

AN ANALYSIS OF POLICY MODELS IN TERMS OF IMPACT VARIABLES
AFFECTING THE RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, SCHOOL SYSTEM

by

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Background

Development of policy has traditionally been the first step in institutionalizing a view of the future. In the normative dimension, the process has generally begun by asking value questions about the status quo. In the absence of such planning and goal setting, organizations such as public school systems have occasionally been unprepared to deal effectively with both current problems and future situations.

Authority to make educational policies has been granted to urban boards of education under provisions of state constitutions. States have assumed and delegated a portion of this responsibility for public education under an implied interpretation of the Tenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Urban boards of education, while directly subject to policy directives of a State Department of Education, have also been subject to the influence and directives of a host of other state and federal governmental bodies and agencies under Constitutional provisions. On occasion, community groups have also exerted influence on policy considerations of the board. The school board has been granted the responsibility of taking the final action to legalize a decision as policy, but the board may consult with other

groups or enter into collective negotiations as part of the process by which decisions are made.

A consensus has not been reached in the literature about variables that are operational in the policy-making process of urban school systems. There are three schools of thought represented in the literature concerning the variables that influence policy-making in urban school-systems. One such school, expressed in terms of the rational model, has viewed variables which affect policy-making in terms of consistent agreement and rational planning within the system. A second school of thought, expressed by the organizational model, has explained policy-making in terms of recommendations by specialists within the school system. The political model has explained yet a third conceptual design of policy-making in terms of political-bargaining between interest groups or persons.¹

Each of the policy-making models described in a review of the literature has exhibited both strengths and weaknesses for understanding policy-making in urban school systems. Each of the models has made a contribution to an understanding of the variables that operate, on occasion, within the policy-making process. Existing policy-making models, however, have failed to adequately describe operational variables that are unique to certain policy concerns and

¹Dennis A. Rondinelli, "Urban Planning As Policy Analysis: Management of Urban Change," AIP Journal, January 1973, p. 13.

those variables that operate across a broad-range of policy areas. The deficiencies of existing models have suggested a need for a single model of policy-making for an urban school system that adequately describes variables operating within and between areas of policy concern.

This study examined policy-making variables that have been operational in the Richmond, Virginia, Public School System, during a specified period of time, and the degree to which these variables operated in and between distinct areas of policy. The information generated by this study and the recognized contributions of existing policy-making models have been used to construct a policy-making model that has more comprehensively described policy-making in an urban school system. The model described the variables which affected policy-making in and between different policy areas and thereby compensated for the deficiencies of the rational, organizational and political policy-making models as each have been used in isolation.

The Richmond School System Experience

During the past ten years, the Richmond School System, presently consisting of approximately thirty-eight thousand students, has undergone many significant changes. One article has reported on the changing complexion of this school district.

In common with urban centers across the Nation Richmond has been plagued with an eroding tax base at a time when demands for governmental services had continued to increase. Costs had risen and needs, especially welfare needs, had grown at a crippling pace. The affluent middle class had fled the central city area, leaving in its wake a growing population of disadvantaged and poor.²

The exodus of whites from the city to the surrounding suburbs has resulted in a community population that is approximately 60 percent black and 40 percent white in 1976. The student population in the public schools has also been affected by this exodus from the city, but to a greater degree. During the 1974-75 school year, the racial make-up of the student population was approximately 76 percent black and 24 percent white. This ratio of the black-white student population had changed to a figure of 78:22 during the 1975-76 school year.

Since the early 1970's, there have been at least eight other major influences that have changed the perspectives of the school system. The local teacher's association has attempted to win collective bargaining rights from the school board. Teachers employed by the system have made it clear that they want the authority to "show disruptive students the door." The school system was under court-ordered desegregation plans for most of these years and

²Sam P. Sentelle, "Racial Mixing by Consolidation in Richmond, Virginia," Intellect, Vol. 101, No. 2345, December 1972, p. 164.

in 1971 alone, was required to submit three alternative plans for desegregation of city schools. Community groups called for improved "basic-skills" programs in schools. Between 1971 and 1973, the school system also had a major administrative reorganization, a study resulting in revision of many school system policies, two superintendents and the first black school board chairman in this century.

Justification For This Study

The character of the changes which had occurred in the Richmond School system during the early 1970's prompted an interest in determining the internal and external variables impacting upon policy considerations of the school system which forced change to occur. A study of such variables impacting upon a broad range of policies was important to the Richmond school system for purposes of planning and may be important to other, similarly situated, urban school systems. Fundamental changes have occurred within the Richmond school system. This study of internal and external variables which have impacted upon policy considerations in the Richmond system has modeled similarly operating variables that are, perhaps, impacting upon policy considerations in other urban school systems.

THE PROBLEM

Statement of the Problem

The problem of this study was to analyze specified policy models in terms of impact variables affecting the Richmond, Virginia, Public School System. Identified variables were analyzed in terms of their contribution to policy development and final policy form within the parameters of six policy areas. A judgment was then made concerning the "best-fit" of the three specified policy models in the six policy areas that were examined.

Research Questions

This study answered a number of questions. Among these were:

1. To what extent was the rational interpretation of policy-making appropriate to policy-making in the Richmond Public School System?
2. To what extent was the organizational interpretation of policy-making appropriate to policy-making in the Richmond Public School System?
3. To what extent was the political interpretation of policy-making appropriate to policy-making in the Richmond Public School System?

Assumptions

A number of assumptions have been made in this study as follows:

1. It was assumed that the policy models, in isolation, that were reported in the literature are not sufficient to analyze events for all policy areas investigated in the Richmond Public School System.

2. Documentary records were assumed to contain relatively complete and truthful information in terms of incidents and actors during the designated period of policy considerations.

3. It was assumed that identified actors who were interviewed in connection with their role in the development of certain policies had relatively complete memory and provided truthful testimony.

Limitations of the Study

The principal limitations of this study were those usually associated with any type of ex post facto research. Within the context of this policy-making study in an urban school system, there was not a possibility for experimental control over time and independent variables. Kerlinger has written, "The ex post facto investigator must take things as they are and try to disentangle them." These weaknesses have increased considerably the risk of

improper interpretation. For complex events, many explanations have been plausible. "Results are weak because they capitalize on change relations."³ A further limitation was the impossibility of arranging interviews with all identified actors.

Delimitations of the Study

The scope of the present study was narrowed to a study of the variables that impacted on and affected specific policies, within a 19 months period, prior to the formal approved statement of each policy by the school board. Specific policies that were studied, in terms of variables constituting internal and external impacts upon the policies, were those concerned with: (a) personnel recruitment, (b) instruction, (c) pupil transportation, (d) budgeting, (e) pupil behavior, and (f) procedures for meeting with organizational groups. There were two reasons for this delimitation. Each of these policies was judged representative of the most recent policies approved by the school board and they were the first group of policies adopted under the administration of a new superintendent. A study of events and actors during this 19 months period provided some valuable insights into the variables, internal and external to the school system, which impacted on the policy-making process. A second reason for this delimitation was

³Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1967), pp. 359-361, 371-372.

that these combined policies which were adopted have affected most of the main operational areas of the school system. Consequently, the six areas of policy investigation were judged to be representative of the policy areas in which most internal and external policy variables to the school system were operational. The range of these policies aided in identifying the most significant variables that affected policy-making in the school system.

Definition of Terms

A number of terms were used in the restricted manner within the context of this paper. For purposes of clarity these terms have been defined according to their specialized usage in this study:

Power--"potential capacity for action"⁴

Value--"words of authorization, directives and funding support"⁵

⁴Fred D. Carver and Donald O. Crowe, "An Interdisciplinary Framework for the Study of Community Power," Educational Administration Quarterly, Vol. 5, No. 1, Winter 1969, pp. 50-64.

⁵Lawrence D. Haskew, "The State and Educational Policy," Education and Public Policy, July/August 1970, p. 360.

Policy--a guide to discretionary action, specifying the value of that action.⁶

Policy-Change--"a change in any of the components defining a policy"⁷

Policy-Making--"a process of value resolution"⁸

Actor--stakeholders, persons or groups of persons who have an interest in a given area of policy consideration and who express this interest as power in the development of distinct policies.

Model--a working hypothesis that exhibits all the empirical, logical characteristics of a conceptual framework.

Variable--a precedent-setting action that produces a chain of subsequent events that are directly or indirectly linked with the development of a given school board policy.

⁶Blucher Associates, Charlottesville, Virginia, June 23, 1975.

⁷Michael Decker, "Representing the Educational Policy-Making Process," Education and Urban Society, (1969 Midwest Conference of Political Scientists, Ann Arbor, Michigan, April 24-26, 1969), p. 267.

⁸Roald F. Campbell and Donald H. Layton, Policy-Making For American Education (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago, 1969), p. 83.

Importance of Study Based in Literature

A number of studies have reported that existing models concerned with policy-making in urban school systems have been inadequate because the variables impacting on the policy-making process have not been correctly described. Many questions have been left unanswered that strike at the very conceptual foundations of the rational, organizational and political models that were reported in the literature. It is evident that a model of urban school system policy-making has not existed that is capable of describing important variables and the degree to which the variables impact within and between policy areas.

Owens has written that if an organization is to be effective, "it must achieve goals, maintain itself internally and adapt to its environment."⁹ Public school systems have attempted to ensure these objectives through the process of policy-making.

Attention has increasingly focused upon school organizational arrangements, decision-making and policy-making processes during the past decade. A number of related studies have cited certain weaknesses in the policy-making process. Green has suggested that the

⁹Robert G. Owens, Organizational Behavior in Schools, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1970), pp. 96-158.

nature of the process often causes many choices or solutions to be ignored.¹⁰ Scribner has written that past research analysis of variable types as they affect conditions shaping educational policy has been "primitive."¹¹

Recognizing these deficiencies of policy-making, the National School Boards Association established a school board policy project for the purpose of offering assistance with the methodology of policy-making in an era of change.¹² This project has offered some assistance to school boards, but much remains to be accomplished.

Rondinelli has suggested that research is needed in the areas of policy-making and implementation structure, intervention strategies, process interaction and program-change management. He concluded that new concepts of planning should be developed.¹³

¹⁰Thomas F. Green, "The Educational Research Center at Syracuse: Problems and Prospects," Journal of Research and Development in Education, Vol. 2, Fall 1968-Summer 1969, p. 51.

¹¹Jay D. Scribner, "The Policy Maker and Educational Change," The High School Journal, February 1971, p. 345.

¹²_____, "New Service for School Boards: Lessons in How to Make Policy," American School Board Journal, October 1969, p. 33.

¹³Rondinelli, loc. cit.

Thomas stated that a "shareholder" analysis is also needed in the study of policy-making. He indicated that such an analysis would provide insight into how a policy would operate in the environment after it is developed.¹⁴ Dror has written that public policy-making must improve in all areas of the public policy-making system including personnel, knowledge, structure and process-patterns.¹⁵

In the absence of definitive research in the policy areas suggested by Rondinelli, Thomas and Dror, development of a viable model for policy-making in an urban school system has been needed if policy research is to have a worthwhile theoretical base.¹⁶ Kuhn suggested that without satisfactory models upon which to base subsequent experimental research, all the facts associated with the development of a designated science might seem to be of the same significance.¹⁷

¹⁴Thomas C. Thomas, "Educational Policy for the Inner City," (Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, November 1967), p. 18.

¹⁵Yehezkel Dror, "Some Normative Implications of a System View of Policy-Making," (Maryland: Educational Resources Information Center, February 1969), p. 9.

¹⁶R. M. Stogdill (Ed.), "Introduction: The Student and Model Building," The Process of Model-Building in the Behavioral Sciences, (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1970), pp. 3-13.

¹⁷T. S. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, Vol. 2, (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 15.

Models have been described as aiding persons to understand systems that are complex, perceive relationships of facts and people in new ways and provide a more accurate gauge for future experimentation.¹⁸ Dror has stated that a public policy-making system cannot easily be modeled, but that such models may be important to the investigation of long-range future policy issues.¹⁹ Models have been described as aiding the description of the relationships concerning multiple variables in public education policy-making. Ammentorp, in agreement with the position that models are needed to gain a better understanding of the policy-making process in public education, has written that two-variable experimental research studies are of little value to the school administrator who operates daily in a world of multiple variables.²⁰

The studies reported in the literature, therefore, suggest that models are needed to better understand and study policy-making processes and participants who act upon and influence the development of policies in distinct areas. This study identified

¹⁸A. Chapanis, "Men, Machines and Models," Theories in Contemporary Psychology, (New York: MacMillan, 1963), pp. 113-121.

¹⁹Yehezkel, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

²⁰William Ammentorp, Marvin F. Daley and David N. Evans, "Prerequisites for Systems Analysis," Educational Technology, August 1969, p. 44.

inter-related policy variables and the associated conclusions have been used to construct a more viable policy-making model for an urban school system.

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Source of Data

In the present study comprehensive records concerned with the development of the designated policies were located in the minutes of school board and city council meetings, consultant and citizen committee reports, administrative memorandums, the records of some designated actors and periodical reports. Other records were reviewed as appropriate and available. Data were also secured from semi-structured interviews of actors involved in activities or events leading to the official school board approval of one or more of the stated policies. Actors were identified by means of official minutes, records and interviews with other designated actors.

A review of relevant documents was conducted as a means of determining the: (a) chronological order, incidents, actors and concepts associated with the development of given policies, (b) content of given policies, (c) recorded words of authorization, directives and funding support impacting upon the development of given policies, and (d) recorded form of the functional relationships existing among identified policy variables. Semi-structured

interviews were held with identified actors for the purpose of identifying other variables associated with the development of given policies that were not immediately evident in the document review.

Treatment of Data

The case study method was utilized in this study for treatment of data. All available information was assimilated in a series of six case histories, one for each designated policy. The case histories each consisted of four parts.

First, there was a formal excerpt of each policy statement including those concerned with personnel recruitment, instruction, pupil transportation, budgeting, pupil behavior and procedures for meeting with organization groups.

The second part of each case history consisted of a study related to a specific policy, first by chronological order, then by incidents, including authorization, directives and funding support. Actors and concepts relevant to the stated policy were considered in this section.

The third part of each case history identified the policy-type, the process-patterns of a given policy, dimensions of the policy and the community, all as factors in policy development. These clasifications are explained in the review of literature.

Fourth, each case history then consisted of a critical analysis of the operational variables that affected the development of the specific policy. Variables which impacted on each policy and were useful in the development of the policy were identified. Variables were then analyzed in terms of the conceptual policy model assumptions upon which they seemed most to impact.

