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I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Carol E. Baker entitled "Superintendent Mildred E. Doyle, educational leader, politician, woman." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education, with a major in Educational Administration and Supervision.

John T. Lovell, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Carol E. Baker entitled "Superintendent Mildred E. Doyle: Educational Leader, Politician, Woman." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education, with a major in Educational Administration and Supervision.

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John T. Lovell, Major Professor

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28

SUPERINTENDENT MILDRED E. DOYLE:
EDUCATIONAL LEADER,
POLITICIAN, WOMAN

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Education
Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Carol E. Baker
August 1977

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ABSTRACT

This study recognized the administration of Mildred E. Doyle, Superintendent of Knox County, Tennessee, Schools, 1946-1976. It was the first academic effort to examine the administration of the woman who held the elective superintendency during years which saw Knox County emerge from secluded Appalachian rurality to metropolitan growth. Two purposes guided the research:

1. To present an historical account of selected antecedents and of selected significant events in the development of school during the years of the Subject's tenure as Superintendent of Knox County Schools; and
2. To identify and assess factors portrayed in the historical account which contributed to her attaining, maintaining, and losing the superintendency.

The historical account focused on the Subject, daughter of a politically active family in rural South Knox County. It followed her development as a young woman, active in local women's athletics, sharing her father's interest in political affairs. The study included an account of her educational career from 1924 to 1946 when she became Superintendent of Schools in Knox County. Events of historical significance in the development of schools were identified by selected respondents representing Knox County Court, Knox County Board of Education, members of Knox County Schools central office

staff, and school principals. Regarded as particularly worthy of note were programs for personnel development, curriculum improvement, school food service, and buildings and facilities. Events which preceded the Subject's loss of office were included.

Identification and assessment of factors which contributed to Miss Doyle's attaining, maintaining, and losing the superintendency considered only those factors related to the County's social organization, to the political situation, and to the Subject's leadership. It was determined that factors which contributed to the Subject's attaining the position included the power structure's preference for emergent leadership within local educational generalists, her father's political support, and her own professional qualifications. Factors which contributed to her continued reelection included the stability of her relationship with the local power structure, her own developing political expertise, and her exhibited leadership strengths. Four major factors contributed to Miss Doyle's loss of the 1976 election: rapid population growth with attendant social stress, growing instability in local political party affiliation, the Subject's advanced age, and change in her behavior patterns which did not meet community expectations.

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CHAPTER I

FORMULATION AND DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

INTRODUCTION

The superintendent of schools holds one of the most important public positions of leadership today; few persons in other professions discharge a role of greater significance upon the development of individuals, the community, and the nation.¹ This declaration depicts the current evolutionary state of the administrative post held by Mildred E. Doyle, Superintendent of Knox County, Tennessee, Schools, 1946-1976. To gain a beginning appreciation for the significance of this administrator's career, one must first understand certain historical and present-day characteristics of the public school superintendency.

The superintendency developed approximately 140 years ago when burgeoning school responsibilities of supervision and administration proved too burdensome for school committees.² Early superintendents

¹Edgar L. Morphet, Roe L. Johns, and Theodore L. Reller, Educational Organization and Administration: Concepts, Practices, and Issues (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), p. 306.

²Theodore L. Reller, The Development of the City Superintendency of Schools in the United States (Philadelphia: The Author, 1935), pp. 81-82.

assumed relatively minor roles in school operations, performing specific clerical and business duties as assigned by the school committee or board of education. However, as the efficacy of the position became self-evident and as the complexity of school programs increased, the level of superintendents' responsibilities was increased.³ In writings early in this century Ellwood Cubberley, predecessor of the modern-day superintendent, indicated that the opportunities for large service in this "new position" are "unexcelled in any of the professions" and offer a "personal reward that makes a particularly strong appeal to certain fine types of men and women."⁴ Just as the bewildering problems of operating schools in the last century pointed to the desirability of establishing one position of delegated responsibility for school management, the continuing escalation in size and complexity of school programs has contributed to the evolution of the superintendency as a clearly executive function. Additionally, the current emphasis on the importance of education coupled with an informed and educationally demanding public suggests that this leadership function can be fulfilled only by those capable of performing a myriad of management roles.

As executive officer of the board of education, the

³American Association of School Administrators, The American School Superintendency, Thirtieth Yearbook (Washington: The Association, 1952), pp. 49-52.

⁴Stephen J. Knezevich, The American School Superintendent, Research Study (Washington: American Association of School Administrators, 1971), p. 5.

superintendent has assumed an advisory role in the formulation of policies and procedures for the governance of schools.⁵ Because of this unique place in the organizational structure, the superintendent has been ideally suited to initiate the change of goals and development of new processes toward task accomplishment. It is through this initiatory function within the professional advisory capacity that effective community leadership may be better exercised.⁶

Foremost among the superintendent's roles is that of developer of instructional programs for the community's schools. Management functions for accomplishment of this concern constitute major responsibility for curriculum planning, selection and appointment of the system's personnel, preparation of the school budget, and development and improvement of facilities.⁷ While the role of instructional leader is of primary concern, the nature of the superintendency precludes one's possession of large measures of technical expertise in instructional matters; therefore, the superintendent's role has been one of freeing the potential of staff

⁵Stephen J. Knezevich, Administration of Public Education (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1969), p. 239.

⁶Archie R. Dykes, School Board and Superintendent: Their Effective Working Relationships (Danville, Ill.: The Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1965), pp. 80-81.

⁷Educational Policies Commission, The Unique Role of the Superintendent of Schools (Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1965), pp. 3-4.

members for planning, procuring resources, and implementing the instructional program. Realistically, the superintendent will be personally involved at the level of goal establishment and policy development.⁸

The personnel function as an aspect of the instructional program has not been limited to leadership in recruiting, selecting, and allocating staff. Dykes suggested this function grows from the integrity of the administrator and involves commitment to the worth of every staff member as a participant in the decision-making process.⁹

Similarly, preparation of the school budget has been under the superintendent's supervision, demanding careful scrutiny of program goals and needs. Budget decisions result from careful balancing of many factors, each proposal benefitting from the views of the superintendent and members of the professional staff. Following preparation of the budget proposal, the superintendent must present it to the school board and perhaps to a city council or county court, interpreting and defending what is normally the budget of the largest and most expensive of all enterprises of local government.¹⁰

Responsibility for business management and property

⁸Dykes, pp. 83-84.

⁹Dykes, pp. 81-83.

¹⁰Educational Policies Commission, pp. 4-5.

administration belongs primarily to the superintendent. Here, as in other areas, the leadership role involves both advising the board and in coordinating the work of staff persons to whom specific management functions are delegated. In fact, the superintendent's role in business management and administration of property must rest heavily upon persons with special expertise.¹¹

In addition to the historical importance of the superintendency, the position is marked by brief and insecure tenure in office.¹² A research study conducted in 1969-70 by a special commission of the American Association of School Administrators (AASA) revealed a tenure of office of not less than 4.5 years nor more than 4.9 years in each district served.¹³ According to Morphet, Johns, and Reller, the impact of the superintendency upon the development of individuals and the society has contributed to its instability; a great variation of expectancies has arisen, growing from the diverse perspectives of members of the board, teachers, and lay citizens. Generally, the superintendent has been given large amounts of power responsibility, then held accountable for the effectiveness of the system and not reemployed if "production" does not meet expectations. Under this policy, situational factors have been largely ignored, reducing the administrator's

¹¹Dykes, pp. 84-86.

¹²Morphet, Johns, and Reller, p. 304.

¹³Knezevich, The American School Superintendent, p. 33.

capability to cope in an effective manner.¹⁴ The methods of attaining appointment are also contributors to insecurity in office. While city superintendencies historically have been appointive positions, county superintendencies started as elective offices, a pattern which still persists in the South. As an elected official, the superintendent is faced with the political realities of reelection--gaining voter favor, developing a positive relationship with local power groups, and devoting time for campaigning. However, even the appointed superintendent is faced with brief tenure as board members are reluctant to appoint a superintendent for a term of office longer than their own.¹⁵ The short period of service in many cases has deprived the superintendent of the opportunity to concentrate on long-range planning and development of school programs.

Despite the statement of Cubberley that the superintendency holds "a particularly strong appeal to certain fine types of men and women,"¹⁶ quantitative evidence reveals that the overwhelming majority of superintendents are men. AASA and National Education Association (NEA) research studies reported that the superintendency continues to be "a man's world."¹⁷ The AASA questionnaire responses disclosed

¹⁴Morphet, Johns, and Reller, pp. 304-307.

¹⁵Knezevich, Administration of Public Education, p. 236.

¹⁶Knezevich, The American School Superintendent, p. 5.

¹⁷Knezevich, The American School Superintendent, p. 11; Daniel E. Griffiths, The School Superintendent (New York: Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1966), pp. 42-45.

98.7 percent of superintendents were men. Of the 1.3 percent women holding superintendencies, most were found in districts with enrollments of 10,000 or less.¹⁸ Previous studies by the AASA found most women holding superintendencies in rural areas. The 1958-59 study which dealt only with urban superintendents failed to identify the women superintendents in the United States.¹⁹ Researchers speculated that the decline in percentage of women holding the public school superintendency may be resultant of the significant reduction of rural school superintendencies and replacement of county superintendencies with intermediate units of school administration.²⁰

Three historical and present-day characteristics of the public school superintendency have been addressed: the importance of the superintendent in public leadership as retaining ultimate responsibility for planning, implementing, and managing the community's schools; instability of tenure of those holding the superintendency; recognition of the superintendency as a position generally held by men. In view of these distinctions, the career of Mildred E. Doyle may be considered outstanding: she attained the position; she maintained the elective position of public leadership for thirty years; she grew to the stature of "one of the most effective public

¹⁸Knezevich, The American School Superintendent, p. 22.

¹⁹Knezevich, The American School Superintendent, p. 21.

²⁰Knezevich, The American School Superintendent, p. 22.

servants"²¹ the community had ever known.

II. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Research studies by special commissions have provided demographic data of superintendents' median age and origin while professional organizations for school administrators have recorded achievements of outstanding members.²² However, within this body of literature there exists little study of administrators in the county superintendency despite the AASA's assertion of each leader's singular influence on the shape of public education in the American community.²³

This study recognized two problems: first, there existed no written history of the development of schools in Knox County which addressed only the years of the Doyle superintendency. For the student of education, history finds a functional use by providing possibilities for applying its data in analysis of current problems and conditions. Reisner maintained that knowledge of origins which influence education's present state may result in sound thinking about the social process of education, that the historical approach facilitates identification of significant causal factors in current

²¹Editorial, The Knoxville Journal, September 1, 1976, p. 3.

²²Larry Cuban, Urban School Chiefs Under Fire (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), pp. xi-xiv.

²³Educational Policies Commission, p. 1.

situations, and that understanding the perceptivity of educational leaders of the past may reveal a comprehensive meaning of education for the future.²⁴

Second, no factors had been formally identified or assessed which contributed to an understanding of Mildred Doyle's attaining, maintaining, and losing the superintendency of schools in Knox County, Tennessee. Because so few women have held superintendencies in public school administration, this problem is particularly significant and provides an opportunity to explore the relationship of the Subject's sex to her leadership while in office.

CHAPTER III: STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The purposes of this dissertation were two-fold:

1. To present an historical account of selected antecedents and of selected significant events in the development of schools during the years of Mildred Doyle's tenure as Superintendent of the Knox County, Tennessee, Schools, 1946-1976; and
2. To identify and assess factors portrayed in the historical account which contributed to her attaining, maintaining, and losing the superintendency.

²⁴Edward H. Reisner, "The History of Education as a Source of Fundamental Assumptions in Education," Educational Administration and Supervision, 14 (September 1928), pp. 378-384.

IV. IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

This study represents the first historical presentation of Mildred E. Doyle's superintendency of Knox County Schools. Thus its importance lies in the development of a written history of local, regional, and state interest. Additional and greater importance of this fact emerges when history becomes more than a chronicle of unique events, thus enabling communities to grasp their relationship with the past, to gain a sense of continuity, to appreciate the importance of human achievement.²⁵

Similarly, the study is the first academic effort to identify factors which were meaningful in her attaining, maintaining, and losing the superintendency. In assessing these factors, the study also provides a practical application of selected theoretical concepts to actual occurrences. Furthermore, the study recognizes one of the women who has attained the superintendency and achieved the professional recognition of peers; and it is significant that the preparation of this historical study occurred during the lifetime of the Subject when she and many former associates were available to provide assistance to the researcher.

²⁵Carter V. Good and Douglas E. Scates, Methods of Research (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954), p. 174.

V. ASSUMPTIONS

In conducting the study the following assumptions were made:

1. Data available in documents of Knox County Government, Knox County Board of Education, and local newspapers were reliable and adequate for reconstruction of the period studied;
2. Data provided by individuals in personal interviews were accurate;
3. Theoretical concepts derived from the review of selected literature were adequate for an assessment of factors identified from the historical research.

VI. LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS

In conducting the study the following limitations and delimitations were recognized:

1. In conducting the review of selected literature, sources were delimited to relevant materials in the areas of social systems, politics in education, and leadership;
2. In accordance with preferred methods of historical study, research was delimited to documents of primary origin;
3. Similarly, individuals contacted for personal interview were delimited to selected associates having firsthand knowledge of the Superintendent's tenure and/or the development of Knox County Schools during the years 1946-1976;
4. To facilitate historical study of the 1946-1976 period,

research was delimited to those events of historical significance identified through preliminary personal interviews with selected persons;

5. Identification of factors by which the Subject attained, maintained, and lost the superintendency were delimited to those pertaining to the Superintendent's leadership, to the political situation in Knox County, and to the community's social organization;

6. In assessing these factors, analysis did not aim to be comprehensive in the sense that all relevant concepts in the selected areas--social systems, politics in education, and leadership--were used or that all facts included in the study were used in the analysis. Rather, the assessment was delimited to those concepts and factors judged most pertinent by the researcher;

7. The singular nature of the study (e.g., a particular superintendent in one community at a certain period in time) limited applicability and generalizability of the study. Therefore, no attempt was made to generalize findings to other superintendencies.

VII. DEFINITION OF TERMS

American Association of School Administrators (AASA). The AASA is a national professional organization for school superintendents, principals, and other administrators, board of education members, college presidents and deans, professors of education,

counseling and placement directors, and private school heads.²⁶

Generalist. In education, the generalist is a school leader or administrator of many different skills. In the sacred society, the norm for leadership emphasizes the generalist who is a local leader of experience, seniority, and folk wisdom.²⁷

Ideology. Ideology is the generic name given to those beliefs which mobilize people into action in social movements, beliefs about the social world and how it operates, containing statements about the rightness of certain social arrangements and what action would be undertaken in light of those statements.²⁸

Macrosystem. A macrosystem is the largest or encompassing social unit of a complex social unity, as a school district is a macrosystem encompassing a board of education, administrators, and schools.

Monolithic power pyramid. A political system of rule by an elite, autonomous few whose interests are relatively cohesive is characteristic of the monolithic power pyramid. This term is frequently used to describe the political system of small, rural communities in contrast to the pluralistic structure of the urban society.

²⁶Margaret Fisk, ed., Encyclopedia of Associations, 11th ed. I (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1977), p. 429.

²⁷Laurence Iannaccone and Frank W. Lutz, Politics, Power, and Policy: The Governing of Local School Districts (Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1970), p. xi.

²⁸John Wilson, Introduction to Social Movements (New York: Basic Books, Incorporated, 1973), pp. 91-92.

National Education Association (NEA). The NEA is a national professional organization in America of elementary and secondary teachers, professors in higher education, administrators, placement and counseling personnel, and other interested persons.²⁹

Open classrooms (open space). Used interchangeably by Knox Countians, the terms describe an educational concept implemented in the schools which encouraged the pupil to study and advance at his own rate. Instruction was conducted by team teaching and featured opportunities for individual learners. New facilities constructed in which this concept was utilized featured buildings with large, open areas as opposed to self-contained classrooms. In existing schools, remodeling created space needed for flexibility of instruction and student flow. In Knox County, approximately 100 pupils worked with four team teachers, with teacher aides, student helpers, and parent volunteers in assistance.³⁰

Pluralistic power structure. A political system which displays a dispersed, unequal distribution of power among diverse ethnic, racial or social groups is regarded as a pluralistic power structure.³¹

Sacred community. A sociological concept, sacred community is represented by characteristics of traditionalism, resistance to

²⁹Fisk, p. 452.

³⁰Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, July 2, 1977.

³¹Iannaccone and Lutz, p. 50.

change, group solidarity, and static relationships. The term is frequently associated with rural communities and also is used to describe political interaction and decision-making within education. The term is used in contrast to secular community on a continuum relationship.³²

Secular community. This sociological concept identifies a community which places high value on change, lacks stability, and exhibits fluid relationships. The term is associated with urban societies and is used in contrast to the sacred community on a continuum relationship.³³

Specialist. In education, the specialist is an administrator of particular expertise who devotes primary interest to a particular activity or phase of administration. In contrast to the generalist, the specialist is generally associated with the secular society.³⁴

VIII. DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The design of the study was ex post facto in nature. One purpose of the study necessitated the identification of significant events in the development of Knox County schools during the period of the Doyle superintendency, 1946-1976. Following identification of events by respondents, each was reconstructed using the historical

³²Iannaccone and Lutz, pp. 22, 32-35.

³³Iannaccone and Lutz, pp. 29-35.

³⁴Iannaccone and Lutz, p. 50.

method. The second purpose was accomplished through an identification of factors which contributed to the Subject's attaining, maintaining, and losing the superintendency of Knox County Schools. To complement the study, an assessment was conducted which considered factors of the community's social organization, the political situation in Knox County, and the Subject's leadership.

IX. ORGANIZATION OF CHAPTERS

Chapter I contains a general introduction, statement of the problem, statement of purpose, importance of the study, assumptions, limitations and delimitations, definition of terms, procedures, and organization of chapters.

Chapter II includes the review of selected literature.

Chapter III explains the study design and methodology.

Chapter IV presents the historical research.

Chapter V contains identification and assessment of factors by which Miss Doyle attained the superintendency in 1946, maintained the position for thirty years, and lost the position in 1976.

Chapter VI presents a summary, conclusions, and implications for further study.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF SELECTED LITERATURE

I. INTRODUCTION

To facilitate the study, a review of selected relevant literature was conducted. Materials from three broad areas were reviewed: social systems, politics in education, and leadership. Because these bodies of literature encompass vast amounts of research and related writings, it was necessary to delimit selection of items to those judged by the researcher as most applicable to meeting the purposes of the study. These purposes were: to present an historical account of selected significant events in the development of schools during the years of Mildred Doyle's tenure as Superintendent of Knox County Schools, 1946-1976; to identify and assess factors portrayed in the historical account which contributed to her attaining, maintaining, and losing the superintendency.

The review of each body of literature was focused on specific concerns identified by the researcher as most pertinent for gaining understanding of the complex phenomena under study. Literature related to social systems theory focused on these concerns:

1. What is a social system?
2. What are the elements and elemental processes of social systems?

3. What are the master social system processes which may be used as analytical tools for studying human behavior?
4. How may rapid change within the social composition of a school district lead to incumbent defeat of school board members and involuntary turnover of the superintendent?

The review of literature related to policies in education focused on these concerns:

1. What are some conceptions of the terms politics and politician?
2. How does community power structure relate to educational decision-making?
3. What influences affect the behavior of voters in school elections?

The literature on leadership addressed the following:

1. How are the terms leader and leadership defined?
2. Who becomes a leader and how?
3. How does leadership relate to behavior?
4. How does leadership relate to social power?
5. Is there a profile characteristic of women in leadership positions in male dominated professions?

Items finally selected for inclusion were delimited as much as possible to seminal studies and follow-up research in the respective fields. Therefore, while the review presented is not

comprehensive in the sense that all relevant materials were included, it does represent research and theory regarded as

outstanding and of particular relevance to this study.

II. SOCIAL SYSTEMS

To understand group life effectively, the sociological concepts of social systems and the elements and processes composing them are beneficial in providing a framework analysis. The structural-functional model of the social system selected for inclusion here is explained through the work of Loomis;¹ the model is widely used and has proven utility as an explanatory device. The following concerns were addressed:

1. What is a social system?
2. What are the elements and processes of social systems?
3. What are the master social system processes which may be used as analytical tools for studying human behavior?
4. How may rapid change within the social composition of a school district lead to incumbent defeat of school board members and involuntary turnover of the superintendent?

The following material was compiled to meet these concerns.

Social System Defined

As human interactions become orderly, patterned, systematic, and uniform over a period of time, these interactions are recognized

¹Charles P. Loomis, Social Systems: Essays on Their Persistence and Change (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960), pp. 1-56.

as a social system, the basic unit of society. The system is composed of interdependent parts directed toward attaining a goal and guided by patterns of structured, shared symbols and expectations. Whether the system be a "master system" society or any component subsystem, such as a community or family, the elements that constitute it and the processes that articulate it are the same.²

Elements and Elemental Processes

In sociology, explanation of interactions is conducted by examination of basic units of social interaction, or elements. From the accumulated work of sociologists, Loomis³ identified and explained nine elements. The elements do not remain in a given relationship to each other for any length of time; the dynamic functioning of meshing, stabilizing, and altering of relationships is facilitated by processes which are characterized by regularity and orderliness. A brief description of each element follows, accompanied by its attendant process.

Belief (knowledge). Beliefs, as elements of the social system, constitute its members' formulations of what is thought about the universe, objects, and relations. Beliefs may not be true in fact,

²Loomis, Social Systems, pp. 3-5.

³Loomis, Social Systems, pp. 11-30; Charles P. Loomis and Zona K. Loomis, Modern Social Theories (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1961), pp. 10-15; Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, A Strategy for Rural Change (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1975), pp. 3-7.

but are accepted as true by members of the social system. Seldom based on pure knowledge and possibly defying verification, beliefs may be given a quality of sanctity.

The process by which beliefs are obtained, utilized, and developed are cognitive mapping and validation. Within the social systems context, the terms refer to a method of testing by which members of the system sustain a belief.

Sentiment. Closely aligned with beliefs are sentiments. While beliefs relate to a cognitive domain, sentiment expresses the affective, what is felt about the world.

Two processes articulate sentiment. The first, tension management, acts to prevent sentiment from hindering goal-related activity, thereby preserves affective neutrality, and releases its motivating force in achieving goals. The second, communication of sentiment, is the process, which through utilization of symbols, motivates members of the system to achieve goals and carry out systematic action.

End, goal, or objective. The purpose of human interaction is end, goal, or objective. Thus, change or maintenance of the status quo may become the end that members of a social system expect to accomplish through appropriately designed interaction patterns. Goal attaining activity is the process which achieves this element.

Norm. Norms are criteria for judging the character or conduct of individual and group actions in a social system. Norms establish standards for determining the appropriate or inappropriate, just or

unjust, good or bad in relationships. Norms may be general in nature, applying to all members of a social system, or more specific, applying to particular actors within the system. Many sociologists see the norm as critical in understanding and predicting action in social systems.

Evaluation is the primary process through which norms are articulated, the process of assigning positive or negative values to events, activities, or concepts.

Status-role. Status-role combines both element and process. Status, the element, refers to position in a social system which may be ascribed at birth or achieved through effort of the actor. Role, the process, carries responsibilities, obligations, and behavioral expectations attendant to its particular hierarchical position.

Rank. Rank or social standing depends on status-role and always refers to a specific actor, system, or subsystem. Evaluation is the process by which rank is determined and awarded an actor according to norms of the society. Following evaluation, an actor is allocated a status dependent upon his perceived worth. Performance is a frequent criterion for movement in rank within the system.

Power. Power is defined as the capacity to control others, referring to both authoritative and non-authoritative control.

Authority resides in a status-role rather than the individual; thus, authoritative power implies some degree of institutionalization. Non-authoritative power is categorized as two types: unlegitimized

coercion and voluntary influence. In each instance, control resides

in the actor as physical or mental coercion or as influence based on factors such as skill, knowledge, or reputation.

Decision-making and initiating into action are processes whereby power is articulated in the system. The status-roles which control power also control important decision-making and the ability to initiate action within the system.

Sanction. Sanction refers to a system of rewards or penalties developed by members of a social system for inducing conformity to norms or ends. Positive sanctions--rewards--may include praise, money, or privileges; negative sanctions--penalties--are deprivations of these same items or ultimately banishment from the society.

Facility. Facility is a means utilized by members of a social system to attain desired ends. Facility may be a technological item of the system's civilization or time or space when they are controlled in obtaining objectives and when utilization is determined by group norms.

Utilization of facilities is the process of articulation and is closely related to value systems. Focusing upon utilization of facilities provides a means for examining ends, beliefs, knowledge, norms, and other elements.

Master Processes

Sociologists have identified six comprehensive or master processes⁴ which serve to activate many of the elements of a social

⁴Loomis, Social Systems, pp. 30-37; Loomis and Loomis, Modern

system. These processes are particularly beneficial in analyzing social action and in the development, persistence, and change of social systems. A brief description of these master processes follows.

Communication. Communication is the master process by which information, decisions, and directives are passed through a social system and the means by which knowledge, opinions, and attitudes are formed or modified. Communication may occur through formal and informal channels which provide for two-way interaction or through mass media which provides one-way indirect interaction from imparter to receiver.

Boundary maintenance. This process indicates activity within the system to retain identity, value orientation, and interaction patterns. By engaging in boundary maintenance, the system resists forces that threaten identity and interaction patterns. This process emerges when changes set up strains in the system and is a means for retaining system equilibrium.

Systemic linkage. This master process is defined as the establishment of a bond or tie between social systems for the purpose of interacting as a unit toward a desired end. Linkage requires that value orientation and social structure of at least two systems be brought together in temporary closure.

Socialization. Socialization is the master process for

 Social Theories, pp. 15-17; Loomis and Beegle, A Strategy for Rural Change, pp. 7-10.

transmitting social and cultural heritage. It is closely associated with the elements beliefs, ends, and norms.

Social control. Social control is a term which implies the elimination of deviant behavior or the counteracting of that behavior to make it compatible with the functioning of social groups. This process is closely related to the elements norms, power, and sanctions.

Institutionalization. Through the master process, institutionalization, human behavior is made predictable and patterned; and organizations are given structure. It may involve all other elements and processes, particularly norms and sentiments and their respective processes, evaluation and communication of sentiment.

In summary, the structural-functional model of the social system provides a framework for analyzing group life, whether directed toward maintenance of the status quo or undergoing the stress of change. By examining the basic units of social interaction, elements, and the processes by which they are articulated, understanding of the interdependent parts of the master system and sub-systems may be enhanced.

Social Change and Incumbent Defeat

The tendency of social systems to develop equilibrium and stability results in maintenance of the status quo and the achievement of survival of the system. School districts, as social systems, are frequently characterized as having long periods of stability in which

members of the board and the superintendent quietly direct the educational programs of their districts. Recent studies of the politics of local school districts indicate that occasional periods of instability signal an adjustment within the decision-making structure to bring it more into line with values and conditions of the changing social environment. These studies illustrate a syndrome of events which portrays a period of political instability, the sequence of which begins with rapid change in the social environment and concludes with involuntary turnover of the superintendent of schools.⁵ A brief review of the findings of selected relevant studies follows.

The Walden study. One hundred seventeen school districts in southern California provided the setting for Walden's⁶ research. The data collection period, 1951-1965, included a time when all selected counties experienced post-war population growth as returning veterans and their families moved to the suburbs, joined by large numbers of residents from across the country. School districts were suddenly without adequate facilities and resources, and values and goals of newcomers were different from those cherished by the formerly homogeneous residents. The study focused on involuntary turnover of the superintendent following the defeat for reelection of an

⁵Iannaccone and Lutz, p. 69.

⁶John C. Walden, "School Board Changes and Involuntary Superintendent Turnover," Dissertation Abstracts, 28-A (1967), p. 452.

incumbent school board member. The following assumptions were stated:

1. Changing socioeconomic conditions within a community would lead to changes in values, aspirations, and interests of that community;

2. Values, goals, and interests would be reflected in the community's decision-making structure, including the board of education;

3. Changes of values, goals, and interests within the community would tend to give rise to competition for control of the decision-making processes of the community, including the school board;

4. Because the superintendent was conceptualized as heavily involved in school policy making, it was assumed that the chief school officer would come to be closely identified with incumbent board members, resulting in the vulnerability of that position should board members suffer defeat in school elections.⁷

Analysis of data showed that a significant relationship did exist between defeat of an incumbent school board member and superintendent turnover. A relationship also was demonstrated between political instability and defeat of an incumbent board member. The data also suggested that this defeat is a reflection of a struggle

⁷John C. Walden, Antecedents to Incumbent Defeat and Superintendent Turnover, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, ERIC Document ED 119 378, July 1976, p. 4.

for power between an emergent power clique and the incumbent group.

The Freeborn study. A parallel study⁸ examined the succession patterns of superintendents in terms of voluntary-involuntary turnover in the superintendency. Findings confirmed that when the superintendent's turnover was involuntary, the successor would be an outsider; when a candidate within the system was selected as successor, the turnover was voluntary--that is, the turnover resulted from retirement or resignation without conflict.

The Kirkendall study. Kirkendall's⁹ research sought indicators of future defeat for reelection of incumbent school board members. Thirty-seven of the southern California districts mentioned above were included. Three social and economic indicators were found to be predictors of incumbent defeat:

1. Average daily attendance--increases or decreases represent changes in staffing and facility needs, land use, population density, average number of school-age children per capita, and ratio of the number of children attending public schools to the number attending private school;

⁸Robert M. Freeborn, "School Board Changes and the Succession Patterns of Superintendents," Dissertation Abstracts, 28-A (1967), p. 424.

⁹Richard S. Kirkendall, "Discriminating Social, Economic, and Political Characteristics of Changing Versus Stable Policy-Making Systems in School Districts," Dissertation Abstracts, 28-A (1967), p. 395.

2. Assessed valuation--changes in assessed valuation reflect change in land use and assessment practice, and provide an indicator of the community's ability to support its schools; changes in assessed valuation per child suggest change in the social class composition of the school population;

3. Number of votes cast for each candidate at school board elections--a significant increase in ballots cast in a school board election resulted in a higher ratio of votes against incumbents, leading to defeat.¹⁰

The Moen study. This research,¹¹ conducted in Pennsylvania, sought to determine the relationship between electoral defeat of an incumbent school board member and any subsequent voluntary turnover in the superintendency in that district, and the degree and manner in which the partisan nature of the school board election influenced that relationship. The study examined the election of 1967 and the three-year period following. Results revealed the following:

1. In partisan, general elections in Pennsylvania, more school board candidates win when their party wins than when the party loses;

2. An incumbent board member defeat in the primary election

¹⁰Walden, Antecedents, pp. 10-11.

¹¹Allen W. Moen, "Superintendent Turnover as Predicted by School Board Incumbent Defeat in Pennsylvania's Partisan Elections," Dissertation Abstracts International, 32-A (1972), pp. 4892-4893.

is a strong predictor of future superintendent involuntary turnover. The primary represents the first opportunity for dissatisfied voters and district residents to initiate the process leading to dismissal of the superintendent;

3. The occurrence of defeat within the context of partisan activity has very little effect on the relationship to future superintendent turnover.¹²

Moen's findings substantiate the work of Walden that simple incumbent school board member defeat, regardless of the circumstances within which defeat occurred, is the best single predictor of superintendent turnover.

The Iannaccone-Lutz model. Based in part on research cited previously, Iannaccone and Lutz¹³ proposed a model of school district processes of change which signal superintendent turnover. The model is founded on four statements of theory:

1. A school district and its decision-making subsystem, the school board, are social systems. The school board is . . . the central subsystem.
2. Social systems can be placed on a continuum ranging from open to closed systems . . . a school district and its board may be described as relatively open or closed.

¹²Allen W. Moen, The Effect of Partisan Elections on the Incumbent Defeat-Superintendent Turnover Relationship, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, ERIC Document ED 122 395, August, 1976, pp. 5-16.

¹³Iannaccone and Lutz, Politics, Power, and Policy, pp. 85-96.

3. When the school board (the central subsystem) is relatively closed and the school district (the macrosystem) is relatively open, the school district will change its ideology and values about public education while the board will remain relatively constant . . . distance and difference between systems will become greater. Inputs and outputs will become relatively less frequent . . . the school board will become progressively segregated.
4. Although the board can become progressively segregated from the school district, it cannot become completely segregated . . . because [of] legal and constitutional relationships between the board and school district. When the board becomes closed to community input . . . [it may be opened via] board elections in the district.¹⁴

Generated from these statements are the following hypotheses and predictions:

1. When a school board remains constant in its membership, the school board . . . will tend to develop stability between itself and the district.
2. Such a board will also tend to develop stability between itself and the superintendent. . . .
3. The development of unity and homogeneity within the school board results in a pattern of consensus rather than of resolution of conflict in policy determination; . . . the system may be described as having a monolithic structure as opposed to a pluralistic structure.
4. Since the board and superintendent form a closed, consensual decision-making system . . . , the superintendent is likely to become "leader" of the board, the board responding to the superintendent's initiation.
5. Under the conditions stated, occasional changes in board membership will be represented by men "selected" by consensus of the board and superintendent; these

¹⁴Iannaccone and Lutz, pp. 85-86.

men . . . will tend to conform to established norms of the decision-making group.

