEC C/S/F	EPEC SS/SB IPEC SS/SB	EPEC LSI IPEC LSI
	What is his influence today?	EIN C/S/F IEN C/S/F	EIN SS/SB IEN SS/SB	EIN LSI IEN LSI

Appendix F

Codes for Emerging Themes

Topic	Emerging Theme	Code
Nature and Role	Policy Maker	NR SS School Sys NR ER NR SI NR C/S/F NR LSI
Tenure Longevity	Strong Work Ethic Leadership Communication Political Acumen Vision Fiscal Management Ability to rally groups	TL SS TL ER TL SI TL C/S/F TL LSI
Power Structure	School Board Relations State Relations City Council Relations Other Educational Affiliations	PS SS PS ER PS SI PS C/S/F PS LSI

Superintendent Action Organizational Outcome	Academic Related	AO SS AO ER AO SI AO C/S/F AO LSI
Superintendent Action Organizational Outcome	Division Related	DO SS DO ER DO SI DO C/S/F DO LSI
	State Related	SO SS SO ER SO SI SO C/S/F SO LSI
	City Related	CO SS CO ER CO SI CO C/S/F CO LSI

SS (School System Related)

ER (Education Related)

SI (Special Interest)

C/S/F (City, State Federal)

LSI (Life Story Interview)

Appendix G

Perceptions of the Participants

Theme	Illustrations
Political Acumen Communication Work Ethic Education Expert Nature and Role Influence Today Internal & External Power Elite	

Appendix H

Guiding Questions

The following research questions guided this study:

- 1. What factors accounted for the longevity of the superintendent?**
- 2. Who were the internal and external "power elites" who influenced the organization, and did they change?**
- 3. What organizational outcomes were directly related to what administrative action? How can these outcomes be traced to specific actions?**
- 4. What were the defining issues (operational measures) that occurred during the superintendent's tenure? How did he respond to those issues when he had prior knowledge of them and what was his response when issues came as a surprise?**
- 5. How did the superintendent deal with the power elites? When was it effective, when was it not effective?**
- 6. What influence does this superintendent have in the school system and the city at the present time?**

Appendix I

Life Story Interview

Birth and Family Origin

What events in your family, your community, and the world at the time of your birth became significant to you?

What characteristics or family members influenced you professionally?

Family and Cultural Traditions

Do you think your cultural background was a factor professionally?

Community and Social Factors

Who helped you develop an understanding of yourself professionally?

Who shaped and influenced your life the most?

What aspects of the community are important to you? Why?

Education

How did your favorite teacher influence you?

What organizations or activities were you involved with in college?

What was the most important course you took in college?

What do you remember most about your graduate work?

What did you learn about yourself during these years?

What has been your most important lesson in life?

What is your view of the role of education in a person's life?

Relationships

How did you end up choosing education as your profession?

What was important to you in your position as superintendent?

What part of the job came the easiest to you?

What was the most difficult aspect of the job?

What characteristics did you look for when you appointed a person to a position or a committee?

Why do you think you were able to exceed the national

tenure?

Why did you leave?

How were you able to fit both your family and your work together?

History

What was the most important historical event you participated in?

What is the most important thing you have given to the school system?

What was Virginia Beach like when you became superintendent?

How did Virginia Beach change during your tenure?

Did any of those changes influence your decision to leave?

What is different or unique about Virginia Beach today?

Do you believe that any of the differences in the city today would have an effect on superintendent tenure?

What has your life contributed to the history of Virginia Beach?

Retirement/Reflection

What do you believe to be the purpose and impact of the superintendent?

What primary beliefs guided you as superintendent?

In what ways did you experience yourself as a strong superintendent?

Who influenced policy change?

What key organizations influenced the school system?

What was the relationship between you and the school board? How did it change?

What was the relationship like between the school system and the city council over time?

How did you deal with different ideologies without making enemies?

Whose support was most important to you as superintendent, and why?

How did you obtain loyalty?

How did you muster political support for needed decisions?

How did you foresee conflicts and how did you defuse them?

What are some examples of where you were blindsighted by a crisis and how did you handle it?

How did you infuse core values through the system and enforce support of those core values?

How did you defuse the energy of resistors and enemies?

Who and what challenged your position the most?

What internal and external characteristics effected your tenure?

What similarities or differences existed at the onset of your tenure and remained throughout?

What values would you not want to compromise?

What single accomplishment as a superintendent has given you the greatest joy?

How would you describe your view of education in the future?

When you think about the future of education what do you see?

Do you have any advice or wisdom for the younger generation of school superintendents?

Appendix J
CONSENT FOR RESEARCH STUDY

Subject Group: School and City personnel who held their positions from 1967-1987 in the city of Virginia Beach

Method: Interview

Title: In-depth study of the city and the school system linking theories for tenure longevity.

Investigator: Sophia V. Stubblefield

Name of Volunteer:

TO PERSONS WHO AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY: The following information is provided to inform you of the nature of the research project and your participation in it. Please read this information carefully and feel free to ask any questions concerning it.

PURPOSE OF STUDY: The purpose of this study is to examine the role of the superintendent as it relates to the city and school system in Virginia Beach from 1967-1987.

PROCEDURES THAT INVOLVE INTERVIEWEE: I will meet with you at times and in locations convenient to you. During the interview, I will use an interview guide to ask questions pertaining to the city and the school system. Questions will focus on the school system, city and superintendent tenure during the period 1967-1987.

LENGTH OF TIME INVOLVING INTERVIEWEES: Each interview will last approximately 1 1/2 hours. If necessary, follow-up interviews of approximately 20 minutes to 1 hour will be conducted to clarify interview data and to ensure accuracy of interpretations. Follow-up contacts will be made by phone or in person at times convenient to participants.

CONFIDENTIALITY: I will preserve the anonymity of the participants in this study. In reporting this study, I will not reveal your identity or your position unless authorized by you. Each participant will have the opportunity to strike from my notes any comments with which he or she is uncomfortable or to amend my notes for clarification or accuracy. Taped interviews will be destroyed following completion of the dissertation.

PARTICIPATION IS TOTALLY VOLUNTARY AND YOU ARE FREE TO WITHDRAW THIS CONSENT AND TO DISCONTINUE PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY AT ANY TIME.

I have read the consent form, and I understand the procedures to be used in this study. I freely and voluntarily choose to participate. I understand that I may withdraw at any time.

Signature of participant

Date

If you would like further information or would like to obtain information about the results of this study, please contact me by phone (757-498-1728), e-mail (trebor5585@aol.com) or by mail (Sophia Stubblefield, 3112 Lynn Acres Road, Virginia Beach, Virginia 23452).

Appendix K

Life Story Interview

Of course, all of this would be in retrospect, you know, and memory sometimes is faulty. I was born in 1926, so I was a depression baby. I have some memories of how things were, but not many before I started kindergarten in 1931. Yes, there were public school kindergartens then! I was born and raised across the river, on the river, there in Berkley. Which was, I suppose, nowadays, it would be called a lower socioeconomic area.

At that time working people, when they could get jobs, and many couldn't, worked. Jobs were a little bit scarce back in the late twenties. My father was a journeyman electrician who I laughing said over the years that Daddy believed that if you could work 40 hours over the week that was good, if you worked 80 hours a week that was automatically twice as good (laughs). But he always had a job. He didn't make much money but he was never out of a job so we never went hungry or anything like that.