From these case histories, considered first in isolated cases, then in sets of related events and finally collectively, the research results were drawn. The relationship of variables in terms of the rational, organizational and political conceptual frameworks was described. Variables were identified that were common to two or more conceptual frameworks. Variables were also identified which impacted on and were unique to only one conceptual framework. Within this more comprehensive policy-making conceptual framework analysis, policy variables associated with a given policy area were linked to and between the three sets of policy-making assumptions identified in the separate rational, organizational and political models. A determination was then made concerning the set of policy assumptions on which certain policy variables had a tendency to impact under certain specified conditions. Summary conclusions relevant to the data were then made.

An internal check of validity associated with testimony was accomplished with a verification of facts recorded in surveyed documents. A similar check of the reliability of data interpretation

as reflected in the policy-making analysis developed in this study was not possible with experimental means as a consequence of the characteristics associated with the ex post facto research.

Organization of the Study

This study was divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 contained a discussion of the problem and procedures for the study concerning policy-making in an urban school system. Chapter 2 contained a review of the literature related to existing policy-making models and actual policy-making variables that have impacted on policy in some urban school systems. Chapter 3 outlined the design of research and the specific steps used to complete the study. Chapter 4 contained the six case histories and accompanying analysis of policy variables. Chapter 5 contained the dissertation summary, conclusions, implications and recommendations.

Chapter 2

POLICY-MAKING MODELS: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

Theoretical systems for public policy-making have been generally predicated on the basis of a single model--usually a rational, organizational or political model. Within the context of such models, statements of basic assumptions have generally established parameters, conceptual schemes have helped identify and define perceived interrelated variables, policy-types have been delineated and process patterns have been described.

Three policy-making model types have been described in the literature. Each of these models perceived the variables operating in the policy-making process differently. The rational model explained policy-making in terms of consistent rational planning by all participants in the system. The organizational model explained policy-making in terms of recommendations coming from specialists within the school system. The political model explained policy-making in terms of political bargaining and consensus occurring between interest groups and persons. The foundations and structures of these models have been discussed in this chapter as have studies about policy-making in school systems.

FOUNDATIONS OF POLICY-MAKING MODELS

Assumptions Underlying the Policy-
Making Model Types

Parameters of these policy-making models have been discussed in the literature. The rational model assumed that the policy-making process is an attempt by those who have influence, "to maximize certain values where alternatives are carefully assessed and choices are made rationally."²¹ This model assumed the constant of a continual analysis of possible futures.²² Theories and concepts of general systems methodology have often been assumed to be associated with this model.²³

Decisions of specialists within an organization resulting from established routines have been seen as basic to understanding the policy-making process in the organizational mode. The factors of technical expertise, professional experience and control over

²¹Graham T. Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," The American Political Science Review, Vol LXIII, No. 3, September 1969, pp. 693-694.

²²J. D. Scribner, "The Policy Maker and Educational Change," The High School Journal, February 1971, p. 338

²³Yehezkel Dror, "Some Normative Implications of a Systems View of Policymaking," Dissertation Abstracts, Fall 1969, p. 2.

policy implementation by specialists within public organizations have been seen as reducing the operational role of legal policy-makers to that of "approval" only.²⁴ This model assumed incremental additions to public policy by specialists, which are "reinforcing, systematic and defensible strategies" when viewed together.²⁵

Allison viewed the political model in terms of actors in a "central competitive game" where bargaining occurs within regular channels among players in the system.²⁶ Good decisions were thought to be those that achieve consensus rather than those meeting specifications for efficiency and effectiveness,²⁷ thus aiding the public organizations to "stabilize its relationship with its environment in such a way as to protect its own domain."²⁸

²⁴David K. Wiles and Thomas R. Williams, "Political Realities of Trustee Effectiveness," School Boards and the Political Fact, (Canada: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1972), pp. 35-37.

²⁵Michael W. Kirst and Decker F. Walker, "An Analysis of Curriculum Policy-Making," Review of Educational Research, Vol. 41, No. 5, p. 485

²⁶Allison, loc. cit.

²⁷Kamal E. Said, "A Policy Selection/Goal Formulation Model For Public Systems," Policy Science 5 (1974), p. 90.

²⁸Peter J. Cistone (Ed.), School Boards and The Political Fact, (Canada: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1972), p. 1.

This model assumed certain components which included the manner in which each player adapts to pressure, his operating style, the peculiar mix of personality-types and styles of game players.²⁹ Perception of problem areas and making of formal policy resolutions were assumed to be "characterized by long lead and lag times." Rondinelli suggested that implicit in policy-making are "uncertainty, risk, incomplete information, partial ignorance of the situation in which problems evolve, the resources of interest groups and the effectiveness of proposed solutions."³⁰

Basic Conceptual Schemes of
Model Types

Stated definitions and organizing concepts have been vital to understanding conceptual schemes associated with public policy-making. Concepts such as actor, identified problem, selection of problem solutions and action have been considered as basic components of the policy-making flow although these concepts have been perceived differently depending upon model-type.

²⁹Allison, loc. cit.

³⁰Rondinelli, loc. cit.

The rational model perceived "actor" as an organization that functions as a rational, autonomous decision-maker with a single set of goals, options and consequences for each alternative.³¹ Under this model the "problem" confronting the organization, for which action is requested, has been seen as produced by discrepancies or opportunities that occur.³² The "Selection" has been perceived as the total steady activity of organization agents pertinent to determining the solution for a problem.³³ The "Action" has been perceived as the choice factor when confronted with rational goals, options and consequences.³⁴

The "Actor" in the organizational model has been perceived as a pyramidal arrangement of departments and sub-units of departments headed by one professional manager. The organizational model defined "problem" in essentially the same manner as in the rational model. The "Selection" perceived the solution to particular problems

³¹Allison, loc. cit.

³²Thomas B. Smith, "The Policy Implementation Process," Policy Sciences 4 (1973), pp. 197-209.

³³Dror, op. cit.

³⁴Joseph William Earlach, "Influences on Policy-Making For Urban Curriculum: A Case Study," Dissertation Abstracts (Stanford University, 1972).

to be the recommendation that generates from a department with a speciality related to the problem,³⁵ and one that is rather autonomous from the political system.³⁶ The "Action" has been perceived as behavior that reflects existing routines,³⁷ related to "acceptable performance, sequential attention to goals, standard operating procedures, problems and repertoires, avoidance of uncertainty, directed problem search," and cumulative organizational knowledge.³⁸

The political model perceived "actor" as a number of players,³⁹ with coalitions of these players serving as agent of the system in decision-making coupled with resulting action.⁴⁰ The "Problem" has been seen as game issued that have been raised by special situations,⁴¹ and deadlines⁴² which cause individual

³⁵Wiles and Williams, loc. cit.

³⁶Cistone, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

³⁷Marilyn Gittell, "Participants and Participation, A Study of School Policy in New York City," (New York, N.Y.: Center For Urban Education, 1967), p. 55.

³⁸Allison, op, cit., p. 694.

³⁹Thomas C. Thomas, "Educational Policy for the Inner City," (Maryland: ERIC, November 1967), p. 117.

⁴⁰Rondinelli, op. cit., p. 16.

⁴¹Kenneth A. Tye, "Performance Evaluation: Another Link in the Self-Fulfilling Prophecy?," Thrust, Vol.2, No.1, Oct.1972, p. 21.

⁴²Rondinelli, loc. cit.

players to devote attention to the decision that must be made within time limits.⁴³ The "Selection" perceived the solution to particular problems in terms of "power" and a player increasing power in areas of policy,⁴⁴ as a result of formal authority, constituent recognition and support of expertise, skill in bargaining,⁴⁵ and "potential capacity for using coercion."⁴⁶ The "Action" has been perceived as based upon consensus of game players when confronted with individual political goals,⁴⁷ and uncertain environment,⁴⁸ structure, rules, game plan and rewards.⁴⁹

⁴³Harry L. Summerfield, The Neighborhood-Based Politics of Education, (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Company, 1971), p. 101.

⁴⁴Roald F. Campbell and Donald H. Layton, Policy Making For American Education, (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago, 1969), p. 30.

⁴⁵Allison, op. cit., p. 710.

⁴⁶Adam W. Herbert, "Power, Politics and Participation," (Blacksburg, Virginia: Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, September 1973), p. 4.

⁴⁷Kamal E. Said, "A Policy Selection/Goal Formulation Model for Public Systems," Policy Science 5, (1974), p. 90

⁴⁸Donald J. Willower, "Educational Change and Functional Equivalentents," Educational Change, August 1970, pp. 386-387.

⁴⁹Allison, loc. cit.

Dimensions of Policy

Formal policies that are outcomes of the policy-making process generally have been classified in one of three dimensions. The first dimension has been as simple or complex, the second as internal or external, and the third as distributive or regulatory.⁵⁰

Policy types within the first dimension have made a distinction between "small-scale incremental" policies and "broad, non-incremental" policies. Small-scale incremental policies have been seen as policies that supplement existing policies, but are not designed to drastically overhaul the intent of the existing policies. Broad, non-incremental policies have been seen as wide-ranging policies that set precedent. Such policies have been perceived as new, far-reaching policies that do not build upon existing policies.

Policies of the second dimension have implied a difference between interaction patterns that operate internal to an organization and those that operate external to an organization. Patterns of interaction within the organization have been seen as input from interest groups and governmental agencies.

Within the third dimension of policy, a distinction has been made between policy that is designed to distribute available

⁵⁰Thomas B. Smith, "The Policy Implementation Process," Policy Science 4 (1973), pp. 197-209.

resources or regulate these resources. Policy designed to distribute available resources has been seen as a plan of allocating personnel, materials, equipment, facilities, finances and technical expertise to sub-units of the organization based upon expressed need, but without regulation in terms of how these resources are used. Policy designed to regulate resources allocated to sub-units of the organization has been seen as providing specific controls as to the use of resources prior to or after allocation.

Policy-Making Process Patterns

Discussion of process patterns as related to policy-making has delineated between participation of actors in the process and the level of organization structures.⁵¹

Participation within the policy-making process has been viewed as assuming three forms. The first form of participation in the policy-making process has been viewed as limiting participation to only specialists within the system. The second form of participation in the policy-making process has been seen as involving special interest groups, city council, the board of education and similar groups. A third form of participation in the policy-making

⁵¹Roald F. Campbell and Donald H. Layton, Policy Making For American Education, (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago, 1969), p. 17.

process has been seen as allowing input from a wide variety of groups,⁵² many of which are not entirely concerned with the effects of a specific policy.⁵³ These groups have been said to vary depending upon the occasion and issue in question, but could be taxpayer associations, political groups, religious groups, business associations, labor unions, agencies or other similar organizations.

The level of organization structures pertinent to the policy-making process of an urban school system has been seen as both an internal and external matter to the urban school system. Within the urban school system, "levels" have been interpreted as applicable to different groups of employees--administrators, supervisors, teachers, paraprofessionals and others. External organization "levels" which affect the policy-making process have been seen as units and agencies of the local government, state government and the federal government. The interrelationships that exist between these organization levels have been seen as important to the policy-making process.

⁵²Gittell, op. cit., p. 4.

⁵³Campbell and Layton, op. cit., pp. 20, 30.

POLICY-MAKING STUDIES IMPACTING
ON SCHOOL SYSTEMS

A number of studies about processes used to make policy in urban school districts have been reported in the literature. The studies reported appear to view the policy-making process that operate within school systems as reflective of either the organizational or political mode.

Policy-Making in Urban School Districts

Hunter made the first analytic study of community structure and influence on policy-making in 1953. His study in a city having more than 500,000 population revealed that there were about forty persons involved in making policy decisions or having major input into policy-making decisions that had consequences for the whole community. Hunter suggested that this monolithic power structure gained its consensus "by common interests, mutual obligations, money, habit, delegated responsibilities, and in some instances by coercion and force."⁵⁴

Kimbrough, in 1964, reported on the results of his study about the power and decision-making structure in two Florida communities. One community had a low fiscal effort for the school system. The second community was a high-effort district.

⁵⁴Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

Kimbrough reported from his investigation that a single power structure did not make all the decisions in the low-effort county although professionals and elected officials had higher status in this power structure. The school superintendent held more power in this district than did his counterpart in the high-effort county. Results of Kimbrough's study suggested that leaders in economic positions such as businessmen held the most influence in the county having the high-effort for education. Kimbrough concluded that the success of proposed projects in the high-effort community, ". . . depended upon the extent to which it had the informed endorsement of leaders in the competitive power groups."⁵⁵

Results of another study involving twenty-four school districts in the four states of Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, and Illinois, produced many of the same findings of Kimbrough's 1964 study. Kimbrough and John's study in 1968 reported that economic leaders and businessmen were more influential than superintendents in bringing about changes in high fiscal effort school districts. Superintendents in such school districts, however, were described as being more politically active than superintendents in low-effort school

⁵⁵R. B. Kimbrough, Informed County Leadership Structures and Control Affective Education Policy Decision-Making, (Gainesville: University of Florida, 1964).

districts. Low-effort school districts were described as having more of a noncompetitive, monopolistic power structure.⁵⁶

Kerr's and Gittell's studies appear to be the most extensive studies reported about the organizational view of policy-making. Kerr (1964) suggested that the main role of the school board seemed to be that of "legitimizing the policies of the school administration to the community."⁵⁷ Gittell (1967) reported the results of a three-year study of policy-making in the New York School System that supported Kerr's finding. The increasing complexity of school system operations was explained as producing a need for specialized knowledge and this trend, in turn, shifted power from the school board to the administrative staff members.⁵⁸ Another study reached the same conclusions about policy-making in medium-size city school systems.⁵⁹

⁵⁶R. Johns and R. B. Kimbrough, The Relationship of Socio-Economic Factors, Educational Leadership Patterns and Elements of Community Power Structure to Local School Fiscal Policy, (Washington: Bureau of Research, Office of Education, Department of H.E.W., 1968).

⁵⁷Peter J. Cistone, (Ed.), School Boards and the Political Fact, (Canada: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1972), p. 3.

⁵⁸Gittell, op. cit., p. 1

⁵⁹Joseph H. McGivney and James M. Haught, "The Politics of Education: A View From the Perspective of the Central Office Staff," Educational Administrative Quarterly, Vol. 8, Number 3, Autumn 1972, pp. 34-36.

Community Size and Effect Upon Policy-Making

Community size was seen as "an important determinant in the degree to which bureaucratic control is sought and the influence of the public and public officials is avoided." Gittell suggested that as community size increases, the influence of school board members decreased while the reverse situation tends to be the rule in situations of decreased community size.⁶⁰ Size of school systems and advanced technology was seen as associated with decentralization of the policy-making process,⁶¹ although one study reported that behavior and decision-making was apparently more cautious and conforming in centralized systems.⁶²

Structure of Influence in Policy-Making

A survey of superintendents and school board chairmen indicated that both groups perceive superintendents as having more influence on policies dealing with internal operations and less influence on policies related to external operations of the school

⁶⁰Gittell, op. cit., pp. 53-55.