6. Under the above conditions, when the school district is relatively open and changing, the gap between the board and district develops and continues to widen, and the board becomes progressively segregated. The situation can develop through these steps:
 - a. The community changes through population increase or mobility; thus, there is a shift in the community's socioeconomic class.
 - b. Meanwhile, the board remains relatively unchanged in composition and values; it becomes progressively segregated from the district but not from the superintendent.
7. When the school district . . . perceives the progressive segregation of its school board, it will attempt to prevent further segregation. The district will attempt to reverse the process by initiating messages . . . to the board in the hope that they will be received. . . . Being a basically political system, these messages will consist of political action.
8. When the board becomes progressively segregated from the district, it decreases the linkage between itself and its changing macrosystem. Thus, it decreases opportunity of processing the necessary inputs for self-correction. . . . School board incumbents will consequently be defeated at election time.
9. When an incumbent of a school board is defeated, open conflict on the board results. This will be evidenced in:
 - a. An increase in non-unanimous votes on the board, and
 - b. A change in board leadership, initiation, and interaction patterns.
10. Conflict will arise between the new board member and the leadership group of the old board, particularly the superintendent himself.
11. Marginal members of the old board will probably align themselves with the new member and under his

leadership will influence the board's decision-making.

12. If the instability of the population that created the original shift in the district continues, the new board's leadership will be characterized by a degree of instability.¹⁵

In summary, rapid change within the social composition of a school district may lead to ultimate turnover in the superintendency through the following sequence:

1. Division at the polls over school board elections;
2. Defeat of incumbent school board members;
3. Conflict development between new and old educational values;
4. Firing or involuntary turnover of those superintendents too set in their ways to change or too slow to see the need for change;
5. Replacement by an outside successor superintendent, an alien to the old school district, who will implement the policies of the new power structure.¹⁶

III. POLITICS IN EDUCATION

The notion that politics and education exist as separate entities in local school districts is denying a reality of American society. Consideration of politics as more than choice between

¹⁵Iannaccone and Lutz, pp. 86-88.

¹⁶Iannaccone and Lutz, p. ix.

parties and recognition of the significant areas for decision-making in public schools rules out any possibility of separateness. While it may have been useful symbolically to view politics as apart from schools, Masters regarded the educational enterprise of his day as "one of the most potent political instruments in the American setting, . . . the means for upward and social and economic mobility."¹⁷

To gain understanding of the political process as it relates to public schools, a review of selected relevant literature was conducted addressing the following concerns:

1. What are some conceptions of the terms politics and politician?
2. How does community power structure relate to educational decision-making?
3. What influences affect the behavior of voters in school elections?

The following review of selected relevant literature was organized to meet these concerns.

Conceptions

A dictionary definition of politics describes "the art or science of government" while politician is synonymous with

¹⁷Nicholas Masters, "The Politics of Public Education," Criticism, Conflict, and Change, eds. Emanuel Hurwitz, Jr. and Robert Maiment (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1972), p. 174.

"statesman."¹⁸ However, to many individuals the conception of politics involves favoritism or corruption; when the favor is dispensed outside the law, corruption is involved while "dirty politics" describes favoritism which meets legal requirements.¹⁹ Masters used the term politics as involving the promotion of one's interest and the use of whatever resources are at one's disposal to protect that interest; such activity may or may not involve corruption or favoritism.²⁰

The terms politics and politician became so abhorrent to many educators that negative attitudes of unprofessionalism were "crystallized into professional lore,"²¹ leaving teachers with the perception that politics is a "game-for-keeps played by selfish businessmen and dishonest politicians."²² Iannaccone explained that for years many in the profession separated education from political reality by asserting that education is a closed system, isolated from politics, free from external control, free from unsettling

¹⁸Philip Babcock Gove, ed., Webster's Third International Dictionary (Springfield: G. and C. Merriam Company, 1971), p. 1755.

¹⁹Masters, p. 177.

²⁰Masters, pp. 175-177.

²¹Michael Y. Nunnery and Ralph B. Kimbrough, Politics, Power, Polls, and School Elections (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1971), p. 1.

²²Ralph B. Kimbrough, Political Power and Educational Decision-making (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1964), p. 274.

internal demands which result from interaction with the outside environment.²³

Reflecting on writings and events of the muckraking era, Eliot conceded that some school systems have suffered with intrusion of political patronage in contracts and appointments, disregarding quality education for children; "yet because school districts are governmental units of which voters have ultimate responsibility, school board members and school superintendents are engaged in political activity whether they like it or not."²⁴ He noted that educators camouflage this reality using the semantic triumph "community relations."

One conception of the superintendent's role near the turn of the century, that of negotiator-statesman, reflected this political character. Addressing colleagues, a superintendent said:

When we can secure the cooperation of a few influential men and women of the community, the support of two or three newspapers to whose opinion the public listens, the influence of clubs--clubs of the gentler sort--the endorsement of a chamber of commerce, perhaps we have taken a long step in the direction of making outside conditions favorable to successful management.²⁵

Politics, to many persons, focuses on the conception of the

²³Frederick M. Wirt and Michael W. Kirst, The Political Web of American Schools (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1972), p. 12.

²⁴Thomas H. Eliot, "Toward an Understanding of Public School Politics," Criticism, Conflict, and Change, p. 164.

²⁵Cuban, p. 119.

American two-party system, one which involves specific combinations of interests shared by groups within party organizations. Yet, according to studies by Iannaccone and Lutz,²⁶ at the local school district level, politics tends not to relate to the two-party system. Rather, the prevailing pattern is typically politics of interest groups or citizen groups which must achieve consensus through informal community structures, the superintendent's office, or the school board meeting. A political alternative to the two-party system was found in rural school districts characterized by high social stability. Here an informal or extralegal social structure representing the socioeconomic class structure was reflected in school board members, forming the classical monolithic power pyramid.

Nunnery suggested a third possible alternative to the two-party system. In a typical school district, educators have a following which may be conceptualized as a school party. Thus, conceivably, pro-school and anti-school groups might be regarded as political parties with leadership hierarchies and party lines.²⁷

A broader conceptualization is seen in Kammerer's definition of politics as "the process of making significant community-wide decisions basic educational decisions of local district-, state-, and nationwide significance."²⁸ These are decisions which

²⁶Iannaccone and Lutz, pp. 4-8.

²⁷Nunnery and Kimbrough, p. 55.

²⁸Gladys M. Kammerer, Charles D. Farris, John M. DeGrove, and

reflect thinking about the "kind of town we want or what will be best for the state."²⁹

Nunnery saw politics as "the democratic process of making significant decisions . . . to influence educational policy, or policies in other areas of society."³⁰ Following this concept, educational leadership which seeks to upgrade educational standards is political. He equates statesmanship with politics in saying that the educational statesman is one who cannot separate personal morality from morality of political practice, that his actions should exemplify the valued traditions of democracy.³¹

Similarly, Eliot saw politics as the making of governmental decisions and the effort or struggle to gain or keep the power to make these decisions; public schools, because they are part of government, are political entities. He identified five areas of decision-making as most significant politically:

1. Curriculum--what is to be taught or read in a community's schools.
2. Facilities--school-building politics which demands heavy capital outlay and represents tangible distance a child must walk or be transported.

Alfred B. Clubok, The Urban Political Community (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1963), p. 5.

²⁹Kimbrough, p. 274.

³⁰Nunnery and Kimbrough, p. 1.

³¹Nunnery and Kimbrough, p. 2.

3. Organization of school districts--consolidation.
4. Personnel--election of school board members, election or appointment of the superintendent, selection of teachers and support staff.
5. Finance--voter's desire for low taxes and wish for good schools.³²

In summary, politics may best be conceptualized as the art or science of government; a politician, then, is one who governs, a statesman. Frequently regarded in a two-party context, the broader conception of politics as the process of significant decision-making offers a better perspective for examination of the relationships between politics and educational decision-making.

Community Power Structure and Educational Decision-Making

Within the political system of a school district, there exists a complex power structure which has great influence over the opinions and actions of community leaders responsible for educational decision-making. While the board of education has legal responsibility to exercise authority over school policy decisions with the superintendent acting as its agent, in reality it is powerful only to the extent that it is able to legitimize school decisions in the political system.³³

To provide an understanding of community power structure relevant to this study, it seemed appropriate to select the sociological concepts of sacred and secular community; a brief review of

³²Eliot, pp. 164-170.

³³Nunnery and Kimbrough, pp. 7-8.

characteristics of each follows. A review of selected studies was conducted to determine the relationship between power structure and citizen participation in educational decision-making.

Sacred and secular communities. Howard Becker³⁴ theorized that communities may be characterized along a continuum of sacred to secular polar societies and that changes in organization or social trends reflect movement along the continuum. In regard to power and control of decision-making, the sacred community is described as having the monolithic power pyramid described by the Lynds³⁵ and by Floyd Hunter.³⁶ Recent studies describe the monolithic type as ruled by an elite, autonomous few whose interests are relatively cohesive. This concept reveals that those who rule are economically or socially privileged and exercise control in social, educational, religious, political, and economic institutions. Pluralistic systems display a dispersed distribution of power in which class lines are not dominant. The balance of power adjusts to a new equilibrium in response to demands for a greater share of rewards that power brings.³⁷

³⁴Howard Becker and Alvin Boskoff, eds., Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change (New York: The Dryden Press, 1957), pp. 133-176.

³⁵Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, Middletown in Transition (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1937), pp. 74-101.

³⁶Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), pp. 60-113.

³⁷Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), pp. 1-86.

The sacred community is depicted as placing great value in tradition and social intimacy among closely defined groups. Communication follows established formulae in the parochial social system, supporting the "etiquette of gossip" which provides an outlet for non-public criticism. Because it is a static society displaying virtual equilibrium, innovation is regarded as threat; invention and change are most easily introduced as modification of currently accepted techniques. Norms for leadership are general, emphasizing folk wisdom, experience, seniority, and localism. By contrast, the secular society places great value on change itself and is characterized by the lack of stability. Social relationships are fluid as group boundaries are less evident. Communication between groups still follows established formulae, but new means are developed as old groups break up. There is open confrontation of issues; the written word is accepted rather than face-to-face communication. In regard to leadership, high esteem is granted to the specialist, the alien expert.³⁸

According to Iannaccone and Lutz,³⁹ both the rural sacred and urban secular school districts in America display sacred-type orientations toward the governance of education, characterized by a minimum of decision-making, unanimity of decision-making, and low tax

³⁸Willis D. Hawley and Frederick M. Wirt, The Search for Community Power (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), pp. 37-38.

³⁹Iannaccone and Lutz, pp. 29-40.

ideology. To maintain the image of unanimity, boards of education may involve the low pressure politics of consensus to conceal from the public differences of opinion among members; and the adherence to the principle of unanimity may function because of executive sessions which facilitate the decision-making process.

Citizen participation in educational decision-making.

Historically, citizen participation has been a dominant theme in American education. According to Davis,⁴⁰ meaningful citizen involvement in decision-making can strengthen confidence in and commitment to the school, while making schools more responsive to citizens' diverse concerns. Frequently, citizen participation occurs through P.T.A., advisory councils, and citizen committees. A study in Massachusetts by Gross⁴¹ revealed that P.T.A. leaders and their organizations were the single most important promoters of education in that state. Betz⁴² in a study of selected P.T.A.'s in Knox County, Tennessee, concluded that a positive relationship between the percentage of individuals who attend P.T.A. meetings and the socio-economic status of the neighborhood exists. He found that percentage

⁴⁰Don Davis, "The Emerging Third Force Education," Equality in Education, 15 (November, 1973), pp. 5-12.

⁴¹Neal Gross, Who Runs Our School? (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958), pp. 36-37.

⁴²Michael Betz. "Neighborhood Status and Membership in Locality Based Instrumental Associations," Sociological Focus, 6 (Spring, 1973), pp. 65-67.

of attendance ranged from 17 percent in high socioeconomic (SES) neighborhoods, 15 percent in middle SES neighborhoods, and 5 percent in low SES neighborhoods. Active attendance ranged from 7 percent to 8 percent to 3 percent in the respective neighborhoods.

Much evidence exists in the literature as to who within the community holds memberships in organizations and associations. Scott,⁴³ in a study to determine the relation between variations in sex, age, education, religion, occupation, marital status, family status, friends, nativity, residence, home tenure, and social status to variations in the degree to which persons participate in voluntary associations concluded that membership increases significantly with increase in social status. The upper class has more memberships than the middle class and significantly more than the lower class. Wright and Hyman⁴⁴ indicated that the higher rate of voluntary association membership among businessmen and professionals is clearly documented by national data, which shows that 29 percent of these two occupational categories belong to two or more organizations, in contrast with only 5 to 13 percent of blue-collar workers. Additionally, Axelrod⁴⁵

⁴³John C. Scott, "Membership and Participation in Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review, 22 (June, 1957), p. 323.

⁴⁴Charles R. Wright and Herbert H. Hyman, "Voluntary Association Memberships of American Adults: Evidence from National Sample Surveys," American Sociological Review, 23 (June, 1958), p. 289.

⁴⁵Morris Axelrod, "Urban Structure and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, 21 (February, 1956), pp. 15-16.

and Bell⁴⁶ provided evidence to show that socioeconomic status is positively related to participation in associations.

There is an existent belief that all socioeconomic groups within a community are involved in the educational decision-making process by way of the ballot. Erbe⁴⁷ concluded from his study of social involvement and political activity that socioeconomic status and organizational involvement were important antecedents of political participation. Voter studies indicated that an individual who feels he can have some impact on political outcomes is much more likely to engage in political activity. Thus, a sense of political efficacy is a major stimulus to political participation.

Vidich and Bensman⁴⁸ identified the middle class as that which controlled decision-making in the small, rural community of their 1950 study. Leisure was found to be a significant factor in participation, enabling the middle class to provide the active support of many community organizations. Whether these persons hold office or not, they plan and execute most of the community's non-political organizational life.

⁴⁶Wendell Bell and Maryanne T. Force, "Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Formal Associations," American Sociological Review, 21 (February, 1956), p. 34.

⁴⁷William Erbe, "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Replication and Elaboration," American Sociological Review, 29 (April, 1964), p. 213.

⁴⁸Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 60.

Research by Kimbrough⁴⁹ in the southeastern United States supported his belief of political linkages between local school districts and community power holders. His studies showed power as monopolistic and pyramidal with generalized leadership. He found that influence in school districts is exercised by relatively few persons who hold top community positions and power resources, and that these persons represent the upper-middle class and elite class.

Pluralistic power structures, which were not found in southeastern communities, were identified in the urban Northeast. There power was described as a multifactional, unequal distribution which supported specialist leadership. The urban school district more closely paralleled the secular society with several specialist leadership groups and a pattern of open conflicts; important decision-making was influenced by public officials and a small number of citizen participants.⁵⁰

The studies presented suggest that American school districts display a sacred community orientation toward educational governance in which power and influence are pyramidal. Control over decision-making is exercised by citizens of the elite and middle classes, persons characterized as holding memberships in voluntary associations with enough leisure time to support many community organizations, individuals of educational and occupational attainment who are active

⁴⁹Kimbrough, pp. 52-60, 195-236.

⁵⁰Iannaccone and Lutz, pp. 45-49.

politically. Thus, the existent relationship between power structure and participation in educational decision-making is that those persons of the elite and middle classes who hold higher socioeconomic status will, in all probability, be influential participants in the educational decision-making process.

Voting Behavior

Citizen participation in school decision-making has traditionally taken two primary forms--election of officials and referendum on school issues.⁵¹ Thus, the behavior of voters as participants has significant impact on the development of a community's schools.

Classic studies of voter behavior which provide valuable insights to educators focused on national campaigns for the presidency; little study was available on voter behavior in local school elections. Therefore, application of findings from studies of elections not related to schools must be exercised with care.⁵² Earliest studies were based on official poll results and provided generalizations about voting behavior of socioeconomic classes, rural areas, ethnic groups, voter turnout, and party preference. One such study by Rice⁵³ concentrated on differences in attitudes and demonstrated a relationship between lines of communication (transportation

⁵¹Wirt and Kirst, p. 62.

⁵²Charles R. Adrian and Charles Press, Governing Urban America, 3d ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), p. 434.

⁵³Nunnery and Kimbrough, p. 40.

routes) and voting behavior in America during the 1920's.

The Erie County study. One early classical study of voter behavior was reported in The People's Choice, 1944, by Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet.⁵⁴ Using survey techniques, researchers studied voter attitudes in the 1940 Roosevelt-Wilkie presidential campaign and election. Explicit in the design was the merchandising concept, the notion that a voter decides among candidates as a buyer chooses from products advertised. Findings did not support this concept. Rather, the study resulted in generalizations relevant to short-range changes in attitude or behavior. These generalizations follow:

1. Stability of Attitudes--researchers found that subjects voted as they and their families always had; family tradition determined the preference for political party. Stability was enhanced by a kind of protective shield which allowed the prospective voter to expose himself to propaganda with which he agreed, effectively shutting out all else. Thus, conflict with members of the social environment was minimized and individual security was increased.

2. Group Processes--as the individual maintains his security by shutting out undesired propaganda, his attitudes are reinforced by group members. In interaction, as each person shares his information and experiences, all are subject to a broader range of selected influences. Ultimately, the interaction provides reinforcement and

⁵⁴Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice, 2d ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948).

mutual strengthening of common attitudes.

3. Attitude Instability/Change--past observations and half-forgotten experiences, when triggered by a propaganda stimulus, may surface; this may lead to restructuring of attitudes and change in group affiliation. This predisposition to change is most likely to occur for persons in whom "cross-pressures" operate; cross-pressure is regarded as inner conflict or inconsistency regarding an issue. Researchers found that persons experiencing this cross-pressure took longer to arrive at a vote decision or were unable to make any decision and did not vote.

Emergence of crystallization of opinion is another mechanism of attitude change as a new distribution of articular opinions occur through group interaction. Thus, if no strong prior attitudes existed, mutual interactions may crystallize definite opinions.

Another factor in opinion change relates to a hierarchy of stability in opinions. Findings showed the more flexible opinions adapted themselves to more stable levels; for example, vote intention is most stable while attitudes on more specific topics tend to become more consistent with party position.

4. Opinion Leaders--in every social group there emerge opinion leaders, particularly active and articulate individuals anxious to express themselves on important issues. Researchers found that one function of such leaders is mediation between the mass media and other individuals in the group. These leaders, more than others, exposed themselves to mass media and shared opinions with group,

members, providing a highly effective two-step flow of communication.⁵⁵

A major contribution of the Erie study was the portrayal of voting behavior as a social phenomenon where opinion leaders within the social system acted as legitimizers, expending great personal influence over voter opinion.

The Elmira study. Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee⁵⁶ used the 1948 Truman-Dewey presidential election for a follow-up study to the work undertaken in Erie. Working in Elmira, New York, researchers reiterated that voting behavior is the product of several social influences including socioeconomic and ethnic affiliations, family tradition, personal associations, personal attitudes on current issues, and membership in formal organizations.

Although voter behavior did relate to socioeconomic status, religious affiliation, and ethnic group, the influence of family tradition and social groups may have more bearing on school elections as interaction among members of the latter groups serve to reinforce or change opinion. The concept of importance of personal influence in voter behavior was supported in more recent work by Glazer and Moynihan and Gans.⁵⁷ These researchers stressed the continuing

⁵⁵Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet, pp. vii-xxx.

⁵⁶Bernard Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), p. 37.

⁵⁷Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge: Harvard-MIT Presses, 1963), pp. 310-315; Herbert Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: The Free Press, 1963), pp. 45-103.

influence of familial and group memberships to persons living in a mass society.

Findings from the Elmira research showed that individuals who interacted with persons who agreed with their own opinions tended to maintain original convictions while persons who reported conversations with opposition members tended to change opinion. These findings supported the concept of cross-pressures. Persons who engaged in no political conversations rarely voted. Thus, patterns of interaction and level of political activity were strong factors in influencing voter behavior.

The Michigan study. A study of the 1952 presidential campaign emphasized psychological attitudes of voters rather than sociological variables.⁵⁸ Findings based on interviews with a national sample of 2,000 voters revealed that voter behavior was influenced by three variables: party identification, issue orientation, and attraction to the candidate. Party affiliation was the factor with which voters showed strongest identification while opinion on issues reflected party orientation. Attraction to the candidate was similarly related to party.

Nunnery⁵⁹ projects that because party affiliation is not a

⁵⁸Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, and Company, 1954), pp. 88-143.

⁵⁹Nunnery and Kimbrough, p. 46.

major factor in school elections, personal attraction of the candidate is likely a major influence in positive voting behavior on school issues.

The New York study. A study by Horton and Thompson⁶⁰ of school bond referenda in two New York communities is frequently cited as supporting the concept of alienation in local politics. Examining negative voter behavior, researchers purported that voting against referenda may not be a mere rejection of a particular school issue but an expression of general discontent of politically alienated persons. Among studies on alienation or psychological estrangement in mass society is that by Seeman. He proposes five different meanings for the concept:

1. Powerlessness or helplessness which a person experiences in relation to social objects.
2. Meaninglessness which involves a rejection of the belief that the world is intelligible and that the consequences of one's actions are predictable.
3. Anomie or normlessness in which the means to achievement of ends are perceived as inaccessible.
4. Isolation in which an individual does not consider himself full partner in goals and beliefs that are highly valued in society.
5. Self-estrangement in which the individual finds no intrinsic satisfaction in activities and relationships in which he is engaged.⁶¹

⁶⁰John E. Horton and Wayne E. Thompson, "Powerlessness and Political Negativism," American Journal of Sociology, 66 (March, 1962), pp. 487-492.

⁶¹Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American

Crain, Katz, and Rosenthal⁶² challenged this theory of alienation in local politics in studies of voter behavior in water fluoridation elections. Their findings are meaningful to educators concerned with voter behavior and election outcomes:

1. In considering a decision of voter alienation, one must realize there may exist a legitimate political opposition to the innovation or issue in question;

2. Important factors in election outcomes were found to include political structure, actions of community leaders, socio-economic characteristics of the community, and controversy generated in campaigns.

The Eugene, Oregon, study. Agger's⁶³ analysis of voter behavior in a school referendum in Eugene, Oregon, relates conclusions similar to those of non-school elections. Using pre- and post-election polling to explore voting behavior in a referendum seeking support of a public kindergarten, he found:

1. Over 70 percent stability in opinion among voters throughout the campaign, among both opponents and proponents of the issue;

Sociological Review, 24 (December, 1959), pp. 783-790.

⁶²Robert L. Crain, Elihu Katz, and Donald B. Rosenthal, The Politics of Community Conflict: The Fluoridation Decision (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1969), pp. 206-228.

⁶³Nunnery and Kimbrough, pp. 49-50.

2. Strong socioeconomic influences among voter groups were determined as the less educated and moderately educated opposed kindergartens by an overwhelming majority while highly educated voters supported the program by a 52 to 48 percent margin;

3. Analysis of non-voter opinions found support at all socioeconomic levels; thus, the proposal failed because more of those who opposed the program cast votes.

The Stanford study. In August, 1957, the School of Education and the Institute for Communication Research of Stanford University began a three-year investigation of the role of communication in achieving a state of understanding between schools and community.⁶⁴ Answers to two questions were sought:

1. What voters, under what conditions, have favorable attitudes toward the schools?

2. What voters, under what conditions, participate in school affairs?

Findings showed the most favorable school voter to be the young voter with a school-age child, a recent resident of the community, employed as a skilled worker or clerical or sales person. The voter's evaluation of schools, specifically in regard to cost, and pride in schools, were most closely associated with favorable

⁶⁴Richard F. Carter, Voters and Their Schools (Stanford: Institute for Communication Research, Stanford University, U.S. Office of Education Cooperative Research Project No. 308, 1960), pp. 1-19.

votes. Pride was generally evidenced in buildings, facilities, teachers, and the school program. The most active school participants were those voters who were high-school educated, young, and parents of school-age children. In seeking information about schools, two-thirds of the voters preferred a school official as information source; however, most voters depended on conversations with friends and school newspapers. Positive votes came most often from persons who had heard speeches by school representatives or read school bulletins.

Additional research. Much current research on voter behavior focuses on ethnic and racial influences in metropolitan areas, and on voting participation of 18-year-olds and of disenfranchised persons. However, among recent research studies are the following which build on the classical works presented and hold relevance to this study.

Pursuing the family's influence on voter behavior cited in the Erie County study, Greenstein⁶⁵ studied the political orientations of 9- to 13-year-old children in New Haven, Connecticut. He found that children's issue orientations are so underdeveloped that by eighth grade less than one-half can describe issue differences between parties. However, by fourth grade, 60 percent of children studied stated a definite Democratic or Republican political preference,

⁶⁵Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. 66-84.

suggesting that political feelings, evaluations, and attachments form well before the child learns relevant supporting data. He concluded that political orientations most important in voting behavior of adults arise early in the childhood development sequence as learning occurs unconsciously and uncritically in the family group.

Flanigan⁶⁶ identified partisanship or party affiliation as the single most important influence on voting behavior. Building on research by Campbell,⁶⁷ he concluded that partisanship represents feelings of sympathy for and loyalty to a political party which an individual acquires in early childhood and which endures with increasing intensity through life. The voter's self-image as a Democrat or Republican allows him to orient himself to new information that fits with existent feelings and ideas, although a distortion of reality may occur. He, too, found that primary and secondary social groups hold distinctive influence on political behavior but that social class is not greatly related to voter behavior. Following Campbell, social variables are treated as cross-pressures which result in change of party preference; during periods of maximum social and political stress associated with upward and downward mobility, persons become Independent in political party preference.

The impact of social class on voting behavior was one focus of

⁶⁶William Flanigan, Political Behavior of the American Electorate, 2d ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1972), pp. 37-88.

⁶⁷Angus Campbell and others, The American Voter (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1960).

studies by several researchers.⁶⁸ Findings suggest that the direct impact of social class on voter behavior is limited and variable as choices are not based on economic position alone. They found that many Americans are unaware of class distinctions and that varying perceptions of the political world alter the impact of class factors. In American society, the importance of social class fluctuates but never becomes a primary factor in voting behavior.

In summarizing selected research on voter behavior, the following generalizations are pertinent to this study:

1. Voting is a sociological phenomenon influenced by family, tradition, informal groups, ethnic associations, and socioeconomic status.
2. Personal influence of group opinion leaders within social groups is very powerful in legitimizing school proposals. Person-to-person communication is more widely effective than communication via mass media.
3. Informal associations within a community tend to be more powerful in shaping voting decisions than are formal groups and organizations.

⁶⁸Robert Alford, Party and Society (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963), pp. 36-41; Heinz Eulau, Class and Party in the Eisenhower Years (New York: The Free Press, 1962), p. 139; David Butler and Donald Stokes, Political Change in Britain (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969), pp. 65-93; Gerald M. Pomper, Voters' Choice: Varieties of American Electoral Behavior (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1975), pp. 42-50.

4. Voters tend to reach a stable decision on election issues months before the actual campaign begins.

5. Feelings of cross-pressure in voters tend to emerge as indecision on the issue, withdrawal from voting, late determination on how to vote, and change of party preference.

6. The factor of voter alienation tends to be less important than other influences such as opinions of group leaders.

7. Psychological variables which influence voter behavior include: identification with political party, voter conception of issues, and voter attraction to the candidate.

8. School officials are regarded as preferred sources of information on school issues; their person-to-person influence is important in developing and maintaining voter support and positive voting.

9. Factors which influence voter participation in elections include: voter attitudes toward school costs, occupation, age, family status, and length of residence.

IV. LEADERSHIP

Literature in current leadership research relevant to the purposes of this study reflects four decades of study which has produced a mass of findings. It was necessary, therefore, to focus this review of literature on specific concerns judged by the researcher as most pertinent for gaining an understanding of the

phenomena of leadership which this study addressed. Those concerns were:

1. How are the terms leader and leadership defined?
2. Who becomes a leader and how?
3. How does leadership relate to behavior?
4. How does leadership relate to social power?
5. Is there a profile characteristic of women in leadership positions in male-dominated professions?

The following review of selected relevant literature was organized to meet these concerns.

Definitions

Studies of the complex phenomenae, leaders and leadership, have resulted in numerous broad definitional statements, dependent upon special interests of the definer. Gibb⁶⁹ summarized several basic definitions identifying leaders in group situations as:

1. An individual in a given office.
2. A focus for the behavior of group members.
3. A sociometric choice.
4. One who exercised influence over others.
5. One who influenced group syntality.
6. One who engaged in leadership behavior.

Katz and Kahn⁷⁰ delimited to three the major meanings of

⁶⁹Cecil A. Gibb, "Leadership," The Handbook of Social Psychology, ed. Gardner Lindzey (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1954), pp. 880-884.

⁷⁰Daniel Katz and Robert Kahn, The Social Psychology of Organizations (New York: John Wiley, 1966), p. 301.

leadership found in social science literature:

1. A positional attribute.
2. A personal characteristic.
3. A category of behavior.

These meanings are implicit in following definitions and research.

The term "leader" as noted by Halpin⁷¹ relates to "an outstanding member of a class"; thus, according to this definition, the school superintendent qualifies as a leader, "outstanding" by virtue of assigned positional responsibilities. Korman provides the simple statement, "a leader tries to influence other people in a given direction."⁷² Fiedler defined leader as "the individual in the group given the task of directing and coordinating task-relevant group activities or who . . . carries primary responsibility for performing these functions in the group."⁷³

The theme of dynamic interaction between leaders and followers is explicit in Stogdill's definition of leadership as "the process (act) of influencing the activities of an organized group in its efforts toward goal setting and goal achievement."⁷⁴ Closely related is the statement by Pigors of leadership, "a process of mutual

⁷¹Andrew W. Halpin, Theory and Research in Administration (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1966), p. 81.

⁷²Abraham K. Korman, Industrial and Organizational Psychology (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), p. 115.

⁷³Fred E. Fiedler, A Theory of Leadership Effectiveness (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967), p. 8.

⁷⁴Ralph Stogdill, "Leadership, Membership and Organization," Psychological Bulletin, 47 (January, 1950), p. 4.

stimulation which by successful interplay of relevant differences, controls human energy in the pursuit of a common cause."⁷⁵

There is general agreement among leadership theorists that there are no leaders without followers. Thus, leadership is a relationship based on one person's power and influence over other individuals of a group as all interact in the attempt to achieve a common goal.⁷⁶

Attaining Leadership

Trait theory. Early theorists attempted to identify and recognize genetic qualities of leadership, the focus of the "great man" concept. Plato, 400 B.C., described the disposition required of ruling leaders:

The first thing . . . is to get a clear view of their inborn disposition . . . constant passion for any knowledge that will reveal to them something of that reality which endures forever and is not always passing into and out of existence.⁷⁷

Formalized as theory in the 1920's, Cowley stated:

The approach to the study of leadership has usually been and perhaps must always be the study of traits. Leadership is obviously not a simple trait but rather a

⁷⁵Paul J. W. Pigors, Leadership and Domination (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1935), p. 16.

⁷⁶Fiedler, Leadership, p. 2.

⁷⁷Francis MacDonald Cornford (trans.), The Republic of Plato (New York: Oxford University Press, 1945), pp. 190-191.

complex of many traits fashioned together as a unity.⁷⁸

Cowley's research concluded that leaders did possess different traits from their followers, but the specific identification of the traits was unknown, and that leaders do not possess any single trait in common.⁷⁹

Research in identification of personality traits was conducted into the 1940's with few positive results. In 1948 Stogdill⁸⁰ reviewed existing studies of leadership traits, studies of stable personality attributes relatively independent of situational factors. Some personal attributes with their respective traits which correlated positively with leadership status included:

1. Capacity--intelligence, alertness, verbal facility, originality, judgment;
2. Achievement--scholarship, knowledge, athletic accomplishment;
3. Responsibility--dependability, initiative, persistence, aggressiveness, self-confidence, desire to excel;
4. Participation--activity, sociability, cooperation, adaptability, humor;

⁷⁸W. H. Cowley, "Three Distinctions in the Study of Leaders," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 23 (July, 1928), pp. 144.

⁷⁹Cowley, p. 151.

⁸⁰Ralph Stogdill, "Personal Factors Associated with Leadership: A Survey of the Literature," Journal of Psychology, 25 (1948), pp. 35-71.