Some people who lived over there in Berkley had great problems; we lived in a house right down by the river shore, in a place that was mostly marsh. We didn't know what pollution was in those days, and I believe they would

open sewage discharges right into the river. It would be people--you know its been 70 years or more--people didn't have the understanding of these things that matter so much as today.

I don't remember much about things for the first few years. But I remember some of my teachers, obviously. I had Miss Borden in the first grade. We were all so pleased because Miss Borden, who was a beautiful white-haired lady of some years, held us over to the second grade. We had her in the first and second grade both. She was just a wonderful lady.

I pretty much knew how to read when I went to school. I had a sister who was four years older. One Christmas I got a little, tiny portable blackboard that was maybe 6 inches square, maybe 8 inches square, that had the alphabet around it on the little rim around the little blackboard (chuckle). And I can remember my sister telling me you have to memorize those letters. And I remember memorizing them to what end or for what purpose she didn't tell me but I remember (chuckle) doing it. And because of the things like the funny papers on Sunday, she would read to me and my mother would, I was able to read pretty well when I went to school.

My mother and father were not schooled. My daddy went to only one year of school and mother went to two. Mother went to work in a knitting mill when she was nine years old. I often heard her say they had to put a box up to the machine for making socks and she had to stand on a box because she was too small to reach the essential part of the machine to make the socks.

In my view, which is probably not very objective, but she was a bright lady. She read a lot later on her own. We had no books in my house. Daddy read the newspaper. But we had no books.

We did have a little branch library in Berkley, which I've spoken of on more than one occasion since then because I did recognize the influence the librarian had on me. I spoke of her in fact when we had the ground breaking of the library over here, which will be finished pretty soon. She let me come in a little younger than most.

There were two rooms in the library. One for the children, with picture books and children's books and so on and then there was the adult room where you had to be older to enter. In fact, you had to be fourteen or fifteen before you could go into that other room to check those books out.

Miss Dudley, God rest her soul, let me go back there about two years ahead of time because I read all the other

stuff. She was a tall, slim, and prim lady with white hair, pulled back always, a black velvet band with a locket, sleeves with lace all around her wrists, hobble skirts. If there was ever a prototypical librarian of the time, Miss Dudley was one.

I think that had a profound influence on me from a learning or academic, not acquisition of knowledge point of view. You know you read that's how you learn.

We had a radio, and later I built one myself. I used to listen to baseball games from Philadelphia, broadcast by a man named Byrum Saam, I think. It was great! It helped engender in me a life-long love for the game.

My mother used to sing around the house and I picked up a little, a lot of that, folk music, ballads, and so on. Daddy, as I said, read the newspaper. I don't want to do him wrong, but if he ever read a book, I never saw him with one. He was a working man and he knew his work and took tremendous pride in it. He had a great work ethic. He was still working on to the day he was 85 years old and dropped dead at work. And I said, well, that's (chuckle) exactly what he would have wanted to do. Because he just believed that work was his life.

I came on through school like most people. Did things that you did in those days, played ball on the vacant lots,

and swam in the dirty river, hung around. I loved baseball then and still do. I played ball as long as my legs would allow me to. Even when I was coaching baseball in South Norfolk in high school there I was playing on the side of some of the boys I was coaching. That didn't always work out too well (laughs).

In any event, I don't want to imply that most of us grew up on the streets in Berkley. In that connotation compared with today, it would not be the same. We would "hang out" in the little Confederate Park that we had there. And we would go to the Boys' Club on Chestnut Street and play basketball and box and all those fairly rudimentary activities as compared to today with the sophisticated programs for the young people.

Daddy went to work in the Navy yard somewhere in the late thirties. He worked the night shift for years and years and years and years. So I didn't see much of him. But Mama was home, and my parents were good people. There was no drinking and fighting and carrying on at my house. In the other houses in Berkley, because of the situation, it was much more prevalent, but not in my home.

In a couple of the families across the street from us, the Wilcoxes and the Shipleys down the road, they were good people. They didn't get involved in a lot of the things

that some of other people did. They worked hard and tried to raise their families' right.

We came through the Robert Gatewood and George Washington elementary schools. We called them "new School" and "old school." They vacated George Washington the year I left, and I used to stay after I was there they just couldn't go any higher, so they closed it!

Then went on to Ruffner Junior High over there in Norfolk. It is hard to recall all these little things. The teachers I had were very good to me--to all of us--and I appreciated that in the later years, but probably not then.

I went to Maury for a while and, I think it was my sophomore year, through mutual agreement, I left Maury and went to South Norfolk High School, because I wasn't going to Maury too regularly. I was doing all right with my studies, but my attendance was poor. I was skipping school a lot. The war was on by then and, of course, as often happens, the boys in the lower socioeconomic classes rush to join. And that's what happened at Berkley and everybody went just as soon as they got old enough or could join.

So when I graduated from high school in South Norfolk in 1944, I went straight into the Army Air Corps. I stayed in the Air Corp in the B24 outfits for (pause) two and half years or so, through the rest of the war.

Then when I came home, there was the GI bill. I think it; not belaboring the point, no one on either side of my family had ever been to college. My sister was the only one who had ever graduated from high school. She graduated in 1940. And took a job, by the way, with a CPA and made \$5.00 a week. (Chuckle) But she made it much better; she was very good at what she did.

In high school, there had been a teacher named Margaret B. West, and I was sort of on probation in South Norfolk, to let me stay as a tuition student. The tuition was \$80.00 a year. They let me stay each six weeks until the report cards came out. If I did all right on the report card, they would let me stay another six weeks.

Mr. Harry Paxson was an assistant principal there and he recently passed away. Mr. Paxson would come and find me and bring me my report card. He'd say "Eddie, (they called me Eddie over there,) Eddie, looks like you got another six weeks." Somehow we'd get along all right.

Margaret West, Mrs. West, **Miss** West, I had her for homeroom and I had her for what we called Senior Civics at the time, US Government, and for English, 12th grade English. She sent me out of the classes and she said, "there was no need for me to sit in there and waste my time and get into trouble conjugating verbs because I already

knew how to conjugate verbs". Those were almost her literal words and all these years later I still remember them.

She sent me to the library upstairs with a list of books to read and report on to her. Now that particular librarian, God love her, was Myrtle Smith. Worked for me later when I became superintendent of South Norfolk. Miss Myrtle was also a strict librarian. You didn't talk in her library and you didn't move around and you came in there and you got what you needed and you sat down.

She was tough, she was tough. I went up there and I read those books, God, I still remember some of them, and I'd have to give reports to Miss West and so on and so on.

I am told, I don't know whether this is true or not, I am told that, by two people in that system who were in a position to know, that at some point we took some sort of William and Mary test. We didn't have standardized testing the way we do now. (chuckle) Thank goodness! We took some sort of test and, Mr. T. C. Anderson, who was the principal of the school. I remember this so vividly because I tried to avoid him as you might imagine. Not that I disliked him it seemed to me that my life would be a little better if I didn't keep running into the principal.