⁶¹Child, John, "Strategies of Control and Organizational Behavior," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 18, No. 1, March, 1973, pp. 1-17.

⁶²Ibid., p. 12.

system. The influence of superintendents upon policy-making has been ranked in the following descending order: curriculum, personnel, pupil services, school plant, public relations and finance.⁶³ Another study of the school board policy role reached essentially the same conclusions.⁶⁴

The political view of influence upon school-system policy-making has been best expressed, perhaps, in terms of the political structure of the local community. One conceptual scheme viewed the community in terms of the "professionalization" and "political homogeneity" of the electors. The concentration of resources toward influencing a school system policy was seen as related to the degree that major leaders or groups view such action as in their best interest.⁶⁵

Stakeholders within the political context of policy-making have been said to include, "school administrators, teachers,

⁶³Robert Errett Skippen, Jr., "A Comparison of the Superintendent's Influence on School Board Policy as Perceived by Superintendents of Schools and the School Board Chairmen," Dissertation Abstracts, (University of Oregon, 1964).

⁶⁴Robert L. Crain, "Educational Decision-Making and the Distribution on Influence in Cities," (Maryland: ERIC, September 1966), pp. 1-26.

⁶⁵Fred D. Carver and Donald O. Crowe, "An Interdisciplinary Framework for the Study of Community Power," Educational Administrative Quarterly, Vol. 5, No. 1, Winter 1969, pp. 50-64.

teacher-organizations, parents, taxpayer committees, civil-rights organizations, community action organizations and parent-teacher associations.⁶⁶ One source suggested that the power structure of policy-making can be expected to change over time between stakeholders and consequently affect community institutions.⁶⁷

Organized groups within a community have been seen as probably more effective in exerting influence upon policy-making as compared to individuals, unless such individuals are able to marshal sufficient resources in their efforts. A citizens report conducted in California (1968) reported that "only 21 percent felt that citizen opinions were of much influence on the way schools were run."⁶⁸ Such perceptions of patrons or other external stakeholders to the system have been common in many school districts and communities since knowledge deficiencies apparently continue to exist. A survey that was conducted in Columbus, Ohio, indicated that

⁶⁶Thomas C. Thomas, "Educational Policy for the Inner City," (Maryland: ERIC, November 1967), p. 117.

⁶⁷Carver and Crowe, op. cit., p. 53.

⁶⁸M. Scott Norton, "School-Community Relations: New Issues, New Needs," The Clearing House, May 1970, p. 538.

citizen opinions about local schools could rarely be supported with actual facts.⁶⁹

CRITICISMS OF POLICY-MAKING MODELS

A number of published studies have criticized the use of certain models for use in public systems. Studies by Said (1974) suggested that models designed for non-public businesses or "authoritarian" organizations were not suitable for use in public systems. He was also strongly critical of rational models based upon optimization methods for use in public systems. It was suggested that a model for public policy-making must provide for a definition of goals, assignment of priorities, creation of policy effects and provisions for the adjustment of policies.⁷⁰

Erlach (1972) also was critical concerning the "usefulness" of rational models when viewing the policy-making process in public systems. Conclusions of his dissertation seemed to suggest that the organizational and political models were more helpful when viewing the policy-making process in public school systems.⁷¹

⁶⁹Paul F. Kleine, Raphael O. Nystrand and Edwin M. Bridges, "Citizen Views of Big City Schools," Theory Into Practice, Volume 8, No. 4, October 1969, p. 225.

⁷⁰Said, loc. cit.

⁷¹Erlach, loc. cit.

SUMMARY

Taken together, the basic assumptions of the designated models, conceptual schemes, description of policy-types and process patterns have provided a framework for theoretical systems of public policy-formulation.

Existing literature has supported the use of either the organization or political models when viewing the associated variables of policy-making in an urban school system. The type of model which was said to be the most appropriate for analyzing the development of school policies is dependent upon the size and make-up of the community.

The literature seemed to suggest that in situations where the organizational model has been more likely to be judged valid when analyzing the policy-development, the superintendent and his staff have had more influence in policies related to the internal operation of the system rather than policies relating to more external concerns.

Current models of policy-making in urban school systems have made some contributions to an understanding of the variables which operate in the policy-making process of urban school systems, but each of the designated models has also presented significant deficiencies. The chief strengths of existing policy-making models have included the theoretical framework for each and the variables identified as operating in rational, organizational, or political

contexts. The chief deficiency of the three existing policy-making models has been that the models are not adaptable to prediction of operational variables across a wide range of policy areas and concerns. A single model does not exist which combines the strengths of each of the other three models. Presently, one model has served as a better predictor for the development of some policies in an urban school system while another model has better explained the operational variables in another policy area. A single model also does not exist which identifies variables that operate in all areas of policy concern.

An improved, more comprehensive policy-making model has been needed which properly identifies variables that operate uniquely to certain policy issues and variables that operate across a broad-range of policy issues. Development of such a model as a result of a new study of policy variables operating in an urban school system, has been seen as a logical extension of the existing literature.

Chapter 3

THE DESIGN OF RESEARCH

INTRODUCTION

The design of research was concerned with describing criteria that were used for the selection of policy areas, impacting variables and the units of analysis in this study. In addition, the design of research outlined the procedural steps that were used in researching the thesis and completing the study. These procedural steps included:

1. Identifying the policies within major policy areas to be studied;
2. Identifying impact variables that affected individual policy areas;
3. Determining the relationship of these policy variables;
4. Analyzing these variables in terms of overlap frequency between policy areas;
5. Analyzing these variables in terms of the assumptions of the rational, organizational and political conceptual models;
6. Analyzing these variables in terms of conceptual schemes, dimensions of policy, process patterns, and structure of influence;

7. Offering an explanation based upon the evidence as to why these variables affected individual policy areas and, occasionally, a wide range of policy areas;
8. Verifying the descriptive validity of the designated policy variables at one point in time and place;
9. Answering the following questions:
 - 9.1 To what extent was the rational interpretation of policy-making appropriate to explaining the policy-making process in the Richmond City School System?
 - 9.2 To what extent was the organizational interpretation of policy-making appropriate to explaining the policy-making process in the Richmond City School System?
 - 9.3 To what extent was the political interpretation of policy-making appropriate to explaining the policy-making process in the Richmond City School System?
10. Offering summary conclusions and recommendations.

SELECTION CRITERIA

Policy Areas

There were three criteria upon which six policies were chosen for study in this dissertation. These criteria specified that policies selected for study be: (a) representative of the total

policy areas in which the school system has incorporated into the policy manual, (b) representative of areas in which the most recent policies of the school system have been enacted, (c) policies that have been enacted during the administration of the current superintendent of Richmond Schools.

The policies selected for study included: (a) personnel recruitment, (b) instruction, (c) pupil transportation, (d) budgeting, (e) pupil behavior, and (f) procedures for meeting with organization groups. These six policies were adopted as part of a package of policies during an eighteen months period under the administration of a new superintendent. This time period extended from August 1971 through February 1973.

Impact Variables

Four criteria were used to identify variables that tended to influence the development or modification of one or more of the six policies under study. The criteria specified that variables considered for this investigation that impacted on the development of one or more of the policies should: (a) be subject to empirical investigation and validation, (b) affect at least one of the designated policies and preferably more than one of the policies, (c) be identified by a minimum of two sources, including any mix of documentary references and actors in terms of incidents, words of authorization, directives and funding support, and (d) have been

previously alluded to in the review of literature in terms of the variable type and characteristics.

Units of Analysis

The criteria used for selection of the basic assumptions of the rational, organizational and political policy-making models to analyze policy variable types included: (a) a research objective to synthesize previous studies concerning educational policy-making and related findings into an integrated policy-making model that is conceptually clear in terms of when and where specific policy variables tend to impact and influence policy-making, and (b) an acknowledgement of the worth of previous research studies and related policy-making assumptions that were reported in the review of literature, while recognizing the weaknesses inherent in much of the reported research and the previous efforts of educational policy-model construction. Consequently, analysis of the policy variables identified as a result of the investigation was in terms of the basic assumptions of the rational, organizational and political policy-making models as reported in the review of literature. In addition, policy variables were analyzed in terms of conceptual schemes, dimensions of policy, process patterns, size of community and structure of influence. Each identified policy variable was fitted to the basic assumptions of the rational, organizational or political policy-making models according to the assumptions that

seemed to best-fit the identified policy variable. The same process of "best-fit" was also used when associating policy variables in terms of conceptual schemes, dimensions of policy, process patterns, size of community and structure of influence.

PROCEDURES

Identification of Policies

Policies that were used for the study of variables associated with the development or modification of these policies were identified in the following manner:

1. Minutes of the Richmond City School Board meetings between January 1971 and December 1973 were reviewed.
2. Six policies were selected for study that seemed to be representative of the many operational concerns of the school system and which had been developed during the specified time period, August 1971 through February 1973.

The outcome of this policy identification process was that the following six policies were selected for intensive investigation: (a) personnel recruitment, (b) instruction, (c) pupil transportation, (d) budgeting, (e) pupil behavior, and (f) procedures for meeting with organization groups.

Identification of Variables

Variables that were associated with the development or modification of the six designated policies were identified in the following manner:

1. Actors associated with one or more of the six designated policies in terms of incidents, words of authorization, directives and funding support, were identified from documents and records including:
 - 1.1 minutes of the Richmond City School Board between January 1971 and December 1973,
 - 1.2 minutes of the Richmond City Council between January 1971 and December 1973,
 - 1.3 reports of consultant organizations and citizen committees that were reported in either the school board or city council minutes between January 1971 and December 1973 and which were related in content or recommendation to one or more of the six policies designated for study.
 - 1.4 administrative memoranda and articles included in the school system newspaper related to the designated policies during the time period of the study.

- 1.5 records and testimony of other actors related to the designated policies and time period of the study,
 - 1.6 educational news articles included in any of the Richmond-based newspapers (Times-Dispatch, News-Leader, Metropolitan Observer, Afro-American) related to the designated policies during the time period of the study and
 - 1.7 Periodicals and other reports located during the course of the investigation related to the designated policies during the time period of the study.
2. Interviews were conducted with identified actors, associated with the development or modification of designated school system policies, for the purpose of identifying variables that had an impact upon development of the same policies. The only exceptions to such interviews were made when either the designated actor could not be located or he was unavailable for an interview. Areas of inquiry pursued in these oral interviews, as appropriate and in the discretion of the interviewer, have been included in "Appendix A."
 3. Responses of Actors interviewed were recorded on either tape or written form during the course of the interview, or written immediately after the interview if an actor would not consent to having the session taped or notes taken during the interview.

4. Variables that impacted on one or more of the designated policies were selected for inclusion in this investigation through a process of identification by a minimum of two sources according to the criteria stated under "impact variables."

Relationship of Policy Variables

The relationship of variables impacting on each of the six policy areas was explained in the following manner:

1. Variables were described in terms of chronological order, then by incidents, including authorization, directives and funding support. Actors and concepts relevant to the stated policy were considered in this section. Appropriate charts were used for illustration.
2. Variables were described in terms of their unique contributions to the basic form and characteristics of each policy including policy-type, conceptual schemes, dimensions of policy, process patterns and structure of influence.
3. Variables were described in terms of those that were operational in a city the size of Richmond and the degree to which they were operational in association with the six policies.

Analysis of Variable Overlap

Variables were analyzed in terms of frequency of occurrence in the following manner:

1. Variables were described that tended to impact on and were unique to each of the six policy areas. Appropriate percentages were computed in terms of the frequency with which a given variable impacted on a given policy area.
2. Variables were described that tended to impact on two or more of the six policy areas.
3. Variables were described as they tended to impact on particular assumptions or sets of assumptions associated with the rational, organizational and political conceptual policy-making models using the following design:
 - 3.1 Variables were described that tended to impact on particular assumptions or sets of assumptions that were unique to the rational, organizational or political models. This process involved applying each identified variable, first to the set of assumptions associated with the rational model. The same process was then used with the organizational model and last to the political model. The criteria of "best-fit" was then used to associate each given policy variable with an assumption or set of

assumptions that were unique to a particular conceptual policy model.

- 3.2 Variables were described that tended to impact on two or more of the three conceptual policy-making models. This process involved applying each identified variable, first to the set of assumptions associated with the rational model. The same process was then used with the organizational model. The criteria of "best-fit" was then used to associate each given policy variable with the assumption or set of assumptions that were common to a minimum of two conceptual policy models.

Analysis of Variable Contribution To Policy Form

Variables were analyzed in terms of their contribution to: (a) conceptual schemes, (b) dimensions of policy, (c) process patterns, and (d) the structures of influence associated with the six identified policy areas. The explanation in each of these classifications of analysis was in terms of information generated by the investigation and the critical judgement of the investigator. This analysis was accomplished in the following manner:

1. Conceptual Schemes:

1.1 The concept of: (a) actor, (b) identified problem, (c) selection of problem solutions, and (d) action, were explained in terms of variables impacting on each of the six policy areas.

2. Dimensions of policy:

2.1 Each of the six identified policy areas in the investigation was classified as: (a) simple, or (b) complex, according to similar descriptions reported in the review of literature. A determination was made concerning the contribution of particular variables to this policy area condition. A linear scale was used for illustration.

2.2 Each of the six identified policy areas in the investigation was classified as: (a) non-organizational, or (b) organizational, according to similar descriptions reported in the review of literature. A determination was made concerning the contribution of particular variables to this policy area condition.

2.3 Each of the six identified policy areas, in the investigation, was classified as: (a) distributive, or (b) regulatory, according to similar descriptions reported in the review of literature. A

determination was made concerning the contribution of particular variables to this policy area condition.

3. Process Patterns:

3.1 An explanation was offered concerning the degree of participation by given actors to the development of each designated policy area. A linear scale was used for illustration.

3.2 An explanation was offered concerning the level of organization structures in terms of: (a) internal, or (b) external variables, associated with the development of each designated policy area.

4. Structures of Influence:

4.1 "Stakeholders" were classified in terms of their degree of influence in the development of each designated policy area. A pie graph was used for illustration.

4.2 The participation of given "stakeholders" in the development of each designated policy area was explained in terms of their particular "self-interests" as determined by the investigation.