5. Status--socioeconomic position, popularity;

6. Nature of the situation--mental level, status, skills, needs and interests of followers, objectives to be achieved.⁸¹

Traits which showed highest positive correlation to leadership were: dependability, .87; popularity, .80; originality, .70; judgment, .69; cooperation, .69; and athletic ability, .62. Among the lowest correlations were: adaptability, .13 and initiative, .16.

The most outstanding single conclusion of the Stogdill review and of the subsequent study by Mann⁸² was that leaders do not emerge by virtue of the possession of some combination of traits; the pattern of personal characteristics must bear some relevant relationship to the characteristics, activities, and goals of the followers.

Although psychologists disputed the hypotheses of leadership traits, Korman maintains the criticism may have been misdirected:

. . . it seems as though there are some personal characteristics associated with leader effectiveness and that these operate in a relatively general fashion . . . the person . . . is not just a reflection of the social situation but rather brings his own unique set of characteristics to each situation and these characteristics affect his behavior.⁸³

Situational theory. Research into situational leadership saw

⁸¹Stogdill, "Personal Factors Associated with Leadership," p. 63.

⁸²R. D. Mann, "A Review of the Relationships Between Personality and Performance in Small Groups," Psychological Bulletin, 56 (1959), pp. 241-270.

⁸³Korman, p. 129.

significant advance in 1948 with the development of a paradigm for communication-net studies.⁸⁴ By working with small groups which were permitted to communicate in prescribed ways while attempting to solve various problems, it was determined that persons at the center of the communication net also tended to be decision-makers. Leadership status resulted from situational factors as the person through whom all communications were channeled soon became leader of the group.

Other situational factors in determining leadership were reported in the 1950-60 period. Studies by Kipnis, Steinzor, Howells, and Becker⁸⁵ demonstrated that seating arrangement is a determinant of leadership. In research conducted by Bavelas, Hastorf, Gross, and Kite,⁸⁶ the factors of visibility and participation of individuals determined leadership status in group discussions. Regardless of the substance of verbal contributions, the

⁸⁴H. J. Leavitt, "Some Effects of Certain Communication Patterns on Group Performance," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 46 (1951), pp. 38-50.

⁸⁵D. M. Kipnis, "Interaction Between Members of Bomber Crews as a Determinant of Sociometric Choice," Human Relations, 10 (1957), pp. 263-270; B. Steinzor, "The Spatial Factor in Face-to-Face Discussion Groups," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 45 (1950), pp. 552-555; L. T. Howells and S. W. Becker, "Seating Arrangement and Leadership Emergence," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 64 (1962), pp. 148-150.

⁸⁶A. Bavelas, A. H. Hastorf, A. E. Gross, and W. R. Kite, "Experiments on the Alteration of Group Structure," Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 1 (1965), pp. 55-70.

more outspoken group members were regarded as leaders. Sociometric status was found to be a situational factor in determining leadership status in research conducted by Jennings;⁸⁷ here, status resulted with the individual's capable expression of the group's attitude.

Based on trait-situational leadership research findings which attempted to answer who becomes a leader, Fiedler proposes two generalizations:

1. People may attain leadership status if they are somewhat superior to group members in particular abilities, skills, or control over resources that can assist group members in meeting needs and achieving goals;

2. People tend to become leaders if their particular assignment or personality attributes make them more visible than others in the group.⁸⁸

Attempted leadership. Related research considers who attempts leadership; to become a leader, one must first attempt leadership. While reasons for desiring the attainment of leadership might range from better pay to the desire for increased power, studies by Hemphill⁸⁹ determined a variety of motivating factors. In studies

⁸⁷Fiedler, Leadership, p. 5.

⁸⁸Fiedler, Leadership, p. 5.

⁸⁹John K. Hemphill, "Why People Attempt to Lead," Leadership and Interpersonal Behavior, ed. Luigi Petrullo and Bernard M. Bass (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961), pp. 201-215.

conducted at Ohio State University during the 1950's, Hemphill found that positive motivation to attempt leadership includes:

1. A promise of large personal rewards if/when the task is accomplished;
2. The probability that the task will be accomplished;
3. Reasonable expectancy that the group will accept the individual and has accepted this person's previous attempts at group leadership;
4. Knowledge that the individual contemplating leadership has the required abilities or competencies to accomplish the task.

Similarly, the experiments found individuals may not attempt leadership because of fear of rejection by the group or because of beliefs of less personal competence and less chance to succeed than others in the group.

Mills⁹⁰ suggests that any study to determine who attempts leadership should recognize the factor of genealogy. Studies conducted in the 1950's found most leaders throughout the world had attained their positions by being born in the "right" families--those who could afford the advanced education necessary to rise to certain leadership positions. Typically, their fathers held at least upper-middle class levels of occupation and income; they were white and American-born; they held the keys to local decision. In these families:

⁹⁰C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 129.

. . . adolescent boys and girls are exposed to the table conversations of decision-makers, and thus have bred into them the informal skills and pretensions of decision-makers; . . . they imbibe what is called judgment. Without conscious effort, they absorb the aspiration to be--if not the conviction that they are-- "The Ones Who Decide."⁹¹

Leadership Behavior

Behavioral theory. The lack of conclusive evidence to substantiate trait-situational leadership research led to a behavioral approach. Growing primarily from studies conducted by the Personnel Research Board at Ohio State University, this research focused on the behavior of the leader in terms of psychologically meaningful dimensions.

Guided by this concept, Hemphill and Coons developed the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire (LBDQ), an instrument of short descriptive statements relative to leader behavior. Factor analysis of 300 crew members describing the behavior of B-29 commanders identified two significant dimensions of leader behavior:

Initiating Structure (IS): Reflects the extent to which an individual is likely to define and structure his role and those of his subordinates toward goal attainment. A high score on this dimension characterizes individuals who play a more active role in directing group activities through planning, communicating information, scheduling, trying out new ideas, etc.

Consideration (C): Reflects the extent to which the individual is likely to have job relationships characterized by mutual trust, respect for subordinates'

⁹¹Mills, p. 69.

ideas, and consideration of their feelings. A high score is indicative of a climate of good rapport and two-way communication. A low score indicates that the supervisor is likely to be more impersonal in his relations with group members.⁹²

In subsequent studies, Halpin correlated effectiveness ratings by superiors and subordinates with Consideration and Initiating Structure scores in the LBDQ. It was established by Halpin that aircraft commanders, as effective leaders, were those who scored high on both dimensions. He stated, ". . . the successful leader is the man who in Barnard's terms is not only effective in getting the job done, but efficient in satisfying the motives of individual group members."⁹³

To relate these findings to behaviors exhibited by school administrators, Hemphill studied 22 departmental administrators in a small liberal arts college. In summarizing his findings he stated:

Those departments with the best reputations for good administration have chairmen who are described as above average on both Consideration and Initiating Structure. It appears that optimal amounts of both of these types of behavior are required in order that a department earn a reputation for good administration.⁹⁴

⁹²Andrew W. Halpin and B. James Winer, "A Factorial Study of the Leader Behavior Descriptions," Leader Behavior: Its Description and Measurement, eds. R. M. Stogdill and A. E. Coons (Columbus: Bureau of Business Research, The Ohio State University, 1957), p. 41.

⁹³Andrew W. Halpin, The Leader Behavior of School Superintendents (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, 1956), p. 17.

⁹⁴John K. Hemphill, "Leader Behavior Associated with the Administration Reputation of College Departments," The Journal of Educational Psychology, 46 (November, 1955), p. 399.

In a comparative study of 64 Ohio school superintendents and 132 aircraft commanders, Halpin found significant difference in each groups' perception of ideal and actual leader behavior. Superintendents placed significantly greater emphasis on Consideration while commanders placed more emphasis on Initiating Structure.⁹⁵

In another study Halpin focused on 50 school superintendents in Ohio. By administering both the LBDQ-Real and LBDQ-Ideal to board members, superintendents, and to superintendents' staffs, he reported the following findings:

1. School boards tended to agree in their description of the superintendents on both Initiating Structure and Consideration;
2. The staff also agreed in their description of the superintendents' leadership behavior;
3. The two groups did not agree with each other in their descriptions;
4. From the above three findings it was concluded that the superintendents tended to adopt a different role in dealing with the superiors and subordinates;
5. Superintendents did not see themselves as either their boards or staff saw them. The staff saw superintendents as showing less Consideration than either the board or superintendent himself;
6. A significant, but low, correlation was found between the staff members' and the superintendents' descriptions of Initiating Structure;
7. The boards saw the superintendents Initiating

⁹⁵Andrew W. Halpin, "Leader Behavior and Leadership Ideology of Educational Administrators and Aircraft Commanders," Harvard Educational Review, 25 (Winter, 1955), pp. 28-31.

Structure to a greater extent than either the staff or the superintendents;

8. A significant difference existed between boards and staffs in their estimation of how the superintendent should behave on Consideration but not on Initiation of Structure.⁹⁶

Results showed that all groups agreed on what constituted ideal behavior of superintendents but usually disagreed on descriptions of superintendents' actual behavior. Generally, board members rated the leaders' behavior higher than did the superintendents' staffs.

Leadership style. Following identification of two central concerns of any leadership situation, Initiating Structure (task behavior) and Consideration (relationships behavior), the Ohio State staff found these factors were separate and distinct dimensions and that behavior of a leader could be described as any combination of both dimensions. Thus, behavior was plotted on two separate axes.

Four quadrants were developed illustrating various combinations of the two behaviors:

1. Low Structure and Low Consideration;
2. High Structure and Low Consideration;
3. Low Structure and High Consideration;
4. High Structure and High Consideration.

Then attempts were made to determine a best type or style of leader

⁹⁶Halpin, The Leader Behavior of School Superintendents, p. 23.

behavior. However, research conducted at several universities indicated that any of the four basic styles of leadership behavior could be effective in some situations but not in others; effectiveness was situational.⁹⁷

Based on these findings, numerous leadership styles were identified and defined. For example, Blake and Mouton⁹⁸ used these concepts in their Managerial Grid as did Hersey and Blanchard⁹⁹ in the development of the Tri-Dimensional Leader Effectiveness Model.

William J. Reddin¹⁰⁰ was the first to add an effectiveness dimension to task and relationships dimensions of early studies, emphasizing that a variety of styles may be effective or ineffective, depending on situational factors: superior, coworkers, subordinates, organization, and technology. Defining style as "the way in which a manager behaves as measured by the amount of Task Orientation (TO) and Relationships Orientation (RO) he uses,"¹⁰¹ Reddin identified four basic styles:

1. Separated--Low TO, Low RO;

⁹⁷William J. Reddin, Managerial Effectiveness (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970), pp. 20-23.

⁹⁸Robert R. Blake and Jane S. Mouton, The Managerial Grid (Houston: Gulf Publishing, 1964).

⁹⁹Paul Hersey and Kenneth H. Blanchard, Management of Organizational Behavior: Utilizing Human Resources, 2d ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972).

¹⁰⁰Reddin, pp. 61-65.

¹⁰¹Reddin, p. 33.

2. Dedicated--High T0, Low R0;
3. Related--Low T0, High R0;
4. Integrated--High T0, Low R0.

Descriptors of each basic manager style follow:

1. The Separated Manager--Cautious, careful, conservative, orderly; prefers paper work, procedures, facts; looks for established principles; accurate, precise, correct, perfectionist; steady, deliberate, patient; calm, modest, discreet;
2. The Dedicated Manager--Determined, aggressive, confident; busy, driving, initiating; sets individual tasks, standards; self-reliant, independent, ambitious; uses rewards, punishments, controls; task comes first;
3. The Related Manager--People come first; emphasizes personal development; informal, quiet, unnoticed; long conversations; sympathetic, approving, accepting, friendly; creates secure atmosphere;
4. The Integrated Manager--Derives authority from goals, policies; integrates individual with organization; wants participation, low power differences; prefers shared objectives, responsibilities; interested in motivational techniques.¹⁰²

Each basic style has a less effective and more effective equivalent management style:

<u>Basic Style</u>	<u>Less Effective Managerial Style</u>	<u>More Effective Managerial Style</u>
Separated	Deserter	Bureaucrat
Dedicated	Autocrat	Benevolent Autocrat
Related	Missionary	Developer
Integrated	Compromiser	Executive. ¹⁰³

¹⁰²Reddin, pp. 205-229.

¹⁰³Reddin, p. 13.

Following Reddin's theory, leadership or management effectiveness lies in:

1. Identifying and understanding one's dominant and supporting styles;
2. Accurately assessing the five situational elements, displaying behavior most appropriate for situational demands;
3. Utilizing the ability to vary one's basic style behavior to an effective equivalent in situational change.

Interactional theories. In recent years theorists have attempted to develop a model for interaction of leader behaviors and environmental factors. For example, Stogdill and Coons see group history, composition, and structure as determinants of leader behavior.¹⁰⁴ Hersey and Blanchard¹⁰⁵ stress both the life cycle of the group and maturity (level of self-determination) of members as important determinants of leader behavior. Bass's¹⁰⁶ theory relates leadership performance to rewards and satisfactions provided by the leader-member interaction and the task. Fiedler's Contingency Model¹⁰⁷ associates the leader's attitudes to situational factors of

¹⁰⁴Ralph M. Stogdill and A. E. Coons, Leader Behavior: Its Description and Measurement (Columbus: Ohio State University, Bureau of Business Research, 1957), p. 3.

¹⁰⁵Hersey and Blanchard, pp. 140-143.

¹⁰⁶Bernard M. Bass, "Some Observations About a General Theory of Leadership and Interpersonal Behavior," Leadership and Interpersonal Behavior, ed. Luigi Petrullo and Bernard M. Bass (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961), pp. 3-9.

¹⁰⁷Fiedler, Leadership, pp. 10-22.

environmental favorability, task structure, and formally defined power.

An interesting variation of the interactional theory is the development by Guba and Bidwell¹⁰⁸ and Moser.¹⁰⁹ Using both the leader behavior dimensions, Initiating Structure and Consideration, and the Getzels-Guba Systems Theory,¹¹⁰ three styles of leadership were derived:

1. Nomothetic--The leader emphasizes the demands of the organization--expectations for role occupants, rules, regulations;
2. Idiographic--The leader emphasizes the needs of the individual--for being treated in a considerate manner, autonomy, doing "one's own thing";
3. Transactional--The leader attempts to negotiate a course between the two extremes, at times engaging in nomothetic behavior and at other times engaging in idiographic behavior.¹¹¹

Here, the leader manifesting the transactional style is guided, for greater effectiveness, by interacting factors within the work environment.

¹⁰⁸Egon G. Guba and Charles E. Bidwell, Administrative Relationships (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago, 1957).

¹⁰⁹Robert P. Moser, "The Leadership Patterns of School Superintendents and School Principals," Administrator's Notebook, 6 (September, 1957), pp. 1-4.

¹¹⁰Jacob W. Getzels and Egon G. Guba, "Social Behavior and the Administrative Process," School Review, 65 (Winter, 1957), pp. 423-441.

¹¹¹Thomas J. Sergiovanni and Fred D. Carver, The New School Executive: A Theory of Administration (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1973), p. 204.

A model by Tannenbaum and Schmidt¹¹² suggests different leader behaviors ranging along a continuum from highly boss-centered leadership, represented by authoritarian behavior, to highly subordinate-centered leadership, represented by democratic behavior. Using McGregor's¹¹³ work, authoritarian behavior is based on the assumptions that the leader's power is derived from the position and that man is innately lazy and unreliable (Theory X), whereas Democratic behavior assumes the leader's power is granted by the group and that man is basically self-directed and creative in work if properly motivated (Theory Y).

Tannenbaum and Schmidt suggested a wide variety of possible leader behaviors between the two extremes. Selection of a pattern of leadership behavior, practical and desirable, depends upon three forces: forces operating within the manager's personality (value system, confidence in subordinates, leadership inclinations, tolerance for ambiguity); forces in subordinates (need for independence, readiness to assume responsibility, identification with goals of the organization); forces in the situation (nature of the problem, pressure of time, type of organization, group effectiveness). The model implies that the successful leader will understand the self, the

¹¹²Robert Tannenbaum and Warren H. Schmidt, "How to Choose a Leadership Pattern," Harvard Business Review, 36 (March-April, 1958), pp. 95-101.

¹¹³D. V. McGregor, "The Human Side of Enterprise," Motivation and Control in Organizations, eds. Gene W. Dalton and Paul R. Lawrence (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., and The Dorsey Press, 1971), pp. 304-311.

individuals and work group, the organization, and broader social environment. Additionally, the leader will behave appropriately guided by perceptions of these forces.¹¹⁴

Leadership and Social Power

Studies of social power address the means of and extent to which a leader influences the behavior of followers. In a general sense, power may be defined as "a person's ability to influence another person or persons to carry out orders."¹¹⁵

The exercise of power by an individual in an organization is affected by several factors: the authority or superiority derived from a status that carries with it the right to command and make decisions; organizational structure which imposes constraints upon the exertion of power; the number of persons over which one exercises power; personality configuration of the leader.¹¹⁶

Power classifications. Three power classifications are frequently cited in contemporary organizational literature. Brief summarizations follow.

An early formalized treatment of power is found in the work

¹¹⁴Tannenbaum and Schmidt, pp. 98-101.

¹¹⁵Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe: Free Press, 1951), p. 121.

¹¹⁶Dean J. Champion, The Sociology of Organizations (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1975), pp. 147-148.

of Max Weber.¹¹⁷ He defined three types of legitimate authority which set the pace for later classification schemes. They are:

1. Charismatic Authority--this type of authority is evident where a leader possesses and exhibits great personal attraction or charisma. Typically, commands to subordinates are obeyed without question; followers conform in a manner of devotion. This property, charisma, is related in trait theory; it is difficult to measure as a valid indicator of power and authority and so has been relegated to an obscure position as a predictive factor in relationships.

2. Traditional Authority--this type is prominent in kinship systems where rules of descent are patrilineal; kingdoms are structured around traditional authority. This type is generally accepted by custom and frequently occurs in small organizations where the son succeeds the father.

3. Legal-Rational Authority--this authority of persons in an organization is legitimized by systems of rules and norms. Governments are run by officials elected or appointed whose position entitles them to exercise authority over subordinates. Similarly, in school systems superintendents possess authority over assistants, principals, and teachers. The legal-rational form of authority is characteristic of organizations in contemporary society where hierarchical chain of command bears rules and norms which govern roles and relationships.

¹¹⁷Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 324-382.

French and Raven¹¹⁸ identified five kinds of power which have provided the basis for much subsequent research. While the power types are arranged independently for conceptual distinction, persons in authority positions may apply several types simultaneously in relationships with subordinates.

1. Reward Power--this is based upon the ability of superiors to administer to subordinates positive valences (promotion, salary increase, improved office space) or to decrease or remove negative valences.

2. Coercive Power--this results in the administration of negative valences (harassment, threat of demotion or low/failing grades) or removal of positive valences to force compliance of subordinates.

3. Expert Power--this power is derived from the amount of knowledge or expertise possessed by a superior; expert power is evidenced. When this leader gives orders to subordinates, they seldom hesitate to fulfill demands.

4. Referent Power--this power is based upon the degree of friendship and respect felt by subordinates toward the superior. Such situations are most likely to occur when the subordinate is not directly under the control of the commanding supervisor/leader.

5. Legitimate Power--this power type is based on the belief

¹¹⁸J.R.P. French, Jr. and B. Raven, "The Bases of Social Power," Group Dynamics: Research and Theory, 3d ed., eds. Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), pp. 262-268.

of subordinates that the superior has the right to give orders.

Etzioni¹¹⁹ developed a compliance typology of three power forms which closely resemble three power types identified by French and Raven--coercive, reward, and legitimate power. He suggested the following classifications:

1. Coercive Power--a power derived by force.
2. Remunerative Power--power dependent upon reward.
3. Normative Power--power identified as normative or legitimate.

He postulated that subordinates would become involved in work activity consistent with the type of power exercised over them. He suggested power-involvement associations would be congruent with types of power he had distinguished: coercive-alienative--the prison inmate who becomes alienated by coercive prison organization; remunerative-calculative--the salesman who works hard to make more money and gain promotion; normative-moral--political party member so committed to the party he feels morally obligated to donate his time and money to this cause.

Women in Leadership

Traditionally, men have been vested with leadership roles in our society. As a result, qualities associated with top-level administrators and executives are associated with masculinity and are

¹¹⁹Amitai Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations (New York: Free Press, 1961), pp. 3-21.

believed by many to be inconsistent with femininity.¹²⁰ A review of selected relevant literature lends some credence to this view but identifies the stereotyped attitudes and cultural traditions of society members as nurturing these beliefs rather than any traits, behaviors, or needs which are exclusively male or female. The profile of women executives who attain positions of leadership traditionally held by men reveals a family background which facilitates role innovation of female members, identifiable patterns of socialization, the presence of a strong adult role model, and some traits and characteristics which conform to the stereotypic masculine-leader image.

Family background characteristics. A recent in-depth study of women who entered male-dominated professions was reported by Hennig and Jardim;¹²¹ they traced the lives of 25 American women who held positions as presidents or vice-presidents of large business and financial corporations. The family profile depicted by the work reveals that the subjects were firstborn children, encouraged by fathers to resist cultural constraints that restricted girls to accepted behaviors. The adolescent children resisted an Oedipal pattern that would have patterned them after their mothers. Mothers were portrayed as the classic nurturing personality who tried to

¹²⁰Virginia Ellen Schein, "The Relationship Between Sex Role Stereotypes and Requisite Management Characteristics," Journal of Applied Psychology, 57 (1973), pp. 95-100.

¹²¹Margaret Hennig and Anne Jardim, The Managerial Woman (Garden City: Anchor Press-Doubleday, 1977).

instill this characteristic in their daughters. During this period, subjects resisted efforts which would have shaped them for roles as proper young ladies, thus rejecting maternal influence and seeking paternal support, preferring the more active roles of men as a means of enjoying and retaining freedom experiences.

Fathers emphasized their daughters' skills and abilities rather than femininity and found time to share in active play or talking business. Fathers were depicted as taking pride in their competitively successful favorite daughters who reflected well on the father without becoming a rival. The strong father-daughter relationship was found to be constant throughout adolescence as the fathers confirmed their daughters' self-worth and became the prime source of daughters' rewards.

All subjects of the Hennig study were provided a college education, half majored in business or economics, and all excelled academically. Within three years after graduation, the subjects were in jobs as secretaries or administrative assistants, positions generally made available as favors to their fathers.¹²²

Socialization patterns. Socialization literature on the development of high achieving female children presents five dimensions

¹²²Gail Sheehy, "The Mentor Connection: The Secret Link in the Successful Woman's Life," New York, 9 (April 5, 1976), pp. 33-38.

which emerge in childrearing practices associated with adolescent and adult behavior:¹²³

1. Warmth-Hostility--evidence indicates that moderate levels of warmth, nurturance, and reinforcement lead to achievement behavior in girls; high levels of nurturance or punishment are associated with low achievement and adult passivity while low nurturance results in some achievement in experimental studies. Independence and achievement behavior were associated with a pattern of parental authoritarianism that included moderate warmth and some punishment;

2. Restrictiveness-Permissiveness--permissiveness, the imposition of few rules which inhibit behaviors such as aggressiveness, is generally associated with achievement orientation and independence of female children; research shows that permissiveness does not preclude firm parental control, moderate warmth, and the use of reason associated with some punishment;

3. Independence Training--parental permissiveness and encouragement to venture out facilitate independence training as do general directions and parental expectation that the child will perform on her own; parents of girls with high achievement motivation provide non-specific help while those whose daughters display high levels of anxiety give more specific help;

4. Encouragement of Achievement--achievement behavior is

¹²³Aletha Huston Stein and Margaret M. Bailey, "The Socialization of Achievement Orientation in Females," Psychological Bulletin, 80 (November, 1973), pp. 345-366.

positively related to parental encouragement including positive reinforcement, attempts at acceleration, and criticism for lack of effort; research indicates that parental encouragement by both parents is important;¹²⁴

5. Modeling--identification by female children with the mother appears antagonistic to achievement unless the mother is an atypical model, not conforming to the traditional female role definitions; generally, fathers of professional women were reported to be the more psychologically controlling parent.¹²⁵

Numerous studies point to the desirability of the older child's identification with a strong sex-role model as instrumental in achievement behavior. Kagan and Lemkin¹²⁶ found that both girls and boys perceived the father as stronger and smarter than the mother and as "boss." Helson¹²⁷ and Tangri¹²⁸ substantiate these findings,

¹²⁴Theodora Anne Patrick, "Personality and Family Background Characteristics of Women Who Enter Male-Dominated Professions," Dissertation Abstracts International, 34-A (1974), p. 2396.

¹²⁵Patrick, p. 2396; R. Q. Bell, "Reinterpretation of the Direction of Effects in Studies of Socialization," Psychological Review, 75 (1968), pp. 81-95.

¹²⁶J. Kagan and J. Lemkin, "The Child's Differential Perception of Paternal Attributes," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 61 (1960), pp. 440-447.

¹²⁷R. Helson, "Women Mathematicians and the Creative Personality," Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 36 (1971), pp. 210-220.

¹²⁸Sandra Schwartz Tangri, "Determinants of Occupational Role Innovation Among College Women," Journal of Social Sciences, 28 (1972), pp. 177-199.

adding that closeness to the mother can facilitate career success if the mother values or embodies achievement. Tidball¹²⁹ found that women achievers usually attended women's colleges; additionally, achievement was strongly related to the colleges' proportion of women faculty.

Just as the child profits from a strong role model, the young adult's development profits from the presence of the mentor--the figure who is 10 to 20 years older, wiser, in the same field, and professionally paternalistic.¹³⁰ Subjects of the Hennig¹³¹ study were found to have formed one deep and vital attachment in their 20's to the boss who took over where the relationship with fathers stopped. Yet, psychological studies have found that women who remain reliant cannot advance to the top position. Sheehy's¹³² case histories reveal that executive women are likely to remain dependent upon their mentors until age 35 or 40 when they have reached middle management level. Beyond this time, they are likely to become a burden to their mentors and may be discarded by them.

Traits and characteristics. A profile of traits and characteristics of women who have become top-level administrators and

¹²⁹M. E. Tidball, "Perspective on Academic Women and Affirmative Action," Educational Record, 54 (1973), pp. 130-135.

¹³⁰Sheehy, p. 33.

¹³¹Hennig and Jardim, pp. 129-133.

¹³²Sheehy, p. 35.

executives points to qualities positively associated with masculinity and generally more valued than feminine ones.¹³³ For example, Horner¹³⁴ identified qualities of competition, independence, competence, intellectual achievement, and leadership. In contrast are qualities identified by women administrators as most important in college administration: the ability to work with others, a strong personal value system, fairness and objectivity, sensitivity toward people, humor and humility.¹³⁵

Hennig¹³⁶ found that one trait common to all presidents and vice presidents in her sample--all had postponed marriage or any thought of social life until approximately age 35. At this point, all began to reduce their work load to a much less strenuous pace; they bought new wardrobes and became more attentive to appearance, and they began to have a social life. Almost half married professional men they met during this period. Those who did not marry became more outgoing, more responsive to people, and became mentors themselves.

Institutional loyalty is also characteristic of women

¹³³Nancy A. Nieboer, "There Is A Certain Kind of Woman," Journal of the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors, 38 (Spring, 1975), pp. 99-103.

¹³⁴M. S. Horner, "Toward An Understanding of Achievement-Related Conflicts in Women," Journal of Social Issues, 28 (1972), pp. 157-175.

¹³⁵Y. T. Pfiffer, "Composite Profile of a Top Level California Community College Woman Administrator," Journal of the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors, 39 (Fall, 1976), pp. 16-17.

¹³⁶Hennig and Jardim, pp. 137-154.

executives.¹³⁷ Research showed that women might make one institutional change within the first two years of employment, but beyond this many remained with the same firm over the next 30 years. Basis for this loyalty is the knowledge that a woman must prove herself more skilled than any man competing for the job above hers and that moving to another firm would be disadvantageous to rapid advancement.

In a study of personal characteristics differentiating employed executive and nonexecutive women, Morrison and Sebald¹³⁸ found the executive group significantly higher in three characteristics: the self-esteem component of need for achievement, the need for power, and mental ability. Their findings support the view that the female executive is similar in motivation and ability to the male executive. Similarly, Recely¹³⁹ found females with high self-esteem evidenced great cross-sex identification, conforming to the male sex role.

High achievement motivation was found characteristic of women who choose a career in a field that departs from traditional feminine pursuits. Stein and Bailey¹⁴⁰ cite research which found middle-aged

¹³⁷Nieboer, p. 101; Sheehy, p. 35.

¹³⁸Robert F. Morrison and Maria-Luise Sebald, "Personal Characteristics Differentiating Female Executive from Female Non-Executive Personnel," Journal of Applied Psychology, 59 (1974), pp. 656-659.

¹³⁹Natalie L. Clark Recely, "Level of Self-Esteem and Conformity to Sex-Role Stereotypes," Dissertation Abstracts International, 34-A (1973), pp. 1757-1758.

¹⁴⁰Stein and Bailey, pp. 352-353.

professional women with higher achievement motivation than housewives of comparable ability and social status. These women with high achievement motivation see achievement as being more feminine than those with low motivation and while holding relatively high masculine role identification, they do not necessarily hold low identification with the feminine role.

In a related study, Patrick¹⁴¹ found that professional women are motivated to achieve for the sake of pride in competence. Helson's¹⁴² study suggests that career women are motivated by the need for achievement, the need to understand, to persevere, or to avoid members of the opposite sex.

The relationship between anxiety and the need for achievement in women is presented by McCord;¹⁴³ girls with high anxiety levels were found to have a high level of need achievement. Other characteristics which relate positively with a high need achievement include identification with a field or profession, identification with a professional image, high desire for personal achievement, and a high degree of individuality.

¹⁴¹Patrick, p. 2396.

¹⁴²Ravenna Helson, "The Changing Image of the Career Woman," Journal of Social Issues, 28 (November 2, 1972), pp. 33-46.

¹⁴³Bird McCord, "Identifying and Developing Women for Management Positions," Training and Development Journal (November, 1971), pp. 2-5.

Tangri¹⁴⁴ found that women in non-stereotypical occupational choices are more autonomous, individualistic, and motivated by internally imposed demands to perform to capacity. They appear to rely on their own opinions, consider themselves unconventional, have untraditional attitudes on sex-roles falling short of the feminist ideology, and express concern about their identity.

In a study of women who attained high levels of political leadership, Costantini and Craik¹⁴⁵ found characteristics of self-confidence, assertiveness, and persistence; dominance, strong-will, and perseverance; intelligence; and motivation by virtue of hard work. There was no significant difference between men and women leaders who held local elective office.

Studies of leadership styles and behaviors exhibited by women present findings which suggest that primary determinants of one's ability to influence group performance consist of the leader herself, the group being led, and the situation.¹⁴⁶ Thus, no clear profile is possible. Frequently, the woman may fear success in the competitive situation will lead to negative consequences, unpopularity, and loss of femininity; the consequence of this fear would be the adoption of

¹⁴⁴Tangri, pp. 177-199.

¹⁴⁵Edmond Costantini and Kenneth H. Craik, "Women as Politicians: The Social Background, Personality, and Political Careers of Female Party Leaders," Journal of Social Issues, 28 (1972), pp. 211-236.

¹⁴⁶J. Brad Chapman and Fred Luthans, "The Female Leadership Dilemma," Public Personnel Management, 4 (May-June, 1975), pp. 173-179.

accommodative strategies in leadership situations.

Attitudes of persons in the group being led are likely to be the negative or indifferent attitudes of males to females, making effectiveness difficult if not impossible. In some situations women may possess a style which is more task oriented than male counterparts; it is speculated that this may be the result of her survival in the position.

Overcompensation on either leadership dimension is likely to make the woman uneasy about her own behaviors or make her the object of male suspect as to her ulterior motives. The result of either action is reduced effectiveness toward attaining organizational goals.

In summary, studies of women executives who had attained positions of leadership traditionally held by men revealed family socialization patterns which facilitated role innovation of female members. The presence of a strong adult role model was noted as instrumental in achievement behavior. Typically, these executives displayed a high need for achievement, motivation, self-esteem, and self-confidence.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

I. INTRODUCTION

No formal studies had been prepared which gave attention to the development of Knox County Schools under the leadership of Superintendent Mildred E. Doyle. Similarly, no academic effort had been reported which identified and assessed factors contributing to her attaining, maintaining, and losing the superintendency. Therefore, to facilitate the study an ex post facto design was selected. Two design techniques were utilized: historical method and comparative study. Historical method guided the researcher in data collection and presentation. Comparative study advanced the researcher's understanding of Miss Doyle's attaining, maintaining, and losing the superintendency and facilitated the ensuing discussion.