One day I was going right by his office to the room there, to Miss West's room. He was standing outside and he

stopped me and he said, "Eddie, congratulations you were way out in front of all the rest like Whirlaway." I said, "Thank you, Mr. Anderson." I had no idea on earth what the hell he was talking about. But if I was out front like Whirlaway, I think Whirlaway won the 1941 Kentucky derby. Whirlaway was a magnificent racehorse. At that time, Whirlaway, Seabiscuit and those horses were very fast.

Anyhow, it turned out later that this William and Mary test we had we had taken, I guess it was Scholastic Aptitude or something like that, that I had scored very high. Miss West had seized on that and had gone to the principal and said leave Eddie alone let him go on through this and that sort of thing.

She was always partial to me. Although she gave me hell, she gave me hell. She was a little tiny lady; she might weight 90 pounds soaking wet. Meaner than a snake when she wanted to be! But one of those types that, by God, if you got enough sense you're going to learn it and I am going to see to it that you do.

Whatever other mischief we might do, we didn't sass teachers and we didn't talk back to them and so on. If I had ever done anything like that, like most people my age, I wouldn't have gotten out of the woodshed for a month.

Nevertheless, Margaret West was certainly an influence on me.

When I came out of the Air Corps after the war, I went to see her and she wondered what I was going to do. I said, "Well, I am coming back out here for a month. Then they got this thing called a GI Bill. I think I might go to college." Of course, she encouraged that.

I had never thought much about going to college because that was not in our family history or in the culture, you know, fairly typical of the time. Depression baby hell, I'm not going to college, nobody's going to college. But I did. I got into William and Mary. Went through on the GI bill.

I was married (long pause) in 47, that was the first marriage, Heidi's and Sean's mother, in '47. I'll jump way ahead. We divorced in '77, I guess it was. I went to William and Mary and I did well.

As you know, I was an English major. I remember some of the, if we are talking academics? Some of the professors, Jess Hamilton Jackson, tall bald-headed man, Harvard man through and through who was the chairman of the English department and my major advisor. He used to beat me to death over things. I think maybe he recognized a bit of a lazy streak and he decided it wasn't going to be in his

class. When I made Phi Beta, he ascribed my good fortune to the fact that I must have had good grandparents!

See that Chaucer book? I took Chaucer under him, that is the book I used. See that book right there? That is the third rebinding of it. This is the book I used when taking Shakespeare under Jess Hamilton Jackson. I still I have all these notes from those classes.

I taught Shakespeare in high school for seven years, a full year's course of Shakespeare. This is the book I used and I still have all the notes. I had it rebound again recently. So I guess you would have to say that Dr. Jackson had some influence on me.

That's coincidence I am going to look up something about the Doctor of Physic today in Canterbury Tales because I have to give a little talk, that is why I got out. Dr. Jackson had a profound impact on me because he wouldn't let me do anything except well.

There was a fellow in composition, Advance Composition, named MacBurney, Dr. MacBurney, who thought I should write for a living. Thank goodness I didn't take his advice. I would have starved to death! Ben McCary, I had for four years of French. People like that who had some influence on me.

A lot of times, as you well know, you don't recognize it at the time. You have to look back, and say, oh yea, that was a pivotal point. Now I can recall vividly a pivotal point. I had applied to go to Harvard to graduate school. Dr. Jackson had recommended me. MacBurney was a Harvard man too, he had recommended me. A gentleman I had for other classes, named Travis Summersgill was a Harvard man. He had recommended me.

On the day of commencement in 1950 at William and Mary, I got home and had a letter rejecting me at Harvard. I wish I had kept it because it was a form letter saying something about the geographical quota had been filled. You know, in 1950, they only took so many from different places. I am not sure they do that now. That was almost 50 years ago. I called Dr. Jackson the next day and I told him about it and he said, "Well, are you disappointed?" And I said, "Yes, sir. Is there anything you could do to help me?" He said, "Yes, I can help you but I am not going to." I thought that he was running true to form. I used to laugh that he was the only man I knew that could make a Phi Beta Key show while wearing a double-breasted suit. (Laugh) I thought the admission to Harvard was secure when I made Phi Beta Kappa, May 3, 1950. (pause)

I went to see him, Dr. Jackson, and he said there was an opening at Chicago and I should go to Marshall-Wythe, not the school of Law building, but another building called the same thing. There was a person who was giving exams, competitive exams for people going to the University of Chicago for a graduate program on a special program that Hutchins had cooked up; he was still Chancellor there. He said why don't you go over there and see that person?

I had been admitted as I remember to the University of Illinois maybe somewhere else I don't know, it's been fifty years. So I went over and, I'm trying to remember that professor's name, I think he was in the Education Department, but anyhow, I took the test. The next thing I know, I was off to the University of Chicago.

(Emphatically) I am so glad. It was the most marvelous educational experience I have ever had or ever hope to have. It was just unbelievable the resources, the pressure, the intellectual atmosphere, the whole business. You spend your days and nights down in the stacks, I have never seen a library like that. It was unbelievable. I said I used to walk through the stacks in the library looking for a book I haven't read. When I got to Chicago, I walked through looking for one I had read! It was really something to me. It was a great eye-opener!

We took a lot of comprehensive exams because Chancellor Hutchins believed in those. Mortimer Adler was there at the time, the great Jewish philosopher. In fact, they had a saying about Chicago at the time; Chicago is built on Rockefeller money. There was a big Baptist church-chapel called Rockefeller Chapel. We used to say that the University of Chicago was a Baptist University where Jewish philosophers taught Taoism to atheists (laugh). Somewhat exaggerated but anyhow!

It was a Masters Program and we had to write three Master papers not one but three. We took all sorts of comprehensive exams because that was what Hutchins believed in. If you failed one of those you came on home. There wasn't a whole lot of "lets do this again!" There was a written exam and an oral exam.

One thing I do remember so vividly because it was somewhat different was when we first got there and enrolled, we were each given two books. Each of the students was given different books. You keep in mind that this was almost fifty years ago and I remember mine. Hazlitt's Lectures on the English Comic Writers and Sheridan's School for Scandals.

We took a course called Analysis of Method and Idea under Walter Blair who was a great American Literature

teacher. We had a comprehensive exam on it at the end of the year. Okay, take a look at the method of writing, you get the idea, and so on and so on. Some of the damndest questions you ever saw in your life.

But by the time I got there I could almost quote that book of Hazlitt's word for word. And I knew Schools for Scandal inside out and I didn't have any problem. Each one was give different selections; they were picked almost at random. There was no reason for them to give me Hazlitt's and no reason to give me Sheridan but anyhow I came out of there in '51. Passed everything obviously, a lot of them didn't. Yea, it was tough, but so rewarding.

I came home, had a baby by then, Sean had been born. I think he was born on June 1st and I got home on the 22nd. I hadn't seen him yet. We had run out of money and Betty had to come home to her mother to live.

I started my public school career. I went out to South Norfolk High School to say hello to some people out there. I worked for Golbe Iron construction for \$.90 and hour. I was glad to get it. Okay? \$36.00 a week. Just between you and me, I didn't let it be known that I had two college degrees and Phi Beta Key in that particular environment, although the guys were great to work with. That was not, oh you understand. I walked out to South Norfolk High School

to say hello to some people out there; this was during the summer. I met Mr. William J. Story who was then the superintendent of schools. Miss Aurelia Leigh who was the Clerk of the Board, I am not sure what her position was, introduced me to him. She said, "Eddie's one of our graduates and just finished his Masters degree at the University of Chicago." Mr. Story said, "Well, what do you teach?" I said, "I don't teach anything. I was an English major and a Humanities major." "Well, we need an English teacher. So how would you like to teach English right here?"