Explanation of Variable Impact

An explanation was offered based upon the evidence presented as to why these variables impacted on and between distinct policy areas under the constraints of certain specified conditions. This section also set forth the assumptions of the conceptual policy-making model that was constructed as a result of the research findings generated by this investigation. These assumptions were not those associated with any given policy-making model reported in the review of literature, but were rather those assumptions deduced by the investigator as a result of the investigation. This explanation was offered in the following manner:

1. An explanation was offered concerning why given variables tended to impact on and between the six areas of policy in terms of the empirical evidence resulting from the investigation and the critical judgment of the investigator.
2. The assumptions of the policy-making conceptual model that was formulated as a result of the investigation were based upon empirical research findings resulting from the investigation and the critical judgment of the investigator. The assumptions of the conceptual policy-making model that was constructed as a result of the investigation were illustrated with a linear scale in terms of:

- 2.1 certain variables impacting on certain types of assumptions under certain conditions prevailing in the environment, and
 - 2.2 variables and their unique and aggregate contributions to conceptual schemes, dimensions of policy, process patterns, and structures of influence.
- Charts in supplement to the linear chart indicated above were used for illustration.

Validity and Reliability

It was not possible to check the reliability of the research findings as a result of this investigation with experimental means as a consequence of the characteristics associated with ex post facto research. Reliability of the research findings that have been reported in this paper can be tested by future policy-making studies conducted in urban school systems through the use of experimental designs of research.

A check of validity was accomplished in the following manner:

1. An internal check of validity associated with actor's testimony was accomplished with a verification of facts recorded in surveyed documents or with support testimony by a second actor.
2. Variables that were judged to be significant in terms of inclusion in the research findings were required to be

identified by a minimum of two sources, including any mix of documentary reference and actors in terms of incidents, words of authorization, directives and funding support.

Answering Three Basic Questions of the Study

Based upon research findings drawn from the components aligned with this investigation of policy-making in the Richmond City School System, the measure of "best-fit" was used when reviewing variables to determine if policy-making appeared to fit the assumptions of the rational, organizational, or political policy-making models. The measure of "best-fit" was then used, with the critical judgment of the investigator, to answer the following questions:

1. To what extent was the rational interpretation of policy-making appropriate to explaining the policy-making process in the Richmond City School System?
2. To what extent was the organizational interpretation of policy-making appropriate to explaining the policy-making process in the Richmond City School System?
3. To what extent was the political interpretation of policy-making appropriate to explaining the policy-making process in the Richmond City School System?

Recommendations

The recommendations of this investigation were offered using the following format:

1. Recommendations were offered for future reliability and validity checks of the assumptions and other classification data associated with the conceptual policy-making model developed as a result of this empirical investigation. The other classification data to which references were made included: (a) conceptual schemes, (b) dimensions of policy, (c) process patterns, and (d) structures of influence.
2. Implications of the conceptual policy-making model developed as a result of this empirical investigation were offered in terms of methods that might be used to improve educational planning in urban school systems.

Organization of Chapter 4

The following outline of Chapter 4 was included in this chapter concerned with design of research to facilitate proper interpretation of research findings associated with this study:

1. Policy History: Budget
 - 1.1 Policy Statement (Description)
 - 1.2 Environment of Policy (Description)
 - 1.3 Identified Policy Variables (Description)

- 1.4 Relationship of Policy Variables (Analysis)
 - 1.41 Sequence of Variables (By incident)
 - 1.42 Sequence of Variables (By actors)
 - 1.43 Contribution of Variables to Policy-Form
 - 1.431 Policy-Type
 - 1.432 Conceptual Schemes
 - 1.433 Dimensions of Policy
 - 1.434 Process Patterns
 - 1.435 Structure of Influence
- 1.5 Summary (Charts)
- 1.6 Summary (Narrative)

Note: This same organizational format as presented above was used for each of the six policy histories discussed in Chapter 4 (items 1-6 on this outline).

- 2. Policy History: Pupil Transportation
- 3. Policy History: Pupil Conduct
- 4. Policy History: Instruction
- 5. Policy History: Equal Opportunity Employer
- 6. Policy History: Meeting with Organizations and Associations
- 7. Significance of Operational Policy Variables in Richmond (Analysis)
- 8. Answering Three Basic Questions of the Study

SUMMARY

The design of research was primarily concerned with a description of the mechanics associated with the criteria and procedural steps of the empirical investigation, associated with the selection of policy areas, impacting variables and the analysis of the study. Selection criteria were established for policy areas, impact variables, and unit of analysis which were used in the study. A number of basic procedural steps were outlined that were used by the investigator to complete the study. Among these steps, policies were identified within the major policy areas to be studied. Variables were determined that tended to impact on and between these policy areas. The relationship of these policy variables was determined. Variables were analyzed in terms of overlap frequency within and between policy areas and in terms of the assumptions associated with the rational, organizational and political conceptual policy-making models that were reported in the review of literature. Variables were also analyzed in terms of their contribution to conceptual schemes, dimensions of policy, process patterns and the structure of influence associated with the six identified policy areas in the investigation. An explanation was offered based upon the evidence generated by the investigation as to why given variables tended to impact on and between distinct policy areas. An explanation was also offered in terms of ways

in which variables tended to contribute to policy form in the sense of conceptual schemes, dimensions of policy, process patterns and the structures of influence associated with the six identified policy areas in the investigation. An explanation was provided regarding reliability and validity checks associated with this investigation. Basic research questions of this investigation were answered related to the extent that the rational, organizational, and political policy-making models were respectively useful in describing the policy-making process in the Richmond City School System. Recommendations were also suggested in terms of a format design to be used with the results of the empirical investigation.

Chapter 4

CASE HISTORIES AND ANALYSIS OF POLICY VARIABLES

INTRODUCTION

The background development of six policies originating in the Richmond Public School System was traced and policy impact variables were described in this study. Indication was made of both external and internal impact policy variables of the school system.

The six policy histories examined and described in order of their discussion in the chapter are as follows: (1) Budget, (2) Transportation, (3) Pupil Conduct, (4) Instruction, (5) Personnel, and (6) Procedures for Meeting with Organizations and Associations. Discussions of all six policy histories is followed by further composite analysis of significant policy variables that were operational in the Richmond environment. Finally, the appropriateness of the rational, organizational, and political policy models are discussed in relationship to the policy variables that were operational in the Richmond situation.

The organizational format of this chapter was outlined in the final pages of Chapter 3, which was concerned with the research design. The chapter organization first presented discussions and analysis of each of the six policy histories in isolation. The first part of each policy history discussion described the policy statement,

environment of the policy and identified policy variables. The second part of each policy history discussion provided an analysis of policy variables relationships. Policy variables were analyzed in terms of sequence, first by incident and then by actors. Variables were then analyzed in terms of their contribution to policy-form. This section included discussions of policy-type, conceptual schemes, dimensions of policy, process patterns and structure of influence. Each policy history was also illustrated with summary charts. A summary narrative ended the discussion of each policy history in isolation. This same organizational format was used for discussion and analysis of all six policy histories in isolation.

An analysis of the significance of composite policy variables in the Richmond environment followed the discussions in the section of Chapter 4 concerned with the description and analysis of each policy history in isolation. This analysis, supplemented with summary charts was provided to help consolidate the research findings reported in the six policy histories. This chapter ended with a discussion of the appropriateness of the rational, organizational, and political policy models in relationship to the policy variables that were operational in the Richmond situation.

POLICY HISTORY

Policy Statement: Budget

The annual school budget shall be viewed as a guide to discretionary spending. Such budget shall be an estimate of receipts and expenditures of the school division and shall contain a description of the educational program to be provided.

The school board has the final authority in determining what is included and what is excluded in the annual budget; however, the school board is dependent upon the professional staff for determining the financial needs of the school division to achieve the programs approved by the board.

In order for the annual budget to have the fullest support of the staff and board members, it is imperative that a procedure be established which will take the budget making process down to the level of the people who will be using the requested materials and services.

(Adopted: August 17, 1972)

Environment of Policy

A number of influences were operational within the environment surrounding development of the Richmond Public School System Policy entitled "Budget." Some of these influences had their beginnings a decade or more prior to the subsequent development and statement of this school board policy. These influences included: (1) The Richmond

community change in terms of its racial and economic composition, (2) tax resources in Richmond increasing less rapidly than the demands for increased services, (3) entrenched Richmond politicians seeking to retain their political control in the city despite the changing racial composition of the municipal population, (4) city council members commissioning a study of municipal tax resources and expenditures as a prelude to changing spending priorities, (5) the Richmond Public School System experiencing increased difficulty in maintaining funds for school operation as student population declines and Richmond City Council tends to "line-cut" school system budget requests, (6) biracial community groups seeking increased input to the budget preparations of the Richmond Public School System, (7) school board members commissioning a management consultant study of the Richmond Public School System as a means of answering the implications of the city council sponsored Tax Study Commission while improving utilization of human and physical resources, and (8) school board members commissioning a consultant firm to review, revise and update the policies of the Richmond Public School System.

The first influence concerned the Richmond community and its gradual change during the decade of the 1960's and 1970's in terms of its racial and economic composition. During this period an increasing number of affluent middle class whites were relocating their residences outside Richmond in the suburban counties of Henrico and Chesterfield. The Chesterfield County annexation suit in 1969, initiated by Richmond, acknowledged that the population of Richmond,

". . . was fast becoming a black population majority."⁷² This was verified by a 1970 census that indicated blacks accounted for 52 percent of Richmond's population.⁷³ The effects of these changes in Richmond's population were also reflective in terms of the Richmond Public School System both in terms of actual student numbers and the racial composition of Richmond students. Between September 1970 and August 1972, when the school board policy entitled "Budget" was adopted, the public school population in Richmond schools declined by 2957 students while the percentage of black students in the Richmond Public School System increased from 60 percent to 64 percent as indicated in the accompanying chart:

Table 1

Richmond Public Schools Population Patterns

<u>School Year</u>	<u>Student Population</u>	<u>Percent Black Pupils</u>
1970-71	47,988	65 Percent
1971-72	45,031	70 Percent

This trend continued in the intervening years between 1972 and 1975. The student population fell to a level of 38,476 in September, 1975. Black students accounted for 78 percent of the total public school

⁷²Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], June 25, 1975.

⁷³Ibid.

enrollment in Richmond.⁷⁴

A second influence involved tax resources in Richmond increasing less rapidly than the demands for increased services. This coupled with the national inflation rate during the late 1960's were credited with forcing municipal expenditures in Richmond, ". . . up at a rate of 8 to 10 percent each year." During the same period, ". . . the city's revenue base was growing only 4 to 5 percent annually." Within the context of these statistics, there was a view among entrenched Richmond politicians that city taxes represented a burden and there should be, ". . . a fair and equitable distribution of the tax burden to ensure that city expenditures are based on real need."⁷⁵ These considerations on June 9, 1969, prompted the Richmond City Council to commission a long-range study of its tax resources and projected expenditures.⁷⁶ Using statistics supplied by the Richmond Budget Bureau, the Tax Study Commission determined that there would be a ". . . severe revenue/expenditures 'squeeze' for the next five years under present revenue sources."⁷⁷ This conclusion was supported with

⁷⁴Research Department, Richmond Public School System, Richmond, Virginia, September 1975.

⁷⁵Tax Study Commission Summary Report, City of Richmond, Richmond, Virginia, February 8, 1971, p. 1.

⁷⁶Resolution Number 70-R130-124, Richmond City Council Minutes, Richmond, Virginia, June 9, 1969.

⁷⁷Tax Study Commission Summary Report, City of Richmond, Richmond, Virginia, February 8, 1971, p. 2.

the following projections of expected revenue for a five-year period:⁷⁸

Table 2

Revenue Projections for City of Richmond

<u>Fiscal Year</u>	<u>Revenue (Millions)</u>	<u>Expenditures (Millions)</u>	<u>Deficit (Millions)</u>
1971-72	\$ 121.5	\$ 132.9	\$ 11.4
1972-73	134.1	147.3	13.2
1973-74	144.7	162.8	18.1
1974-75	156.2	176.9	20.7
1975-76	169.1	193.0	23.9

Entrenched Richmond politicians seeking to retain their political control in the city despite the changing racial composition of the municipal population was a third influence in the surrounding environment that had implications for development of the school board policy titled, "Budget." During 1962, Richmond initiated annexation proceedings against Chesterfield County. It was a later court judgment that these annexation proceedings initiated during the early 1960's were motivated ". . . by legitimate goals of urban expansion."⁷⁹ Richmond quickly settled its annexation suit with Chesterfield County

⁷⁸Richmond Budget Bureau 5-Year Projections, City of Richmond, Virginia, September, 1970.

⁷⁹Times-Dispatch, loc. cit.

in 1969. There was later evidence that this haste by Richmond officials in securing a final judgment on annexation was conditioned by the desire of Richmond politicians to retain their political control in the Richmond City Council. The dissenting opinion of the United States Supreme Court concerning a review of an appeal of the Richmond Annexation Suit expressed the following view:⁸⁰

The record is replete with statements by Richmond officials which prove beyond question that the predominant (if not the sole) motive and desire of the negotiators of the 1969 settlement was to acquire 44,000 additional white citizens for Richmond, in order to avert a transfer of political control to what was fast becoming a black population majority. The District Court's finding on this point were quite explicit: 'Richmond's focus in the negotiations was upon the number of new white voters it could obtain by annexation; it expressed no interest in economic or geographic considerations such as tax revenues, vacant land, utilities, or schools.'

The mayor required assurances from Chesterfield County officials that at least 44,000 additional white citizens would be obtained by the City before he would agree upon settlement of the annexation suit. And the mayor and one of the city councilmen conditioned final acceptance of the settlement agreement in the annexation going into effect in sufficient time to make citizens in the annexed area eligible to vote in the City Council elections of 1970.

Against this background, the settlement represented a clear victory for Richmond's entrenched white political establishment; the city realized a net gain of 44,000 white citizens, its black population was reduced from 52 percent to 42 percent of the total population. . . .