II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

To guide the study, a review of selected literature was conducted. Materials from three areas were reviewed: social systems, politics in education, and leadership. Justification for including the materials relating to social systems is the provision of an understanding of the community's social foundations, of groups or systems whose interactions are guided by patterns of structure,

shared symbols, and expectations, all of which have bearing on leaders and institutions.¹

Necessity of including selected materials which deal with politics in education bears two justifications. First, when politics is narrowly defined as a choice between political parties, this interpretation is relevant to the situation in Knox County as the superintendent and board of education members hold elective positions. However, broader interpretation of politics provides a framework for understanding the causes, processes, and difficulties in governance which must be recognized by laymen and school officials who desire to influence future developments in local school districts.²

Justification for including the materials on leadership lies in recognition of the importance of superintendents as public leaders³ and in understanding leadership as essentially power over other people, power to accomplish feats which would be unattainable were the leader acting alone.⁴

¹Thomas J. Sergiovanni and Fred D. Carver, The New School Executive: A Theory of Administration (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1973), pp. 176-177.

²Laurence Iannaccone and Frank W. Lutz, Politics, Power, and Policy, p. xi.

³Morphet, Johns, and Reller, Educational Organization and Administration: Concepts, Practices, and Issues, p. 306.

⁴Fred Fiedler, Leadership (Morristown, N.J.: General Learning Press, 1971), p. 1.

III. SELECTION OF RESPONDENTS

To expedite examination of the 30-year period, events of historical significance in the development of Knox County Schools were identified through interviews with selected respondents. In naming these persons, attention was given to three criteria: representation from Knox County Court, Knox County Board of Education, Knox County Schools central office administrators or instructional supervisors, and school principals; longevity of service (a minimum of ten years) in the institution served; general knowledge of the development of Knox County Schools. Three representatives of each group were selected, a total of twelve persons.

To determine the eligibility of all possible respondents, the researcher relied upon rosters of membership of each respondent group. Possible respondents representing County Court were initially delimited to members of the committees on education and finance which had worked most directly with the school program. Because only two persons met the established criteria, the researcher included the current Knox County Judge who met all criteria. Identification of respondents from the Board of Education revealed five possible members. Because of the large number of persons representing the central office staff and principals who met all established criteria, possible respondents were delimited to those persons still employed in Knox County Schools. Eight persons in the central office met these criteria; fifteen school principals were identified. The

researcher personally contacted possible respondents, explained the purpose of the project, and asked for their participation in conducting the historical research. The search for respondents concluded when three persons of each group agreed to participate. A listing of all persons identified as meeting established criteria is included in Appendix A.

IV. SELECTION OF HISTORICAL EVENTS

As the historical presentation developed, it included antecedents of Miss Doyle's attainment of the superintendency, events of historical significance in the development of Knox County Schools, 1946-1976; and selected events of the Superintendent's last term of office.

The identification process was begun by interviewing individuals and asking each to recall events in the development of schools during the period 1946-1976 considered of historical significance. Criteria for determining significance included long-range impact on school development, public knowledge of the event, and the Superintendent's participation in the event (see Appendix B for guide questions). Responses gathered through this process were tabulated by representative group (e.g., Court Members' Responses, Principals' Responses). Events identified by two of three group representatives were selected for study (see Appendix C).

V. SOURCES OF DATA

Sources of information for historical research were of primary origin and included files of The Knoxville Journal and The Knoxville News-Sentinel, records of Knox County Government, documents of County history, records of Knox County Schools and the Board of Education, records of the State of Tennessee, records and files maintained by the Subject, Miss Doyle, and information derived through personal interviews with persons directly associated with the schools and/or the Subject.

VI. IDENTIFICATION OF FACTORS

The study was designed to answer three specific questions:

1. What factors contributed to Miss Doyle's attaining the superintendency of Knox County Schools in 1946?
2. What factors contributed to Miss Doyle's continued re-election during the 30-year tenure?
3. What factors contributed to Miss Doyle's loss of the superintendency in the 1976 Knox County General Election?

Identification of factors was accomplished by two means. First, in the preliminary interviews, individuals responded to guide questions which sought data related to the community's social organization, to the political situation in Knox County, and to the Subject's leadership. Respondent's identifications were taped and compiled. Then, the researcher contributed additional factors which emerged during the study.

VII. ASSESSMENT OF FACTORS

The assessment was provided for two purposes: to explain how identified factors contributed to Miss Doyle's attaining, maintaining, and losing the superintendency; to contribute to an understanding of the interrelationships between the Superintendent, the political situation in Knox County, and the community social organization.

Comparison of relevant concepts derived from the literature with factors identified by respondents and researcher fulfilled the purposes of the assessment.

The assessment was presented in three parts which responded to questions posed above. Each part provided analyses, first, of the community social organization, then of the political situation, and of the leader, Superintendent Doyle. Synthetical statements were directed toward an understanding of interrelationships.

CHAPTER IV

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF MILDRED E. DOYLE'S ATTAINING, MAINTAINING, AND LOSING THE SUPERINTENDENCY OF KNOX COUNTY SCHOOLS

I. INTRODUCTION

The newspaper headline that greeted Knox Countians on the morning of August 6, 1976, marked the end of an era for Knox County Schools: "Doyle Defeated."¹ Mildred E. Doyle, Superintendent of Schools, had lost her bid for reelection in the County General Election by 1130 votes.² For the first time in 30 years, the schools would not be headed by the woman who had guided the County's educational development from 1946 to 1976. While the defeat proved difficult for many to believe, it is but one facet of the Superintendent's career that is hard to comprehend.

Chapter IV addresses one purpose of the study: to present an historical account of selected antecedents and of selected significant events in the development of schools during the years of Mildred Doyle's tenure as Superintendent of Knox County Schools. The historical presentation was developed in three parts. In the first,

¹The Knoxville Journal, August 6, 1976, p. 1.

²Official Return Sheet, Knox County General Election, August 5, 1976, Knox County Election Commission.

attention was directed to Knox County and its government, to the history of the Doyle family in Knox County, and to the childhood, adolescence, and early career of the Subject. In the second part, events of historical significance in the development of Knox County Schools, 1946-1976, were presented. These events were identified by selected members of Knox County Court, Knox County Board of Education, school principals and central office staff of Knox County Schools as set forth in Chapter I. Finally, selected events were recounted in the Superintendent's last term of office which were identified by respondents as contributing to the turnover of the superintendency.

II. ATTAINING THE SUPERINTENDENCY

Knox County

When Mildred Doyle was born in 1904,³ Knox County was a rural community of quiet farming hamlets, some older than the state itself. Although farming economy was controlled by the long parallel ridges which marked its Appalachian position in the Great Valley of East Tennessee, Knoxville, the county seat, was experiencing unprecedented economic growth as a post-Civil War boomtown, based on exploitation of resources--marble, coal, timber, and wholesale merchandising made possible by rail and river trade.⁴

³Record of Births, Doyle Family Bible.

⁴Mary U. Rothrock, ed., The French Broad-Holston Country: A History of Knox County, Tennessee (Knoxville: East Tennessee

As in other Tennessee counties, the principal governing body of Knox County was the Quarterly County Court, an administrative and legislative body composed of a judge and justices elected from the civil districts by popular vote. This judicial organization in Tennessee adhered to the centuries-old system of English county administration, reflecting the heritage of early settlers and lawmakers. In this lower court, the base of the judicial pyramid was the justice of the peace or squire who met no qualifications other than age, citizenship, and resident requirements. In addition to meeting quarterly sessions, individual justices held court in their own districts, hearing and deciding minor cases without the benefit of legal training. For this service, the justice was paid a fee, a system which was widely criticized as inviting abuse and temptation. Among its other responsibilities, these early courts had the power to review and adopt the school budget, levy school taxes, review and examine accounts of the board of education, and issue bonds authorized by the voters. Thus, the county court held significant measure of domination over school operations.⁵

An impression of the County's progress in this era may be

Historical Society, 1946), pp. 12-13, 279-293; Lucile Deaderick, ed., Heart of the Valley: A History of Knoxville, Tennessee (Knoxville: East Tennessee Historical Society, 1976), pp. 59-60.

⁵Lee Seifert Greene and Robert Sterling Avery, Government in Tennessee (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1962), pp. 153-155, 234-235.

gathered from actions of local lawmakers. They sought to secure the establishment of rural free delivery in county districts, to cease work on all pikes beyond the five-mile limit and repair and rebuild all pikes within a five-mile radius of Knoxville, to require four days' work of citizens each year on roads, to consider establishment of high schools and a \$1000 salary for the Superintendent of Public Instruction.⁶ The populace, long renowned for conservatism, penuriousness, and Republican political preference worshipped as had the earliest settlers, as Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists, taking pride in hard work and strict upbringing of children in Christian homes.⁷

The Doyle Family

Among early settlers in South Knox County was John Doyle who came to East Tennessee in 1800, having received a Revolutionary War land grant of approximately 460 acres. The land was inherited by children and grandchildren, coming to Jacob Thomas Doyle and his son Charter, grandfather and father, respectively, of Mildred E. Doyle.⁸

The Doyle men built a reputation for political strength in South Knox County as justices of the peace on Knox County Court. John Doyle was active in county government in the early 1800's.⁹ Jacob was

⁶Rothrock, pp. 167-170.

⁷Rothrock, pp. 279-293.

⁸Documents of Doyle Family History.

⁹Documents of Doyle Family History.

one of 38 justices for 11 years, 1876-1887.¹⁰ Charter followed his father Jacob in 1924, holding the post until his death in 1949.¹¹ Charter Doyle gained the stature of "a foremost public leader, a man who knew politics and government, a man who got what he wanted,"¹² a "giant of a man" with tremendous charisma and humor, a man of such prominence and permanence that little campaign effort was required to win an election.¹³

Charter Doyle and his wife Illia Burnette Doyle were distantly related, both being descendants of John Doyle and members of the Doyle-King-Burnette "clan" in South Knox County. Mrs. Doyle's family was Democrat and Presbyterian; Mr. Doyle's was staunchly Republican and Methodist. Of their 11 living children, Mildred Eloise was the middle child.¹⁴

In recounting her childhood, Miss Doyle recalled:

We lived on a farm but my father worked for Vestal Lumber Company over 50 years . . . he was a buyer of all the timber they sawed and sold. As a young woman I traveled many miles with him throughout East Tennessee where he would go to buy tracts of timber.

¹⁰Minutes of Knox County Quarterly Court, Book D, p. 1; Book I, p. 430.

¹¹The Knoxville Journal, February 6, 1955, p. 12A.

¹²Statement by Willard Yarbrough, member of Knox County Court, personal interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, May 13, 1977.

¹³Statement by Dr. Mack P. Davis, former Supervisor of Instruction, Knox County Schools, personal interview, Johnson City, Tennessee, April 26, 1977.

¹⁴Documents of Doyle Family History.

He maintained a garden, grew corn to fatten the hogs; we had chickens, cows, a horse I nearly rode to death. We lived the life of a regular farm family for the most part . . . it was a good life; I enjoyed it. I milked cows, churned butter, helped take care of the garden, picked blackberries. . . .¹⁵

As the in-between child, the Subject assumed much responsibility on the farm:

During the First World War my three oldest brothers were away from home in the Army, two were overseas. My two youngest brothers were too small to be any help on the farm and there were not many people available to do work. My father had a big field of alfalfa that needed to be cut, so I just said, "If you'll hitch that team of mules to the mowing machine, I'll mow it and we'll rake it and get it in the barn." And we did! And we had some hay on another farm . . . we got it in the barn, too.¹⁶

Though much closer to her father, she felt strong support from both parents, particularly in sports. In Knox County during the early 20th Century there was great community interest and team rivalry in girls' basketball and softball; Mildred excelled at both.

We played ball all over the state and out of state, too. . . . My parents went to all the tournaments I played in. My older sister played basketball in high school; that was back in the bloomer days. In fact, we had the first basketball team in Knoxville to wear shorts; and they were red and pretty. That always brought out the crowds, you know! When we played softball we wore regular uniforms coming down below the knee . . . we wore spikes . . . oh, Lord, I'll tell you we were a rough and tough crowd. We

¹⁵Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, former Superintendent of Schools, Knox County Schools, personal interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, November 3, 1976.

¹⁶Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, November 3, 1976.

never lost a local championship or state tournament.¹⁷

Although Charter and Illia Doyle had received little formal education, they encouraged all their children to pursue a college education. Daughters Lois, Elizabeth, Ruth, and Mildred all went to college; the sons did not. Except for the Subject, all the children had musical instruction in violin, piano, or guitar. She explained that a career in education was the least of her plans for the future.

I had been enrolled in Maryville College one year, primarily for purpose of playing basketball, I suppose; that's about all I did. My older sister Lois who was a teacher married during the summer. In those days in Knox County when a woman married she couldn't continue teaching. So, my father was on County Court and he asked me if I'd like the job. You were given a teachers' certificate when you graduated from high school. I took the job and I've been at it ever since. One thing I always said I would never be was an old maid school teacher. . . . I laughed and made more fun of them! What I wanted to do was be a professional ball player, but there were no such opportunities for girls back then; it was unheard of. But I started teaching school in 1924, third and fourth grade at Anderson School close to Prospect Presbyterian Church where I'd gone all my life and near where my grandparents lived.¹⁸

Following that year at Anderson School, she was reassigned to Vestal School in South Knox County, teaching fourth grade.¹⁹ In 1929 she was named principal of Vestal School.²⁰ She explained, "The

¹⁷Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, November 3, 1976.

¹⁸Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, November 3, 1976.

¹⁹Contract of County Board of Education, Knox County, State of Tennessee, August 4, 1924.

²⁰Contract of County Board of Education, Knox County, State of Tennessee, August 12, 1929.

principal's position was vacant and I decided I could do a better job than some others. I felt I could be a pretty good principal. I applied for the job and got it."²¹

Community citizens reacted by preparing a petition asking for removal of Miss Doyle from the administrative position, charging her with being "a product of the flapper age--a young, dashing, reckless, thoughtless, don't-care age, thinking of everything else but the serious side of life." The P.T.A. petition charged that she had used indecent language in her home three years prior, dressed indecently, and kept late hours. The petition asked for her replacement by a "man teacher of high Christian ideals."²² One P.T.A. member conceded the fight was largely against Squire Charter Doyle who "put her in there over our protest."²³

School Chairman E. E. Boring recommended dismissal of the suit on account of its vagueness. He told the P.T.A. delegation they would have to file written charges before the Board could consider their claims, then Miss Doyle and her friends would have the opportunity to refute the charges at a hearing.²⁴

Principal Doyle presided at the opening of school on

²¹Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, April 25, 1977.

²²The Knoxville Journal, October 1, 1929, p. 16.

²³The Knoxville News-Sentinel, September 5, 1929, p. 2.

²⁴The Knoxville News-Sentinel, September 5, 1929, p. 2.

September 9 enrolling a record 257 students.²⁵ In October all complaints against her were dismissed.²⁶

Under Miss Doyle's principalship, the school gained a reputation for excellence. One associate recalled:

Vestal School was small, but it had much more than other larger schools. Vestal was "the place to visit" when there were visitors in the System; the supervisor always took them there. Whether in an art show or marble tournament, the school to beat was always Vestal.²⁷

A former student of Vestal School recalls a curriculum of sophistication compared to other situations in Knox County Schools:

She [Miss Doyle] had great interest . . . of the total curriculum. In an eight-teacher school, she always had a music person on her staff, normally the eighth grade teacher. She would relieve that teacher for work with the other grades in music. The seventh grade teacher was an art person. We had departmentalized; this was in the late 1930-40's. I remember going to other classrooms to take spelling and math and art and music. Some of my fondest memories are when she'd decide we had had enough school for that day and it was time for a ballgame for the whole school. We would just go out on the playground for a softball game. And we always had marble tournaments.²⁸

Miss Doyle recalled, "We had excellent teachers and a great hot lunch program that those children really needed. It was a good

²⁵The Knoxville Journal, September 12, 1929, p. 3.

²⁶The Knoxville Journal, October 1, 1929, p. 16.

²⁷Statement by Mildred M. Patterson, former Administrative Assistant and Director of Personnel, Knox County Schools, personal interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, April 25, 1977.

²⁸Statement by J. B. Lyle, Supervisor of Music, Knox County Schools, personal interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, December 16, 1976.

school, and I really didn't want to leave it."²⁹

Following her first teaching appointment, each summer was spent at The University of Tennessee* working toward completion of the Bachelor's and Master's degrees. A fellow teacher recalled classes the two shared in the early 1940's when she was doing graduate work in Educational Administration and Supervision:

In class she was good, always active in discussions; her views were not controversial, nor was she in a rut, wanting to hold on to the old ways . . . she would say if we could find somebody to be a benevolent dictator . . . in education and in government . . . somebody who really had the welfare of people and children at heart and would work to that end . . . a "papa figure" . . . but then we decided the benevolence would fade away and he would become a typical dictator.³⁰

With the completion of the Master's degree in 1944, Miss Doyle had accrued necessary course work to meet State requirements for certification as Supervisor and County Superintendent.³¹ A promotion to Supervisor of Instruction of Knox County Schools in 1945 followed, presenting the opportunity to visit in all the System's schools and to gain firsthand knowledge of the needs of teachers and students.

²⁹Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, April 25, 1977.

³⁰Statement by Iva Anderson Rouser, long-time associate of Mildred E. Doyle, personal interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, May 10, 1977.

³¹Permanent Professional Supervisor's Certificate, Number 89269, State of Tennessee, Department of Education, June 21, 1945; County Superintendent's Professional Certificate, Number 860, State of Tennessee, Department of Education, April 26, 1946.

*In this study the terms The University of Tennessee, U.T., or the University refer to The University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Within that year she decided to seek the superintendency:³²

My courses in administration pointed to that; that's when I became more and more interested in getting involved in finance and building. I had a background in politics.
 . . .³³

After I got into supervision . . . and visited all the schools, and here they were in "tater holes" . . . in such an awful mess. . . . Lord, kids were in some of the damndest places having classes. It was an opportune time when the only way to go was up.³⁴

Incumbent Superintendent L. H. Brickey, of a prominent Fountain City family, was terminally ill and not seeking reelection. His predecessor, W. W. Morris, Principal of Halls High School, had announced his decision to enter the Republican Primary and held strong support from citizens of North Knox County. Another possible candidate for the office was Mack Davis, also Supervisor with the System. Davis, recently returned from duty with the U.S. Navy in World War II, was favored by Superintendent Brickey. Davis recalled:

Mr. Brickey and I discussed it a number of times . . . a number of influential people had mentioned to me the possibility of running for Superintendent. Mildred was very much interested in becoming Superintendent . . . I told her I really had no interest in it. I got out of the way . . . I was not politically inclined . . . I knew the deep complications that were present in such a job. It meant more to Mildred.³⁵

³²Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, April 25, 1977.

³³Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, November 3, 1976.

³⁴Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, April 25, 1977.

³⁵Statement by Dr. Mack P. Davis, April 26, 1977.

Denying any groundswell of encouragement that she pursue the office, Miss Doyle said:

As I recall, my father encouraged me to run; and of course Gussie Huffman, who was Supervisor, also encouraged me. And I talked to Iva Rouser in summer school. . . . There was no discussion of issues, no speaking engagements. I had cards and campaign posters.³⁶

It took a long time for Mr. Brickey to accept me as a person who wanted to be Superintendent . . . I was a woman.³⁷

The first woman in Knox County history to compete for the post, she declared if nominated and elected she would work with the State Department of Education and local authorities for an improved program of instruction, adequate teaching equipment and buildings, and an improved plan for attracting good teachers to the Knox County system.³⁸

Results of the March 14, 1946, primary balloting were so close Miss Doyle demanded ballots be locked in the Court House to await an official count. She employed a deputy sheriff to guard the ballot boxes.³⁹ Days later, she was declared victor over opponent W. W. Morris and became the Republican candidate for Superintendent of Knox County Schools by a 287 vote margin.⁴⁰

³⁶Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, November 3, 1976.

³⁷Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, April 25, 1977.

³⁸The Knoxville Journal, February 7, 1946, p. 1.

³⁹Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, November 3, 1976.

⁴⁰The Knoxville Journal, March 18, 1946, p. 1.

Traditionally, candidates for public office in Knox County had been elected by popular vote by residents living outside the corporate limits of Knoxville. Thus, candidate Doyle expected her name to be placed on the ballot in the August, 1946, General Election and anticipated strong support from family members, professional associates, and the Republican Party. A court ruling invalidated that election procedure.⁴¹

In June, 1946, the Supreme Court of Tennessee heard an appeal, *Southern v. Beeler*,⁴² in which the complainant sued for himself and others who lived and owned taxable property within the corporate limits of the City of Knoxville, challenging the constitutionality of certain statutes which affected the government and school system of Knox County. The complainant also questioned the validity of certain appropriations made by the County Court and sought an injunction restraining the payment thereof. It was ruled that members of the Knox County Board of Education and the County Superintendent of Schools were county officials who must be elected either by the County Court or by all qualified voters of Knox County. Election by voters outside the corporate limits of Knoxville was invalid. Additionally, state and county elementary school funds were to be distributed between the county and incorporated city on the basis of average attendance; the Court was authorized to levy additional taxes for high

⁴¹Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, November 3, 1976.

⁴²*Southern v. Beeler*, 195 S.W. 2d 857.

school purposes which were excluded from division with the City.

In accordance with the Supreme Court ruling, election of the Superintendent and Board members was conducted by the County Court. On July 1, 1946, Mildred E. Doyle was nominated by Doyle King as Superintendent of Knox County Schools. She was elected by acclamation⁴³ and sworn into office July 11, 1946, by County Judge J. W. Elmore, Jr.⁴⁴

She recalled:

I remember my father going with me to various Court members asking for their support. . . . I was pretty dangd naive, just to jump up and run and get the nomination and then get elected. It was all pretty overwhelming.⁴⁵

III. MAINTAINING THE SUPERINTENDENCY

Knox County 1946-1976

At the end of World War II Knox County claimed a county seat described as "an extremely puritanical town [which] serves no alcohol stronger than 3.6 beer . . . [where] Sunday movies are forbidden, and there is no Sunday baseball."⁴⁶ School patrons in one remote community were characterized as "backwards in a metropolitan area . . . who regarded the use of a film projector in the school as

⁴³The Knoxville Journal, July 2, 1946, p. 3.

⁴⁴The Knoxville Journal, July 12, 1946, p. 8.

⁴⁵Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, November 3, 1976.

⁴⁶Deaderick, p. 65.

the work of the devil, not of the Lord."⁴⁷ However, the county was entering a period of growth with dramatic implications for the administration of Superintendent Doyle who had promised to work for an improved program of instruction, to provide adequate teaching equipment and buildings, and to attract good teachers.

Institutional influences. Three gigantic institutions were becoming pre-eminent influences on the County's development. The University of Tennessee which had seen slow growth during its first 150 years entered a period of rapid growth from 1946 to 1976 with enrollment expanding from 2,706 to 29,999⁴⁸ and faculty and support staff numbering over 4,000 in the mid-1970's.⁴⁹ The Tennessee Valley Authority, a product of the Depression era, brought flood control, navigation, and electric power to Valley consumers and offered improved agricultural practices, soil conservation, and reforestation projects. Most dramatic had been the highly secret development of the Atomic Energy Commission at nearby Oak Ridge in 1942. By 1945, had a population of 75,000 engaged in the manufacture of enriched uranium for the atomic bomb; and following World War II many of these

⁴⁷Statement by C. Howard Bozeman, Knox County Judge, personal interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, December 30, 1976.

⁴⁸University of Tennessee Record 1947, Knoxville, Tennessee, p. 333; University of Tennessee Record 1976-77, Knoxville, Tennessee, p. 228.

⁴⁹Deaderick, pp. 62-63.

outsiders, scientists and technicians, found family homes in West Knox County.⁵⁰

The influence of each institution spawned small related industry in the area, resulting in an economic boost cited as responsible for upholding local economy. Additionally, the influx of new families boosted the area's cultural and intellectual life, particularly in groups such as the Knoxville Symphony and the East Tennessee Historical Society.⁵¹ For the schools, the impact was felt keenly in the post-war population boom which saw rapid growth of suburban areas; but the greatest impact of these institutions, according to one respondent, was through the people--the quality of students, the quality of teachers available, and the expectations of these patrons for quality education.⁵²

Population growth. Between 1940 and 1960 population within the City of Knoxville saw a period of growth and then of decline to its post-war level while population outside the corporate limits more than doubled (see Appendix D).

Several factors contributed to the population shift from city to rural county. Within the City, few desirable areas remained for

⁵⁰Deaderick, pp. 62-63.

⁵¹Deaderick, pp. 61-62.

⁵²Statement by Dr. Hilton A. Smith, former member of Knox County Board of Education, personal interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, December 31, 1976.

residential development; construction of an interstate highway system across the City resulted in removal of families as rights-of-way cut through residential neighborhoods; growth of the University and industry demanded rezoning of residential property for commercial and industrial purposes; and a social trend developed among American families in preference of large lots for home sites. The greatest population gains occurred to the north, in the Fountain City area, and west of the central city. However, after 1960, 65 percent of the population increase occurred in the western sector with heavier concentrations of families building and purchasing homes in that part of the County.⁵³ School enrollment in Farragut High School during the mid-1970's reflected both the population increase and transient nature of area residents, according to James W. Bellamy, principal:

In 1972, 80 families from Hagerstown, Maryland, moved into this school zone; after three years, only one of those families was left. In 1974, 124 families associated with the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) moved here; a few remain. University and Oak Ridge families come and go with promotions . . . in one school year we enroll approximately 400 new students and lose about the same number. . . .⁵⁴

Population forecasts for the 1975-80 period projected West Knox County would continue as the major growth area holding

⁵³Deaderick, pp. 124-126.

⁵⁴Statements by James W. Bellamy, Principal of Farragut High School, personal interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, February 4, 1977.

approximately 63 percent of total county growth, based on population trends, amount of developable land remaining, accessibility improvements, proximity to Oak Ridge, and developers' plans.⁵⁵

Election of squires, board members, and school superintendent.

Representation on Knox County Court changed in 1947 when the County was divided into nine civil districts, eight districts electing two members to Quarterly Court and one electing three; the resultant 19 members numbered half of former court membership.⁵⁶

Because of disruptive political alliances in the election of members of the Board of Education and Superintendent by Quarterly Court, it was determined that the manner of these elections be changed.⁵⁷ By private act of the Legislature,⁵⁸ all county voters were empowered to elect seven persons as members of the County Board of Education in the regular August election of 1950. Members, who would serve staggered four-year terms, would qualify with the County Election Commission as candidates from the school district of their residence and would run against other candidates from the same district before all voters of the county. The act was amended in

⁵⁵Knoxville Knox County Metropolitan Planning Commission, Population Estimates, Forecasts and Allocations for Knoxville and Knox County 1970-1990, June, 1976, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁶Private Acts of the State of Tennessee General Assembly, 1947, Chapter 753, p. 3031.

⁵⁷Statement by C. Howard Bozeman, December 30, 1976.

⁵⁸Private Acts, 1949, Chapter 823, p. 2590.

1970 whereby one member of Knox County Board of Education would be elected only by qualified voters of the school district in which the candidate resided.⁵⁹ The Superintendent of Schools would be elected by all qualified voters of the County to serve a four-year term with the August, 1952, election.⁶⁰

Knox County Schools 1946-1963

Superintendent Doyle assumed responsibility for leadership of Knox County Schools August 1, 1946, working in offices located in the basement of the century-old Court House. Of 562 teachers and administrative staff members, 63 percent were not college graduates. Among the 80 schools, 25 operated with one and two teachers, 50 lacked indoor toilets, 33 were heated with stoves, and one used kerosene lamps for lighting. The central office staff included two instructional supervisors, one secretary, and one bookkeeper. Three employees with one truck comprised the maintenance department. Pupil enrollment numbered 17,204, and children were transported on 42 school buses over approximately 500 square miles.⁶¹

In the first report to Quarterly Court, the superintendent directed the squires' attention to outstanding school problems-- inadequate supervisory and teaching staff, inferior school hot lunch

⁵⁹Private Acts, 1970, Chapter 338, p. 1254.

⁶⁰Private Acts, 1951, Chapter 46, p. 128.

⁶¹"A Thirty Year Comparative Study," Knox County Schools, Knoxville, Tennessee, August 23, 1976.

programs, increasing pupil enrollment, and seriously crowded schools.⁶² Alleviating these problems by "working until we got things we wanted for Knox County's boys and girls"⁶³ became the consuming drive of the Superintendent and her staff.

Historical Events in the Development of Knox County Schools

To facilitate the study, events of historical significance were identified by 12 respondents who represented Knox County Court, Knox County Board of Education, Central Office administrators, and principals of Knox County Schools. Events for historical research were delimited to those identified by two persons in each respondent group. The complete listing of identified events is presented in Appendix B. Events which occurred during the period 1946-1963 that were selected for historical research are identified in Table 1.

Single pay scale for teachers. "To get good teachers for Knox County, we had to build a personnel program free from political interference and correct some obvious inequities."⁶⁴ In the early years local Republican leaders attempted to influence the personnel program, in one case demanding that two newly employed Democrats be fired:

⁶²"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," Knoxville, Tennessee, October 7, 1946.

⁶³Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, June 13, 1977.

⁶⁴Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, November 3, 1976.

TABLE 1

SELECTED HISTORICAL EVENTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
KNOX COUNTY SCHOOLS 1946-1963

Event
Single Pay Scale for Teachers
Staff Upgrading: Principal-Teacher Inservice
Enriched School Program
Building Program
School Lunch Program
"Red Book" Study
Testing and Guidance Service
Revised School Program
Desegregation of Schools
Annexation

At first I didn't have enough gumption to know how to avoid that situation. . . . I refused to fire the two, and eventually people realized I meant business. . . . Whenever I'd get a request to hire someone, I would reply that every applicant received identical consideration and the best person for the job would be employed.⁶⁵

A personnel plan was instigated during the 1946-47 school year aimed at correcting one inequity intolerable to the Superintendent-- dual salary schedules. Traditionally, elementary and secondary teachers in Knox County were paid according to placement on salary schedules which awarded the high school teacher an average of ten dollars per month more than the elementary teacher.⁶⁶ "The basis for

⁶⁵Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, November 3, 1976.

⁶⁶"Salary Schedule for Knox County Elementary School Teachers Adopted for School Session 1943-44, 1944-45, 1945-46, 1946-47";

this plan was the idea that high school teachers worked harder and should be paid more."⁶⁷ In the spring of 1947, one uniform salary scale was approved by the Knox County Board of Education that recognized degrees attained and years of experience.⁶⁸ "Only one high school teacher questioned our action, and we had the support of the Board and the Court," Miss Doyle said.⁶⁹

Staff upgrading: principal-teacher inservice. A second concern centered around the high percentage of teachers and administrators who lacked college degrees.

Many elementary teachers had the old permanent certificates, no degree, and tenure protection; so we established a board policy that nine quarter hours must be earned during a period of contract [a school year] and began many inservice programs to help teachers and principals reach this goal.⁷⁰

One personnel development program that was utilized over 20 years was the Knox County Principal's Conference, an annual inservice weekend retreat designed around concerns expressed by these principals through yearly surveys. Conference themes and events were planned by a principals' committee and the administrative staff, addressing

"Salary Schedule for Knox County High School Teachers Adopted for School Session 1943-44, 1944-45, 1945-46, 1946-47," Knoxville, Tennessee.

⁶⁷Statement by Mildred M. Patterson, June 12, 1977.

⁶⁸Minutes of Knox County Board of Education, Knoxville, Tennessee, April 7, 1947.

⁶⁹Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, June 14, 1977.

⁷⁰Statement by Mildred M. Patterson, December 3, 1976.

topics such as "The Principal--Pacemaker for Progress," "Dissent--Decision--Direction," "Educational Leader or Administrative Robot?"⁷¹ The conference is remembered as "one of the best things she ever did for principals,"⁷² and as the opportunity for establishing strong relationships among administrators, "We felt like one big family, principals, supervisors, and the superintendent. Miss Doyle was Mama. . . ." ⁷³

Development for teachers was conducted through college extension courses to complete degrees, workshops, and annual inservice programs for curriculum improvement.⁷⁴ Mrs. Patterson recalled, ". . . one summer 150 teachers worked together at The University of Tennessee, giving their time and paying their own tuition, long before inservice pay. . . ." ⁷⁵

At the end of the 1949-50 school year, the Superintendent reported to Quarterly Court that the school year ended with a four-day teacher inservice in which teachers participated in planning

⁷¹"Principal's Conference Themes 1955-1976," Knox County Schools, Knoxville, Tennessee.

⁷²Statement by Max Clendenen, Principal of Gibbs High School, personal interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, February 3, 1977.

⁷³Statement by James W. Bellamy, February 4, 1977.

⁷⁴"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," April 4, 1949.