I believe the salary was something like \$1900.00. Well, that didn't sound too bad. He didn't know me, bless his heart, from Adam's house cat. He didn't know whether I was a convicted child molester. He didn't know anything about me. Right? And he said, "You'll be teaching English right here." I said, "Fine." But it didn't happen that way. When I reported to duty, I had been transferred to teach seventh grade at Portlock Elementary.

So I went to see the superintendent whose office was in front of me and said, "I quit." He said, "What do you mean you quit? School's opening tomorrow." "Well," I said, "you lied to me. I don't work for anyone who lies to me." He said, "Well we had this situation and that," he went

through some big explanation. There was a lady there who was a guidance counselor back in the old days and she was in the office and she came and she told me, she said, "Eddie, don't do this." She said, "Don't quit." She said, "You go ahead and go to work, be there tomorrow and when we get someone to take your place, then you can quit." She said, "I understand."

So, I listened to her and I went on to work. (pause) Seventh grade, I remember, it was not the easiest thing I ever did. But I think I was able to have a little bit of success with some of those young people. I never called them kids; they were pupils and students. I hate that word applied to people—to goats, that's ok! At the end of September, a lady left South Norfolk High School, as it was called then, an English teacher. So I was transferred up there. I stayed there and taught English and French, believe it or not.

Mr. Story was always good to me; he promoted me as soon as the law allowed; when he left South Norfolk, he recommended me to be superintendent. I used to tell him that I wasn't entirely sure that he did me any favors!

We opened Oscar Smith High School in 1954. That's when I started being in administration as an assistant principal. I won't go into too much detail, but I was an

assistant principal there and became principal there and then when Mr. Story left to go to Charlottesville, I became the superintendent.

That would have been 1960. I was principal with teachers in the building not only with whom I had taught but who had taught me. But that was never a problem. It really wasn't. If it was a problem I didn't recognize it. It was their problem, not mine.

One more anecdotes, of course there are a million of them. Margaret B. West was still teaching in South Norfolk even after I had been appointed superintendent. She called me from time to time and I went and spoke to her every time she called. One time when I first became superintendent; there was a call. My secretary said, "Miss West, Margaret West would like to see you." She had a sister, Marion Lee so we called them Margaret B and Marion Lee. I said, My secretary said, "When can she come?" I looked at my secretary and I said, "No, no, Miss West doesn't come, I go!" This lady was a wonderful secretary and she said, "You know, you're the superintendent." I said, "You don't understand. Ask her what time she wants me to be there."
(laughs)

So I went to what was then Smith High School now the old Smith High school. I guess it is a middle school now.

I'm not sure. But I went to see Miss West to see what she had on her mind. You know people like that you don't say come and see me you go to see them.

Then there was the merger of South Norfolk and Norfolk County. Which our school board and I opposed vigorously. And we lost. We lost the vote. It won in four of the precincts but in the old Portlock precinct. South Norfolk had just annexed Portlock in 1951 and that made it a city of second class. About 25,000 people as I recall. The people in the old Portlock precinct still viewed themselves as Norfolk County people. They saw that thing as a way to get back home. So the merger came about. The merger was voted.

I was in the new combined system as an assistant superintendent. And I didn't want to do that. So I am sitting in my office one day in August and I got a phone call from a gentleman named Joe King from the city of Franklin who turned out to be the Vice Chairman of Franklin schoolboard. He said the City of Franklin has just separated from South Hampton County. We are looking for our first superintendent of schools and you've been recommended.

I don't know who recommended me, I didn't ask. I found out later it was a man named Royce Chesser. He wouldn't

ever admit it. So I went over there and talked to the people and was given the job. I made a lot of money, too. I was making \$11,750. (laughs) You wouldn't believe I was appointed superintendent of Virginia Beach for \$18,000 a year would you? The next year I got \$25,000. (laughs loudly)

I was in Franklin for almost three years. I had a lot of fun, wonderful people. They treated me so well, they really did. We settled the court case and built a couple schools and got the system sort of going. This is absolutely no reflection on anybody but me. I got a little bored. Those people were so wonderful, I could go over there right now and there are still people who just remember me and they say, "Hey Ed, how are you?" It is like I left yesterday, and I left in 1965.

I was on an evaluation committee in Highland Springs. I was chairman of the Southern Association Evaluation Committee in Highland Springs when I got a call from Dr. Pascall, president of William and Mary. In some earlier days he had offered me a job in the state department to be a state supervisor.

Anyhow, to make a long story short, in July '65, I went to William and Mary to join the English faculty. I was an assistant to Dr. Pascall. I did little things like wrote

speeches and did this, that, and the other. Taught a couple of classes. I taught in the evening school a class or two. Taught, don't laugh, a couple of education classes, which as a student I avoided. (pause)

Near the end of that year, Dr. Pascall talked to me and he said, "Ed I tell you"; he was very, very nice to me, very complimentary, I go see him every once in a while. He is in his late eighties. He said, "I know you are not totally happy here. We don't make decisions fast enough to suit you." I kind of laughed. "You have been dealing with buses and budgets and parents and everything. If I can help you in any way let me know. I don't want you to leave."

He was serious about it. But I had talked to Mr. Frank Cox who was the superintendent of schools in Virginia Beach at the time. See, I had known Mr. Cox because when I was superintendent in South Norfolk, Mr. Cox, in Virginia Beach, and Mr. Lambert from Norfolk, and Dr. Alford from Portsmouth, and sometimes Mr. Chittum from Norfolk County, we would all meet at the bridge tunnel and get in one car and go to monthly Williamsburg Superintendents' meetings. So I knew him. He said, "How would you like to come to work for me?" I said, "I think it would be all right." So I don't know all the details and stuff but he offered me a job as, I think it was director of secondary education.

So I came here in '66. (pause) Now, in '67 Mr. Cox retired. I tell you how I remember the day, August 15, 1967. Mr. Cox turned in or made public his letter of retirement at the school board meeting. I remember that meeting well. I always went to the board meeting and sat on the back row way back out of everybody's sight.

There were a few moments of eulogy. Mr. Kenny Jard said some nice things about him and Mr. Buffington, who was chairman, J. W. Buffington. Then they appointed me superintendent, it might have taken 90 seconds. (pause) I am just guessing but it was very fast. (very loud laugh)

I don't know, and I am being 1,000% honest, I don't know the story of how that happened. I know that there were people who wanted to be superintendent. I had been there one year. Clearly, I had no political base.

I had made a few reports to the school board at their request. One major one I remember, hell, I could write. I never asked how it came about. Bits and pieces of it I put together because I worked later in other venues with some of the members of that board and they would make a comment.

There had been a meeting in Charlottesville where this board had gotten together. I think I am telling the truth, I don't want to do anybody wrong. They had decided that they wanted some changes. Even Mr. Cox said to me that day,

"I think they are going to appoint you Ed. There are three things I want to ask you to do." He asked me the three things and I was able to do those. They were not major things just little small personal things, which he certainly deserved. He had done an awful lot of good things for people.