The fourth environmental influence that had implications for development of the Richmond School Board "Budget" policy involved Richmond City Council authorizing the Tax Commission Study (1969). The Commission had, as its primary purpose, reviewing municipal tax resources and expenditures followed by the making of recommendations

⁸⁰ Ibid.

to Richmond City Council concerning fiscal allocation priorities in subsequent years. A number of the recommendations made by the Tax Study Commission impacted upon the Richmond Public School System as illustrated in the following table:⁸¹

Table 3

Cost Reduction Opportunities: Education

	<u>Estimated Annual Savings</u>
1. Reduce the number of budgeted positions in the operations budget	\$ 200,000
2. Transferring School Nurses from the School Board to the Department of Health	\$ 100-160,000
3. Establish a consolidated purchasing, warehousing and distribution operation to serve the School Board and the other city agencies	\$ 284-632,000
4. Consolidate Educational Data Processing operations into a single unit reporting to the City Manager and serving all city agencies and activities including the school board	

A fifth influence that had implications for the subsequent development of the school board "Budget" policy was related to the recommendations of the Tax Study Commission and the disposition of Richmond City Council. The Richmond Public School System experienced increased difficulty during the early 1970's maintaining funding

⁸¹Tax Study Commission Summary Report, City of Richmond, Richmond, Virginia, February 8, 1971, pp. 2, 4, 9.

levels for school system operation as student population declined and the Richmond City Council attempted to "line-cut" budget requests. A wealth of documentation exists to support this influence. City Council on May 17, 1970, voted to reduce the appropriation to the Richmond School Board by \$861,200.⁸² Concerted attempts in Richmond City Council meetings by supporters of the school board budget proposal failed to have any monies restored by Council.⁸³ The Capital Budget of the Richmond School System during the same year (1970) was reduced in the amount of \$ 1,349,000 by Richmond City Council action.⁸⁴ During late February 1971, Richmond Public School System directives to principals required schools to remain within budget balances indicated in the January, 1971, "School Budget Control." It was explained that this measure was the result of "present financial conditions."⁸⁵ During late April, 1971, the school administration learned the Richmond Public School System would receive \$ 600,000 less than that which had been budgeted in average daily attendance (ADA) funds because 2500 students were lost to suburban school systems earlier in the school

⁸² Ordinance Number 70-95 (amended), Richmond City Council Minutes, Richmond, Virginia, May 17, 1970, p. 419.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 429.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 451.

⁸⁵ "Principal's Memoranda," Richmond Public School System, Richmond, Virginia, February 22, 1971.

year.⁸⁶ It was also announced during the same school board meeting that revenues for the Richmond Public School System were down \$1.1 million as a result of absenteeism and lower attendance.⁸⁷ Lucien D. Adams, a former Superintendent of the Richmond Public School System, informed the school board in June, 1971, that the Richmond City Council had recommended a \$ 992,760 cut in the budget recommended by the Richmond School Board. This represented over a half million dollars additional reduction over what the city manager had recommended to the Richmond City Council less than two months prior to this incident.⁸⁸ The following September, it was learned that enrollments were down about 3500 white students over the 1970-71 school year. It was predicted that revenues coming into the Richmond Public School System would be affected.⁸⁹ During February, 1972, the Richmond Planning Commission recommended dropping four new schools from the five-year plan of the Richmond Public School System's capital budget. The commission report stated that this action would result in a long-term savings to Richmond of \$18 million.⁹⁰ Richmond principals, a few weeks later, were directed by the city school administration to

⁸⁶Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public School System, Richmond, Virginia, April 22, 1971.

⁸⁷News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia] , April 23, 1971.

⁸⁸Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public School System, Richmond, Virginia, June 3, 1971.

⁸⁹Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], September 30, 1971.

⁹⁰Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], February 2, 1972.

institute austerity measures because lost revenues demanded that the school system underspend its budget.⁹¹ The directive to principals represented the second straight year that the Richmond Public School System was forced to underspend its original budget. School field trips were stopped during April, 1972, as further spending reductions were dictated by the financial condition of the Richmond City School System.⁹² The Richmond City Council, during the same month, criticized the Richmond School Board for their failure to move fast enough on initiating the "economies" recommended by the Tax Study Commission.⁹³ One city councilman, Wayland W. Rennie, in a message to the Richmond City Council expressed council sentiment that the amount of monies allocated to the Richmond School Board should be tied to the willingness of the school board to initiate certain "economies" recommended by the Tax Study Commission:⁹⁴

The course of action that would be most consistent with the expressed desires of citizens and public officials at . . . our recent public hearings, is that the school board would implement the following programs:

- (1) Carry out the recommendations of the Tax Study Commission . . . as soon as possible.
- (2) Review the administrative . . . as well as all supervisory salary scales to insure that both City Administration and City School personnel are receiving pay raises within the guidelines established by the City Manager's proposed budget.

⁹¹ "Principal's Memoranda," Richmond Public School System, Richmond, Virginia, February 21, 1972.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], April 27, 1972.

⁹⁴ Statement by Wayland W. Rennie, Richmond City Council Minutes, May 18, 1972, p. 262.

- (3) . . . it has been suggested that the Board take whatever steps necessary, including the help of outside management consultants to reorganize the present administrative structure of the public schools.
- (4) The most immediate and compelling need within the public schools as expressed in the media and before this body has been for programs of special education, additional reading specialists, elementary counselors and teacher aides--all programs aimed at enabling students to gain the basic reading and learning skills.

I believe council is highly sympathetic to these last items and looks to the school board to do everything in its power to make budget adjustments and economies toward their implementation. If after a crash effort by the school board to initiate the above 4 major projects, it is still necessary to secure additional funding, I have received assurances from a majority of this council that a request for supplementary funds would be given favorable consideration. It is possible that such funds could be made available in July 1972. I feel that this is a responsible request to make to the School Board and will insure a close working relationship between the School Board and City Council during the coming year.

The Richmond School Board did not rush to expedite the "economies" suggested by the Tax Study Commission. It was in this environment that the Richmond City Council cut \$ 466,250 from the school board budget proposal. Council also did not take any action to restore the \$ 2.8 million that the Richmond City Manager had recommended be cut from the proposed school board budget.⁹⁵

During the Fall of 1970, a sixth influence was operating within the environment surrounding development of the school board "budget" policy. A citizens group, Citizens for Excellent Public Schools (CEPS), made a comprehensive study of the Richmond Public School System and made recommendations for improvement of the school system to boost community support. It had gradually become evident as a result of

⁹⁵Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], May 19, 1972.

many factors including the federal court ruling on integration of Richmond Public Schools that strong public support for public education was in danger. There was a belief among some people that public support should be mobilized in Richmond with the goal of ". . . maintaining a viable public school system and a strong city." Leadership to accomplish this task was not readily in evidence within Richmond, but finally the League of Women Voters decided to coordinate the effort. A small bi-racial group of leading Richmond citizens was called together for the purpose of identifying a means whereby public confidence in the Richmond Public School System could be re-established. Their initial meeting was held on November 30, 1970, and the purposes of CEPS were outlined.⁹⁶

- (1) To analyze and to evaluate the capacity of the Richmond Public School System to meet the educational needs of . . . children.
- (2) To make known its findings to the community.
- (3) To make recommendations for improving the functioning of the system.

A number of task forces were established to study each operational area of the Richmond Public School System. One task force was established to study and make recommendations for improvement of the school system's budgeting process. It was determined that the fiscal allocations for schools represented the largest individual expenditure of the City of Richmond. For the fiscal year commencing July 1, 1970, the budget of Richmond represented \$ 111,500,000. Richmond City Council

⁹⁶A Study of the Richmond Public Schools: Citizens for Excellent Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, 1971, p. 1.

appropriated \$ 27.3 million to the General Funds of the Richmond Public School System. This figure was 24.6 percent of the Richmond Municipal budget. CEPS acknowledged the finding of the Tax Study Commission that, ". . . the true cost of the public schools to the City, after allocating debt service on School Board properties and retirement benefits to School Board Employees was \$ 30.8 million." This amount represented 42.6 percent of the Richmond municipal budget, but did not include the cost of new capital projects which the City incurs each year.⁹⁷ The CEPS's task force that studied the school system budgeting process suggested certain inadequacies, some of which related to a program budgeting process not really existing in the Richmond Public School System. One task force report indicated:⁹⁸

- (1) The school budget format leaves a great deal to be desired. It is comprised of at least 36 different funds, the largest being the General Fund covering approximately \$ 40 million of expenditures. The 35 special funds account for almost \$ 10 million.
- (2) The school budget is a line and item budget which states expenditures by object rather than purpose. For the largest category, teacher's salaries, a detailed list of salaries by grade classification is shown, but there is no explanation of . . . how many . . . teachers teach art, or music, . . . etc. The same applies to expenditures of instructional materials.
- (3) For any particular "work program," salaries and expenses are shown in the budget in separate places. It requires some analysis to determine the total cost. Because of the multiplicity of special funds, it is virtually impossible to construct the total cost of many functions including . . . instruction, etc.
- (4) The School Board budget does not contain an analysis by school. Detailed work with documents. . . is

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 36.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 38.

necessary to determine how much is spent in each school and per pupil by school.

- (5) The existing financial controls do not provide the kind of information in the form necessary to enable management effectively to analyze and control its expenditures.

Recommendations that were outcomes from the CEPS's study included suggestions that the administration of the Richmond Public School System: (1) establish a long-range financial plan of 5 years duration, (2) invite public participation in the preparation of the annual budget, and (3) adopt a PPBS budgeting system. It was suggested that these recommendations, if implemented, would help ". . . create a management tool that enables administrators and the public to establish and analyze priorities."⁹⁹

A seventh set of influences were either in the active process of operating or else in active dialogue within the Richmond Public School System during the period of the "budget" policy formulation. The Blucher Associates, a policy consultant firm, was hired to conduct an extensive review of all operational policies within the Richmond Public School System and assist in making recommendations for updating or revising existing policies. Prior to the policy (budget) being formally approved by the Richmond School Board on August 17, 1972, a decision had already been made to employ the management firm of Booz, Allen and Hamilton, to: (1) counter the influence of the Tax Study Commission report that was impacting adversely on the monetary situation of the Richmond Public School operation, and (2) make ". . . a

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 39.

detailed 'analysis' of the Richmond Schools to determine whether some of the modifications in organizational structure and procedures could achieve more effective results in the functional areas covered by the study.¹⁰⁰ This latter study actually began about three weeks after the policy ("Budget") was officially approved by the Richmond School Board, on September 12, 1972, and continued until January 15, 1973, when the management consultant study was completed.¹⁰¹ Although the Booz, Allen and Hamilton study was both conducted and finalized after the "Budget" policy was formally stated by the Richmond School Board, its value is perhaps in the area of identifying the concerns of the Richmond Public School administration during the years of the 1970's. These concerns were active in the environment prior to the statement of the "Budget" policy and were also considered by the Blucher Associates study. The Booz, Allen and Hamilton study suggested a number of areas in which the Richmond Public School System encountered substantially the same problems encountered by large, urban school systems throughout the nation:¹⁰²

- (1) Financial support is becoming harder to obtain as the city's tax base expansion fails to keep up with increasing need and expenditures.
- (2) Public expectations concerning education continue to increase as residents become more knowledgeable about the educational process and overcome the mystique which has surrounded the field in the past.

¹⁰⁰ Organization and Management Study: Richmond Public Schools, Booz-Allen and Hamilton Management Consultants, Chicago, January, 1973, p. 1.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 4.

- (3) Court-ordered integration has resulted in dilution of the neighborhood school concept and has been accompanied by a decrease in public support of the system.

Several problems unique to the Richmond Public School System were also identified by the Booz, Allen and Hamilton consultants including:¹⁰³

- (1) Serious differences of opinion have developed between the city council and the school board.
- (2) Richmond has a relatively higher proportion of culturally deprived children than most urban systems. This situation has resulted in the need for many special programs and approaches which are . . . more costly than conventional methods.
- (3) There is evidence that many residents of Richmond have doubts about the overall effectiveness of the schools. Communications between the schools and media, and hence the public, have been impaired. Many citizens view the schools as aloof and unresponsive, while many who support the schools feel that some segments of the media have been unfair and unconstructive.
- (4) Doubts exist in the minds of many educators and laymen concerning the relevance and responsiveness of curriculum and educational methods.
- (5) Some taxpayers appear to question the efficiency and effectiveness of the business and fiscal procedures being utilized.
- (6) No comprehensive and coordinated long-range master plan has been developed for the Richmond Public Schools.
- (7) Ongoing program evaluation is virtually nonexistent.
- (8) Relations between some teachers and the management of the Richmond Public Schools have become increasingly strained.
- (9) Faced with court-ordered desegregation, a deep division exists regarding the best method to meet educational and legal goals. The system was under great stress after the desegregation order which compounded those problems already existing.

The primary conclusions reached in the Booz, Allen and Hamilton study relating to the budgeting process used in the Richmond Public School System were that: (1) a long-range planning program must be developed

¹⁰³Ibid., pp. 4-5.

as required by Virginia "Quality Standards," and (2) establishment of a program planning and budgeting system (PPBS) over a three to five year period would build upon the long-range planning program.¹⁰⁴ It was also concluded that means should be used to broaden the base of public support in relation to the school system. The Booz, Allen and Hamilton study suggested that this might be accomplished by encouraging the recommendations of community groups such as the PTA, CEPS and the League of Women Voters. It was also suggested that:¹⁰⁵

Studies made by these organizations should receive full cooperation from the school system. Recommendations should be discussed openly and frankly, and not summarily dismissed or disregarded.

Blucher Associates, Inc., began their work for the Richmond Public School System after receiving Richmond School Board approval on August 19, 1971.¹⁰⁶ Initial contact with the Blucher Associates firm was made during the administration of Lucien D. Adams, a former Superintendent of Richmond Public Schools, on May 18, 1971.¹⁰⁷ William C. Blucher outlined the services of his firm to the Richmond Public School System as:¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 51.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 62.

¹⁰⁶ Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public School System, Richmond, Virginia, August 19, 1971.

¹⁰⁷ Letter from William C. Blucher to Lucien D. Adams, Richmond Public School System--Blucher Files, Richmond, Virginia, May 18, 1971.

¹⁰⁸ "Blucher Associates, Inc., Proposal," Richmond Public School System--Blucher Files, Richmond, Virginia, July 12, 1971.

- (1) To bring together the discoverable policies of the Richmond School Board and administrative regulations,
- (2) To develop written policies relative to those areas of concern and need as determined by the staff and the School Board, and
- (3) To develop a manual containing clearly written and readily accessible policies and regulations.

Almost immediately the Blucher Associates, Inc., began their review of Richmond School Board Minutes, administrative manuals and other documentary materials supplied to the firm by Adams.¹⁰⁹ Additional source materials were supplied to the firm on September 20, 1971.¹¹⁰ William C. Blucher and Dr. Thomas Little, then Associate Superintendent of the Richmond Public Schools, held meetings with key central office administrators in all areas of school operation on October 4-5, 1971, concerning operational policies.¹¹¹ Blucher asked each Assistant Superintendent four basic questions related to his administrative area of responsibility:

- (1) Are the operating policies you have identified reflective of what is on the books?
- (2) Are these policies working?
- (3) Do you want to change any of these policies?
- (4) How would you change it?

A few administrative personnel of the Richmond Public School System on the Director's level were consulted on certain policy areas, but

¹⁰⁹Blucher Files, Richmond Public School System, Richmond, Virginia, August 30, 1971.