⁷⁵Statement by Mildred M. Patterson, June 12, 1977.

instruction for the coming school year.⁷⁶ For Knox County, teacher participation at the system-wide level offered a new approach to planning.

By 1960, the Board of Education had established a policy that no teacher could establish tenure until a degree had been earned, and that principals or teachers with established tenure in the Knox County System could have a leave of absence for furthering their education.⁷⁷

Enriched school program. The first report to County Court noted the impossibility of properly assisting 546 teachers with only two instructional supervisors.⁷⁸ Miss Doyle recalled:

For a while I operated with the staff Mr. Brickey had selected. Then as we grew, I added support people. The first to join us was Mildred Patterson as Supervisor of Music.⁷⁹

Mrs. Patterson was appointed in 1947-48 to oversee vocal and instrumental music in the elementary and secondary schools.⁸⁰ Under her guidance, teachers and students alike shared in an enriched school curriculum program which utilized participants' interests and

⁷⁶"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," July 3, 1950.

⁷⁷Policies for Operation of Knox County Schools 1960, Knox County, Tennessee, Number 17, p. 3.

⁷⁸"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," October 7, 1946.

⁷⁹Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, November 3, 1976.

⁸⁰Statement by Mildred M. Patterson, June 18, 1977.

talents and capitalized on local resources. In January, 1949, the Superintendent reported a three-day teachers' inservice music training program conducted by a school music specialist and Mrs. Patterson, the attendance of 4000 elementary and high school children at a special children's concert by the Knoxville Symphony Orchestra, and a Christmas Concert by 160 seventh and eighth grade pupils from 10 elementary schools.⁸¹

In the next year, the music program was expanded to include band instruction in 10 elementary and four high schools, visual piano instruction in 18 elementary schools, choral directors in all high schools, and public school music teachers in 35 elementary schools.⁸² The music program grew in popularity in school communities as pupils performed for P.T.A. groups, participated in music festivals, and took honors in competition. The organization of the Knox County Teachers' Chorus, under Mrs. Patterson's direction, gained recognition statewide, performing for educational meetings and providing a showcase for several teachers who became professional musicians.⁸³ A former school patron and member of the Board remarked on the success of the early music program:

A person who hasn't been here over a number of years really can't conceive of the dearth of some of these things in

⁸¹"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," January 3, 1949.

⁸²"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," October 3, 1949.

⁸³Statement by J. B. Lyle, December 16, 1976.

this area. For instance when I came here in 1941, the University did not have a mentionable music department. If you wanted . . . music you had to go to Maryville College. There was no Knoxville Symphony Orchestra. There was almost a void of these things here. . . . The area in Knox County around the city was heavily populated by people from TVA and the University--professional people who really wanted these things for their children. . . . The people were ripe for it.⁸⁴

By 1950, other instructional developments had been added to the enriched curriculum. All 10 high schools had certified instructors for boys' and girls' physical education; commercial courses were offered in eight high schools,⁸⁵ classroom-centered art and reading programs had been initiated,⁸⁶ and special education was available for handicapped children:

In 1948 the Superintendent announced:

For the first time in the history of Knox County Schools a new type program provides for the handicapped children. There has been planned a homebound program for the physically handicapped and a special education program for the cerebral palsy group.⁸⁷

The development of services for handicapped children paralleled the state's recognition of educational needs for the physically handicapped in 1947 and the growth of the special education program

⁸⁴Statement by Dr. Hilton A. Smith, December 31, 1976.

⁸⁵"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," October 9, 1949.

⁸⁶"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," October 4, 1948.

⁸⁷Statement by Beecher E. Clapp, Director of Instruction, Knox County Schools, personal interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, June 23, 1977.

at The University of Tennessee.⁸⁸ In a history of the Department of Special Education at U.T., Knox County Schools and staff members are frequently cited as contributing to campus workshops, conducting hospital teaching, developing special materials, conducting demonstration teaching, and providing laboratory centers during the years when teacher education for exceptional children was struggling for recognition and funding.⁸⁹ Particularly notable were the contributions of Lillian A. Pedigo who was Knox County Supervisor of Primary and Special Education 1950-1957, and Ethel Piper who succeeded her in 1958 as Supervisor of Special Education.⁹⁰

In 1949 a center was provided for 17 cerebral palsied children at Fountain City with an academic teacher, a speech therapist, and an attendant. Special equipment had been provided to meet the needs of this special group. Homebound teachers were instructing 20 pupils unable to attend the regular school program.⁹¹ Two years later, the service was extended to partially seeing pupils and diagnostic testing was begun for speech and hearing handicaps.⁹² By 1962 special classes were conducted for the multiple handicapped and the severely

⁸⁸Florence V. Essery, Our Exceptional Life Together (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee, 1965), pp. 33, 54.

⁸⁹Essery, pp. 50, 54, 63, 85, 86, 95.

⁹⁰Essery, p. 131.

⁹¹"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," April 4, 1949.

⁹²"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," January 8, 1951.

and educably mentally retarded, and Pedigo School had been designated as a special education center.⁹³

Building program. In her first report to Quarterly Court, the Superintendent directed Squires' attention to the seriousness of crowded school conditions:

. . . children are housed in spaces originally planned for kitchens, on stages that have been converted into classrooms, and in divided classrooms with thin partitions that make good teaching an impossibility. Out of 63 elementary schools, 27 are in dire need of extra classrooms. Many cannot have a hot lunch program because their cafeteria is being used as a classroom. . . . One school uses the front hallway as a classroom. . . .⁹⁴

Knox County had conducted no major building program of schools since the 1930's. Prior to the Doyle superintendency, the last construction provided a gymnasium at Farragut High School in 1941.⁹⁵ Following World War II, population in Knox County mushroomed and pupil enrollment saw an annual increase of approximately 1000 students (see Appendix E). The immediate concern of Superintendent Doyle and members of the School Board and the County Court was for the provision of adequate classroom space, cafeterias, and sanitary facilities.

In July 1948, the Superintendent presented a progress report to members of the County Court including a building program of

⁹³Essery, pp. 131-133.

⁹⁴"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," October 7, 1946.

⁹⁵"Knox County School Building Program Bond Expenditures 1947 through July 31, 1973," p. 16.

additions to 24 schools: 101 classrooms, 17 cafeterias, 17 toilet facilities, 14 heating plants, 7 auditoriums and multipurpose rooms, 2 gymnasiums, and 2 libraries.⁹⁶

County Judge Bozeman recalled, ". . . when I came to office in April, 1948, school contracts had been let worth \$4,700,000; and the County had no money to pay for it."⁹⁷ Paying for it became a team effort of the Judge and Superintendent over his 20 years in office, each seeking every avenue of funding available to schools.

Dr. Hilton A. Smith, who served as chairman of the building committee during his 10 years as a member of Knox County Board of Education, 1953-1963,⁹⁸ remarked on the poor financial condition of the County during the 1940's:

Under Howard Bozeman, in that early period, the County came from a very low rating on the bond market to an A or AA rating which means the interest rate became much less. . . . Howard Bozeman is really responsible for putting the building program on a sound financial basis. . . .⁹⁹

County school finance was under a burden. As a result of the Southern lawsuit, money for schools was being divided with the City, approximately 40 percent going to the County and 60 percent to the City:

⁹⁶"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," July 6, 1948.

⁹⁷Statement by C. Howard Bozeman, December 30, 1976.

⁹⁸Rosters of Membership, Knox County Board of Education, Knoxville, Tennessee, 1953-54 through 1962-63.

⁹⁹Statement by Hilton A. Smith, December 31, 1976.

We had a bonded indebtedness when we got through with that \$4,700,000 because of division of funds with the City that was about \$12,000,000 and our assessed valuation was \$160,000,000. There was a limitation of 10 percent . . . of your assessed valuation for a bonded debt. Later, the Legislature allowed us to exceed 10 percent, subject to the approval of the Commissioner of Education. You could not finance a building program in the County of Knox for its children [with the division of funds]. . . .¹⁰⁰

In 1947, a state sales tax was approved by the Legislature, including a sales tax overage for capital outlay:

The way we were able to build schools was to issue rural school bonds and pledge sales tax capital outlay to retire them so we wouldn't run our bonded indebtedness to the 10 percent figure.¹⁰¹

Convincing patrons of the necessity of closing inadequate two-room wooden facilities was an additional problem. Judge Bozeman remarked:

It was miserable . . . unreal . . . we abolished two-room schools and disturbed communities that thought if you didn't have a country store, a church, a school, and a filling station, the world was going to hell. . . . We'd tell them how good it would be to move the school over here, and wars [broke out]--you never saw any wars like the ones she went through!¹⁰²

By 1950 the administrative staff and the Board recognized the need for complete data on county growth with which to formulate the building program. They and court members agreed "to determine needs first, and ask for appropriations to meet needs rather than start with

¹⁰⁰Statement by C. Howard Bozeman, December 30, 1976.

¹⁰¹Statement by C. Howard Bozeman, December 30, 1976.

¹⁰²Statement by C. Howard Bozeman, December 30, 1976.

a given sum of money to use as a basis for determining needs."¹⁰³ The Superintendent and Mrs. Patterson sought the help of the College of Education at U.T. in conducting a survey of enrollment, facilities, curriculum needs, and housing trends. "Dean N. E. Fitzgerald [College of Education] was so excited. He said it was the first time a county school system had requested this kind of help from their staff," Miss Doyle recalled.¹⁰⁴

Dr. Bascomb Story directed the formation of a central steering committee of squires, board members, community leaders, school employees, and community groups to conduct a house-to-house canvass of 16,000 homes in Knox County, requesting necessary information. Survey findings were presented to the County Court July 16, 1951, and approved as the basis for all subsequent planning for improving the school program through 1960.¹⁰⁵ "That was when we got the idea for a 10-year building program and learned that parents wanted vocational programs, business education, music, and the primary program," Mrs. Patterson said.¹⁰⁶

According to the Superintendent, one of the most valuable

¹⁰³"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," April 2, 1951.

¹⁰⁴Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, April 25, 1977.

¹⁰⁵"Long-Range Planning Pays Off in Knox County: A Report on Knox County's Groundwork for Long-Range Planning," Knox County Schools, 1954.

¹⁰⁶Statement by Mildred M. Patterson, June 12, 1977.

outgrowths of the survey occurred during a series of community meetings in which she and the staff presented findings to patrons, as well as answering questions, and discussing problems throughout the County's schools.

For the first time parents realized some communities had problems more pressing than their own . . . a spirit of generosity and caring developed in which people on one side of the county worked with folks miles away to help them get the kind of school they needed. . . . It was one of the best things that happened to us in education.¹⁰⁷

In spite of accelerated construction, pupil enrollment grew at a more rapid rate. The Superintendent reported double shifts for elementary pupils at 11 schools in 1953.¹⁰⁸ The following fall, first and second graders in nine schools still attended double shifts, and 69 classrooms held enrollments of 40 or more pupils.¹⁰⁹

The Subject recalled, "Every year we had to fight with members of Court for a budget increase . . . the newspapers loved it. . . ."¹¹⁰ To strengthen the Schools' position in requesting additional finances, the Superintendent, board members, and administrative staff again went directly to the people to discuss school finance:

¹⁰⁷Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, April 25, 1977.

¹⁰⁸"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," July 20, 1953.

¹⁰⁹"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," October 19, 1953.

¹¹⁰Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, April 25, 1977.

We scheduled meetings at night so the men could come. . . . We explained the need for an increase, the plan for state finance, and division of funds with the city. . . .¹¹¹

In April 1954, the Superintendent informed County Court members that a series of 10 community meetings had been planned for the purpose of improving public relations.

Five have been held; 1500 people responded and participated in a discussion. . . . Every group has expressed approval of the budget for the coming year and has gone on record as favoring the increase as called for.¹¹²

Judge Bozeman complimented her ability to muster local support.

Mildred would get hundreds of people to attend our sessions when she thought things might go badly. . . . We'd be furious, but there was no way we could refuse a request with so many constituents sitting in the room with us. . . .¹¹³

Even with this support the fall of 1954 found 21 schools assigning temporary class space in cloak rooms, principals' offices, and two shower rooms.¹¹⁴ However, by 1961 as the 10-year building was nearing completion, facilities in major population centers ringing the central city were vastly improved. In grades 1-8, 392 classes had enrollments with fewer than 30, 346 held 30 to 35

¹¹¹Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, June 14, 1977.

¹¹²"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," April 19, 1954.

¹¹³Statement by C. Howard Bozeman, December 30, 1977.

¹¹⁴"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," October 18, 1954.

pupils, 64 classrooms contained 35 to 39 students, and four held over 40.¹¹⁵

By 1962, 16 schools were newly constructed, and classroom additions to renovated and remodeled buildings numbered approximately 600.¹¹⁶

School lunch program. Superintendent Doyle firmly believed a well-balanced diet was one key to students' school success, and one early priority was the development of hot lunch programs in all county schools. Traditionally, only community patrons had supported a lunch program in local schools, raising funds for equipment and food, and employing a cook--if space were available--for a cafeteria in the school. During the first year of her administration, 36 of the 80 Knox County schools participated in a food service program in cooperation with the State Department of Education and the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA). Reports to Quarterly Court carefully tabulated the number of lunches served, monies reimbursed to the system, and commodities received from the USDA. "Many members of court were farmers, and they were interested in the number of pounds of meats and vegetables we received," she recalled.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," October 16, 1961.

¹¹⁶Knox County School Building Program Bond Expenditures 1947 through July 31, 1973, pp. 2-46.

¹¹⁷Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, June 14, 1977.

The accounting of potatoes, onions, cabbage, and orange juice concentrate continued through the early 1950's; and in 1951, the Superintendent reported only "four white schools and three colored schools do not have hot lunch programs."¹¹⁸ With continued building and the closing of older schools, cafeteria facilities were provided throughout the County by 1957.¹¹⁹ To emphasize the importance of the lunch program, board policy stipulated:

The school lunch program shall be considered a part of the health education program. It shall be the responsibility of the principal to plan the program with teachers and cafeteria managers to include: cultivating eating habits which will contribute to good nutrition, provide attractive lunchrooms in a situation conducive to a relaxed and well disciplined atmosphere, scheduling for the best use of facilities and the well being of the child.¹²⁰

"Red Book" study. Because an early priority was the improvement of instruction within the County schools, the Knox County Planning Committee was organized in 1949 to carry out an inservice curriculum workshop for teachers the following winter. In the course of this interaction, teachers became conscious of the need to work together as a professional group for a continuously improving program and of the need to obtain information about what the people

¹¹⁸"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," July 16, 1951.

¹¹⁹Statement by Vivian Eubank, former School Lunch Supervisor, Knox County Schools, personal interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, June 27, 1977.

¹²⁰Policies, 1960, number 25, p. 16.

of Knox County wanted for their children. Utilizing findings of the county-wide survey conducted in 1951, 125 teachers participated in summer workshops at The University of Tennessee under the leadership of Dr. Earl Ramer and compiled a 320-page bulletin of suggestions for a tentative program of work.¹²¹ The following school year, teacher inservice was organized around the bulletin, popularly called the "Red Book." Mrs. Patterson, an active participant, recalled: "We insisted the "Red Book" was only the basis for a teacher's own work. . . . Soon they began to look for materials [and] write additional materials."¹²² The Superintendent reported that ". . . for the first time we have a written program of work, grades 1-12. The interesting feature of this guide is that teachers themselves prepared it. . . ." ¹²³

While the "Red Book" was in use a number of years, teachers immediately began reworking and enlarging grade level and subject area plans; very soon expanded guides were printed for the instruction of physical education, English, music, and social studies.¹²⁴ These were followed by interdisciplinary activity guides which coordinated instruction of music with social studies and language

¹²¹Knox County Department of Public Instruction Tentative Program of Work, Grades 1-12, 1951-1952.

¹²²Statement by Mildred M. Patterson, June 12, 1976.

¹²³"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," October 15, 1951.

¹²⁴Statement by Mildred M. Patterson, June 12, 1977.

arts in the elementary program.¹²⁵

Testing and guidance program. A system-wide, organized program of student testing began in Knox County Schools in the mid-1950's under the direction of Oriana Howley, Director of Guidance and Psychological Services.¹²⁶ As one facet of developing guidance services, standardized tests were used for five purposes: to help teachers, parents, and pupils identify pupil strengths and weaknesses to help in educational and vocational decision-making; to assist teachers in classroom planning; to provide a data base for curriculum planners; to provide an additional means for determining the effectiveness of the educational program system-wide and in individual schools; to promote growth of teachers in proficient use of educational tools.¹²⁷

For a number of years every pupil enrolled in Knox County Schools was tested. Early tests administered included the Metropolitan Readiness and Achievement, Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence, Stanford Achievement, and Essential High School Content Battery. In the 1960's, Kuder Preference Record, Lee-Thorpe Occupational Interest Inventory and Differential Aptitude Test were added. Test results were compiled by grade level and by individual school enrollment.

¹²⁵Statement by Beecher E. Clapp, June 23, 1977.

¹²⁶Statement by Beecher E. Clapp, June 23, 1977.

¹²⁷Keys to Educational Testing, Guidance Services Department, Knox County Schools, 1966, p. ii.

Principals and teachers were instructed in test interpretation techniques and in communicating results to parents.¹²⁸ The achievement profile provided for each school became a valuable tool in curriculum upgrading, according to the Director of Instruction.¹²⁹ After 1970, testing was conducted only in grades 3, 5, 7, and 10.

Revised school program. Concern among educators for children who did not achieve according to their apparent abilities was the basis for a reorganized school program in 1958-59 to address student needs: a revised primary program, departmentalized program for grades seven and eight, three-track curriculum for high schools.¹³⁰ The primary program was revised with the addition of an in-between step 2B, a transition grade for youngsters who, after one year in first grade, needed more time for study before being placed in regular second grade. The decision to promote to grade 2B was determined cooperatively by parents and teacher.¹³¹ Departmentalization of work in seventh and eighth grades organized a week's scheduling in blocks of time which offered greater flexibility in required subject areas and allowed the inclusion of dramatics, crafts, and languages. The plan featured ability grouping of students and

¹²⁸Keys to Educational Testing, pp. 1-7.

¹²⁹Statement by Beecher E. Clapp, June 23, 1977.

¹³⁰Statement by Mildred M. Patterson, April 25, 1977.

¹³¹"Tentative Suggestions for a Revised Primary Program," Knox County Schools, April 21, 1958.

recognized specific training and career interests of teachers.¹³² The three-track curriculum offered alternative plans by which secondary students could design a program in keeping with needs and interests. A general education curriculum required 16 units for graduation, including English, American history, math, biology, and physical education, but did not specify declaration of major or minor areas of study. Subjects were to be taught in a practical way, geared to student ability. The applied arts curriculum required 17 units, including the same basic subjects cited above, with one major and two minors. Elective subjects were to be chosen from courses recognized in state minimum standards. An academic curriculum required 18 units, including English, American history, biology, physical education, two majors and two minors, which must include mathematics and selections from language, social studies, or fine arts.

The revised programs are regarded today as significant in terms of Superintendent and staff attempts to direct change in the schools designed to benefit students with special needs--not in longevity of the revisions.¹³³ By school year 1963-64 the primary grade 2B was phased out.¹³⁴ The grade had become stigmatized as

¹³²"Suggested Plan of Organization for Grades Seven and Eight," Knox County Schools, April 21, 1958.

¹³³Statement by Beecher E. Clapp, June 23, 1977.

¹³⁴Knox County Education Association Yearbook, Knoxville, Tennessee, 1963-64.

associated with failure, and many 2B teachers had difficulty designing a significantly different program from regular second grade work.

Departmentalization in grades seven and eight proved impractical because of crowded school conditions.¹³⁵ Three track curriculum was not satisfactory due to inflexibility of the tracking plan.

"Principals and the staff found the reins were too tight. It was not realistic in light of pupil interests and needs."¹³⁶

To explore a means of deviating from tracking, school officials established a pilot project at Halls High School in which curriculum was rewritten featuring five levels of possible student placement; students were not labeled at registration but were placed according to ability, and a single diploma requiring 17 credits was awarded to all graduates.¹³⁷ By 1969, the tracking program was phased out county-wide.¹³⁸

Desegregation of schools. Until 1960 Knox County supported separate schools for Black and White students. The 10 schools attended by Black elementary and junior high pupils were spread across the county and were originally one- and two-room facilities. Black

¹³⁵Statement by Beecher E. Clapp, June 23, 1977.

¹³⁶Statement by Beecher E. Clapp, June 23, 1977.

¹³⁷"Pilot Program for Curriculum Revision, Halls High School," Knox County Schools, 1967-68.

¹³⁸Statement by Dr. J. W. Phifer, Director of Secondary Education, Knox County Schools, personal interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, June 23, 1977.

high school students attended Austin High School in the Knoxville City School System. The county paid a minimal tuition and provided bus transportation. During this period, the Black pupil population numbered less than 300.¹³⁹

Steps to integrate Knox County Schools began in August 1960, with the statement of Board policy:

Any Negro student entering the first grade in August 1960, may, if he desires, attend the elementary school nearest his residence. The grade in such a school which a Negro student may attend will be increased by one each school year for the next 12 years.¹⁴⁰

Members of the board and school staff had met quietly with Black patrons to explain the desegregation plan, although no public announcement was made until the day school opened, according to a former board member.¹⁴¹

Within three years the Board had approved an acceleration of the plan to include grades one through six,¹⁴² and on April 1, 1964, the policy was extended to grades seven through twelve.¹⁴³ By 1964-65, only four "Negro schools" were operating with 76 children and four teachers, this being permitted at patrons' request. At the

¹³⁹Statement by Dr. Hilton A. Smith, December 31, 1976.

¹⁴⁰Minutes of Knox County Board of Education, Knoxville, Tennessee, August 26, 1960.

¹⁴¹Statement by Dr. Hilton A. Smith, December 31, 1976.

¹⁴²Minutes of Knox County Board of Education, June 5, 1963.

¹⁴³Minutes of Knox County Board of Education, April 1, 1964.

close of that school year, these four schools were closed, teachers were reassigned in the system, and tuition and transportation for 100 Negro children attending the city high school were discontinued. Through meetings with patrons and school faculties, the desegregation plan and responsibilities were clearly delineated. The integration process "encountered no problems."¹⁴⁴

Annexation. In the late 1950's when Fountain City residents explored the possibility of incorporation, Metropolitan Planning Commission recommended to City Council the annexation of approximately 50 square miles ringing the central city, including all major post-war growth areas in which 69,900 persons resided.¹⁴⁵ The annexation was approved by City Council in November 1960, and the legality of the action was attacked by lawyers and citizens' groups.¹⁴⁶

By 1963, the legality of annexation had been determined. Terms of the agreement drawn by the negotiating committee and ratified by County Court and City Council called for the transfer of 28 county schools located in the annexed area, serving 17,894 students. Transferred to the City School Superintendent were personnel records for 662 principals and teachers, 26 school clerks, and 82 custodians

¹⁴⁴"Progress of Desegregation in Knox County Schools," 1964-65.

¹⁴⁵"Statistics," Knoxville Knox County Metropolitan Planning Commission, December 15, 1960.

¹⁴⁶The Knoxville Journal, November 25, 1960, p. 9.

who staffed the schools.¹⁴⁷ Of the facilities annexed, 14 elementary and two high schools were of new construction, and the remainder had undergone significant remodeling and additions.¹⁴⁸ Estimated value of the annexed buildings, excluding land and equipment, was \$11,040,729.¹⁴⁹

Knox County Schools 1963-1976

The loss of 28 schools, 17,894 students, and hundreds of staff members was a traumatic blow to Superintendent Doyle and the central office staff.¹⁵⁰ Facilities provided and staff organized since 1946 to care for top priority educational needs of the rapidly growing suburban area were a part of Knoxville City Schools with the opening of the 1963-64 school year. Facilities which remained were second and third priority schools in more remote county areas where enrollments had remained small. However, the administrative and supervisory staff and many teachers who had initiated curriculum advances since 1946 had not been disbanded; and their energy which had previously been expended on over 34,000 students was redirected at the remaining 16,797 pupil population.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," July 15, 1963.

¹⁴⁸"A Twenty Year Comparative Study, 1946-1966," Knox County Schools, October 17, 1966.

¹⁴⁹"Estimated Value of School Buildings in the Annexed Area," Knox County Schools, February 28, 1963.

¹⁵⁰Statement by Beecher E. Clapp, December 22, 1976.

¹⁵¹Statement by J. B. Lyle, December 16, 1976.

One staff member remarked on the staff's determination:

We had to show them we weren't dead, and we did many things to keep before the public . . . science fairs, music festivals, all-county bands and orchestras, anything we could do to provide a P.R. and morale thrust for teachers, parents, students. It was a new beginning, somewhat akin to the first beginning [1946]; but with a large staff, we could move fast.¹⁵²

Historical Events in the Development of Knox County Schools

Events which occurred during the period 1963-1976 that were selected for historical research are identified in Table 2. A complete listing of identified events is presented in Appendix B.

TABLE 2

SELECTED HISTORICAL EVENTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT
OF KNOX COUNTY SCHOOLS 1963-1976

Event
Post-annexation Planning
Middle School Organization
Building Program
The 45-Day Curriculum Module

Post-annexation planning. Guiding the staff, in addition to the Superintendent, were Mildred M. Patterson, Director of Instruction

¹⁵²Statement by J. B. Lyle, December 16, 1976.

and Personnel, and Beecher E. Clapp, Supervisor of Instruction, Grades seven and eight:

Almost immediately [we] began another 10-year planning program to get us back on track . . . the staff did most of this with fewer outside consultants . . . we planned for instruction as well as buildings.¹⁵³

In October 1963, the staff presented a planning paper, "Recommendations for Improving the Educational Opportunities in the Knox County Schools."¹⁵⁴ The paper was developed following conferences with principals and teachers, P.T.A. representatives and community clubs, leaders in business and industry, the State Department of Education, and consultants from The University of Tennessee. The goal established to guide future development was ". . . to provide educational opportunities for all Knox County children . . . superior to any program in the State. . . ."¹⁵⁵

Recommendations included: separate housing for upper elementary grades with equipment, personnel, and materials provided to meet their special needs; consolidation of small elementary schools; holding high school enrollment at a maximum of 1200; development of industrial arts and commercial arts courses in all high schools; provision for advanced vocational training in two or three high school centers.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³Statement by Beecher E. Clapp, December 22, 1976.

¹⁵⁴"Recommendations for Improving the Educational Opportunities in the Knox County Schools," Knox County Schools, October 1963.

¹⁵⁵"Recommendations," p. 2.

¹⁵⁶"Recommendations," pp. 1-3.

Priority building projects to be completed before September 1964 included a new elementary building at Cedar Bluff, complete renovation of 12 elementary schools and Dante Special Education Center, additions at two elementary and four high schools. Building projections from 1965-1968 called for new construction for two high schools, six elementary buildings, a warehouse and administrative offices, and additions to 13 schools.¹⁵⁷

Middle school organization. For decades Knox County school organization had followed an 8-4 pattern, grades one through eight housed in elementary schools and grades 9-12 in high schools. During the late 1960's, elementary school enrollments far exceeded planned building capacities. Facilities were inadequate and all programs were being penalized. To relieve crowded conditions and enhance the instructional program, principals and teachers worked with instructional supervisors in inservice meetings exploring alternative organizational patterns. After intensive study, a 5-3-4 plan was proposed which featured the middle school concept, one of the first to operate in East Tennessee.¹⁵⁸

Under the new organization, implemented in 1969, elementary schools included grades one-five; the middle school held grades 6, 7, and 8; the high school organization maintained grades 9-12.

¹⁵⁷"Recommendations," pp. 4-7.

¹⁵⁸Statement by Beecher E. Clapp, December 22, 1976.

The term middle school designated a transitional program designed to accommodate pupils between elementary and high school, involving a program keyed to development of students in late childhood and early adolescence.¹⁵⁹

A primary concern of the middle school instructional program in Knox County was selection of personnel to staff the schools. Administrators were selected on the basis of administrative training, understanding of the adolescent, and ability to organize and implement an innovative program. Similarly, teacher selection was based on personal philosophy, knowledge of human development and willingness to assist in the development of innovative programs. Inservice time was provided for appropriate orientation.¹⁶⁰

A second concern was for the provision of an individualized instruction program for each student. Studies were designed of planned programs in three phases: learning skills, art in contemporary living, and personal development. Student activities were included as an integral part of the regular program. Both teacher-prepared and commercial materials were utilized.¹⁶¹ By 1973, seven middle schools were operating in Knox County.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹"The Middle School--A Rationale," Knox County Schools, January, 1968, pp. 2-4.

¹⁶⁰"The Middle School," pp. 10-12.

¹⁶¹"The Middle School," pp. 6-9.

¹⁶²Statement by Beecher E. Clapp, June 23, 1977.

Building program. The completion of Sunnyview and Cedar Bluff Elementary Schools in 1964 marked the first steps in providing adequate facilities for Knox County students following annexation. Classroom additions and rebuilding were underway in four schools, and overcrowding was cited in six elementary schools.¹⁶³ In 1966, the County's first comprehensive high school was under construction at a cost of approximately three million dollars. Located in South Knox County, the facility was named Doyle Comprehensive High School.¹⁶⁴

In January 1967, the superintendent's report reflected population increases farther from the central city:

Of the 32 elementary buildings, only three have adequate facilities for an instructional program and two of these will be inadequate as of September 1967; none of the high school buildings can adequately meet the requirements of curricular offerings. Sixty-one temporary classrooms are in use as is every available spot in school buildings. The need for physical facilities is as critical now as it has been since World War II. . . .¹⁶⁵

In the spring, the Superintendent and all board members went to the County Court Finance Committee to plead for more substantial funds for construction of permanent buildings rather than increasing to 95 the number of temporary classrooms in use.¹⁶⁶ The building program to which school officials directed squires' attention

¹⁶³"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," April 20, 1964.

¹⁶⁴"Knox County School Building Program Bond Expenditures 1947 through July 31, 1976," p. 14.

¹⁶⁵"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," January 16, 1967.

¹⁶⁶The Knoxville Journal, April 6, 1967, pp. 1-2.

required an estimated \$4,735,000.00 for construction of Halls High School, a middle school in South Knox County, and additions and renovation to five existing facilities.¹⁶⁷

By 1970, two comprehensive high schools--Halls and Carter--were constructed, each valued in excess of three million dollars; and in 1971 Doyle Middle School in South Knox County was constructed.¹⁶⁸ Classroom additions numbered 124.¹⁶⁹

In the 1970's school population grew at an average of 1000 students per year.¹⁷⁰ To accommodate expanded roles, an elementary school was provided in the Farragut community with middle schools at Karns and Powell.¹⁷¹ In West Knox County, land was purchased in 1972 for Farragut Comprehensive High School which opened four years later.¹⁷² Also in 1972 the staff prepared another proposed 10-year building program with projections through 1982.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁷"Proposed Knox County Building Program, 1968-1976," Knox County Schools, October 12, 1966.

¹⁶⁸"Knox County School Building Program Bond Expenditures 1947 through July 31, 1973," pp, 9, 15, 21.

¹⁶⁹"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," October 18, 1971.

¹⁷⁰"A Thirty Year Comparative Study," Knox County Schools, August 23, 1976.

¹⁷¹"Knox County School Building Program Bond Expenditures 1947 through July 31, 1973," pp. 16, 48.

¹⁷²"Knox County School Building Program Bond Expenditures 1947 through July 31, 1973," p. 48.

¹⁷³"Proposed Knox County Schools Building Program, 1972-1982," Knox County Schools, undated.

In her last report to County Court, the Superintendent summarized the schools' building achievement since 1946. New construction included 24 elementary schools, four middle schools, eight high schools, and two vocational centers at a cost of \$38,835,000. Special facilities added to existing buildings included gymnasiums, dressing rooms, libraries, home economics departments, music rooms, guidance facilities, science departments, language laboratories, commercial departments, distributive education departments, administrative offices, clinics, cafeterias, auditoriums, and hundreds of classrooms.¹⁷⁴

The 45-day curriculum module. Two major curricular projects were launched by Knox County Schools in 1974-75, the extended school year (ESY) pilot program in the Farragut area, and the cycle of implementation of system-wide curriculum featuring a 45-day curriculum module.¹⁷⁵ The extended school year was a plan for utilizing school buildings on a full-time basis; the school year was divided into five equal periods called quinesters consisting of approximately 45 school days. Piloted in the Farragut High School attendance area, the plan allowed students and parents to select any four of five quinesters, using the fifth for a vacation period. The voluntary attendance provision imposed two conditions upon

¹⁷⁴"Superintendent's Report to Knox County Quarterly Court," August 23, 1976.