He said something to the effect, "You know, I have been here a long time and it has changed and it has sort of gotten out of my hand." It was an old county school system run in that way just like every other one in Virginia over the years but there had been massive changes in Virginia Beach not only in the demographics but in a lot of other ways.

I will say to you that the school board and the city council ought to be blessed to this day and I won't go into details. They sort of said to me, all right Ed fix it. They didn't say tell us what you think is wrong and who has been doing what, and this and that, and the other. The whole culture they understood it. I don't think they could have articulated it but they understood that the culture needed to be changed.

We had to get on a more business-like basis. There were a lot of things that we didn't have that we needed. We

needed to be more sophisticated in our approaches. They didn't ask a lot of questions. We just kind of fixed it.

I think that from what I gathered later from some of the other board members and random comments that they just thought it was necessary that an outsider who may have known something about the area be brought in because of the long affiliations that people have had.

Did they, the folks in the school system, greet me by rolling out the red carpet? Not that I recollect. Changes were recommended in the curriculum and changes in the way we do business. We were seriously in debt. I had to go to the city council and get \$800,000 to pay it off.

I had a secretary named Cash, Caroline Cash and, honest to God, the headline said "City Finds Cash for Schools." When I went in the next day she had the headline pasted to her desk. She said, "Oh, look, they've been hunting for me and I am here!" City council didn't ask any questions they just appropriated money. I can tell you who was sitting around that table. They knew it was necessary.

We stumbled a little bit because I took over on a Friday and the first thing I did officially was called off school because it snowed like hell! (laugh) Honest to God, that was my first official act. I was down in the office with F.M. Durham who was the finance man for me. F. M.

said, "Roosevelt closed the banks and you closed the schools." (laugh) I said, "I think that Roosevelt actions had much more lasting impact than mine, F.M." I certainly hope so.

I later joshed and said, "I hope the pupils love their superintendent because he gave them a holiday the first day he was in office." Of course, we made it up, and I later had the reputation of never closing school—not for any reason!

Later as you know after that I gained a reputation correctly or not. People said, "he is not going to close school here". But I always felt that school is their jobs and school is the most important thing in their lives. There are certain things you do to impress that on them. You don't do it willy nilly. You don't want them to flip hamburgers all their lives.

School is a job. They ought to be there on time and they ought to be there regularly. They ought to behave while they are there and if they can't do those things they ought to go to get another job. But I understand that is an out-moded idea. I'm admittedly a dinosaur, but anyhow.

I do remember this I have to tell you this because it is perfect. I was standing up in the back of the room in the old building. It is where the Commonwealth Attorney is

now. A long low building. Small room. And Mr. J. W. Buffington who was a fine, fine man, was a trust officer at one of the local banks, still alive down I believe in Charlotte. I might be able to find him. Some of the original members are still around. One of them is not far from here, Charlie Fletcher. Charlie was on the original board. Charlie was the chairman here when I was hired. So Charlie knows me for a hundred years. You know, Charlie Fletcher and the dentist down there in Kempsville.

At that school board meeting, on August 15, 1967, my daughter Heidi was over there in King's Daughter's getting her tonsils out that day. Mr. Buffington said, "Ed, we hired you to run the school and if you don't run them to suit us, we'll tell you. If we have to tell you twice, we'll get somebody else to run it." He kind of smiled and I smiled and I said "Mr. Chairman, that is fair enough, now don't you get in my way and let me run it." Of course some people in the audience said he won't listen to him. He just appointed and he's going to get fired right away. Mr. Buffington, I thought I knew him well, said "That's fair enough, you let us know when we get in the way."

That's the way it was for almost all the time I was there. And when it no longer was then came that time, that's when I left. When I found I had board members who

knew more about running schools than I did I thought it was time to retire.

I think they didn't even recognize, that board, that the night that they changed the grade schedule was it. I told them, I said, "You've just signed my retirement papers." Van Spiva turned to me and said "Oh, no, no we can work it out". I said, "No, no, no, not for someone who devoted his whole damn life to academic excellence, and you're going to come in and lower the standards, no, not on my watch." (laughs heartily)

There aren't that many things you go to the wall on, that was one of them. I hope it worked out the way they wanted it to. I hope it worked out so that everyone is on the honor roll. (laughs)

Most important, as superintendent is that you need the support of your board. I think you get that support by establishing credibility with them. Credibility with your community, with your school system, with your faculty, colleagues and so on. I guess the best way to do that is to do what you say you're gonna do and don't do what you say you are not going to do. You soon get a reputation for, if he says he is going to do it, he's going to do it.

Now there is a caveat here, it is not always possible to do everything you say you are going to do in the time

you say. But if something changes in that period of time, you have an obligation to go back to the people and say, "look, I can't do what I said I was going to do because", and tell them why. You've got to establish that trust with the people and credibility. I think you have to be honest with them.

Ultimately, you have to produce. I was very fortunate with the school board, as I said, I had great support. I didn't have a group of micromanagers who thought they knew more about running the schools than everybody else. They knew they weren't put there to run the schools. They were put there to establish certain policy and to see that policies were executed and implemented appropriately. They recognized that and I would say that, with some rare exceptions, my God, over almost twenty year period, you are bound to have one or two exceptions. With very few exceptions, they stuck to that. They really did.

Now, that's one side of the house in Virginia Beach. I want to go back a step. (pause) I'm not sure I like the word "vision". But you've got to have an understanding of where you want to take that school system, how you are going to take it there, and you have to share that with people. And make sure they understand it so that the things they do on a daily basis add up to, incrementally, moving

the system in the direction that you all have decided you wanted to go. I had my "vision" I thought it was fairly simple. It was academic excellence. That's what schools are for.

I still cling to that admittedly outmoded notion that schools are places where children go to be instructed in certain subject matter material. I understand that that's no longer in vogue but that was mine and I think that is one reason that I seemed to have gotten along pretty well here at Eastern Virginia Medical School, because we share that idea. This is a school and people come here to learn and they come here to learn physiology and biochemistry and microbiology and pharmacology and pathology and so on and so on and so on. They come here to learn!

Now admittedly, this is a select group, they are bright young people all of them and so on and so on. This is an academic institution and that is what school ought to be, academic institutions.

What do you need to have a school? You need a faculty and a student body, right? That's all you really need. You don't need a principal, right? For years, schools didn't have principals, they had teachers. Hell, the first superintendency I had, I had a couple of schools with head teachers, not principals. They were the smaller schools.

You don't even need a superintendent, you don't absolutely need one to have a school. (pause) You get a faculty and a student body, you have a school. You can have a school with one teacher and one student.

Everything else, and I think we lose sight of this, everything else that is done in the school system ought to be done, where ever possible, to improve, to enhance, and to supplement the relationship between the faculty and the students. All else to, (pause) how do you say, expedite, I don't know if that is the word, the processes of teaching and learning.

Now if you can keep that in mind and I used to have a lot of fun and make some people angry. I had a little, small group of people, my assistant and couple people. We would meet. I called it the little staff. And we would meet and it was in a room that had one, two, three doors and one window. I often said we could shut those three doors and pull the blinds on that window and we could convince ourselves of damn near anything. It was a wonderful idea. Then we would get out in the real world and we would get knocked upside the head and you would wonder why didn't we think of that. And the idea wouldn't be so wonderful in the hard glare of reality.