¹¹⁰Blucher Files, Richmond Public School System, Richmond, Virginia, September 20, 1971.

¹¹¹Blucher Files, Richmond Public School System, Richmond, Virginia, October 4-5, 1971.

only a few. Blucher Associates never met with School Board Members.¹¹² The policy consultant firm, however, did meet with interested teachers on September 28, 1972, and interested citizens on October 4, 1972, concerning reaction to the revised policies.¹¹³ Blucher, with the approval of the Richmond School Board, also entertained the commentary of high school and middle school students concerning the revised policies on October 19, 1972.¹¹⁴ These meetings with persons other than administrative personnel of the Richmond Public School System were held after the policy ("Budget") had been officially adopted by the Richmond School Board on August 17, 1972.

Each of the eight influences that were identified apparently had either a direct or indirect impact upon development of the Richmond School Board budget policy. These influences included those that were external to the Richmond Public School System but which impacted upon this policy area, as well as some influences that were internal to the school system.

Identified Policy Variables

Those variables associated with the Richmond School Board policy on budget which are included in this section were identified

¹¹²Statement by William C. Blucher, Blucher Associates, Inc., interview in Charlottesville, Virginia, June 23, 1975.

¹¹³Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public School System, Richmond, Virginia, August 17, 1972.

¹¹⁴Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public School System, Richmond, Virginia, October 19, 1972.

by a minimum of two sources. These sources included any mix of documentary references and actors. The format used in this section was to identify the variable followed by the verification of Actor's statements or documentary evidence. Policy variables reflected in this section were substantially the same "influences" that were discussed previously under the heading "Environment of Policy" with increased verification. This same organization format for "Identified Policy Variables" was used in subsequent policy histories.

1. The court integration order (April 1, 1970) hastened the change of the Richmond community in terms of its racial and economic composition and the Richmond Public School System in terms of size and composition of student enrollment.

The urban population of Richmond had decreased steadily between 1950 and 1973, except for an increase during 1969 resulting from Richmond winning an annexation suit.¹¹⁵ A 1970 census indicated that blacks accounted for 52 percent of Richmond's population.¹¹⁶ The racial mix of students in the Richmond Public Schools reflected substantially the same trends as that of the city's general population. One study suggested that, ". . . the percentage of black students increased from approximately 59 percent in the 1962-63 school year to

¹¹⁵Progress Report: Organization and Management Study, Richmond Public Schools, Booz-Allen and Hamilton, Chicago, January 15, 1973, p. 1.

¹¹⁶Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], June 25, 1975.

approximately 70 percent in 1971-72."¹¹⁷ A court suit in U.S. District Court (Richmond) supported the contention that there had been a white "out-migration" from Richmond into surrounding Chesterfield and Henrico counties during the past few years.¹¹⁸ Judge Robert Merhige issued the integration and bussing order for the Richmond Public Schools on April 1, 1970. Prior to September 30, 1970, the student enrollment in Richmond Public Schools had dropped 2500. These students, most of whom were white, had been lost to suburban school systems.¹¹⁹ One year later, on September 30, 1971, it was reported that the student enrollments were down by 3500 white students over the previous school year.¹²⁰

2. Tax resources in Richmond increased less rapidly than the demands for increased services.

A growing black urban population in Richmond and the loss of the tax resources of the white affluent middle class who participated in the "out-migration" from Richmond during the late 1960's and early 1970's produced a growing economic problem for the city. The report

¹¹⁷ Progress Report: Organization and Management Study, loc. cit.

¹¹⁸ Bradley v. Richmond School Board, U.S. District Court, Civil No. 3353, Richmond, Virginia, April 1, 1970.

¹¹⁹ Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public School System, Richmond, Virginia, April 22, 1971.

¹²⁰ Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], September 30, 1971.

of the Tax Study Commission indicated that:¹²¹

The mounting financial crisis, the need for increased services, the national inflation, was forcing city expenditures up at a rate of 8-10 percent a year. The city's revenue base was growing only 4-5 percent annually.

A later management study (Booz, Allen and Hamilton), that was conducted for the Richmond Public School System reached substantially the same conclusions:¹²²

- (1) Financial support is becoming harder to obtain as the city's tax base expansion fails to keep up with increasing need and expenditures.
- (2) Public expectations concerning education continue to increase as residents become more knowledgeable about the educational process and overcome the mystique which has surrounded the field in the past.
- (3) Court-ordered integration has resulted in dilution of the neighborhood school concept and has been accompanied by a decrease in public support of the system.

There was a desire on the part of a majority of Richmond City Council members, in view of these changing conditions in the city, to reduce taxes. The view of Council was, ". . . that city taxes represented an undue burden" and a desire existed, ". . . to provide a fair and equitable distribution of the tax burden and to ensure city expenditures were based on real needs."¹²³

¹²¹City of Richmond: Tax Study Commission Summary Report,
City of Richmond, Virginia, February 8, 1971, p. 1.

¹²²Organization and Management Study: Richmond Public Schools,
Booz-Allen and Hamilton Management Consultants, Chicago, January,
1973, p. 4.

¹²³City of Richmond: Tax Study Commission Summary Report,
loc. cit.

3. Entrenched Richmond politicians sought to retain the political control in the city despite the changing racial composition of the municipal population.

For many years the majority represented on the Richmond City Council was associated with the predominantly white Richmond Forward organization. This organization was primarily controlled by the interests of major businesses in downtown Richmond. During the late 1960's and early 1970's, the Richmond Forward organization retained a 6-3 majority on the Richmond City Council. As awareness increased among these interests in terms of the implications of a growing black population and the tax base of the city failing to keep up with increased need and expenditures, a political decision was made to retain political power and control through annexation. The annexation of a portion of Chesterfield County, adjoining Richmond to the southwest, increased the city's population by 44,000 white citizens and reduced its proportional black population ". . . from 52 percent to 42 percent of the total population." An opinion of the United States Supreme Court suggested that the primary motive of the 1969 annexation settlement was a desire of white politicians to secure additional white voters and prevent a transfer of political control to the black community. The court determined that Richmond's goal in the annexation negotiations did not include economic or geographic considerations.¹²⁴ Curtis

¹²⁴Times-Dispatch, loc. cit.

Holt, Sr., a civil rights worker, initiated these cases in both U.S. District Court and the U.S. Supreme Court to test the legality of dilution of black votes through the means of annexation. A white group of annexed Richmond citizens helped to pay Holt's legal fees.¹²⁵

4. Richmond City Council commissioned a joint consultant-citizens study of municipal tax resources and expenditures as a prelude to changing spending priorities.

There was evidence from the testimony of the Tax Study Commission, members of Council, and several members of the Richmond School Board that changing spending priorities did impact upon the Richmond Public School System. A number of the recommendations made by the Tax Study Commission impacted upon the Richmond Public School System as illustrated in Table 4.¹²⁶

A number of Richmond School Board members recognized the Tax Study Commission as a power-play in which the Richmond City Council was changing spending priorities and, in the process, downgrading the funding of the Richmond Public Schools. One board member, Linwood Wooldridge, said:¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Tax Study Commission Summary Report, City of Richmond, Richmond, Virginia, February 8, 1971, pp. 2, 4, 9.

¹²⁷ Statement by Linwood Wooldridge, member of Richmond School Board, interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 15, 1975.

Table 4

Cost Reduction Opportunities: Education

	<u>Estimated Annual Savings</u>
1. Reduce the number of budgeted positions in the operating budget	\$ 200,000
2. Transferring School Nurses from the School Board to the Department of Health	\$ 100-160,000
3. Establish a consolidated purchasing, warehousing and distribution operation to serve the School Board and the other city agencies	\$ 284-632,000
4. Consolidate Educational Data Processing operations into a single unit reporting to the city manager and serving all city agencies and activities including the school board	

The Tax Study Commission was significant in influencing the politicians view. The Commission served the function of the group that had hired them and did what it had been asked to do.

We had reached a point in 1971, where politicians (city council) began to suggest what we ought to do with our funds. Part of this different thinking came as a result of the Tax Study Commission. Council was beginning to suggest that certain functions of the school system could be curtailed. They were harassing us with notes here and there. . . . We got so angry about it that we wanted to call it to a halt. We even adopted a public resolution to these people. We haven't really resolved this issue even now. This year the (City) Manager said he'd allot so much money for teacher raises, but this is prohibited (by Virginia statute).

Another member of the Richmond School Board, who currently serves as School Board Chairman, offered further commentary concerning the

impact of the Tax Study Commission:¹²⁸

Despite the questionable procedures and conclusions of the Tax Study Commission, there were those (Council members) who were influenced and reacted negatively to the Board's request for funds. . . . The decreasing number of students in the system and particularly white students influenced Council a certain way. The . . . past Tax Study Commission . . . had an influence on policy. . . . I felt that the school board budget was not being given the same amount of consideration by Council as had been done in the past.

Less than two years after the Tax Study Commission offered a report to the Richmond City Council, there was evidence that city politicians were continuing to exert pressure upon the Richmond School Board to change its spending priorities. The Richmond City Council criticized the Richmond School Board in late April, 1972, for failure to move fast enough on initiating the "economies" recommended by the Tax Study Commission.¹²⁹ A month later, Councilman Wayland Rennie reiterated the same criticism of the Richmond Public School System. He urged the Richmond School Board to "Carry out the recommendations of the Tax Study Commission . . . as soon as possible." In this message to the Richmond School Board, given during a session of the Richmond City Council, Rennie said:¹³⁰

I believe council is . . . sympathetic to these . . . items and looks to the school board to do everything in its power to make budget adjustments and economies toward their implementation.

¹²⁸Statement by Rev. Miles Jones, Chairman, Richmond School Board, interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 15, 1975.

¹²⁹Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], April 27, 1972.

¹³⁰Statement by Wayland W. Rennie, Richmond City Council Minutes, May 18, 1972.

If after a crash effort by the school board to initiate the . . . four major projects, it is still necessary to secure additional funding, I have received assurances from a majority of the council that a request for supplementary funds would be given favorable consideration. I feel that this is a responsible request to make of the School Board and will insure a close working relationship between the School Board and the City Council during the coming year.

5. The Richmond Public School System experienced increased difficulty in maintaining funds for school operation as student population declined and Richmond City Council displayed a tendency to "line-cut" school system budget requests.

The tendency of the Richmond City Council was to change the priorities of municipal spending. The attempt to impose its will upon the priorities of the Richmond School Board, coupled with the resistance of Board members to such "pressures," produced a tendency on the part of the Richmond City Council to "line-cut" proposed budgets of the Board. These tendencies of the Richmond City Council were influenced also by a declining student population in the city. Rev. Miles Jones, Chairman of the Richmond School Board recognized this influence as adversely affecting the Richmond Public Schools. He stated:¹³¹

. . . there were those (council members) who were influenced and reacted negatively to the Board's request for funds. . . . The decreasing number of students in the system and particularly white students influenced council a certain way.

The Superintendent of Richmond Public Schools during the early 1970's was

¹³¹Rev. Miles Jones, loc. cit.

Lucien D. Adams. He shared the perceptions of Miles Jones concerning the difficulty of securing fundings for school programs. Adams said:¹³²

I think the school system has always had to guard against the tendency of council to line-cut a school board budget. Council has many times reduced a budget by a certain amount. You got the message but they never said this had to be for a certain item, but they disallowed a certain amount of money so you knew this is what they meant. I think all school systems need a policy of this kind in order to guard as much as you can against this. I'm sure that was in the thinking of many people when this policy was drawn up.

This increased difficulty in maintaining funds for school operation as student population declined was widely perceived throughout the central administration of the Richmond Public School System. One Assistant Superintendent, Dr. Edward Cooke, acknowledged this widespread perception:¹³³

It was about a year before the adoption of this policy that City Council was meddling or suggesting to the Board that, while they did not have the right to cut money from the budget line-by-line, the amount that was deleted from the budget request just happened to coincide with certain programs. . . . anyone could see what was happening. . . . The Superintendent and his staff perceived what was happening when this was done by city council. I guess this policy was included to give a little prestige, or, the board to reassert themselves; that they did have control of the budget and they did not want council cutting out item-by-item.

Another Assistant Superintendent in the Richmond Public School System, Dr. Rondle Edwards, affirmed the influences impacting upon the

¹³²Statement by Lucien D. Adams, former Superintendent of Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 19, 1975.

¹³³Statement by Dr. Edward Cooke, Assistant Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 2, 1975.

actions of the Richmond School Board and the Richmond Public School Administration:¹³⁴

We became more budget-conscious in the early 1970's because at this time funds were becoming more difficult to obtain. As our school system had changed over the previous 4-5 years in racial composition, there had been a waning of council support. In order to maximize the support we were able to obtain, we needed some definite budgetary procedures.

There were numerous references in both the area newspapers, Richmond School Board Minutes and the Richmond City Council Minutes concerning the policy variable of school funds becoming more difficult to obtain. These references have previously been documented in this paper.

6. Biracial community groups sought increased input to the budget preparations of the Richmond Public School System.

A minimum of two community groups sought an enlarged "voice" in the budget preparations of the Richmond Public School System. One of these groups, the Citizens for Excellent Public Schools (CEPS) was an external variable to the policy-making process that was ongoing within the Richmond Public School System. The other group, Richmond Education Association, was an internal variable to the same policy-making process.

Rev. Miles Jones, Chairman of the Richmond School Board, indicated "The CEPS study made recommendations on projecting the budget

¹³⁴Statement by Dr. Rondle Edwards, Assistant Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 2, 1975.

to the public. They raised some critical questions that had an effect upon me."¹³⁵ One member of the Richmond School Board described in more detail the influence of the CEPS group:¹³⁶

CEPS parents and others were appalled at the condition of schools and ones their children attended (after integration) because these schools were improperly equipped. Historically, schools in Church Hill and the other black areas of the city received worn textbooks and their libraries were not well equipped while the opposite was true in schools located in white areas of the city. There was this feeling that they wanted to know line-by-line where their school tax dollars were going.

Dr. Samuel P. Sentelle, Director of Budgets for the Richmond Public Schools verified that the CEPS group was an external source that prompted development of the policy titled, "Budget."¹³⁷ An Associate Superintendent of the Richmond Public Schools, Dr. James Tyler, suggested that:¹³⁸

The CEPS and the Richmond Education Association were two organizations that indicated concern about budget-making procedures and how it might be personalized in terms of each school level.

The CEPS group desired to have a more active role in the budget preparations of the Richmond Public School System as well as clearing the

¹³⁵ Statement by Rev. Miles Jones, Chairman, Richmond School Board, interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 15, 1975.