¹⁷⁵Statement by Dr. J. W. Phifer, June 23, 1977.

curriculum: instruction plans had to allow a student to leave school for a single quinmester and return 45 days later to resume the subject without difficulty and formal evaluation of pupil progress had to be completed and recorded at the end of each quinmester. Two general types of curriculum organization satisfied the voluntary attendance provision: independent and nonsequential 45-day units of work which could be completed in a semester, and individualized continuums which accepted the entrance and exit of students at any time.¹⁷⁶

Under the leadership of subject area supervisors, curriculum planning was organized in four stages over a one-year period beginning in the Fall of 1973 with identification of subject area goals grades K-12.¹⁷⁷ "This stage generated both heat and light among staff and teachers with many philosophical discussions regarding existing philosophy and tradition," according to Dr. J. W. Phifer who supervised the project.¹⁷⁸ Later stages called for development of subject area objectives, organization of 45-day curriculum modules, and the writing of curriculum packages or guides for instruction.

The extended school year was implemented in 1974-75 in the pilot area. That same year, the new social studies curriculum was

¹⁷⁶"Curriculum Planning Guide for the Extended School Year Voluntary Quinmester Plan," Knox County Schools, December 3, 1973, p. 1.

¹⁷⁷"Curriculum Planning," p. 2.

¹⁷⁸Statement by Dr. J. W. Phifer, June 23, 1977.

implemented system-wide. In the second pilot year, the modular curricula for agriculture, health and safety, home economics, physical education, and science were used system-wide.

At the close of the second year, the decision was made to terminate the experimental extended school year. "We found the cost per student was exorbitant. Family patterns change very slowly, and enrollment during the summer did not justify the necessary expenditure," according to the Director of Instruction.¹⁷⁹ However, the curriculum modules were seen as an instructional advance and major step toward accountability. The cycle for system-wide implementation of all subject areas will be complete during 1978-79.¹⁸⁰

IV. LOSING THE SUPERINTENDENCY

Mildred Doyle's loss of the superintendency of Knox County Schools was preceded by events identified as early as 1972. This portion of the historical study was developed around those events named by respondents who represented Knox County Court, Knox County Board of Education, Central Office Administrators, and principals of Knox County Schools. A complete listing of these events is presented in Table 3.

¹⁷⁹Statement by Beecher E. Clapp, June 23, 1977.

¹⁸⁰Statement by Dr. J. W. Phifer, June 23, 1977.

TABLE 3
IDENTIFIED EVENTS WHICH PRECEDED THE LOSS OF
THE SUPERINTENDENCY

Event
Incumbent Board Members' Defeat
Subject's Political Support of Candidates Dr. Nat Winston and Kyle Testerman
Subject's Announcement of Retirement from Office
Knox County Education Association's (KCEA) Tribute and Gift to the Superintendent
Superintendent's Announcement of Candidacy for the Superintendency
Media Report of Legislative Bill Regarding Superintendent Qualification Deadline
The Campaign for Office

Incumbent board members' defeat. As the result of a private act of the Legislature, candidates for the Board of Education in 1972 would not be elected at-large, but only by qualified voters of the district in which the candidate resided.¹⁸¹ In the election of 1972, two long-time board members were defeated: Samuel H. (Hop) Bailey, Sr., Chairman of the Board, and Wallace F. Burroughs.¹⁸²

¹⁸¹Private Acts, 1970, Chapter 338, p. 1254.

¹⁸²Roster of Board of Education, September 1972.

Bailey, who had held membership on the Board since 1938, was defeated by A. L. Lotts, "an Oak Ridger who campaigned hard."¹⁸³ Burroughs, a Board member since 1950, was defeated by Kathryn Barnhill.¹⁸⁴

Burroughs explained his perception of the loss:

For years we had run at-large and were elected by voters from the entire county. . . . We were concerned for the educational welfare of all Knox County children. The voters in the district in which we resided did not feel we would represent only one segment of the county. . . .¹⁸⁵

Four additional new members were included in Board membership by September 1974, replacing members who had died or did not seek reelection.¹⁸⁶

Superintendent's political support. For two years the Superintendent held a position of political activism in state and city elections out of character for her.¹⁸⁷ In 1974 she was actively involved in the Republican state gubernatorial primary, openly supporting Dr. Nat Winston who lost the nomination to Lamar Alexander, a native of neighboring Blount County. The next year she was named one of six campaign chairmen in Knoxville incumbent Mayor

¹⁸³Statement by Samuel H. Bailey, Former Chairman of the Board of Education, Knox County Schools, personal interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, December 16, 1976.

¹⁸⁴Roster of Board of Education, September 1972.

¹⁸⁵Statement by Wallace F. Burroughs, Former Member of the Board of Education, Knox County Schools, personal interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, January 25, 1977.

¹⁸⁶Roster of Board of Education, December 1972.

¹⁸⁷Statement by C. Howard Bozeman, December 30, 1976.

Kyle Testerman's reelection organization. Testerman lost the election to Randy Tyree, the Democratic opponent.¹⁸⁸

County Judge Bozeman commented on her participation in both campaigns:

There are unwritten [political] rules in East Tennessee and Knox County: Don't get mixed up in party primaries and a county official does not participate in a race for mayor in the City of Knoxville.¹⁸⁹

Announcement of retirement. In August 1975, the Superintendent, who was 71, confirmed she would not seek reelection when her current term expired in September 1976. Rather, she proposed to seek election to County Court: "With my background, I think I'll make a good Court member."¹⁹⁰

KCEA tribute. On December 1, 1975, Knox County Education Association honored the Superintendent at an appreciation evening at Doyle High School which featured a review of the schools' accomplishments, reminiscences of long-time associates, sharing of various realia, reading of notes and poems written especially for the occasion. The evening was climaxed with the presentation of a new gold Cadillac, purchased through teachers' contributions to the Doyle Appreciation Fund and the discreetly organized trade-in of

¹⁸⁸Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, May 7, 1977.

¹⁸⁹Statement by C. Howard Bozeman, December 30, 1976.

¹⁹⁰The Knoxville Journal, August 7, 1975, p. 1.

the Superintendent's own Chrysler.¹⁹¹

A newspaper account of the event reported the gift of a car was intended as a retirement gift but was changed at the last minute to birthday gift when rumors were circulated of the Superintendent's decision to run for election in 1976. Speculation was voiced concerning a meeting of eight persons which preceded the evening's festivities. It was noted that the Superintendent had been escorted to this gathering by Doyle Principal Billy K. Nicely and others and that Nicely had billed Miss Doyle as superintendent for the next four years at the evening's close.¹⁹² One week later KCEA President Edythe McNabb and James Bellamy, chairperson of the Coordinating Committee, responded in the media pointing to inaccuracies in the newspaper report: KCEA planning meeting records had never identified the event as a retirement party, and the meeting in Principal Nicely's office was a subcommittee meeting to finalize plans for a meeting with legislators the following week. It was noted that the newspaper was not represented by a reporter at the tribute event.¹⁹³

Announcement of candidacy. On February 19, 1976, the Superintendent announced that she would seek reelection as Knox County School Superintendent. To counter speculation that upon election she

¹⁹¹Statements by Beecher E. Clapp, June 23, 1977.

¹⁹²The Knoxville News-Sentinel, January 4, 1976, p. 1.

¹⁹³The Knoxville News-Sentinel, January 11, 1976, p. B-3.

would retire within a few months, she said, "I have played many ball games and have never quit one yet until the last play of the last inning."¹⁹⁴

Explaining her decision to seek reelection, the Superintendent said:

I had planned not to run again. We felt, of the people on the staff, [the one] who probably had a better feeling for the system, who knew more about it than anybody, was Beecher Clapp. So in light of that, when I would go places where there would be political leaders, I would ask Beecher to go along. And I would introduce him to these various people. These people would come around when Beecher was talking to someone; they'd come and say, "Look, we'll vote for him in the Primary if that's what you want, but we won't be able to elect him in the General Election. He's too . . . well, he's not the kind of folks that can get down on the level of the common people and talk to 'em." Okay, as we went along, there was hardly a principal in the Knox County Schools [who didn't say], "Beecher can never be elected; and please, won't you run again." So this, plus the fact that some of the leaders in the Party said, "Now, we've got to have a strong ticket, and there's nobody as yet that's emerged and we want you to run." This is when I made the decision to run again.¹⁹⁵

Media report of legislative bill. In March, The Knoxville

Journal reported:

Gov. Ray Blanton has apparently taken a hand in the political dealings of the Knox County School Superintendent race by effectively stopping a bill which would have led to disqualification of his party's candidate for the post. . . . The bill . . . sponsored by State Rep. Shelby A. Rhinehart, D-Spencer . . . required candidates for the seat to file a certificate

¹⁹⁴The Knoxville Journal, February 20, 1976, p. 1.

¹⁹⁵Statements by Mildred E. Doyle, May 7, 1977.

of qualification with their petitions to run with the county election commissions.¹⁹⁶

Rhinehart had said he was requested by the governor to recall the bill and amend it, making the effective date September 1. Rhinehart was reported to have said the governor wanted the bill amended ". . . because he had a candidate in the Knox County Superintendent race and although he was not qualified now the man would be by the time he took office."¹⁹⁷

However, it was on the basis of action taken by the State Board of Education that Knox County's Election Commission determined to place another candidate in the local superintendent's race.¹⁹⁸ A Morgan County resident, Roy Jones of Wartburg, had requested the Board grant a waiver on meeting certification for qualifying for the superintendency in the August 1976 election. Jones had affirmed that, if elected, he would pursue new qualifications for school superintendent. Because the certification requirements had recently been revised, and because Morgan County's incumbent superintendent did not meet new requirements, the Board determined to grant the waiver, realizing that 10 to 12 persons across the state would request similar waivers.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶The Knoxville Journal, March 10, 1976, p. 1.

¹⁹⁷The Knoxville Journal, March 10, 1976, p. 2.

¹⁹⁸Minutes, Knox County Election Commission, Knoxville, Tennessee, June 1, 1976.

¹⁹⁹"Administrative and Policy Committee Report," State Board of Education, Nashville, Tennessee, May 5, 1976.

The campaign. The opponent was Earl Hoffmeister, Assistant Principal at Central High School in Knoxville City Schools, Democratic candidate for Superintendent of Schools in Knox County. Contest issues centered around his identification of problem areas in the county schools, the outstanding issue being open space education. Hoffmeister claimed open classrooms had caused deterioration in academic performance although this contention was not supported by findings of a two-year evaluative study conducted by a study team at The University of Tennessee. He proposed construction of permanent walls in open class areas to facilitate a return to the self-contained classroom. The Superintendent contended that parents had the option of requesting placement of their children in either open or self-contained classrooms and that principals had been instructed to meet these requests. Additional concerns expressed by the opponent regarded student discipline and drugs in the schools.²⁰⁰

Miss Doyle voiced criticisms of her opponent related to his poor attendance at board meetings and city principals' meetings, lack of membership in state and national professional organizations, and his voting record which revealed no participation in primaries and general elections since 1966. She also questioned his ability to devote adequate time to the superintendency while maintaining an active construction business.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰The Knoxville Journal, July 26, 1976, p. 20.

²⁰¹The Knoxville Journal, July 26, 1976, p. 20.

Miss Doyle summarized the advances of public education in Knox County, pointing out a pupil enrollment which had grown from 16,000 to 27,000 students since the 1963 annexation period and a staff which served the educational needs of preschoolers to adults. She reaffirmed her belief that Knox County Schools were among the best in the country.²⁰²

On August 5, 1976, over 50,000 Knox Countians cast votes in the election for superintendent of schools. Mildred Doyle was defeated by opponent Earl Hoffmeister by a 1130 vote margin.²⁰³

²⁰²The Knoxville Journal, February 19, 1976, p. A-9.

²⁰³Official Return Sheet, Knox County General Election, August 5, 1976, Knox County Election Commission.

CHAPTER V

IDENTIFICATION AND ASSESSMENT OF FACTORS WHICH CONTRIBUTED TO MILDRED E. DOYLE'S ATTAINING, MAINTAINING, AND LOSING THE SUPERINTENDENCY OF KNOX COUNTY SCHOOLS

I. INTRODUCTION

Chapter V was developed to meet the second purpose of the study: to identify and assess factors portrayed in the historical account, Chapter IV, which contributed to Mildred Doyle's attaining, maintaining, and losing the superintendency of Knox County Schools. To accomplish this purpose, the study was designed to answer three specific questions:

1. What factors contributed to Miss Doyle's attaining the superintendency of Knox County Schools in 1946?
2. What factors contributed to Miss Doyle's continued re-election during the 30-year tenure?
3. What factors contributed to Miss Doyle's loss of the superintendency in the 1976 General Election?

Identification of factors was accomplished through responses of persons selected for interview as set forth in Chapter III; the researcher contributed additional factors which had emerged during the study. Factors were delimited to those relevant to the community's social organization, to the political situation in Knox County, and to the Subject's leadership.

The assessment was provided for two purposes: to explain how identified factors contributed to Miss Doyle's attaining, maintaining, and losing the superintendency; to contribute to an understanding of the interrelationships between the Superintendent, the political situation in Knox County, and the community social organization. Selected concepts derived from the review of literature were used as tools of the assessment. Identification and assessment of factors were presented in three parts which responded to questions posed above. The factors were presented in tables as identified by respondents and researcher.

II. ATTAINING THE SUPERINTENDENCY

This portion of the study was designed to answer the following question: what factors contributed to Miss Doyle's attaining the superintendency of Knox County Schools in 1946? Factors considered were delimited to those relating to the community social organization, to the political situation in Knox County, and to the Subject's leadership. Factors identified by respondents and researcher follow in tabular form with attendant assessment and discussion.

Knox County Social Organization

Factors related to Knox County's social organization which were identified as contributing to Miss Doyle's attaining the superintendency of Knox County Schools in 1946 are shown in Table 4.

For the purpose of conducting an assessment of identified

TABLE 4

FACTORS RELEVANT TO THE COMMUNITY SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN
ATTAINING THE SUPERINTENDENCY

Factor
A. Identified by Respondents
Doyle family were members of the power structure
Control of school decision-making held by select group of squires
Political appointments to school positions gained through members of the Board of Education
Conservative school policy was the norm
Status quo within schools was maintained by conservative superintendents controlled by County Court
B. Identified by Researcher
Community power structure was pyramidal, controlled by influential squires and the County Judge
Degrees of social control held by squires through appointment of school personnel
Charter Doyle, Subject's father, was linking agent between two social units: community power elitists and general populace within his county district
Community norm for intimate communication
Charter Doyle had achieved status in community through his role as squire
Community norm for local leadership of schools

factors, two pertinent aspects of the community social organization were addressed:

1. The sacred community social typology;
2. Participation in school decision-making.

The sacred community social typology. The characterization of Knox County during the period 1900-1946 parallels the typology of the sacred society as discussed in Chapter II and may be illustrated by the sociological concepts of the monolithic power structure, by value placed on traditionalism and conservatism, and by the norm for emergent leadership within the local community.¹

The Quarterly County Court, Knox County's governing body, provided a legal framework for citizen control through individuals-- a judge and justices or squires--elected from the civil districts and imbued with both legislative and administrative functions. While these elected officials comprised the broad, legal power structure of Knox County, the concept of the monolithic power pyramid is revealed in the association of those few who exercised paramount control over county affairs, reflecting the interests of prosperous landowners and farmers. Among these power elitists was Squire Charter Doyle who held a Court position nearly 30 years, serving as a linking agent between other community power figures and constituents within his district.²

¹Iannaccone and Lutz, Politics, Power, and Policy, pp. 29-40.

²Identification of Squire Doyle as a local power elitist was

Characteristics of traditionalism and conservatism favored by Knox Countians were noted by events which occurred within the schools. For example, according to respondents, traditionalism over school operation had been effectively maintained through the administrations of at least two former Superintendents described as "not very aggressive . . . never asked the Court for more than a minimal budget,"³ and as "lame ducks of the Court."⁴ The Vestal community's efforts to discredit School Principal Mildred Doyle as a flapper of questionable morals rather than mounting an open attack on her powerful father may have been a part of the "etiquette for gossip" established by tradition as a means of providing negative sanction and social control within the sacred society. The petition for her replacement by a man of Christian ideals bespeaks the traditional norm of the male school leader who personified the Christian ethic.

Notable also as characteristic of the sacred society was the preference that leaders emerge from the local community. In Knox County this was established as a residence requirement for qualification for elective office. Thus, among Knox County school chiefs, community value was placed on the local generalist, the teacher or principal who garnered enough popular political support to win the

addressed in personal interview by County Judge C. Howard Bozeman, December 30, 1976, and by Squire Willard Yarbrough, May 13, 1977.

³Statement by Mildred M. Patterson, April 25, 1977.

⁴Statement by Mack P. Davis, April 26, 1977.

superintendency in party primary and general election. Similarly, candidates for squire and county judge relied on personal status and political power to gain and hold elective positions on the Quarterly Court.

Participation in school decision-making. Research previously cited by Iannaccone and Lutz⁵ emphasizes that the rural school district displays the sacred-type orientation toward governance of education with control exercised by the economically or socially privileged. Kimbrough⁶ found political linkages between local school districts and community power holders as influence is exercised by relatively few persons of the upper middle and elite class in top community power positions.

In Knox County, two power groups were identified by respondents as the controlling participants in school decision-making: a select group of Squires, and members of the Board of Education. Legally, the County Court of Quarterly Sessions controlled decision-making over school affairs by setting tax levies, selling school bonds, and approving school budgets. According to respondents, this control was commonly exhibited over Knox County Schools beyond these prescribed areas into the naming of school personnel as political favors. "You had to know a Squire or a member of the Board to get a

⁵Iannaccone and Lutz, p. 34.

⁶Kimbrough, Political Power and Educational Decision-making, pp. 52-60, 195-236.

job, and it helped to be a Republican,"⁷ commented one respondent in describing the County School's early personnel process. Through this appointment of school personnel, a degree of community social control was enjoyed by a privileged few as employment was highly sought. Thus, when Charter Doyle arranged a teaching job for his daughter Mildred, no community norm was violated. However, when he influenced her selection as principal of Vestal School, the resultant community reaction was a direct though ineffectual challenge to this political privilege--there was no norm for placing young women in positions of school leadership in Knox County during the 1920's.

The State Supreme Court's 1946 ruling⁸ that school officials in Knox County must be elected by all qualified voters within the County or by members of the County Court provided an additional measure of participatory control for local power elitists, one which was fully utilized in the selection of members of the Board and the School Superintendent.⁹ Thus, while Miss Doyle might have won the 1946 superintendency through popular election, her chances for success were definitely enhanced with the high court decision which opened the way for Squire Doyle to speak personally to fellow justices requesting their support of his daughter as Republican

⁷Statement by Mildred M. Patterson, April 25, 1977.

⁸Southern vs. Beeler, 195 S.W. 2d 857.

⁹Statement by C. Howard Bozeman, December 30, 1976.

candidate for Superintendent of Knox County Schools.

In summary, factors relevant to the Knox County social organization which contributed to Miss Doyle's attaining the superintendency in 1946 may be stated briefly. Knox County was a rural community which displayed many characteristics of the rural sacred society that contributed to the creation of an environment supportive of her, notably, the monolithic power pyramid composed of a judge and justices who were highly influential in educational decision-making and who chose to keep for themselves the option in 1946 of naming county school board members and superintendent. Among local power elitists was Charter Doyle, the Subject's father, member of a large politically active "clan" in South Knox County who acted as linking agent between Court members and constituents, utilizing the norm for intimate communication in supporting his daughter for the office of superintendent.

Knox County Political Situation

Contributing factors identified by respondents and the researcher as related to the political situation in Knox County are depicted in Table 5. For purposes of conducting an assessment of these factors, four aspects of a political nature will be addressed:

1. Respondents' perceptions of politics and politicians;
2. Knox County's political party tradition;
3. Doyle family political base;
4. The Subject as politician.

TABLE 5
FACTORS RELEVANT TO POLITICAL SITUATION IN KNOX COUNTY IN
ATTAINING THE SUPERINTENDENCY

Factor

A. Identified by Respondents

Squire Charter Doyle was foremost Republican leader of his day

Subject was member of powerful South Knox County family, a political dynasty

Subject was daughter of a squire

Father's political base

Father's influence in community

Family alliance

Family influence

Family of politicians

Subject had good political connections

Subject was a good politician

Subject was a member of the Republican party

B. Identified by Researcher

Political norm for Republican leadership of schools

Many school decisions controlled by local governing body, the County Court

Father, Charter Doyle, a member of local political power structure

Knox County was traditionally Republican

Superintendency candidate pool was composed of local members of the Republican Party

Perceptions of respondents. A review of political factors identified by respondents as contributing to Miss Doyle's attaining the superintendency of Knox County Schools in 1946 reflects their perception of politics as a two-party concept with attendant special interests and favoritism rather than as a science of government. Similarly, there appears a general view of the politician within the party context; at no time did a perceptual image of the political statesman emerge. These perceptions, which are inferred by the terms "Republican leader," "political dynasty," "political base," "good political connections" may have developed for several reasons. For example, in Knox County candidates for school office traditionally were nominated in partisan primaries and elected in general elections. There existed a norm for intrusion of political patronage in school personnel appointments and decision-making as discussed above. Persons dispensing political favors were readily identified as members of the local power pyramid.

County political party tradition. Closely associated with these examples is the County's political history of strong Republican Party preference. This tradition is readily confirmed through review of local political history. East Tennessee, described as "populated almost completely by white mountaineers,"¹⁰ was against secession and

¹⁰Michael Barone, Grant Ujifusa, and Douglas Matthews, The Almanac of American Politics 1976 (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1975), p. 791.

was the political base of Andrew Johnson, Lincoln's successor. Over the years East Tennessee has remained one of the most dependable Republican areas in the entire nation with the urban county seat, Knoxville, voting like the rural territory around it.¹¹

This uninterrupted Republican Party preference may be understood in the context of Knox County's characterization as a rural sacred society which prefers traditional ways and rejects change, seeking security in social and family stability; in the relative geographic remoteness in early 1900 of many local residents from urban and national influence; and in the speculation on local voter behavior during this period in light of relevant research. Particularly interesting are the findings of Rice¹² which showed a relationship between transportation routes and voting behavior; of the Erie County and Elmira studies¹³ which stressed the importance of family and social group influence on voter stability; of Greenstein's¹⁴ research which found children's political preference determined by grade four; and of the Michigan study¹⁵ which found voter identification with party affiliation and a party candidate of personal appeal.

¹¹Barone, Ujifusa, and Matthews, pp. 792, 798.

¹²Nunnery and Kimbrough, Politics, Power, Polls, and School Elections, p. 40.

¹³Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet, The People's Choice, pp. vii-xxx; Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee, Voting, p. 37.

¹⁴Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 66-84.

¹⁵Campbell, Gurin, and Miller, The Voter Decides, pp. 88-143.

One may speculate that Knox County voters maintained a high degree of loyalty to the Republican Party due to tradition, to the strong family and social group influence in the sacred society, to the early socialization, to voting behavior of children, to resultant attraction of party candidates, and to the relative absence of divergent political ideas and issues in remote rural districts.

Doyle Family political base. Significant to the purpose of this assessment is the recognition of the Doyle Family as politically active and powerful in South Knox County. Beginning in the early 1800's, men of the Doyle Family had established a tradition of community political prominence as Squires, elected by district voters to represent the interests of this political area. Charter Doyle, the Subject's father, was characterized by several respondents, cited above, as one of the most powerful community leaders of this era. A landowner, he held several additional advantages which contributed to his base of influence: personal visibility throughout the rural county and surrounding area as he traveled in his employment with Vestal Lumber Company; responsibility to his employer for identifying and placing monetary value on stands of timber owned by area citizens; membership in a "clan" of South Knox County Protestant families who represented two political party preferences; great personal humor, charm, and charisma; strong Republican affiliation; a reputation as a man of his word. With this legal and personal power base, Charter Doyle developed a level of notable community

status which served to enhance the achievement of desired ends.

Mildred Doyle as politician. Because the Subject was a member of a politically active and powerful family, the factor of "good political connections" identified by one respondent would seem to be an understatement. To the point of attaining the superintendency, the Subject described herself as politically naive, holding only a growing interest in local politics from helping her father and observing his continued reelection. As a politician in the 1946 Republican primary, she frankly stated that her influence lay largely in her father's power base and the support of the "clan."¹⁶

In summary, political factors identified as contributing to Miss Doyle's attaining the superintendency of Knox County Schools in 1946 relate to the following. Knox County was a traditionally strong Republican territory; and Charter Doyle, well known and respected by area citizens, was an "old time Republican ramrod"¹⁷ among local power elitists with a South Knox County political base of family and constituents. The Subject, while not yet personally politically powerful, was in a position to receive and enjoy the support of her father's community status.

The Subject's Leadership

Factors relevant to leadership identified by respondents and researcher as contributing to Miss Doyle's attaining the

¹⁶Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, November 3, 1976.

¹⁷Statement by Willard Yarbrough, May 13, 1977.

superintendency in 1946 were compiled in Table 6. For the purpose of assessment, the following aspects of the Subject's leadership were addressed:

1. Attempted leadership;
2. Exhibited traits;
3. Social power.

The Subject's attempted leadership. An assessment of factors which contributed to the Subject's attempting leadership of Knox County Schools must begin with the recognition that she was "born into the right family,"¹⁸ that is, one which held the keys to local decision and provided the education required to meet certification standards for employment in education. Additionally, she enjoyed the support of both mother and father in pursuing a non-traditional interest in women's athletics, thus avoiding cultural constraints which bound young women to classic nurturing roles. The relationship with her father parallels that identified by researchers as characteristic of women who achieve.¹⁹ While the Subject identified no male mentor within the school system who encouraged her achievement, the father-daughter relationship apparently related to the mentor-protege situation noted by Sheehy²⁰ as conducive to the development

¹⁸Mills, The Power Elite, p. 129.

¹⁹Hennig and Jardim, The Managerial Woman, pp. 129-133.

²⁰Sheehy, "The Mentor Connection," p. 33.

TABLE 6

FACTORS RELEVANT TO THE SUBJECT'S LEADERSHIP IN
ATTAINING THE SUPERINTENDENCY

Factor

A. Identified by Respondents

Academic preparation
 Well qualified
 Sixteen years successful administration as principal
 Outstanding school principal
 Supervisory experience
 Administrative experience
 Teaching experience
 Good educator
 Demonstrated leadership ability
 Physical strength
 An athlete
 Worked hard for schools
 Gruffness/tenderness in relationships
 Had father's support (during development of career)
 Just like her father--charismatic, humorous, outspoken
 Dedication to children and education
 Strong will
 Tenacity
 Held respect of all people

B. Identified by Researcher

Visibility of Subject in formative years, as school
 principal, and supervisor
 Superior to other school administrators in control over
 resources, in ability to achieve goals
 Expert and referent power
 Resisted cultural constraints on young women
 Encouraged to achieve by both parents
 Competitive nature
 High achievement motivation
 High self-esteem
 Loyalty to Knox County Schools

of leaders among women. From comments of the Subject and respondents, one may speculate that Charter Doyle delighted in his daughter's achievements, was proud of her competitive success, and thus did not hesitate to talk business and politics with her in the hours they spent together as she drove him around East Tennessee to evaluate and purchase stands of timber.

Hemphill²¹ determined several factors which motivate leadership attempts that appear applicable. Because she had been accepted by professional peers and community patrons as a school teacher, principal, and supervisor over approximately 20 years, it is reasonable to assume the Subject held the expectancy of continued acceptance and support; and although she had never held a position of administration comparable to a school superintendency, the Subject had extensive experience in local school administration and by 1946 had completed a Master's Degree in Educational Administration, both factors contributing to required abilities and competencies necessary to accomplish the tasks of a superintendency. Because of her high level of self-confidence evidenced by a pattern of statements in explaining her reasons for seeking a principalship and a superintendency (i.e., ". . . I decided I could do a better job than some others; . . . the schools . . . were in such an awful mess . . . the only way to go was up"²²), it is apparent Miss Doyle believed she could

²¹Hemphill, "Why People Attempt to Lead," Leadership and Interpersonal Behavior, pp. 201-215.

²²Statements by Mildred E. Doyle, April 25, 1977.

successfully meet demands of school leadership. And one may speculate that for the Subject, the success in meeting this new challenge was, in fact, her desired personal reward.

The Subject's exhibited traits. Despite the current unpopularity of leadership research on characteristic leader traits, respondents and researcher identified numerous Subject traits which present a unique leader profile. Notable in light of Stogdill's²³ review are identification of scholastic achievement, physical strength and athletic accomplishment, humor, charisma, verbal ability, strong will and tenacity, and respect of people. Similarly, traits of high self-esteem, high achievement motivation, a competitive nature, and organizational loyalty are frequently cited in research as characteristic of women in non-stereotypical leadership positions.²⁴

Situational theorists hold that traits alone do not make the leader, and Fiedler²⁵ proposed that people tend to become leaders if their assignment or personality attributes make them more visible

²³Stogdill, "Personal Factors Associated with Leadership," pp. 35-71.

²⁴Morrison and Sebald, "Personal Characteristics," pp. 656-659; Recely, "Level of Self Esteem," pp. 1757-1758; Horner, "Toward an Understanding," pp. 157-175; Pfiffer, "Composite Profile," pp. 16-17; Nieboer, "A Certain Kind of Woman," p. 101; Patrick, "Personality and Family Background," p. 2396; Helson, "Changing Image," pp. 33-46.

²⁵Fiedler, Leadership, p. 5.

than other group members and if they are somewhat more superior to group members in particular abilities, skills, or control over necessary goal-related resources. The Subject had achieved personal visibility as her father's companion, as an outstanding local athlete, as school principal and supervisor. The fact of her professional accomplishments suggest some level of superiority in administrative ability. This coupled with the affirmation of respondents that Vestal School had more than many larger schools and was noted for local educational excellence²⁶ bespeaks the Subject's superiority in controlling resources desirable to accomplish school goals.

The Subject's social power. In assessing social power relevant to the Subject's leadership, power forms identified by French and Raven²⁷ were selected as most applicable. Mildred Doyle's career as teacher, school principal, supervisor, and student of educational administration had afforded her 20 years of study and experience in school leadership. Thus, it seems reasonable to speculate that she was regarded as holding some degree of expert power, that which is derived from the amount of knowledge or expertise possessed and evidenced by a superior. Similarly, the identification of referent power based upon friendship and respect of subordinates seems

²⁶Statements by Mildred M. Patterson, April 25, 1977; Mack P. Davis, April 26, 1977.

²⁷French and Raven, Sociology of Organizations, pp. 262-268.

appropriate due both to her school assignment and to the stature she had acquired among peers as principal of Vestal School in South Knox County.

Relevant also is Weber's²⁸ concept of traditional authority. While the superintendency was not a position of patrilineal descent, the fact that the Subject was a child of a traditionally powerful family and daughter of a local power elitist may have contributed to a belief among some local citizens that Mildred Doyle was, by virtue of descent, entitled to appointment to the superintendency.

In summary, leadership factors which contributed to Miss Doyle's attaining the superintendency include recognition of a family situation supportive of non-sexotypical achievement and resistance of cultural constraints on girls and young women; the mentor-type role played by her father; a unique combination of leader traits appropriate to the situation; and developing levels of expert and referent social power.

A Synthesis

This portion of the study considered factors of the community social organization, of the political situation in Knox County, and of the Subject's leadership in seeking an answer to the following question: What factors contributed to Miss Doyle's attaining the superintendency of Knox County Schools in 1946? A synthesis of

²⁸Weber, Theory, pp. 324-482.

assessments of contributing factors identified by respondents and researcher recognizes three major factors which serve to answer the question.

First, Knox County was characterized as a sacred social community notable for its traditionalism, conservatism, Republican Party preference, and control by a monolithic power pyramid which sought leadership among local generalists. Second, among local power elitists was the Subject's father, Squire Charter Doyle, who had achieved a status as Republican "ramrod" and linking agent between power elitists and constituents, and who had assumed a mentor-type role in the development of the family's middle child. Third, the Subject's upbringing had not bound her to the classic nurturing role; rather, as a child and adolescent she had enjoyed freedom experiences which fostered aggressiveness, self-esteem, and a high need for personal achievement. These traits coupled with her educational achievement as student and prominent reputation as school administrator, served to enhance her legal qualifications for the position of superintendent at a time when school conditions were in a neglected state.

These factors, then, served as background to a chain of events which ended with the appointment of Mildred E. Doyle as Superintendent of Knox County Schools: (1) Mildred Doyle won the Republican nomination in the 1946 Spring primary, overcoming opposition from North Knox County contenders; (2) The State Supreme Court ruled that Board members and the school chief must be elected by all eligible voters

within Knox County and the city of Knoxville or by County Court;
 (3) Court members took the option of naming these school personnel;
 (4) Squire Doyle personally went to fellow court members asking their support of his daughter; (5) She was nominated in Court session by a distant relative and elected by acclamation.