These ideas would come, and these were bright people, intelligent people, and an idea would be put forth. The first thing I would ask is how is that going to help the children? And the second thing was don't come to me and say let's change this for ease of the administration. Ease of the administration is never a valid reason for me. Ease of the administration that is going to result in something beneficial for students. If you keep that in mind there is a singleness of purpose, and that is vital in a school setting.

I am going to say, I am going to give you some heresy. I never met many parents who knew more about running schools than I did. I met a lot of them who thought they did. When we say involvement of parents, you know what I think, you know how I think parents ought to be involved? You listen to an old man talk. I think parents have an obligation to know as much as possible about what a student is doing in school and to provide a place for that student to study and to do his or her work at home or where ever. A clean, well-lighted place, a comfortable place, if possible, books. (chuckles) Background does betray me every once in a while, doesn't it? The whole idea that parents need to be responded to is fine if it involves the welfare, especially the academic welfare, of the student.

Letting parents decide attendance boundaries and bus routes and all that kind of stuff, as far as I'm concerned is ridiculous. They don't know anything about it nor should they be expected to. You shouldn't expect them to. You hire people to do that. Bruce McGuire and I used to handle boundaries. We built all those schools while I was there. If you go back, you'll see that the time I was there was a major growth period in Virginia Beach. It was a ten or twelve year period. We were flooding. We were hiring 400 teachers a year. We were getting 2,000 to 3,000 additional pupils. Building schools right and left. Big schools, too big, admittedly too big, educationally. But we couldn't get any more money, constrained as we were by that fact.

Bruce and I, he would get advice from various principals who were pretty good at this thing. We would check the telephone company, the power company, this, that, and the other, we would get all this data through the principals. Use the cohorts survival business. Ask how many are leaving? How many you think will come? Get all that together and then we would try to fill up the schools the best we could. I would come out and announce the boundary changes. I used to laugh and then Bruce and I and a few other people would duck down behind the wall for about a week. Okay? And then it would all die down. In my time, the

school board of Virginia Beach never changed one single boundary recommendation that we made, not one regardless, and that made it work. (pause) That made it work.

People would call and Bob DeFord, God love him, people would call him and complain. Brickell so and so and old Bob would say, "Oh, well you know how Ed is." That was so off putting. Bob wouldn't say "Oh, tell me and maybe we could get him to change." There wasn't any of that. He would just say that's how Ed is. That was a perfect out for him. He didn't have to, he didn't know anything about running the schools and I didn't know anything about developing land-his work. We had a division of labor that each understood.

School Board support maybe first of all, set the direction of the school system. You communicated. You mobilized the followers. You got to go sell it. And then you ask yourself, who is the person who ought to be leading the band? It is the person who is most capable of leading the band, right? You are the bandleader and the head cheerleader, I think. Not to the point of being foolish or insincere or self-serving, people see through that.

It is important to get your staff together and I think we had about 300 of them when I was there, principals and assistants and we used to meet every month. At least one a month, sometimes twice, mostly once. After the school board

meeting and I would tell them what took place. You know how those meetings were.

I would look out there every once in a while; I remember one time at Kellam I was looking out there and I was so irritated and I said you know the problem with you all is that you are just not creative enough. You don't try enough things. You just want me, or somebody, to tell you to do this, or do this, or do this. All you're going to do is get the book of regulations and every time something happens, you look up the regulation. Hell, I can hire a secretary to do that for about one-third of your salary. I wanted them to do some things to try some things. I looked out there and I remember saying that day, "I ought to fire about 5 or 10% of you out there today. I could fire all of you today and hire 300 new ones on Monday and by next Friday I would want to fire 10% of those I just hired. Why don't we work with what we have and see if we can work with our strengths?" People would laugh by then. It was serious but done with a shock value. Bad as I felt about it I was going to do something.

Looking in the direction of running the school system, this is assuming a lot, you don't do this over night. You had to work like hell to do this. You've got to show up. You have to be all over everywhere. What did Woody Allen

say? That life is 80% just showing up. Well, man, you've got to show up. You've got to let them know you're interested.

Some days I go into across the street here at EVMS and visit some of the basic science classes, or some of those not so basic that I mentioned earlier. I would walk in and say, "Hey, I'm Ed Brickell, what are you doing?" Well before long they began to say, "Hey you haven't been over in a long time. I know you've been busy but why don't you drop by?" I had been interested. We laughed and I'd tell them, I said, "Hell, you can tell me anything, I don't know anything about this stuff. You're lying to me." And they would say, "No, no we wouldn't do that, Mr. President." You have no names here; you are known as, Mr. President or something less complimentary! That is like it was--and is--at William and Mary. When I was Rector of the College, I was always "Mr. Rector." They still call me that, as they do former Rectors!

Then there are other reference groups a superintendent must relate to--the community and the home and the local governing body. Whenever you are in a situation where someone else controls the purse strings, ultimately, you know, like Virginia, the governing bodies, local governing bodies, the city, the council and the board of supervisors.

Obviously you not only have to make friends, so to speak, with those people and you do that, I think, by running a good shop, but you must communicate with them almost as much as you do with your school board. So that they have an understanding of what's going on in the school system.

Now in the days when the school boards were not elected and I never worked for an elected board. I said I never would have lasted for 30 days and someone else said hell, you wouldn't last 30 minutes with an elected board. In those days, we had some differences from time to time with council, usually over money, almost always over money. But where there was a demonstrated need and I could cite various cases, city council always came through.

I can remember when the King's Grant School burned. It was on the last night of school before Christmas I guess it was 1968-69, I hadn't been in the superintendency long, I went to city council. We figured the insurance money and they appropriated that extra money without batting an eye. They knew there was a need.

We would wrangle over budgets sometimes but settled with the city manager and the mayor. I think it was 1982, we had a big clash. I think they wanted to take 5 million dollars out of the school budget. There were 175 people who spoke to the council and they were all out there on the

lawn, the PTA and the VBEA. It was one of those wonderful things. Do you know I got blamed for organizing that? Can you imagine?

There are two things that stuck out to me personally. One there was a newspaper article somewhere, and I don't even know the newspaper, and I went out there at the break time and walked among them, and the article said, "Brickell walked among them like the Pope." And I am not even Catholic! (laughs) It was during the break at that meeting that George Hanbury said what has been quoted so often. It is the truth. There are many stories that are exaggerated but that one is the literal truth. Dennis Harding, the newspaperman, was standing right there by the water fountain, the water cooler and I went to get some water and George was on my left and Harding was standing there in the corner looking at us. When I got the water George said, "Ed, I didn't know you drank the stuff, I thought you only walked on it." Harding wrote that down and that's the story with no exaggeration. Of course, it has been a favorite of some people. Yes, that happened at that meeting.

Other than that we tried to get along. If you are going to have an elected school board, people say that they ought to have the power to tax, I don't disagree with that but people misunderstand what that means. The power to tax

for school board means that you take your budget to the public and you get it voted on and they vote to give you the money or they vote not to give you the money. And as you know, most places where this is done, there is a certain mileage rate of the tax that is dedicated to the schools. If you all vote for this, your taxes will be thus and so. So see some people feel that if they give the school board the power to tax that means the school board levies additional taxes. No, that is not so. You take the budget to the public and the public votes on. That's fair and square and that's what ought to be done if you are going to have two elected bodies. I don't know if it will come about. You know, we native Virginians take pride great in never doing anything the first time. (laughs)

Working with the community means showing up. (pause) I hope that years have not dimmed my memory to the point so that I don't recall some of the negative things. Time has a way of; they teach you that time is a great healer. But I had wonderful support from the PTA. I supported the PTA and insisted that we had them in every school including the high schools when you couldn't get 15 people there to a meeting.