¹³⁶ Anonymous, member of Richmond School Board, interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 25, 1975.

¹³⁷ Statement by Dr. Samuel P. Sentelle, Director of Budget, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, April 29, 1975.

¹³⁸ Statement by Dr. James Tyler, Associate Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, April 29, 1975.

way for similar input from citizens in general. During November, 1971, CEPS Chairman, Melvin Law, requested the Richmond School Board to open the budget process to citizen participation. The thought was expressed that such public budget preparation would aid the school system.¹³⁹ There were other administrative personnel who acknowledged attempts by the Richmond Education Association to gain a larger "voice" in the budget preparations of the Richmond Public Schools. The former Director of Finance for the Richmond Public Schools suggested:¹⁴⁰

There was a feeling among the teachers that they did not have a voice in what was going on. The reason we had this was our feeling that the people who used the equipment and materials should have a voice in deciding what they needed. This increased concern of the teachers was expressed through the Richmond Education Association. The policy was an official position taken in response to that concern.

Shortly after Dr. Thomas Little was chosen to be the new Superintendent of Schools, he acknowledged the value of having input from the Richmond Education Association in terms of the school system budget. Dr. Little suggested that the Richmond Education Association take part in the budget process the following year.¹⁴¹

7. Richmond School Board members commissioned a management consultant study of the Richmond Public School System as a means of

¹³⁹News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia], November 18, 1971.

¹⁴⁰Statement by Stewart Wilkerson, former Director of Finance, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, April 28, 1975.

¹⁴¹Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], October 3, 1972.

answering the implications of the Richmond City Council sponsored Tax Study Commission while improving utilization of human and physical resources.

As a result of the many identified variables operating in the immediate environment, the Richmond Public Schools and the ongoing programs and operations of the system were confronted with the probability of a financial "Dunkirk." There was a growing awareness among top school administrators and Richmond School Board members that something drastic needed to be done to avert the collapse of educational programs and operations of the Richmond Public Schools. A conscious strategy was being planned prior to the official statement of policy relative to the budget. William Blucher, of the firm of Blucher Associates, Inc., described the strategy that was then under development:¹⁴²

Dr. Thomas Little felt that there had to be a major study. There was pressure from somewhere outside the school system (in the Council. . . . The Board (and) the administration (needed) a place to stand to make major changes. Dr. Little felt he needed an identifiable, reliable organization to do the study, one that had broad identification within the area of management so he could have something to stand on when he went back to Council and asked for major financial changes.

It was the plan of Dr. Little, who was appointed Superintendent on June 15, 1972, to re-establish confidence and respectability in the Richmond Public School System. The audience he was chiefly addressing

¹⁴²Statement by William C. Blucher, Blucher Associates, Inc., interview in Charlottesville, Virginia, June 23, 1975.

was the majority of the Richmond City Council who were associated with the downtown business interests of the Richmond Forward organization. This organization ". . . retained its 6-3 majority on the City Council."¹⁴³ Another member of the Richmond School Board verified that the school system clearly had its enemies on Council and in the business community:¹⁴⁴

. . . we had Council pressure. We clearly had some real enemies on Council at that time. I wanted to build bridges with Council in the beginning, but I watched them take Lucien Adams and Tom Little apart (in City Council Budget Hearings). I was then against Council for a long time.

It's a matter of record that in an executive committee meeting, they (Richmond Chamber of Commerce) were unable to pass a resolution that was merely to say, the Richmond Chamber of Commerce supports the Richmond public schools in its efforts to continue the education and keep order in the schools. I happen to know that such a resolution was submitted to that executive committee meeting and it failed to pass.

It was in this environment that the Richmond School Board and administration decided to commission two major consultant studies. One of these studies was concerned with the overall organization, management and operations of the Richmond Public School System. This study, conducted by Booz, Allen and Hamilton was commissioned by the Richmond School Board on September 12, 1972, a few weeks after the Richmond School Board officially approved the policy titled "Budget."¹⁴⁵ The second consultant study was concerned with revising the operational

¹⁴³ Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], June 25, 1975.

¹⁴⁴ Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond, Virginia, September 12, 1972.

¹⁴⁵ Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond, Virginia, August 17, 1972.

policies of the Richmond Public School System. Blucher Associates, Inc., of Charlottesville, was commissioned by the Richmond School Board to begin this work on August 19, 1971.¹⁴⁶ The study, complete with policy recommendations, was completed a year later.

8. The Richmond School Board commissioned a consultant firm to review, revise and update the operational policies of the Richmond Public School System.

The budget policy was one of the recommendations that materialized during the work of Blucher Associates, Inc., for the Richmond Public School System. Blucher, in his work, had immediate access to both written materials relating to the operations of the Richmond Public Schools and verbalization of actual operating practices from top administrators within the system including some Directors and all Assistant Superintendents and the Associate Superintendent. He had similar communication with the Superintendent of Richmond Public Schools, Lucien D. Adams. Blucher described the work of his firm as follows:¹⁴⁷

What we were to do was take everything they had in writing in a given area of policy to separate out Rules and Regulations and take their present policies and put in a codification system. We were to look at these policies in terms of current court decisions and what trends in the country were. Then we went back with the (administrative) staff and went over areas in which they had control. The questions asked these people were:

¹⁴⁶Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond, Virginia, August 19, 1971.

¹⁴⁷Blucher, loc. cit.

- a) Is this what is on the books?
- b) Is it working?
- c) Do you want to change it?
- d) How would you change it?

This was followed by review of documents and testimony in our offices. A number of additional meetings with staff members ensued.

We had individual input from each person (Assistant Superintendent) in his area of expertise. These persons in their particular areas of responsibility had major impact on what went into the final policy manual. We wanted to get from them, where did they need more guidance. They were being left out on a limb. They were having to get on the phone and talk with L. D. Adams or Tom Little or Jim Tyler. We did not bring in . . . input from the Principals. This input in our study did not exist in Richmond.

Blucher also described the internal deliberations of top administrators in discussions of policy.¹⁴⁸

Tom Little filled us in on certain background information dealing with the policy areas. . . . He was unique in this. He had worked in all departments. He knows how the whole school system works. Therefore he could fill us in on the things that needed changing or he felt that things we were going to suggest would get shot down if we suggested them in the manner which we had originally written them. He was the guiding light throughout the whole thing. The only time Lucien Adams really got into it was at the end when he (as School Superintendent) was sort of the Judge at the head of the table. But Tom was the strong individual. He kept it moving.

Tom was the one who sent out the order that we would meet at such and such a time. He was the one who sent the memos around saying, have this read by such and such a date. Tom was the most significant person in the system as far as pulling the manual together. He was strong enough in his arguments and his experience from having worked with the Board that when something came up in the group, Tom's arguments were strong enough to sway it one way or another. However, he rarely used this persuasion. He usually let a person hang himself with his argument or let me carry the ball. Then we would get a decision. If you were to say that he was so strong that everything had his approval, I don't believe that. There were probably some things that went in that Tom felt it was better not to hassel about at this

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

point. A very, very shrewd individual. Tom has a good understanding of the personnel and how things work.

An impression was formed by William Blucher concerning the dynamics of the interrelationships between top school administrators during the twelve months of policy revision. He formulated an impression of who formulated the operational policies of the school system.

Blucher said:¹⁴⁹

Lucien (Adams) didn't. Tom (Little) did. Lucien was a good instructional man. Tom Little was a politician. He was a strong man and he filled me in on a lot of background. Tom had the story on almost everything. (Jim) Tyler is very strong too. He didn't always win. But he was a very prominent individual. (Ed) Cooke was rather a "weak sister." (Francis) Sisson never impressed me. (Tom) Little was god-sent. Tom is pragmatic and he knows whether he can push something today or not. The final material on policies was turned over to Tom (Little) to decide whether or not it should go in the (revised policy) manual. Lucien (Adams) had (retired and) left (as Superintendent) toward the end of the study.

Blucher indicated that an influence on the statement of policy, titled "Budget," was a certain existing document in the Richmond Public School System:¹⁵⁰

There was a manual (1970) on Business Practices that was one of the better manuals that I had seen. This manual . . . influenced this policy, but the wording was ours (Blucher Associates, Inc.). The policy was to encourage program budgeting and lock in this understanding as far as the board is concerned.

This manual, titled Business Practices (1970), was prepared by Dr. James Tyler as one of his first projects upon being named Director of Finance for the Richmond Public School System. The manual was a

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

description of business, financial, and budgeting practices, that had long been operational practices under Dr. Thomas Little who had been in charge of the business services of Richmond Public Schools since 1954. This influence of Dr. Little upon the business operations of the Richmond Public Schools was verified by Dr. Lucien D. Adams, a former Superintendent of Richmond Public Schools:¹⁵¹

Dr. (Tom) Little, prior to my retirement (in June 1972), had been in charge of school finances for more than 20 years, so this has been his whole area. It would be natural for anyone to say he had a major influence in this policy area. During my administration (July 1, 1969--June 30, 1972), Dr. Little played a very strong role in all the financial and budgetary matters. That has been his area all these years. I had to depend on him considerably to do this. We had worked together for 25 years. He was on one side (Business Services) and I was on the other (Instructional Services) and we came to depend on the other in these areas.

Dr. Thomas Little testified to his influence on the policy, titled "Budget."¹⁵²

For 15 years prior to the adoption of this policy, I had been responsible for the budgeting process. If this policy is to be attributable to any one person, I probably had more influence in it than anyone. This policy was taken and verbalized from procedures that we were then following in the budget-making process. This policy filled a vacuum for a statement concerning existing practice.

In addition to the policy filling a vacuum of existing practice, there were the added influences of the recommendations of the Tax Study

¹⁵¹Statement by Lucien D. Adams, former Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 19, 1975.

¹⁵²Statement by Dr. Thomas C. Little, former Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 8, 1975.

Commission, Richmond City Council, Citizens for Excellent Public Schools and other groups or people for improved control of expenditures within the Richmond Public School System. It was verified that the Richmond Public Schools were confronted with a financial "squeeze" as the Richmond City Council was determined to set new municipal spending priorities. Administrative personnel within the Richmond Public School System were aware of the need for increased control of school system expenditures. Lucien D. Adams said:¹⁵³

We were, during the term of the Blucher Study, revising our accounting process and that may have had something to do with this as well. In that kind of revision, it brought to our attention the fact that you needed a kind of statement . . . about the budget.

Dr. James Tyler, who was an assistant Superintendent prior to 1972 and afterwards was Associate Superintendent for Business Services, verified this need for a control on expenditures. He stated: "The awareness of a need for a policy from my standpoint on budgeting came from a need for a control on spending."¹⁵⁴

The policy Budget was officially approved by the Richmond School Board in regular session on August 17, 1972, when the revised Rules and Regulations manual was presented by Dr. Thomas Little for Board adoption.

¹⁵³Adams, loc. cit.

¹⁵⁴Statement by Dr. James Tyler, Associate Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, April 29, 1975.

RELATIONSHIP OF POLICY VARIABLES (Budget)

Sequence of Variables (by incident)

Most of the identified variables that were associated with development of this policy began initially during the late 1960's and continued into the 1970's. A few variables occurred partly as a consequence of these earlier variables and occurred during the early 1970's. The order of occurrence among these variables was as follows:

1. The court's desegregation order in April 1970 hastened the change of the Richmond community in terms of its racial and economic composition and the Richmond Public School System in terms of size and composition of student enrollment. The movement to the suburbs was a reality during the late 1960's as the blacks, by 1970, assumed a 52 percent majority of the city's population. This movement to the suburbs escalated after the April 1970 desegregation order, however, and between 1970 and 1972, the public school population increased from 70 percent to 75 percent black students.

2. The tax resources in Richmond increased less rapidly than the demands for increased services. This trend was related to the exodus from the city of large numbers of middle class taxpayers, while holding large numbers of lower socioeconomic types and persons living from the proceeds of social service assistance. The trend, however, was also related to national and state inflation. During the late 1960's and early 1970's, city expenditures were up 8-10 percent on an annual basis, while revenue increased about 4-5 percent each year.

3. The entrenched Richmond politicians sought to retain their political control in the city despite the changing racial composition of the municipal population. This effort was in the format of an annexation of a portion of Chesterfield County. The suit to acquire part of Chesterfield County for "legitimate" reasons started in 1962, but between 1962 and 1969 the motivations of the Richmond "city fathers" for acquiring this property for the city changed. The annexation suit was quickly settled in 1969 to avert the transfer of political control to the Black community. Richmond acquired 44,000 additional white citizens as a result of annexation and enough white voters to remain in control of the Richmond City Council. Consequently, the same fiscal position of Council was maintained.

4. The Richmond City Council commissioned a joint consultant firm-citizens study of municipal tax resources and expenditures as a prelude to changing past spending priorities. Council was concerned with a tax base that was expanding less rapidly than the demand for increased city services. The Tax Study Commission began its work on June 9, 1969, and a later report by the group suggested that there would be a serious expenditures-revenue "squeeze" between 1970 and 1975. It was in this environment that the Richmond City Council investigated revised budget expenditures and spending priorities.

5. The Richmond Public School System experienced increased difficulty in maintaining funds for school operation as student population declined and the Richmond City Council displayed a tendency to

"line-cut" school system budget requests. During May, 1970, the Richmond Public Schools Operating Budget was reduced in the amount of \$ 861,200 by Council. During the same budget period, the school Capital Budget was reduced in the amount of \$ 1,349,000 by Council. The trend followed the 1970's of drastic cuts of school system budget requests by the Richmond City Council. Lower revenues for the Richmond Public Schools also resulted from a declining "average daily attendance" (ADA).

6. A biracial community group sponsored by the League of Women Voters sought increased input to the budget preparations of the Richmond Public School System beginning during the Fall of 1970. This group, the Citizens for Excellent Public Schools (CEPS), had as its purpose the restoration of public confidence in the Richmond Public Schools. After the court desegregation order and subsequent reductions in budgets of the Richmond Public School System by Council, it was generally acknowledged that an environment of decreased support of the Richmond Public Schools existed in the Richmond community.

7. Richmond School Board members commissioned a management consultant study of the Richmond Public Schools as a means of answering the implications of the Richmond City Council sponsored Tax Study Commission. This consultant, Booz, Allen and Hamilton, began the study after Board authorization on September 9, 1972, but the decision to employ the management consultant was made during late 1971 and early 1972. The preliminary decision was made in the environment of recommendations of the Tax Study Commission and severe school board

Table 5

A Flow Chart of Budget Policy Variables by Order of Incident

Date	Incident Flow	Narrative
April 1970	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Court Desegregation Order </div>	Court desegregation order changed the Richmond community and school system.
Late 1960's and early 1970's	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> City Expenditures Increased Faster than Revenues </div>	Expenditures were up 8-10% on annual basis while revenue increased only 4-5 percent.
1969	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Annexation was Attempted to Acquire Revenue and Voters </div>	Annexation was initially an attempt to secure territory and revenue.
June 9, 1969	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Richmond Experienced a Tax Revenue Crunch </div>	Tax Study was commissioned to recommend efficiencies.
1970-73	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Richmond School Budget Requests Were Reduced Drastically </div>	School Budgets were cut and educational programs were adversely affected.