III. MAINTAINING THE SUPERINTENDENCY

This portion of the study was designed to answer the following question: What factors contributed to Miss Doyle's continued re-election during the 30-year tenure? Factors considered were delimited to those relating to the community social organization, to the political situation in Knox County, and the Subject's leadership. Factors identified by respondents and researcher follow in tabular form with attendant assessment and discussion.

Knox County Social Organization

Factors related to Knox County's social organization which were identified as contributing to Miss Doyle's continued reelection to the superintendency are presented in Table 7. For the purpose of conducting an assessment of identified factors, three considerations were addressed:

1. Status accorded educational leaders in Knox County;
2. The Subject's development of her role as Superintendent;
3. Outcomes of interaction between the School Superintendent and community patrons.

TABLE 7

FACTORS RELEVANT TO THE COMMUNITY SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN
MAINTAINING THE SUPERINTENDENCY

Factor

A. Identified by Respondents

Excellent communication between schools and community

Community people always called the Superintendent with problems or complaints, rarely going through channels

Central office open to everyone; Superintendent kept office hours Saturday mornings

Superintendent knew local family relationships and inquired about relatives at community meetings

Community respect for school "marm" image

In the early days people looked up to principals and teachers and accepted their orders

Community meetings were like "old home week"

Subject regarded as professional educator rather than Squire's daughter within 10 years

Community people interested in schools

B. Identified by Researcher

Norm for intimate communication between Superintendent and community persons

The Subject communicated school goals to community patrons

The Superintendent became a linking agent between the schools and community patrons

Teaching and administrative positions were regarded as holding high status in Knox County

Belief among school patrons that the Subject was an educational authority

Subject came to be regarded as an institution

Status accorded educational leaders in Knox County. According to Loomis²⁹ status is a position in a social system which may be ascribed at birth or achieved through effort of the actor. In characterizing relationships between the community, Miss Doyle and other early school officials, respondents described a norm for respect for principals and teachers which apparently was inherent in the positions and which ascribed some degree of community status. Two examples mentioned were respect for the school marm image and acceptance of orders from principals and teachers due to position. This attitude is characteristic of the sacred community toward the teaching profession which tends to maintain community faith in the profession through the "process of sanctification . . . by assuming an air of professional mystique."³⁰ Thus, it may be assumed that one factor in maintaining the superintendency, particularly in the early years, lay in community respect for the status of the Superintendent. In later years, the Superintendent's consistent fulfillment of expectations of her leadership role appears to be of more importance.

The Subject's development of her role as Superintendent. A review of factors identified by respondents suggests several approaches through which the Superintendent developed her role as school leader, thereby maintaining community support. Notable were

²⁹Loomis, Social Systems, p. 11.

³⁰Iannaccone and Lutz, pp. 54-55.

behaviors which made the Subject available, visible, and approachable to the public. Respondents indicated the importance of the School Chief's office literally being open to everyone, with scheduled hours on Saturday, which became a facility for interaction; and the Superintendent's participation in community meetings throughout the 30-year period was described as being "like old home week."³¹ These meetings allowed informality of associations, a time for renewing relationships, displaying sentiment, and sharing concern over family members. Additionally, the meetings provided a vehicle for the Subject's county-wide visibility. The result of these associations was the enhancement of openness between the Superintendent and community. She was frequently approached by school patrons with complaints and concerns over matters in a particular school community, complaints which she rerouted to the teacher, principal, or staff member of immediate authority.³² Thus, it appears that an additional factor in the Superintendent's maintaining the office lay in her careful role development in keeping with community expectations.

Outcomes of interaction between the School Superintendent and community patrons. Foremost among outcomes of interaction between the Subject and community patrons was the establishment of

³¹Statement by Dr. Hilton A. Smith, December 31, 1976; and James W. Bellamy, February 4, 1977.

³²Statement by J. B. Lyle, December 16, 1976.

communication patterns through formal and informal community groups. The significance of this outcome is best understood in the context of communication as a master sociological process by which information, decisions, and directives are passed through a social system and by which knowledge, opinions, and attitudes are formed or modified.³³ From studying the history of development of Knox County schools under Miss Doyle, it would appear that with the establishment of these communication patterns a second outcome occurred; there followed a heightened community-wide understanding of local educational needs and of problems which had to be overcome if school goals were to be attained.

A third outcome was the emergence of the Superintendent as linking agent between the schools and community. According to Mrs. Patterson, Administrative Assistant to the Superintendent, although the Subject was regarded as the Squire's daughter in 1946, within 10 years she was perceived as a professional educator.³⁴ It is interesting to note that while the Subject grew in stature as an educator, she did not allow the creation of a status barrier between herself and patrons but maintained a norm for intimate communication. Considered a local authority on education, she was able to remain as one of the people and to operate effectively as linking agent. This fact is important within the sacred community where the leader

³³Loomis, Social Systems, p. 35.

³⁴Statement by Mildred M. Patterson, April 25, 1977.

emerges from within and is esteemed as a holder of seniority and folk wisdom.³⁵

A fourth outcome which may be regarded as an outgrowth of communication is understood in the sociological concept of institutionalization. While the concept is generally used in the context of making human behavior predictable and patterned and facilitating organizational structure, it seems appropriate to speculate that after a period of predictable, reliable behavior, the Subject came to be regarded as an institution in Knox County Schools, a factor which possibly supported her continued reelection.

In summary, social factors identified as contributing to the Subject's continued reelection include the status accorded educators in Knox County and the Subject's development of the Superintendent's role through extensive interaction with the community. Also supportive of continued reelection were: the establishment of a norm for communication with the community which heightened patrons' understanding of and commitment to school goals; emergence of the Superintendent as linking agent; and community regard for the Subject as an institution of Knox County Schools.

Knox County Political Situation

Factors related to Knox County's political situation which were identified as contributing to Miss Doyle's continued reelection

³⁵Iannaccone and Lutz, p. 52.

to the superintendency follow in Table 8. To conduct the assessment of identified factors, the following considerations were addressed:

1. Subject's political expertise;
2. Subject's relationship with Quarterly Court and Board of Education members;
3. Significant political decisions in school development;
4. Continued community support.

Subject's political expertise. It should be recalled that at the time of the Subject's attaining the superintendency in 1946, she did not consider herself as an expert politician; rather, she stated that her political influence grew from her father's power base and family support.³⁶ In contrast, respondents credited the Subject with possessing considerable personal political expertise during the 30-year period, using descriptors such as political pro and good, super politician. Additionally, her political power base was identified. It should be noted that in 1949, both the Subject's parents died. While some degree of family support in South Knox County continued to exist, the strength of her father's power base was gone.³⁷

Respondents cited numerous examples illustrative of her expertise: knowledge of family relationships in Knox County and ability to remember names; personal knowledge of precinct leaders and

³⁶Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, November 3, 1976.

³⁷Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, November 3, 1976.

TABLE 8

FACTORS RELEVANT TO THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN KNOX COUNTY IN
 MAINTAINING THE SUPERINTENDENCY

Factor

A. Identified by Respondents

Subject had the support of both parties
 Subject was a good politician, she delivered
 Subject was a political pro; a super politician
 Subject had friends in the right places
 Subject had University support through U.T. employees, many of
 whom were West Knox County residents
 Subject had a political base
 Subject was a politician on the majority side
 Board of Education composed of both Democrats and Republicans
 Subject understood the power structure
 Subject supported members of Court and the Board
 Subject controlled the Board
 Subject kept Court members carefully informed of school pro-
 grams; therefore, the Court was willing to finance school
 improvements
 Subject worked well with Board and kept members informed
 Subject worked cooperatively with Howard Bozeman, County Judge,
 to improve financing in Knox County
 Subject fought with Court
 Subject never made a power play with Court
 Subject never sold out for her own promotion
 Subject knew Knox County people, remembered their names
 Subject knew all precinct leaders and their relatives
 School problems were taken to community leaders and the people
 Subject worked actively with community groups, P.T.A., social
 agencies
 Subject organized community people to go to Court for funds
 People appointed to jobs supported her
 Subject was given credit for teacher pay raises
 Subject educated patrons to needs of children
 Subject never asked for more money than Court would provide
 Subject acquired adequate financing of the school program
 Subject planned and built needed physical facilities
 Strong curriculum development
 Good personnel program
 Subject did what was best for children; cognizant of needs of
 children
 Subject was an educator first

TABLE 8 (continued)

Factor
B. Identified by Researcher
Subject and Board maintained an image of unanimity
Subject maintained an active relationship with middle class decision-makers through participation in voluntary associations
Voter behavior remained stable, following traditional patterns
Subject maintained a strong alliance with Republican Party
Subject was supported by both Democratic and Republican Party members
Subject was rarely opposed in school elections

their relations; understanding of local power structure; active involvement with community groups, particularly the P.T.A. organizations; allegiance to the Republican Party; sharing of school problems with community leaders and patrons; never asking the Court for more money than it would provide. The Subject's involvement in P.T.A. activities in Knox County is particularly worthy of note. According to research by Betz,³⁸ in Knox County the percentage of attendance in high SES neighborhoods was 17 percent; in middle SES neighborhoods it was 15 percent. Studies by Vidich and Bensman³⁹ and by Kimbrough⁴⁰ indicated that representatives of these two groups are most influential in community decision-making. According to respondents, all these factors became effective political tools which contributed to her continued reelection.

Subject's relationship with Quarterly Court and Board of Education members. Respondents identified members of the Quarterly Court and the Board of Education as primary participants in educational decision-making in Knox County. As discussed in a previous assessment, prior to the Doyle superintendency their participation was more accurately described as political interference. In identification of factors which contributed to the Subject's

³⁸Betz, "Neighborhood States," pp. 65-67.

³⁹Vidich and Bensman, Small Town, p. 60.

⁴⁰Kimbrough, pp. 52-60.

maintenance of the superintendency, her relationships with both participating bodies was included. However, these relationships are in sharp contrast to those of prior administrations; here the Superintendent was regarded as a power figure.

In characterizing her relationship with Court members, a pattern of cooperative efforts with the Judge was deemed a "highly significant factor"⁴¹ in securing adequate funding for schools. Similarly, the Subject was regarded as having established a relationship with Squires in which school developments, problems and needs were openly presented; "She had to sell the schools' story to Court,"⁴² according to one respondent. While another respondent believed these presentations were responsible for Court support, others noted periods when Squires and the Superintendent engaged in a relationship of virtual war over the financing of schools. John R. McCloud, Principal of Brickey Elementary School, remarked, "She fought all our battles for us."⁴³ The result of these battles was the development of a relationship of mutual respect; and from this respect there developed a pattern of reciprocal support between Judge and Squires and Superintendent.⁴⁴

The researcher noted an interesting contrast in perceptions of

⁴¹Statement by Dr. Hilton A. Smith, December 30, 1976.

⁴²Statement by Mildred M. Patterson, December 13, 1976.

⁴³Statement by John R. McCloud, Principal, Brickey Elementary School, personal interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, January 28, 1977.

⁴⁴Statement by Willard Yarbrough, May 13, 1977.

respondents regarding the Superintendent's behaviors in Court presentations. Max Wolf, who was elected to Court membership in 1960, remarked on the Subject's phenomenal ability to explain to Court, in layman's language, what schools needed. He concluded, "She never made a power play for finance; she always came to negotiate."⁴⁵ Conversely, Judge Bozeman's account of occasions when community patrons would pack meeting rooms in support of the Superintendent's recommendations was, by his own account, "a masterful display of power."⁴⁶

The writings of Kimbrough⁴⁷ and of Vidich and Bensman⁴⁸ are helpful in gaining an understanding of the relationship described above. They point out differences of political power in the sacred community and note superintendents' utilization of professional expertise and of informal power resources to accomplish programs. In Knox County, Court members historically were figures of power in the community. Superintendent Doyle, growing in professional knowledge and expertise, gaining personal power, presented a competitive power figure. Clashes between these parties would seem inevitable, and did, in fact, occur through the years. To strengthen her position with Court, the Superintendent utilized her knowledge of informal power structure, successfully engaging in the low

⁴⁵Statement by Max Wolf, member of Knox County Quarterly Court, personal interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, December 17, 1976.

⁴⁶Statement by C. Howard Bozeman, December 30, 1976.

⁴⁷Kimbrough, pp. 221-236.

⁴⁸Vidich and Bensman, pp. 199-200.

pressure politics of the sacred community. Then, to achieve the equilibrium in relationships necessary for financial support of schools, an atmosphere of support and respect was sought and achieved.

The relationship between the Superintendent and Board of Education members was described in terms of support, cooperation, and control. According to respondents, the Subject established a positive working relationship with Board of Education members by two means: she encouraged selected community patrons to seek board positions, then if elected, she supported their reelection; she and the school staff exercised great care in providing to the Board information necessary for determining responsible decisions.⁴⁹ As a result, the relationship was characterized by an image of unanimity. "She wanted everybody working together; she was never happy with a simple majority."⁵⁰ This image of unanimity and cooperation was perceived by some as Superintendent control over the Board. According to Squire Willard Yarbrough, "She was the Board."⁵¹ However, this relationship parallels that described by Vidich and Bensman⁵² and is another characteristic of the sacred society.

⁴⁹Statements by Dr. Hilton A. Smith, December 31, 1976; Wallace F. Burroughs, January 25, 1977.

⁵⁰Statement by Dr. Samuel E. Bratton, Jr., Director of Research, Knox County Schools, personal interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, December 17, 1976.

⁵¹Statement by Willard Yarbrough, May 13, 1977.

⁵²Vidich and Bensman, p. 175.

An interesting graphic illustration of the relationship between the Superintendent and Board of Education was noted by Dr. Bratton.⁵³ In developing an organizational chart of Knox County Schools, the positions of Board and Superintendent are placed on the same horizontal level in contrast to the usual placement of the superintendent at a level immediately below that of the board. The Knox County chart denotes the fact that both Board and Superintendent are elected by popular vote; the Subject did not consider herself a school employee. Traditional placement indicates the superintendent's position as executive officer of the board, and as an employee of the educational institution.

In summary, while the relationships between the Superintendent and Court differed sharply with that of the Superintendent and Board of Education, both appear to have been carefully cultivated to serve the advantage of the development of Knox County Schools and, in turn, the continued reelection of the Superintendent.

Significant political decisions in school development.

According to Eliot,⁵⁴ five areas of decision-making are most significant politically: curriculum, facilities, organization of school districts, personnel, and finance. A review of events identified

⁵³Statement by Dr. Samuel E. Bratton, Jr., December 17, 1976.

⁵⁴Eliot, "Public School Politics," pp. 164-170.

as significant in the development of Knox County Schools, 1946-1976, illustrates these areas. In regard to curriculum, facilities, and school districts, a most outstanding political decision occurred in 1950-51 with the County-wide school survey which, by design, utilized members of the power structure, school and University personnel, and community patrons as active participants. Within the survey period, community meetings were held in each high school, attended by hundreds of interested, concerned citizens. Some outgrowths of these meetings were: an informed community; collection of data relevant to parents and students' curricular preferences; building needs; a heightened appreciation of the community effort necessary to develop excellent educational opportunities. From the survey data, the school staff developed long-range plans and goals for Knox County Schools. The accomplishment of these goals substantiates a political factor which supported the Subject--the perception that she delivered.

The Superintendent's decision to establish a personnel program free from political interference and to offer development activities for the staff was also politically significant. In assuming and maintaining her stand to keep personnel decisions within the central office, the Subject and Board regained the professional responsibility for building a personnel program and freed school staff members from fear of political reprisals. By establishing inservice programs in which teachers and principals actively participated in growth

experiences, pride in the profession developed among the staff which, according to Principal James Bellamy, contributed to a high degree of loyalty to the Superintendent: "She was the best friend I had," he said.⁵⁵

In regard to finance, the Subject again shared school concerns in public meetings which included educating patrons to needs, planning projections, cost estimates, and all available financial sources. In presenting budgets to Court, the Subject routinely included listings of detailed expenditures and suggestions for securing funds.⁵⁶

In summary, the history of the development of Knox County Schools reveals numerous administrative decisions which may be regarded as politically significant, decisions which engendered staff and public support and contributed to the Superintendent's continued reelection.

Continued community support. In seeking an understanding of the community's continued support of Superintendent Doyle, factors which offer immediate explanation include her membership in and allegiance to the Republican Party, the majority party of Knox County as discussed previously. Additionally, the researcher's review of Knox County election returns in the years 1952-1972⁵⁷ revealed

⁵⁵Statement by James W. Bellamy, February 4, 1977.

⁵⁶Statement by Max Wolf, January 27, 1977.

⁵⁷Official Election Return Sheets, Knox County, Tennessee, August 7, 1952; August 12, 1956; August 4, 1960; August 6, 1964; August 1, 1968; August 3, 1972.

stability of voter behavior as Republican candidates dominated winning totals; and Superintendent Doyle led the ticket in number of votes received. This voter stability and loyalty may have stemmed from family tradition and affiliation with political party as discussed previously; also notable are findings of the Stanford study that favorable votes are garnered from school patrons who express pride in teachers, buildings, and programs.⁵⁸ The factor which identified University support may relate to Aggers'⁵⁹ findings that more highly educated voters support school elections. Additionally, the Subject was supported by both Democrats and Republicans; this factor was identified by respondents who remarked on two-party membership of the Board of Education and upon her relationship with Judge Bozeman, a Democratic leader who consistently supported her.⁶⁰ The fact of two-party support may parallel Nunnery and Kimbrough's⁶¹ finding that educators, in a typical school district, have a following which may be identified as a school party, in this case, a pro-school, pro-Doyle party. This two-party support resulted in the Subject's endorsement by both local daily papers.⁶²

The level of community support enjoyed by the Subject

⁵⁸Carter, pp. 1-19.

⁵⁹Nunnery and Kimbrough, pp. 49-50.

⁶⁰Statement by C. Howard Bozeman, December 30, 1976.

⁶¹Nunnery and Kimbrough, p. 55.

⁶²Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, November 3, 1976.

engendered one outstanding factor in her continued reelection--she was rarely opposed. Primary and general election returns identify one opponent in Republican primaries after the 1946 victory over former Superintendent W. W. Morris; through 1972, only two Democratic opponents entered the superintendent's race and both were soundly defeated (see Appendix F). In considering the scarcity of opponents, a fellow superintendent remarked, "She was such a strong politician and strong leader in education, possible contenders knew they couldn't defeat her . . . and so, didn't attempt it."⁶³

In examining the persistence of the lack of opposition, the sociological concept of boundary maintenance is helpful. This master process serves to retain identity within a social system by resisting forces that threaten identity and interaction patterns.⁶⁴ It seems reasonable to speculate that the Subject successfully established and maintained her boundary of the superintendency in Knox County through cycles of accomplishment of school goals, success in working with the Court and Board, interaction with the community, and continued reelection. Significant too were perceptions that in the context of maintaining her boundaries of the position, she consistently did what was best for children and did not sell out politically for her own promotion.

⁶³Statement by J. P. Stewart, Superintendent of Maryville City Schools, personal interview, Maryville, Tennessee, November 1, 1976.

⁶⁴Loomis, Social Systems, pp. 32-33.

In summary, political factors identified which contributed to the Subject's continued reelection included: her development of political expertise and use of this political skill in interactions; relationships of respect and support established with members of Court and the Board; decisions related to curriculum, facilities, personnel, school organization, and finance which garnered political support. Important, too, were voter stability and loyalty, her affiliation with the Republican Party and support from both parties; her establishment and maintenance of a boundary on the superintendency so formidable that her elective position was rarely challenged.

The Subject's Leadership

Factors related to the Subject's leadership which were identified as contributing to Miss Doyle's continued reelection to the superintendency of Knox County Schools are presented in Table 9. For the purpose of conducting an assessment of identified factors, the following considerations were addressed:

1. Identified leadership traits;
2. Subject's social power;
3. Identified leadership behaviors.

Identified leadership traits. Again, respondents identified numerous traits which they perceived as contributing to the Subject's continued reelection. Strength, competitiveness, and athletic and fighting ability portray a characterization of power, noted by

TABLE 9

FACTORS RELEVANT TO THE SUBJECT'S LEADERSHIP IN
MAINTAINING THE SUPERINTENDENCY

Factor
A. Identified by Respondents
Foresight
Sense of humor
Openness
Active in sports
A fighter
Well organized
Physical strength
Competitive nature
Knew how to work with people
Honesty
Dedication
Subject held respect of people
Subject had a lot of power
Subject had charisma, could work people
Subject had ability to negotiate with Court and community
Subject had ability to administer
Subject could say "no" positively if an idea or program were not good for children
Subject exhibited determination, not autocracy
Subject surrounded herself with capable people, relied on these people for ideas, then made ideas her own
Subject accepted many staff decisions which her gut feeling opposed
Subject praised staff
Subject relied on Mrs. Patterson (administrative assistant)
Subject was loyal to staff members
Subject gave her life, time and personal health to Knox County Schools
Subject developed a family feeling among staff, a matriarchy
Knox County Schools were her life, her family
Subject had no family responsibility and could devote 24 hours a day to schools, and did so

TABLE 9 (continued)

Factor
B. Identified by Researcher
Loyalty to Knox County Schools
Legal-rational authority, legitimate power
Coercive and expert power
Charismatic authority
High self-esteem, self-confidence
Subject was attentive to forces in the self, subordinate, and community
High task orientation

Horner⁶⁵ as positively associated with masculinity. Humor, honesty, openness, and charisma denote positive social qualities; foresight, organization, and determination portray desired administrative traits. Loyalty to the employing institution is characteristic of women executives;⁶⁶ similarly, qualities of self-esteem and self-confidence are evidenced by women who conform to the traditional male executive role.⁶⁷ Particularly interesting were comments that because the Subject had no immediate family responsibility she could and did devote herself to Knox County Schools to such a degree that; in effect, the schools became her life. This ultimate dedication to the institution was noted in Hennig's⁶⁸ study of executive women with high task orientations, all of whom ignored a social life, working diligently for the institution in the knowledge that a woman must prove herself more skilled than any man who might compete for the job.

The Subject's social power. To gain insight into the Subject's power, identified as a factor in her continued reelection, the classifications of social power are appropriate. As an elected official entitled to exercise authority over subordinates, the Subject may be regarded as holding legal-rational authority, a concept

⁶⁵Horner, pp. 157-175.

⁶⁶Sheehy, p. 35.

⁶⁷Recely, pp. 157-158; Morrison and Sebald, pp. 656-659.

⁶⁸Hennig, pp. 137-154.

identified by Weber⁶⁹ as characteristic where hierarchical chains of command bear rules and norms governing roles and relationships.⁷⁰ Possession of charismatic authority⁷¹ was evidenced particularly in the Subject's relationships with community patrons when her great personal attraction drew support from the community and may have been a factor in the continued loyalty of her staff. From the French and Raven⁷² classifications, legitimate, expert, and coercive power provide explanation of the Subject's social power. Legitimate power, the belief among subordinates that the superior has the right to give orders, relates to the status of the superintendency. Expert power was exhibited in the Subject's development as an administrator who directed a continuing program of school improvements. Coercive power may have been a factor in Superintendent-staff relations in which the Subject's temper was renowned. Described by Dr. Bratton, "If you were committing some egregious error in her view, she'd let you know about it; you always knew where you stood with Miss Doyle."⁷³

Identified leadership behaviors. A respondent who had not worked closely with the Superintendent as a member of the school staff

⁶⁹Weber, pp. 375-382.

⁷⁰Weber, pp. 324-340.

⁷¹French and Raven, pp. 262-268.

⁷²French and Raven, pp. 262-268.

⁷³Statement by Dr. Samuel E. Bratton, Jr., December 17, 1976.

remarked on her "reputation as an autocrat."⁷⁴ Another commented, "Mildred Doyle is not an autocratic leader; she is better described as determined."⁷⁵ A review of identified factors related to the Subject's behavior with staff members portrays a leader who "surrounded herself with capable people, relied on these people for ideas, then made the ideas her own,"⁷⁶ who worked well with staff members, praising them for their accomplishments, accepting their decisions which she may have opposed. She was described as relying on Mrs. Patterson, her Administrative Assistant, a member of the central office staff since the late 1940's; and finally, as developing a familial, matriarchal relationship with the staff. It is interesting that before attaining the superintendency, the Subject suggested that the best school leader would be "a benevolent dictator . . . a papa figure."⁷⁷ Her comments would appear prophetic of her own development.

These behaviors, with the traits included above, closely parallel Reddin's⁷⁸ description of the leader who is effective as a dedicated manager but whose basic style may drift inappropriately to

⁷⁴Statement by Willard Yarbrough, May 13, 1977.

⁷⁵Statement by Dr. Hilton A. Smith, December 31, 1976.

⁷⁶Statement by Beecher E. Clapp, December 22, 1976.

⁷⁷Statement by Iva Anderson Rouser, May 10, 1977.

⁷⁸Reddin, pp. 13, 205-229.

autocratic behavior. One staff member remarked, ". . . when you worked for her, she was really more democratic than most people believe."⁷⁹ The seemingly diverse behaviors may also be explained in the context of a continuum of behaviors ranging from highly boss-centered to highly subordinate-centered leadership.⁸⁰ Using this approach, the leader selects a pattern of behavior dependent upon forces in the self, the subordinates, and the situation. In regard to the Subject, it would appear that she recognized within herself her need to achieve and her need for power; as expressed above, she exhibited great confidence in subordinates. Thus, Dr. Bratton's description of the leader's democratic behavior in relationships with mature, capable subordinates would seem in order. In selecting a pattern of behavior compatible with forces in the situation, it should be recalled that the Subject held expert knowledge in regard to school problems and staff effectiveness to meet these problems. Also, she was intimately aware of community pressures which held impact on the operation of schools. The level of accomplishment portrayed in the historical study of school development under the Subject's leadership suggests that appropriate patterns of management style were utilized throughout the 30-year tenure; and it is reasonable to assume that they may well have ranged the behavioral continuum.

⁷⁹Statement by Dr. Samuel E. Bratton, Jr., December 17, 1976.

⁸⁰Tannenbaum and Schmidt, "Leadership Pattern," pp. 95-101.

In summary, respondents indicated the Subject's exhibited leadership behaviors contributed to her continued reelection primarily through her recognition of tasks which must be accomplished and her appropriate selection of managerial style in working relationships with staff members.

A Synthesis

This portion of the study considered factors of the community social organization, of the political situation in Knox County, and of the Subject's leadership in seeking an answer to the following question: What factors contributed to Miss Doyle's continued reelection during the 30-year tenure? A synthesis of assessments of contributing factors identified by respondents and researcher recognizes major factors which serve to answer the question posed.

School leaders in Knox County traditionally were accorded high status by virtue of the position held. However, the Subject reinforced her role through interaction with community persons which contributed to the establishment of communication patterns between the schools and both formal and informal groups. As a result, there developed a county-wide interest in the schools and understanding of educational problems and needs, plus strong community belief in the Subject as a capable educational leader. Politically, the Subject gained considerable expertise in involvement of community groups and decision-makers. She established a relationship with members of Knox County Quarterly Court and the Board of Education which

engendered the support of each body. Through the efforts of the staff, the Subject directed the development of a school program which earned the political favor of both the Democratic and Republican parties. She gained such a reputation for political and educational strength that she was rarely challenged. Elements of the Subject's leadership portray the acquisition of considerable social power, of self-esteem and self-confidence, and of continued dedication to the task of improving educational opportunities in Knox County Schools. Finally, the Subject's leadership behavior suggests that her recognition of her own personal needs, of staff capability and expertise, and of community situational factors which held implications for school operation contributed to the selection of appropriate management styles.

IV. LOSING THE SUPERINTENDENCY

This portion of the study was designed to answer the following question: What factors contributed to Miss Doyle's loss of the superintendency in the 1976 Knox County General Election? Factors considered were delimited to those relating to the community social organization, to the political situation in Knox County, and to the Subject's leadership. Factors identified by respondents and researcher follow in tabular form with attendant assessment and discussion.

Knox County Social Organization

Factors related to Knox County's social organization which were identified as contributing to Miss Doyle's losing the superintendency of Knox County Schools in 1976 follow in Table 10. For the purpose of conducting an assessment of identified factors, the following considerations were addressed:

1. Community movement on the sacred-secular continuum;
2. Defeat of incumbent School Board members.

Community movement on the sacred-secular continuum. At the time of the Subject's attaining the superintendency in 1946, Knox County was depicted as holding beliefs, values, and social patterns characteristic of the sacred community. However, with the passage of 30 years, social changes occurred in Knox County which respondents indicated contributed to Superintendent Doyle's loss in 1976. These changes suggest community movement on the social continuum from the sacred toward the secular type.

Respondents noted the County's population growth following World War II when area institutions increased employment, bringing into Knox County professional families associated with the University, Tennessee Valley Authority, and Oak Ridge. Since the mid-1960's, West Knox County was noted as the major growth area and as the area where many families were highly transient. Thus, the factors of rapid growth and transiency contributed to emergence of new values, expectancy of population movement with degeneration of established

TABLE 10

FACTORS RELEVANT TO THE COMMUNITY SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN
LOSING THE SUPERINTENDENCY

Factor

A. Identified by Respondents

Population growth in West Knox County since 1966

Transience among West Knox County families

Open classroom controversy among patrons

Community resentment at having to wait turns in prioritizing
building needs

People ready for a change

Public expectation that Subject would not run for election in
1976

Subject's advanced age

Subject's reversal of retirement plans

Public felt Subject wanted to select her own successor

Fear of a Superintendent's dynasty

Subject discredited herself

Subject's acceptance of Cadillac was questioned by public

B. Identified by Researcher

Community movement from sacred toward secular type

Community norm for retirement at age 65

Community acceptance of pilot and innovative programs

Community norm for participation in school affairs

Community expectation that Subject would follow through on
decision

Defeat of incumbent school board members

community groups, loss of some traditional community sentiment, and emotional neutrality toward established community norms. Other social changes occurred, in part, at the direction of the Superintendent and school staff. While many innovative school programs had been piloted, evaluated, and implemented, it appears they were frequently supported by community sentiment--doing what was best for children in Knox County Schools. Nevertheless, residents had developed an expectancy for and acceptance of change in local educational programs as recommended by the expert educational leader. At the same time, a norm had been established for active community participation in school affairs, and this factor may be responsible for the open conflict which resulted among some patrons in later years over prioritized building plans and the open space concept.

Other factors identified may be explained in the context of elements of the social system. In Knox County there was a norm for retirement from employment at age 65. Among teachers, there was the option of a waiver granted by the Board of Education, but such a waiver was rarely used, and the Subject considered herself an elected official not bound by retirement regulations. This, among some Knox Countians, was regarded as the source of considerable conflict.⁸¹ Following 30 years of dependable behavior, there was the expectation that the Subject would continue to follow through on decisions, in this instance, her announced decision to retire from the

⁸¹Statement by Mildred E. Doyle, May 7, 1977.

superintendency in August 1976. With the reversal of that decision, the Subject may have diminished her reputation and her role as an educational leader. This apparent instability on her part may have contributed to the expressed belief among voters that, upon re-election, the Subject would retire, naming a successor to be appointed for the remainder of her term, establishing a line of succession which would remain under her control. The result of these community beliefs was the initiation of negative sanction--the withholding of voter support.

Defeat of incumbent school board members. Recent studies of the politics of local school districts indicate a pattern of events which is predictive of involuntary superintendent turnover.⁸² The pattern is preceded by stability of the school board and stability between the board and superintendent, characterized by exhibited consensus between these parties with the superintendent assuming a leadership role. The pattern of social change begins with population increase and mobility which leads to political action to open the board of education, defeat of incumbent board members, development of conflict between members of the board and the superintendent, and involuntary turnover of the school head with replacement by an outsider. These studies enhance an understanding of events which occurred in Knox County and may have contributed to the defeat of Superintendent Doyle in 1976.

⁸²Iannaccone and Lutz, pp. 85-96.

The population change and mobility which occurred in Knox County was emphasized in the historical study and in a previous assessment. Likewise, the relationship between the Subject and members of the Board of Education was presented. Both factors parallel findings of the research studies. Defeat of incumbent Board Chairman "Hop" Bailey and member Wallace Burroughs occurred following a Private Act which changed voting patterns; prior to the Act, board candidates had run at-large; as a result of the Act, candidates ran for election only in the school district of their residence.⁸³ In each case, discontent of district residents was credited as the factor which contributed to incumbent defeat;⁸⁴ the discontent of new residents was expressed by Mr. Bailey who commented on his loss to "an Oak Ridger."⁸⁵

It should be noted here that by September 1976, the Board included 55 percent new membership due both to incumbent defeat and death of long-time members. Under a new Board Chairman and with rapidly changing membership, the relations between parties was noted by respondents as having undergone change but not conflict. Meetings became longer as members participated actively in questioning proposals and discussing possible action; a spirit of amiability between

⁸³Private Acts, 1970, Chapter 338, p. 1254.