The PTA was some of the greatest friends you ever have. I can recall at least two or three occasion and there

were probably more when PTAs in certain school maybe got off the tract. I remember one case when I thought they got off the tract and then when I really got to looking at it, it was the principal and not the PTA. The PTA was right about what it was saying. I finally transferred the principal and that principal got along pretty well with another group. I don't know if you can have a personality conflict with a principal and a PTA but that was what happened. It does happen.

Generally speaking the PTAs were great in supporting the school system. Maybe on a local school level, and you would know more about this than I, maybe on a local school level they meddled or interfered or tried to tell you what to do, but they didn't do that with me.

There was at least one meeting a year, the last PTA meeting of the year, the council, the PTA council and we requested that all administrators be present and I think most of them were there. It was important to show up. We didn't ask you that night to do much of anything else just to show up. That sometimes defines interest. That's when they say oh, hey, he's here or she's here.

Between you and me, in going into the school, I never went into a school looking for anything, never, I went in to say hello, how you doing, what's going on, stuff like

that. I never had a name at the school. I would hit the front door and it was like tom toms in the jungle. They would know at the end of the hall that **he's** here. **He** never had a name. **He's** here. I am not sure it was done in a negative fashion it just **he's** here. By the time I got to any door, the teachers already knew that **he** was in the building. I don't remember, it could have happened, I don't remember ever going to a school unless I went on a purpose, looking for something to criticize. You can find that anywhere at any time.

I thought we had, by and large, a good staff. I had a lot of excellent teachers and I am sure we still do. One thing about it and the saving grace and I felt this way back when there was turmoil in the system. I remember speaking to Teachers of English out at Plaza two or three years ago, guess you were in the middle of that \$12 million turmoil. Dr. Faucette had just left. I didn't dwell on it but I said, look, take it from somebody who's been there a few times, it is going to be all right. One of the easiest things in the world to fix is a budget deficit. It is nothing but money that's all it is, it is just numbers.

Now the saving grace is that you are going to go into your classroom everyday and you are going to teach the children like you always did. This stuff up there does not

affect you or your teaching. Just don't pay any attention to it. It will get straightened out a whole lot quicker than you think because it is only dollars. Dollars are the easiest thing in the world to get. I was serious. The saving grace in a school system is the fact that the teachers show up everyday and they go in there and they by and large do the job. Faculty and students that's all you need to have a school.

I wonder sometimes and I don't want to get on the critical side of things too much and I'm not talking about Virginia Beach Schools per se but schools generally. Have we stopped expecting enough from students? I think we have lowered our expectations to the point where maybe it's not a good thing. Education to me is a stretching process. You put it up here and get it up there and they reach it and then you move it a little higher and a little higher until they can't reach it anymore, but they can!

If someone reads 39 books, you say, read 50, and they read 50, then you say read 51. Or they do 12 Algebra problems, you do those in nothing flat and they are perfect, and then you say you do 15 tomorrow. And at some point you will find out that, hell, I can't do 15, 14 is my limit. But to say that we are going to do 10 Algebra problems and that's it?

To lower the standards I think is very unfair to young people. Because they get a false idea of what the world is. They begin, unfortunately, to think that they are entitled and that they live in a land of entitlement and not in a land where you earn and you are responsible. I really do believe most, 95%, of the young people in our public schools are decent, upstanding, fine, folks. Not necessarily ensued with a strong desire to learn all the history they can learn in the next 50 minutes. But it has always been that way. It is up to the teacher to motivate them to decide to learn; to do something to make them want to learn. You can't expect a 15-year-old to come in and say, hot dog, here I am in Algebra and this is the greatest thing in this world. I am going to tell you that if I had a bunch of 15-year-old boys saying teach me all the Algebra you can in the next 50 minutes, I'd probably send them to the nurse. There's something wrong with them. I have seen so many teachers who could fix that young 15-year-old with the idea that this isn't so bad after all. I can learn this Algebra, this is all right. Good teachers have always done that.

We used to expel children. Joe Smith, the old sheriff, told me one day and, I had to laugh, "Look at my jail over there that jail is filled with Ed Brickell's failures." He

was laughing. I said, "Joe, you are probably right." I was looking at the 95%, I am going to say 95% because our drop out rate never exceeded 5% as I recall, and all of them were not expelled, but some of them were. But I looked at those 95% of decent young people, maybe not totally in love with school, at least went out there and did what they could and behaved themselves and were civil to people and so on and so on. I said to myself they require and deserve protection from that small, small minority that doesn't want to be there. I also had the notion, which was a problem to some people, and probably ought not to be stated, but I don't think you can save them all. If you could save them all we wouldn't need any penitentiaries. I don't know how you can save them all. You have so many more good ones than those you need to get rid of.

I don't know what you have in your school? About 500, that's good number. You probably don't have 15 that give you problems constantly. I am not talking about breaking a little old school rule. In some of those schools they have 900 students, in one of these elementary, you wouldn't have to remove more than 20. In a high school with 2000 students, you wouldn't have to remove more than 50 of them; it would be like paradise because it is the same damn ones over and over and over.

I never saw any reason to ship them from one school to another. They're just as bad. One time there was a fellow in a city, I won't say which one, working and he was advertised in the paper as being on the take. He was providing extra services or whatever. He was doing something illegal. So some of the people in the city came to me and said, "Ed, would you take so and so with you in the school system in the maintenance department or whatever? Until everything dies down." I said, "I love all of you like my brother but no. He is going to smell just as bad in the school system as he smells with the city." They looked at me, and these were some political leaders, they looked at me and said, "You are probably right." I never heard another word about it. Same thing with these children, time and time again, they go from one school to another to another.

I don't know, and I could sit here and talk about that schools have too much responsibility. It has always had too much assumed responsibility, to be everything to every body. You, trust me, I can't do it.

People of the Commonwealth and the people of the country have never quite decided what they want the public schools to be. They really have not. There is no firm, clear-cut decision ever been made that this is what we want

to be. Is that one of the strengths of the systems, the diversity? Maybe so, I don't know, I will leave that to someone else wiser than I to decide. Academic excellence was important to me.

When I retired from the Beach, people were really nice. We had a huge crowd, and I thought most of them had come to be sure I was leaving! For someone who has lived as long as I have, I got more plaques and trophies and certificates from people, bless their hearts. I am not a hanger, as you can see. I don't put things out. I don't mean to demean the kind people who did that but most of it is in boxes in the attic. When I die, the children will throw it away. Much of it I probably got because I outlived all of the other eligible recipients.

When I retired there were some nice things. The VBEA, I had some moments with them and they with me. We didn't always agree on things but I understood that. They gave me a beautiful plaque, purple velvet backing. There were two things on there and they were complimenting me or commending me whatever. There were two things, one was preserving academic freedom, which I think I tried to do and, number two, focusing on academics and supporting academic excellence.