⁸⁴Statement by Wallace F. Burroughs, January 25, 1977.

⁸⁵Statement by Samuel Hopkins (Hop) Bailey, Sr., December 16, 1977.

parties and achievement of consensus continued.⁸⁶ The researcher's study of Board minutes of this period substantiated this relationship.

The parallel between findings in the research and events which occurred in Knox County suggest that the predictors discussed were applicable in regard to community change which led to incumbent Board member defeat. However, there is no evidence to suggest a diminished relationship between Board members and Superintendent which contributed to her involuntary turnover.

In summary, during the 30 years of this study, Knox County experienced a period of rapid change which suggests its movement from the sacred toward the secular community typology. Illustrative of the change were population growth, with a high rate of resident transiency, change of community values, emotional neutrality toward some community norms. Residents had grown to anticipate change in school programs and to expect to participate actively in school affairs; one evidence of this participation occurred in the defeat of incumbent Board members. While the period of change supported the Subject's loss of the 1976 election, the events surrounding her announced retirement and decision to run for office again at age 72 were so opposed to voters' expectations that many responded negatively.

⁸⁶Statement by Dr. Samuel E. Bratton, Jr., December 17, 1976.

Knox County Political Situation

Factors related to Knox County's political situation which were identified as contributing to Miss Doyle's losing the superintendency of Knox County Schools in 1976 follow in Table 11. For the purpose of conducting an assessment of identified factors, two considerations were addressed:

1. Breakdown of party support;
2. Change in Knox County voter behavior.

Breakdown in party support. For 30 years the Subject had enjoyed a strong affiliation with the Republican Party and continued support of the Democratic Party, coalition support which resulted in a possible school party. However, respondents identified several factors that indicate a breakdown of both Republican and coalition party support.

According to Judge Bozeman,⁸⁷ political behavior must conform to certain norms in Knox County; and the Subject broke two of these in her support of Nat Winston in the State gubernatorial Republican primary and of incumbent Mayor Kyle Testerman in the city's mayoral race. When each candidate lost his respective contest, respondents speculated that many Republicans withdrew support as chastisement for her break in precedent, while Democrats who supported winner Randy Tyree for mayor reacted similarly.

⁸⁷Statement by C. Howard Bozeman, December 30, 1976.

TABLE 11

FACTORS RELEVANT TO THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN KNOX COUNTY IN
LOSING THE SUPERINTENDENCY

Factor
A. Identified by Respondents
Subject's support of Dr. Nat Winston in 1974 Republican gubernatorial primary
Subject's support of incumbent Mayor Kyle Testerman in 1975 Knoxville mayor's race
Loss of both Winston and Testerman
Coalition of Republicans and Democrats broke
Subject did not organize last campaign, was not competitive in campaigning
Political game caught up with Subject, 30 years of infighting
Subject refused to engage in political favoritism in the school office
Lack of Republican support in last election
Subject did not carry her home district in the election
Oldtimers who had formerly supported Subject were gone
B. Identified by Researcher
Increase in voter turnout in 1976 superintendent election
Cross-pressure among voters

Additional factors were suggested to account for waning party support. In recent years, many strong former supporters had lost power or were deceased; and after 30 years of active political life, many persons had become alienated.

Change in voter behavior. Returns of the 1976 General Election show a marked increase in voter participation in the race for school superintendent. Total votes cast for both candidates numbered 53,414, an increase of 20,852 over votes cast for the superintendent in 1972.⁸⁸ This increase is in contrast to the traditional stability of voting patterns in Knox County; according to research, the more highly motivated voter is the one who casts an opposing vote.⁸⁹ In this case, the opposing votes appear to be the result of heightened local political activity of the Democratic Party and of actions by the Subject.

One respondent, noting the changing nature of local politics, said:

County politics is shifting . . . look at Tyree, at the last election returns, at Carter [President Jimmy Carter]: he was only 3000 votes below Ford in the last Presidential election . . . a heresy in Knox County. She [Miss Doyle] lost traditional Republican areas.⁹⁰

⁸⁸Official Return Sheet, Knox County Election Commission, Knoxville, Tennessee, August 5, 1976; August 3, 1972.

⁸⁹Nunnery and Kimbrough, pp. 49-50.

⁹⁰Statement by Willard Yarbrough, May 13, 1977.

Another County resident commented on the Governor's interest in the local race saying, "It was simply a case of party politics."⁹¹

In announcing retirement, accepting teachers' tribute gift, reconsidering retirement, then running for reelection in 1976, the Subject set in motion a chain of events totally out of character with her image of decisiveness. The events suggest that the Subject may have lost a degree of political acumen. These actions may have contributed to feelings of cross-pressure in voters, and this inner conflict may also have contributed to opposing votes.

Political factors which led to the Superintendent's loss in 1976 may be summarized in one word--change--change in party support, in local political preference, and in voter behavior, change in the politician.

The Subject's leadership. Factors concerning the Subject's leadership identified as contributing to her loss in 1976 are presented in Table 12; assessment and discussion follow.

Throughout Mildred Doyle's youth and career in education, she was characterized as determined, highly motivated, and self-confident. Characteristic of women in executive positions, she had devoted her loyalty to the institution and made it her life. Then, having announced her plan to retire and initiating Republican Party

⁹¹Statement by Representative Ben Atchley, Chairman, Republican Caucus, Knox County Legislative Delegation, personal interview, July 1, 1977.

TABLE 12
 FACTORS RELEVANT TO THE SUBJECT'S LEADERSHIP IN
 LOSING THE SUPERINTENDENCY

Factor

A. Identified by Respondents

Subject's loss of flexibility in tough situations

Subject thought she was invincible

B. Identified by Researcher

Subject had expectation of continued support

Subject's leader behavior did not meet community expectations

Subject believed she was doing what was best for the Republican
 Party and for the schools

Subject continued to hold qualities of determination, motivation,
 self-confidence

Subject did not regard Democratic nominee as a serious contender

Subject did not accurately judge community sentiment

support for another candidate, she was confronted with the reality that Party leaders would not endorse her candidate and that for a strong party ticket she must run again.

There was the expectancy of continued Party support; her affiliation had not wavered during the 30 years in office. She did not consider the Democratic nominee a serious contender; he was only the third Democratic opponent she would face in general elections,

and traditionally that political party had not enjoyed a large voter turnout.⁹² Discounting community change, unaware of factors which were predictive of her defeat, reaching a poor judgment regarding the community's sentiment at her considered retirement reversal, the Subject announced her candidacy for Superintendent of Knox County Schools. Ironically, some of the leadership factors which contributed to Mildred Doyle's defeat were the same ones which contributed to her initial election and continued reelection-- determination and motivation to guide the development of Knox County Schools and self-confidence that she was the most capable contender for the tasks of the superintendency.

A Synthesis

This portion of the study was designed to answer the question: What factors contributed to Miss Doyle's loss of the superintendency in the 1976 Knox County General Election. Factors related to the community social organization, to the political situation in Knox County, and to the Subject's leadership were considered. A synthesis of the assessments recognized three major factors which serve to answer the question.

Knox County was characterized as having moved from the sacred toward the secular community type with a rapidly growing population,[✓] changing values, and emotional neutrality toward traditional

⁹²Statements by Mildred E. Doyle, November 3, 1976.

institutions. Similarly, County politics was described as undergoing a period of change as Democratic influence was noted in local elections and party affiliation appeared to be in a state of flux. Finally the Subject had held the superintendency well beyond age 65, the expected age of retirement; and she had begun to exhibit leadership behaviors which did not meet the expectations of community citizens.

These factors provide the background for a series of events which ended in Mildred Doyle's loss of the superintendency. First, an unexpected change in Board membership saw the removal of Chairman "Hop" Bailey and Wallace Burroughs. Then in 1974 and 1975, the Subject broke local precedent by actively participating in a State Republican Primary and by supporting the incumbent in the City's mayoral race, thereby alienating local members of both political parties. In August 1975, the Subject announced her plan to retire; then, in December she was honored by County teachers in an evening of tribute which culminated with the presentation of a gold Cadillac. Early the following year, the Subject announced that she would not retire, but would seek reelection. Unopposed in Primary, the Subject faced Earl Hoffmeister, Democratic candidate, in the General Election. On August 5, 1976, over 50,000 Knox Countians cast votes in the Superintendent's race; in this election, Mildred Doyle did not win.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I. SUMMARY

The purposes of this study were:

1. To present an historical account of selected antecedents and of selected significant events in the development of schools during the years of Mildred Doyle's tenure as Superintendent of Knox County Schools, 1946-1976; and

2. To identify and assess factors portrayed in the historical account which contributed to her attaining, maintaining, and losing the superintendency.

The Historical Account

To accomplish the first purpose, an historical presentation was developed, containing antecedents of Miss Doyle's attainment of the superintendency, events of historical significance in the development of Knox County Schools, 1946-1976, and selected events of the Superintendent's last term of office. Information was gathered from primary sources including records of Knox County Government, Knox County Schools and Board of Education, files of The Knoxville Journal and The Knoxville News-Sentinel, publications of the State of Tennessee, documents of County history, documents and files maintained by the Subject, and from personal interviews conducted by the researcher.

Attaining the superintendency. This portion of the historical presentation included a study of Knox County during the period 1900-1946, a social history of the Doyle family and of the Subject's youth and early career, and of events which led to her appointment to the superintendency in 1946. The study focused on Mildred Doyle, daughter of a politically active family in rural South Knox County. It followed her development as a young woman, active in local women's athletics, who shared her father's interest in political affairs, and gained his support in her bid for the superintendency of Knox County Schools.

Maintaining the superintendency. This portion of the study included events of historical significance in the development of Knox County Schools, as identified by selected respondents representing Knox County Court, Knox County Board of Education, members of Knox County Schools central office staff, and school principals. Events identified as particularly worthy of study were the initiation of a program for personnel upgrading, curriculum improvement, testing and guidance services, the school lunch program, school desegregation, implementation of the middle school organization, and the 45-day curriculum module. Planning and financing adequate buildings and facilities was a continuous, cooperative effort of the Superintendent and staff, the Board of Education, and Quarterly Court. The presentation of these events portrayed the Subject as working actively with community groups, depending upon the expertise of

staff members, and gaining power in Knox County.

Losing the superintendency. Selected events of the Subject's last term of office were reconstructed, those identified by respondents as leading to her loss of the superintendency in August, 1976. Included were the defeat at public election of two long-time Board members, the Subject's political support of two losing candidates in a State Republican gubernatorial primary and Knoxville mayoral race, the Subject's announced retirement, a teachers' tribute and gift to the Subject, her decision to run for the superintendency in 1976, events surrounding the opponent's placement on the general election ballot, and the ensuing campaign. In this period the Subject was described as advancing in age, indecisive regarding her elective position, and exhibiting behaviors not in keeping with community expectations.

Identification and Assessment of Factors

The second purpose was accomplished through an identification of factors which contributed to the Subject's attaining, maintaining, and losing the superintendency of Knox County Schools. To complement the study, an assessment was conducted which considered factors of the community's social organization, the political situation in Knox County, and the Subject's leadership. The assessment was designed to answer three specific questions which follow:

Question 1. What factors contributed to Miss Doyle's attaining the superintendency of Knox County Schools in 1946?

Three major factors were identified as contributing to the Subject's attaining the superintendency. First, Knox County was characterized as a sacred social community prizing traditionalism and conservatism, controlled by a monolithic power pyramid of Republican party preference which sought leadership among local generalists. Second, the Subject's father, who had achieved status as Republican ramrod and linking agent between power elitists and constituents, had assumed a mentor-type relationship with his daughter and encouraged her in her educational career. Third, the Subject had not been bound to the classic nurturing role: in maturity she exhibited aggressiveness, a need for personal achievement, self-confidence, and self-esteem. Thus, when the Subject had acquired necessary certification, she sought the leadership of Knox County Schools; and with the support of her father and his fellow squires, she was appointed by acclamation.

Question 2. What factors contributed to Miss Doyle's continued reelection during the 30-year tenure?

Numerous factors were identified as contributing to the Subject's being reelected seven times. While the superintendency was regarded as a position of high status, the Subject reinforced her role by interacting with community groups to establish patterns of open communication. This led to heightened interest in the schools and community belief in the Subject as a capable educational leader.

Gaining political expertise, she established a relationship with members of Quarterly Court and the Board of Education which engendered the support of each body. A school program was developed which earned two-party support, and she gained a reputation for political and educational strength. Finally, the Subject selected appropriate management styles which recognized her personal needs, the capability of her staff, and community situational factors.

Question 3. What factors contributed to Miss Doyle's loss of the superintendency in the 1976 General Election?

Four major factors provided an answer to the question. The County was characterized as having moved from the sacred toward the secular community exhibiting changing values and emotional neutrality toward traditional institutions. Similarly County politics was described as being in a state of flux with stronger Democratic influence noted in local elections. Finally, the Subject had held the superintendency beyond the age of expected retirement; and she, too, was described as changing, exhibiting behaviors which no longer met the expectations of community citizens.

II. CONCLUSIONS

Based on findings of the study of a single case in attaining, maintaining, and losing the superintendency in a sacred society, the following conclusions may be drawn.

1. Attaining the superintendency is dependent upon the combination of factors:

- a. the support of the individual who serves as linking agent between power elitists and community constituents;
- b. the support of those atop the community's power pyramid;
- c. the candidate's expert and referent social power.

2. Maintaining longevity as superintendent in a sacred society

is dependent upon the school chief's:

- a. establishing a norm for communication with constituents;
- b. becoming a linking agent between special interest groups and the schools;
- c. developing political expertise and utilizing political skill in decision-making and in interactions with community members and political parties;
- d. developing a pattern of flexible leadership behaviors appropriate to factors in the self, in subordinates, and in the situation.

3. A superintendent of extended tenure serving during a period of rapid social transition will likely lose the position when the leader:

- a. does not reflect the community's social changes;
- b. displays behaviors inconsistent with expectations of the supporting political party;
- c. allows extraordinary self-confidence and motivation to overshadow objectivity.

III. IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Early in the study, the superintendent of schools was recognized as holding a leadership position of great significance in the development of individuals, the community, and the nation. In spite of this importance, research has found the position is marked by brief and insecure tenure of office of less than five years. Study of the interrelationship of social and political factors which hold impact on the leadership of the superintendent and the operation of school districts provides some understanding of this current trend. For the student of administration who desires insights which may contribute to the stability of one's own career, this study may provide valuable information. The examination of actual situations and school leaders, then, becomes more than a study of history; it becomes a data base for analyzing current problems and conditions and seeking direction for education of the future. The Doyle study provided one such opportunity, and across the state other superintendents of extended tenure could serve a similar function. A series of studies of these unique superintendencies in Tennessee could reveal a comprehensive story of the impact of the state's social foundations and political development on school leadership in this century.

In conducting the review of literature relevant to women in executive positions commonly held by men, the researcher was unable to locate any studies which specifically addressed women in the

superintendency. Research by the AASA cited earlier disclosed less than 2 percent women holding the schools' top executive post and noted that most were found in districts with 10,000 pupils or less. A study of women who hold the superintendency would provide an opportunity to explore any relationship between the school chiefs' sex and leadership in office. Additionally, such studies could contribute to the development of role models for other women who aspire to attain this position.

In considering other superintendencies of extended tenure, findings of the Doyle study support the importance of recognizing at least the three aspects considered here--factors in the social system, in politics of education, and in the superintendent's leadership. No one approach would have provided a global understanding of the changing era and its impact on the behavior of the school chief. However, the combination of concepts wove a tapestry of the complex interrelationships which directed the course of events.

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XI. UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

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Doyle Family Bible.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

PERSONS MEETING CRITERIA FOR SELECTION AS RESPONDENTS

County Court¹

C. Howard Bozeman
Max Wolf
Willard Yarbrough

Board of Education²

Samuel H. Bailey, Sr.
Kathryn Benson
Wallace Burroughs
Fred Graves
Dr. Hilton A. Smith

Central Office Staff³

Mildred M. Patterson
Willa Selvey
Beecher E. Clapp
Carolyn Sullivan
VaLera Lewis
J. B. Lyle
Art Bardes
Joseph Chandler

Principals⁴

John R. McCloud
Max Clendenen

¹Rosters of Knox County Court Members, 1946-1976.

²Rosters of Knox County Board of Education Members, 1946-1976.

³Yearbooks of Knox County Education Association, 1954-55 through 1974-75.

⁴Yearbooks of Knox County Education Association, 1954-55 through 1974-75.

James W. Bellamy
James Thurman
James C. King
Bob Goff
Virginia Lewis
Billy Huffaker
William Maynard
Mayford Galyon
Arthur Swaggerty
Fred E. West
James G. Thurman
Andrew Shockley

APPENDIX B

GUIDE QUESTIONS OF PRELIMINARY SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

A. Identification of Respondents

1. What is your name?
2. In what capacity are you/were you associated with Knox County Schools?
3. During what years did you maintain this association?

B. Identification of Significant Events in the Development of Knox County Schools, 1946-1976

1. Considering the following criteria, what events in the developing of Knox County Schools, 1946-1976, do you regard as significant for historical study:
 - a. Long-range impact on school development;
 - b. Public knowledge of the event;
 - c. The Superintendent's participation in the event?
2. As you have knowledge of these events, how did each affect the development of the school program?
3. What are your perceptions of the reaction of the public to each event?
4. What are your perceptions of the Superintendent's participation in each event?
5. What are your perceptions of the impact of each event on public support of schools; public support of the Superintendent?

C. Identification of Events and Factors Which Contributed to the Superintendent's Attaining the Superintendency, Maintaining the Superintendency, Losing the Superintendency

1. Considering the Superintendent's last four years in office, what events do you believe led to her defeat?

2. What factors contributed to Miss Doyle's attaining the superintendency of Knox County Schools in 1946:
 - a. factors related to the community social organization;
 - b. factors related to politics in Knox County;
 - c. factors related to Miss Doyle's leadership?
3. What factors contributed to Miss Doyle's continued reelection during the 30-year tenure:
 - a. factors related to the community social organization;
 - b. factors related to politics in Knox County;
 - c. factors related to Miss Doyle's leadership?
4. What factors contributed to Miss Doyle's loss of the superintendency in the 1976 Knox County General Election:
 - a. factors related to the community social organization;
 - b. factors related to politics in Knox County;
 - c. factors related to Miss Doyle's leadership?

APPENDIX C

DEVELOPMENTAL EVENTS

TABLE 13

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF KNOX COUNTY SCHOOLS,
1946-1976, IDENTIFIED BY SELECTED RESPONDENTS
REPRESENTING KNOX COUNTY QUARTERLY COURTS^a

Event	Frequency of Identification
1948 Building Program	1
Post-War Population Boom in County	1
Teacher Single Salary Schedule	1
Special Education	2 ^b
School Lunch Program	2 ^b
County Underwrites Total School Cost	1
Annexation	2 ^b
Teacher Upgrading	1
Action of Court's Education Committee	1
Open Classrooms	1
Knox County Teacher Pay Scale Comparable with City Teacher Scale	1

^aRespondents representing Knox County Quarterly Court:

<u>Respondent</u>	<u>Term of Office</u>
C. Howard Bozeman	County Judge 1948-66; 1974-
Willard Yarbrough	Squire 1960-66; 1970-
Max Wolf	Squire 1962-

^bEvents selected for historical research were delimited to those identified by two persons of each respondent group.

TABLE 14

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF KNOX COUNTY SCHOOLS,
1946-1976, IDENTIFIED BY SELECTED RESPONDENTS
REPRESENTING KNOX COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION^a

Event	Frequency of Identification
Annexation	3b
Integration of Schools	3b
Building Programs	2b
Single Pay Scale for Teachers	2b
Enriched School Program (Music, Art, Special Education, Physical Education, Commercial Courses)	3b
Teacher Upgrading	2b
Securing Money for Building Programs	1
Budgeting after Annexation	1
Establishment of Teacher Chorus	1
Supervisory Positions Created	1
Projections of Community Growth Trends and Building Program	1
School Lunch Program	1
Community Citizen/Superintendent Meetings	2b
Oak Ridge, TVA, UT Influence	1
Population Shift to West Knoxville	1

^aRespondents representing Knox County Board of Education:

Respondent	Term of Office
Samuel Hopkins (Hop) Bailey, Sr.	Chairman 1950-1972
Wallace F. Burroughs	Member 1950-1972
Dr. Hilton A. Smith	Member 1952-1962

^bEvents selected for historical research were delimited to those identified by two persons of each respondent group.

TABLE 15

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF KNOX COUNTY SCHOOLS,
1946-1976, IDENTIFIED BY SELECTED RESPONDENTS
REPRESENTING CENTRAL OFFICE ADMINISTRATORS^a

Event	Frequency of Identification
Departmentalization	2 ^b
Middle School	2 ^b
"Red Book" Study	2 ^b
Principal-Teacher Inservice	2 ^b
Annexation	2 ^b
Post-Annexation Planning	3 ^b
Doyle Appointed to Superintendents' Study Council	1
Single Salary Scale for Teachers	1
Teacher Upgrading	2 ^b
1948 Building Program	2 ^b
County Court Support	1
Music, Art, P.E., Commercial Courses	1
Mildred Patterson Appointed to Central Office Staff	1
1950 Survey	1
Community/Superintendent Meetings	2 ^b

^aRespondents representing Knox County Schools Central Office Administrators:

<u>Respondent</u>	<u>Term of Office</u>
Beecher E. Clapp, Supervisor, Director of Instruction	1962-
J. B. Lyle, Supervisor of Music	1963-
Mildred M. Patterson, Supervisor, Director of Personnel, Administrative Assistant	1948-1976

^bEvents selected for historical research were delimited to those identified by two persons of each respondent group.

TABLE 16

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF KNOX COUNTY SCHOOLS,
1946-1976, IDENTIFIED BY SELECTED RESPONDENTS
REPRESENTING KNOX COUNTY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS^a

Event	Frequency of Identification
Special Education Program	1
Tracking in High School	1
Testing and Guidance	2 ^b
Lunch Program	2 ^b
Principals' Conference	3 ^b
Inservice for Teachers	3 ^b
Annexation	1
Middle School Concept	1
Program Experimentation	1
Open Space Classrooms	1
12-Month School	1
1948 Building Program	1
45-Day Curriculum Module	2 ^b
County Supplies All School Materials	1
Fulltime Teachers for Music, Art, P.E.	1
Teacher Upgrading	1

^aRespondents representing Knox County School Principals:

<u>Respondent</u>	<u>Term of Office</u>
James W. Bellamy	Farragut High School 1967-
Max Clendenen	Gibbs High School 1954-
John McCloud	Brickey Elementary School 1950-

^bEvents selected for historical research were delimited to those identified by two persons of each respondent group.

APPENDIX D

POPULATION TRENDS

TABLE 17

POPULATION TRENDS, 1795-1975, KNOXVILLE AND
KNOX COUNTY, TENNESSEE

Year	Knoxville				Knox County	
	White	Negro	Other	Total	Outside City Total	Knox County Total
1791	Founded 1791					
1792	Created 1792					
1795	11,573 ^a					
1800	387 ^a				12,059	12,446 ^c
1810	730 ^a				9,441	10,171 ^c
1820	1,115 ^a				11,919	13,034 ^c
1830	1,500 ^a				12,998	14,498 ^c
1840	1,830 ^a				13,655	15,485 ^c
1850	1,478 ^b	598		2,076 ^b	16,731	18,807 ^c
1860	5,300 ^c				17,513	22,813 ^c
1870	6,073 ^c	2,609 ^c		8,682 ^c	20,308	28,990 ^c
1880	6,544 ^c	3,149 ^c		9,693 ^c	29,431	39,124 ^c
1890	16,106 ^d	6,423 ^d		22,535 ^d	37,022	59,557 ^f
1900	25,278 ^d	7,359 ^d		32,637 ^d	41,665	74,302 ^f
1910	28,706 ^d	7,638 ^d	2	36,346 ^d	57,841	94,187 ^f
1920	66,511 ^e	11,302 ^e	5	77,818 ^e	45,108	112,926 ^f
1930	88,705 ^f	17,093 ^g	4	105,802 ^g	50,100	155,902 ^f
1940	95,474 ^g	16,094 ^g	12	111,589 ^g	66,888	178,468 ^h
1950	105,547 ^h	19,171 ^h	51	124,769 ^h	98,238	223,007 ^h
1960	90,941 ⁱ	20,715 ⁱ	171	111,827 ⁱ	138,696	250,523 ⁱ
1970	151,811 ^j	22,157 ^j	619	174,587 ^j	101,706	276,293 ^j
1975	183,383 ^k				110,022	293,405

^aTennessee State Planning Commission, Preliminary Population Report, General Population Statistics and Trends, sec. III, Table I (Nashville, Tennessee, June 14, 1935), pp. 224, 237, 243. (Figures for these years are estimates.)

TABLE 17 (continued)

^bU. S. Bureau of the Census, The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850, Vol. I, Table III (Washington: R. Armstrong, 1853), p. 574. (Black population includes 462 slaves and 136 free.)

^cU. S. Bureau of the Census, Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census: 1880, Table II and Table III (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1883), pp. 78, 762.

^dU. S. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Vol. III, Population. Tennessee, Table II (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1912), p. 762.

^eU. S. Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Vol. III, Composition and Characteristics of the Population, by States, Tennessee, Table 10 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1923), p. 970.

^fU. S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, Vol. I (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1933), p. 1033.

^gU. S. Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population by States, Table B-36 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 701.

^hU. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1950, Tennessee, Vol. I, Number of Inhabitants, Table 5 (U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952, p. 10; Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Table 34 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 57.

ⁱU. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1960, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Table 6 and Table 21 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1961), pp. 13, 55.

^jU. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Tennessee, Table 9 and Table 24 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1972), pp. 15, 63.

^kU. S. Bureau of Census, Population Estimates and Projections, Series P-25, No. 690, Table I (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, May, 1977).

APPENDIX E

ENROLLMENT

TABLE 18
NET ENROLLMENT OF KNOX COUNTY SCHOOLS,
1946-1976

Year	Net Enrollment	-Decrease +Increase
1946-47	17,716 ^a	+544
1947-48	18,430 ^b	+714
1948-49	19,162 ^c	+732
1949-50	20,614 ^d	+1,452
1950-51	21,457 ^e	+843
1951-52	21,496 ^f	+39
1952-53	22,022 ^g	+526
1953-54	23,447 ^h	+1,425
1954-55	25,237 ⁱ	+1,790
1955-56	26,506 ^j	+1,269
1956-57	27,378 ^k	+872
1957-58	28,679 ^l	+1,301
1958-59	30,048 ^m	+1,369
1959-60	31,259 ⁿ	+1,211
1960-61	32,642 ^o	+1,383
1961-62	33,632 ^p	+990
1962-63	34,691 ^q	+1,059
1963-64	16,797 ^r	-17,894
1964-65	17,647 ^s	+850
1965-66	18,471 ^t	+824
1966-67	19,017 ^u	+546
1967-68	20,816 ^v	+1,799
1968-69	21,814 ^w	+998
1969-70	22,698 ^x	+884
1970-71	23,970 ^y	+1,272
1971-72	24,586 ^z	+616
1972-73	25,373 ^{aa}	+787
1973-74	26,921 ^{bb}	+1,548
1974-75	27,743 ^{cc}	+822
1975-76	28,712 ^{dd}	+969

TABLE 18 (continued)

^aState of Tennessee, Annual Statistical Report of the Department of Education for the Scholastic Year Ending June 30, 1947, pp. 69, 114.

^bAnnual Statistical Report . . . 1948, p. 183.

^cAnnual Statistical Report . . . 1949, p. 81.

^dAnnual Statistical Report . . . 1950, p. 81.

^eAnnual Statistical Report . . . 1951, p. 81.

^fAnnual Statistical Report . . . 1952, p. 83.

^gAnnual Statistical Report . . . 1953, p. 77.

^hAnnual Statistical Report . . . 1954, p. 75.

ⁱAnnual Statistical Report . . . 1955, p. 77.

^jAnnual Statistical Report . . . 1956, p. 98.

^kAnnual Statistical Report . . . 1957, p. 102.

^lAnnual Statistical Report . . . 1958, p. 107.

^mAnnual Statistical Report . . . 1959, p. 107.

ⁿAnnual Statistical Report . . . 1960, p. 130.

^oAnnual Statistical Report . . . 1961, p. 117.

^pAnnual Statistical Report . . . 1962, p. 125.

^qAnnual Statistical Report . . . 1963, p. 131.

^rAnnual Statistical Report . . . 1964, p. 121.

^sAnnual Statistical Report . . . 1965, p. 125.

^tAnnual Statistical Report . . . 1966, p. 133.

^uAnnual Statistical Report . . . 1967, p. 139.

^vAnnual Statistical Report . . . 1968, p. 149.

^wAnnual Statistical Report . . . 1969, p. 169.

TABLE 18 (continued)

x	<u>Annual Statistical Report . . . 1970</u>	p. 187.
y	<u>Annual Statistical Report . . . 1971</u>	p. 195.
z	<u>Annual Statistical Report . . . 1972</u>	p. 137.
aa	<u>Annual Statistical Report . . . 1973</u>	p. 151.
bb	<u>Annual Statistical Report . . . 1974</u>	p. 173.
cc	<u>Annual Statistical Report . . . 1975</u>	p. 93.
dd	<u>Annual Statistical Report . . . 1976</u>	p. 93.

APPENDIX F

ELECTION RESULTS

TABLE 19

REPUBLICAN PRIMARY RESULTS, KNOX COUNTY SCHOOL
SUPERINTENDENT, 1946-1976

Year	Republican Primary Opponent	Number Votes Cast for		Vote Margin
		Doyle	Opponent	
1946	W. W. Morris	3,414	3,127 ^a	287
1948*	None ^b			
1952	None	6,614 ^c		
1956	None	7,898 ^d		
1960**	Sam Zachary	462	357 ^e	105
1964**	None ^f			
1968**	None ^g			
1972	None	13,286 ^{***h}		
1976	None	16,890 ⁱ		

*No vote on County Superintendent of Schools, the position was filled by Court appointment.

**No primary was held in the years 1960, 1964, and 1968. Knox County Republicans nominated at convention in those years.

***Unofficial results. Official results were not available.

^aThe Knoxville Journal, March 19, 1946, p. 1.

^bThe Knoxville Journal, April 1, 1948, p. 1.

^cKnox County Election Commission, Official Return Sheet, March 20, 1952.

^dKnox County Election Commission, Official Return Sheet, April 12, 1956.

TABLE 19 (continued)

^eThe Knoxville Journal, May 9, 1960, p. 9.

^fThe Knoxville Journal, May 25, 1964, pp. 1, 2.

^gThe Knoxville Journal, May 20, 1968, p. 2.

^hThe Knoxville Journal, May 5, 1972, p. 1.

ⁱKnox County Election Commission, Official Return Sheet,
May 25, 1976.

TABLE 20

GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS, KNOX COUNTY SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT,
1946-1976

Year	General Election Opponent	Number Votes Cast for		Vote Margin
		Doyle	Opponent	
1946	Court Appointment by Acclamation ^a			
1948	Court Appointment ^b			
1952	None	36,456 ^c		
1956	None	22,401 ^d		
1960	Hubert P. Shaffer	34,342	12,318 ^e	22,024
1964	None	27,108 ^f		
1968	John K. Hicks	22,193	11,173 ^g	11,020
1972	None	32,562 ^h		
1976	Earl F. Hoffmeister	26,142	27,272 ⁱ	1,130

^aThe Knoxville Journal, July 2, 1946, p. 8.

^bThe Knoxville Journal, April 2, 1948, pp. 1, 4.

^cKnox County Election Commission, Official Return Sheet, August 7, 1952.

^dThe Knoxville Journal, August 7, 1956, p. 2.

^eKnox County Election Commission, Official Return Sheet, August 4, 1960.

^fKnox County Election Commission, Official Return Sheet, August 6, 1964.

^gKnox County Election Commission, Official Return Sheet, August 1, 1968.

^hKnox County Election Commission, Official Return Sheet, August 3, 1972.

ⁱKnox County Election Commission, Official Return Sheet, August 5, 1976.

VITA

Carol E. Baker was born in Columbia, Tennessee, on February 20, 1940. She graduated from Central High School, Columbia, in 1958. The following September she entered George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee; and in August 1961, she received the Bachelor of Science degree in Home Economics.

From 1969 to 1975, Ms. Baker taught home economics at John Overton High School, Metropolitan-Nashville Public Schools. During this time she studied at The University of Tennessee, Nashville and Knoxville campuses, and earned the Master of Science degree in Educational Administration and Supervision. In August 1975, she was granted a sabbatical leave to work toward the Doctor of Education degree at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville. She received the degree with a major in Educational Administration and Supervision in August 1977.

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