I said, hey, yea, they got it in a nutshell, they got it in a nutshell, as far as I'm concerned. Maybe I didn't give them enough credit. That's what I tried to do. You do it in a thousand little ways but you need to make it seem important, be important.

I don't know if they do it now, but in the high school when I was there the last few years, we required every student to be in school every hour of the day unless he was on a work study program. We didn't let you out to flip burgers to make money for your car; we didn't say you only need to take US Government and English so that you can come two hours. We made you stay in school all day long and we exposed you to art appreciation or music appreciation or journalism or something that you might not have been exposed to otherwise. I think we wasted a lot of potential by letting students go do things they want once they got out of school. They can spend their lifetimes flipping burgers if that's what they want to do. It is an honest job. There's nothing dishonest about it.

We only had that one crack at them. To dilute that by saying, oh, okay, you only have to come two hours. Now, did they gripe about it, oh yea, they gripe? But I'll tell you something else, some of those students who got in music appreciation all of a sudden got turned on by some musician

or some music or some writer or some composer that never would have before. And the same thing with some of the other courses. How are they ever going to know if they don't get exposed to it? We had a chance to expose them to it and we did. That's part of academic excellence.

If you decide that schools are basically for academics, you are about 75% of the way home. If you decide, well, we are going to spend our time treating this part of the psyche and that part you're missing the purpose. I know too many nurses have to pass out medications and all day long and don't have much time to do other things.

We have a wonderful young lady here who is studying, what we feel is, overuse and over-prescribing Ritalin, for example. She has shown me theories and talked about them at a couple of the schools to examine the problem. Thank God I left before they invented ADHD. They didn't have it then. I laugh, I said there aren't anymore trifling old boys who won't do their homework; now they all have ADHD.

There are obviously some children who really, genuinely need the medication they get, but maybe--just maybe--we too often use these thing as a cop-out, making too many people victims, so that they are no responsible for their own short-comings. But that is where our society

has moved, everyone is a victim; too bad. But some of the numbers that I have seen or percentages are just mind boggling to me.

You deal with a population at your school that we can say are relatively sophisticated parents who are aware and read a few things. I think those parents are more prone to say Johnny's not doing well get him to the doctor he's got ADHD.

All and all we have so many critics of the public schools and I don't want to join those. Public schools generally have made much of what this country is. Are there public schools that have failed? Sure, sure. Private schools have failed. All kinds of schools have failed, and all kinds of businesses have failed too, but business people do not like to admit that! The public school, I said before, the citizenry have not decided what they want their schools to be--really be. Once they decide that, let's have the resources to get it done and that is time, money, and people.

My experience has been that if you want to improve performance in any given academic area you don't necessarily need to spend a lot of money but you do need to spend time. Anything your teachers spend your time on will generally improve. If you decide we are going to spend

three hours a day on arithmetic I guarantee that the level will come up, I guarantee it. Time is the most precious resource. I shouted and screamed about that sometimes to no avail, let the teachers teach.

I oversaw the building of a school in Franklin, one of the greatest accomplishments of my life. It didn't have a public address system. I refused to put one in. I went back over there three or four years ago. They rededicated it as a middle school and they renovated it and enlarged it and so on and so on. The superintendent said, "I found that there was no public address system in this school." I said, "How do you reckon they got along for thirty years?" He said, "You did that on purpose." I said, "You bet your life I did it on purpose." He said, "If they wanted somebody, what did they do?" I said, "they sent somebody to the door and knocked on the door. They didn't disturb the whole damn school by saying now hear this over the intercom!"

In room 209 at the old Oscar Smith High School I dare say that the PA system, that wooden box up there, still doesn't work. That's where I taught. And somewhere in the middle of teaching Romeo and Juliet one day, in the final death scene, there came across there an announcement about a meeting of the "Tri Hi Y" at such a time or something. It killed the mood, killed the lesson. The next morning I

brought a pair of diagonal pliers and clipped a little wire. You could lift that box right out and I cut the wire. I never heard another announcement the whole time I was in that room and I still see some of the students I taught and they seemed to have gotten along all right, without having heard all that stuff. I am serious, very serious; I would take every public address system out. Let the teachers teach.

Now days they even got telephones in every class. I asked the superintendent in another city, a smaller city, the other day how many times were they used at such and such a high school for emergencies last year. He said, "I don't know." "Why did you put them in there?" "We got them in there as a safety feature." Now this superintendent has been in the business close to 40 years and he said to me, "It's not like it was. We have to do these things now. Safety comes first, and we have to do them. It is very different and the children are different." I said, "We let it get that way." We took a little bit and a little bit more and we gave a little bit more and a little bit more, and the first things you know they are different.

The last student I expelled in my public school career did not bring a gun to school. He threatened to bring a gun to school to kill the principal. The threat was enough for

me. And I said to him and his attorney you may carry a gun to such and such a school and you may, indeed, kill the principal but you will do it as a former student and not as a student. I can't stop you from carrying a gun out there to school. His attorney ripped and ranted about getting him back in school. I laughed because I told the principal I think I ought to tell you that the recommendation of the school board was seven to four to let him go on and take the gun to school. I was teasing but he said, "what are you talking about", and I said, "oh well that is your reputation".

With information I never treated a situation differently whether it was good or bad. I was never caught blind sighted and kept my boards from being blind sighted I've done this since 1961. I do everything I can to keep my boards informed. I send them once a week or twice a week, what I call an informational memo. To let them know good things that have happened, bad things that have happened, they are smart enough to know everything is not good, impending suits. It's my judgment and sometimes I may send too much sometimes maybe not enough. The boards that I have had appreciate that more than anything one single thing that I have done, so help me God, to keep them informed.

The ruling principle of my life in dealing with them is that if there is anyway never let there be a surprised.

School board meetings are public meetings, not public hearings. They should be a maximum of two hours, so limits need to be set on how many people can speak, especially school board members! They seem to feel compelled to make a speech on must items on the agenda, so people will understand their philosophy, which I always thought could be detected by the way they voted! But a superintendent must always listen to what people are saying and tell the truth. There is no such thing as school board member's constituencies; your constituencies are the school district's children.

I was asked about ten years ago what I thought my greatest accomplishment was in Virginia Beach; without hesitating, I replied that there was no doubt in my mind that I refused to let school board meetings be televised! And I was dead serious. Once the boards got television, the whole procedure changed, and in my opinion, not for the better. I think, I should say that I was not gone very long and cameras appeared in the school board room!

School systems have always been political. You have to ask for political support. As a superintendent you need access to the power structure and you need to keep them

informed. In this division you always take the budget to city council. It is your job to take the heat.

I always felt--and still feel--that if you do the right thing, daily, everything will be all right sooner or later. I have an abiding faith in that dictum. You need a solid base of educational philosophy for your very own; don't deviate too much, make decisions from it, and usually you--and the students--will be just fine.

It takes hard work and a lot of hours to be a superintendent, even a bad one. It is more a lifestyle than simply a job. The job has to come first before any thing else in your life. It is a hard tough assignment and even more so if you are working with an elected school board. In any case you have to have a great deal of physical stamina and emotional stability so that you can outlast the crackpot ideas and keep focused on the students. I always looked ahead and never stopped to smell the roses; there is always too much left to be done to dwell too much on the past, except to profit from the mistakes you inevitably will make.