Table 5--Continued

Date	Incident Flow	Narrative
1970	<div style="text-align: center;">↓</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> CEPS Studied Schools and Made Budget Recommendations </div>	CEPS studied schools and recommended budget efficiencies.
1971-72	<div style="text-align: center;">↓</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> School System Decided to Hire Booz-Allen to Counter Tax Study </div>	Booz-Allen hired to counter Tax Study Commission
May 1971- August 17, 1972	<div style="text-align: center;">↓</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> School System Hired Blucher to Update Policy Manual </div>	Blucher Associates, Inc., hired by school system to update policy manual.

budget reductions. The school administration generally acknowledged that a consultant report was needed to counter the recommendations of the Tax Study Commission.

8. The Richmond School Board commissioned the firm of Blucher Associates, Inc., to review, revise and make recommendations for the updating of the Richmond Public Schools operational Policies (Rules and Regulations). This policy consultant firm determined areas in need of policy statements through a system of review of existing policies and interview of the school system administration. The Blucher Associates, Inc., began work during late May, 1971, and a year later a revised policy manual was adopted by the Richmond School Board on August 17, 1972. One policy expressly worded by Blucher included a policy entitled, "Budget."

Sequence of Variables (by actors).

The order of actors' influence on the incidents leading to development of this policy statement was as follows:

1. Judge Robert Merhige (U.S. District Court, Richmond, Virginia) was a major actor in events leading to development of the policy. It was his decision during April 1970, that led to desegregation of the Richmond Public School System by means of court-ordered bussing. His decision, of course, was based upon judicial precedent in a number of cases since Brown. Other litigants in the Richmond desegregation case included the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the members of the Richmond School Board. The administration of the Richmond Public Schools in the

persons of Superintendent Lucien D. Adams, Associate Superintendent Thomas Little, and Roy Puckett, Administrative Assistant to the Superintendent, were also important in this case. The latter three persons helped design and present "Plan 3" to the court that was concerned with pupil assignment. It was "Plan 3" that Judge Merhige selected as the best means to use in the desegregation of the Richmond City Public School System. This plan, coupled with massive bussing by court order, created the conditions for an increased rate of middle class Richmonders relocating in the adjoining suburbs. This had the effect of: 1) the tax base of the city of Richmond tending to increase less rapidly, 2) the population of the city and school system growing in proportions of blacks, 3) the population of the Richmond Public Schools continuing to decline, and at a more rapid rate, and 4) funds for school operation becoming more scarce.

2. The taxpayers of the City of Richmond were actors in relation to the influences and incidents that led to development of this policy, both the middle class affluent taxpayers who chose to relocate their residences outside the city and the less affluent taxpayers who remained as residents. These actors and their actions had the effect of causing the tax base of the city not to expand as rapidly as the demands for increased municipal, social, and educational services. Consequently, during the late 1960's and early 1970's, city expenditures were up 8-10 percent on an annual basis, while revenue increased about 4-5 percent each year.

3. The members of the Richmond City Council, as politicians,

were actors in relation to the influences and incidents that led to development of this policy. The decision of the Richmond City Council to quickly settle the Chesterfield Annexation Suit had the effect of acquiring enough white votes to retain white Council members in office. While in office, actions were taken by the Richmond City Council that affected the Richmond Public School System and their fiscal position in relation to ability to maintain an acceptable level of educational programs. These actions included commissioning a broad-base tax study with resulting recommendations that had adverse implications for the future funding of certain Richmond educational programs and traditional functions. School budget cuts followed.

4. Members of the Citizens for Excellent Public Schools, a citizens study group concerned with assisting the Richmond Public School System to regain public confidence in the environment of school desegregation and bussing, were actors in incidents that led to the development of the policy. Some of the group's recommendations impacted directly upon the area of school system budget-making and a few concepts including those of program budgeting and evaluation of product were included in the policy statement of the Richmond Public Schools.

5. Members of the Richmond School Board were actors in incidents that led to development of the policy statement, titled "Budget." The Richmond School Board perceived the impact of a number of community and political forces that had the effect of reducing monies budgeted to school system operation. Board members reacted with members of the Richmond City Council to recommendations of the Tax Study Commission.

Board members welcomed the study of the citizens group, Citizens for Excellent Public Schools. The Richmond School Board also commissioned several other consultant studies related to budget-making including the Booz-Allen Hamilton study and the work of Blucher Associates, Inc., which led to the actual policy statement.

6. Top administrators in the Richmond Public School System were actors in the incidents that resulted in the statement of policy by the Richmond School Board. These actors included two former Superintendents of the Richmond Public Schools, Assistant Superintendents and some other central office administrators including Directors. Each of these actors were participants in the policy consultant study that was coordinated by Blucher Associates, Inc., of Charlottesville, Virginia. In addition, the two former Superintendents occupied positions where the full impact of budget cuts by the Richmond City Council on operations of the Richmond Public School System was realized. These Superintendents, including Lucien D. Adams and Dr. Thomas Little, also formulated and made recommendations to the Richmond School Board to employ consultant studies and employ certain strategies to counteract the inclination of the Richmond City Council to reduce budget requests of the Richmond Public School System.

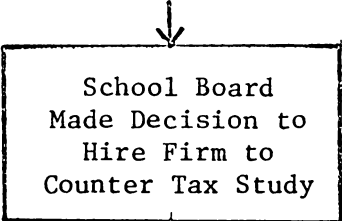
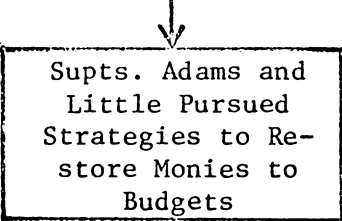
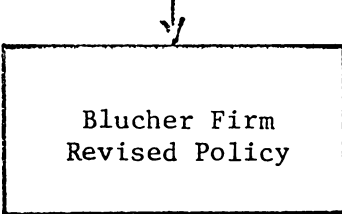
7. The firm of Blucher Associates, Inc., headed by William Blucher, was a major actor in incidents leading to adoption of the policy statement, titled "Budget," by the Richmond School Board. The firm of Blucher Associates, Inc., actually prepared the statement that was adopted by the Richmond School Board as policy. It was this firm

Table 6

A Flow Chart of Budget Policy Variables
by Influence of Actors

Date	Actor Influence Flow	Narrative
April 1970	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Judge Merhige Issued Desegregation Order </div>	Judge Merhige's desegregation order had effect of making budgets more difficult to secure for schools.
Late 1960's and early 1970's	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Affluent Taxpayers Relocated Outside City </div>	Many affluent taxpayers relocated outside Richmond after court order and remaining school population required more expensive programs.
1969	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> City Council Commissioned Tax Study Commission </div>	Effect was that certain school functions were recommended to be cut.
1970	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> CEPS Studied Schools and Made Budget Recommendations </div>	This group sought to restore community confidence in the schools and their advice was welcomed.

Table 6--Continued

Date	Actor Influence Flow	Narrative
1971-72	 <p style="text-align: center;">School Board Made Decision to Hire Firm to Counter Tax Study</p>	An administrative decision was made to counter the impact of the Tax Study Report
1970-73	 <p style="text-align: center;">Supts. Adams and Little Pursued Strategies to Re- store Monies to Budgets</p>	Administrative strategies were pursued to maintain school monies at then current levels.
May 1971- August 17, 1972	 <p style="text-align: center;">Blucher Firm Revised Policy</p>	School system policy manual was outdated and Blucher was hired to update policies and make recommendations for policy-gap areas.

that conducted the major study for the Richmond School Board to review existing policies, note areas in need of policy statements, and make such recommendations. During this process, the Blucher Associates, Inc., met with most top administrators in the Richmond Public School System to secure input to this policy revision process.

CONTRIBUTION OF VARIABLES TO POLICY-FORM

Policy Type

1. Policy-type refers to the form that variables assumed within the context of policy-making in a given policy arena. The different policy-types were described as follows:
 - 1.1 Rational Mode--Variables operating in this mode tended to allow actors in the policy-making arena to maximize certain values where alternatives are carefully assessed and choices are made rationally.
 - 1.2 Organizational Mode--Variables operating in this mode tended to allow actors (specialists within the school system) to incrementally add to established routines within the given policy arena.
 - 1.3 Political Mode--Variables operating in this mode tended to allow actors to bargain and achieve consensus as a means of stabilizing the relationship of the school system with its environment.

The different policy-types that were used for description in this policy history, were also used in subsequent policy histories.

The policy-type of the formal statement, "Budget," seems to best-fit the characteristics associated with the Organizational Mode because of the statement formalizing operational practices that had evolved incrementally with contributions by specialists. The policy was also influenced by the conditions of the surrounding environment. The following observations were made concerning variables that impacted on the policy arena and preparations associated with the budget statement:

- 1.21 The policy statement did not represent a compromise between personnel within the school system and other people external to the school system.
- 1.22 The formal statement of policy was a reflection of existing budgetary practices as they had evolved since 1954 under the administrative leadership of Dr. Thomas Little, who served as Associate Superintendent of Business Services prior to his appointment as Superintendent in 1972.
- 1.23 The policy statement did not reflect the programmed budgeting practices that were, during this period, being incorporated into the school system budget-making system.
- 1.24 The statement of policy, in addition to the practices originating under Little's leadership, seemed to be a formal response of the school administration and school board to the tendency of the Richmond City Council to

line-cut specific budget items proposed by the school system after the Tax Study Commission made its report and budget recommendations. During this period, school system budgets were dramatically reduced by the Richmond City Council and the support did not seem to exist in the Richmond community to have these monies restored to the school system budget.

- 1.25 There seemed to be a recognition among the school administration and school board that budget-making in the future would require wide involvement of persons both within and outside the school system, such as CEPS and other such groups, as a means of maintaining adequate funding for effective schools in Richmond.
- 1.26 There was not any outside group that forced such a statement of policy from the Richmond Public School System. The decision to include such a policy statement in the revised manual was made by top administrators in the Richmond Public School System including Thomas Little.
- 1.27 The policy statement, "Budget," was the result of the policy consultant firm of Blucher Associates, Inc., being contracted by the Richmond Public Schools to revise and update the school system policy manual. The Blucher firm researched the existing budgetary practices of the Richmond Public School System through

interviews with top school administrators and subsequently provided the wording for the policy based upon the recommendations of top school administrators. As befitting the Blucher definition of policy, many discretionary phrases were recommended for the statement of policy that was finally adopted intact by the Richmond School Board.

Conceptual Schemes

2. The conceptual scheme of the budget statement seems to best fit the characteristics associated with the Organizational Mode because the policy statement was generated from the input of organizational specialists. The following observations were made concerning variables that impacted on the policy arena and preparations associated with the statement, "Budget:"

2.1 Rational Mode--The actor was seen as rational, pursuing logical alternatives. The problem was seen as produced by discrepancies or opportunities that occurred. Strategy selection was seen as related to the total organizational activity pertinent to locating a solution. The action was perceived as the choice factor when confronted with rational goals, options and consequences.

2.2 Organizational Mode--The actor was seen as a pyramidal arrangement of departments headed by one professional. The problem in this mode was defined essentially as in the rational mode. Strategy selection was seen as the solution

to particular problems based upon the recommendation that generated from a department with a specialty related to the problem. The action was seen as behavior that reflected existing routines and cumulative organizational knowledge.

- 2.3 Political Mode--The actor was seen as a number of players with definite coalitions. The problem was seen as game issues that have been raised by special situations and deadlines. Strategy selection was seen as the solution to particular problems in terms of power relationships. The action was perceived as based upon consensus of game players when confronted with goals, environmental conditions and rewards.

The different conceptual schemes that were used for description in this policy history, were also used in subsequent policy histories.

The conceptual scheme of the formal statement, "Budget," seems to best-fit the characteristics associated with the organizational mode as a result of organizationalists' recommending the policy. The following observations were made concerning variables that impacted on the policy arena and preparations associated with the statement, "Budget":

- 2.21 The Richmond Public School System is a pyramidal arrangement of departments headed by one professional, the Superintendent, who serves as executive officer and in an advisory relationship to the Richmond School Board.

- 2.22 Two different Superintendents headed the Richmond Public School System during the period in which the conditions occurred that made this policy desirable. One of these Superintendents, Lucien Adams, persuaded the Richmond School Board to commission the policy consultant firm of Blucher Associates, Inc., to revise and update the school system policy manual. The Superintendent immediately after Lucien Adam's administration was Dr. Thomas Little. It was Little who coordinated the work of Blucher Associates, Inc., during the Adams' administration and who had final review of recommended policies and the revised manual after Adam's retirement prior to the manual being submitted to the Richmond School Board for review and adoption.
- 2.23 Little had headed the business services of the Richmond Public School System since 1954, first as Assistant Superintendent, then as Associate Superintendent in that capacity. He was the chief financial and budget advisor to Superintendents who preceded him in office and of the Richmond School Board. Dr. Little's recommendations in the areas of finance and budgets carried more knowledge and authority, probably, than any other person employed by the Richmond Public Schools. He advised both the Richmond School Board and Lucien Adams of the probable consequences of continued reductions by the Richmond

City Council and the lack of community support to help in restoring such funds. Little was the major actor in this policy arena, as verified by William Blucher and others. It was his articulation of the perceived budget problem and recommendations that eventually resulted in the formal statement of policy.

- 2.24 The budget policy recommendation was a reflection of budget routines and cumulative school system knowledge that had evolved in the Richmond Public School System for almost twenty years under the administrative leadership of Thomas Little.

Dimensions of Policy

3. Dimensions of policy have been classified in three categories. The first dimension has been seen as simple or complex, the second dimension as non-organizational or organizational and the third dimension as distributive or regulatory. The different policy dimensions were described as follows:

- 3.1 First Dimension (Simple or Complex)--Policy-types within the first dimension have made a distinction between small-scale incremental policies and broad, non-incremental policies. Small-scale incremental policies have been seen as policies that supplement existing policies, but are not designed to drastically overhaul the intent of existing policies. Broad, non-incremental policies have been seen as wide-ranging policies that set precedent. Such policies have been perceived

as new, far-reaching policies that do not build upon existing policies.

- 3.2 Second Dimension (Non-organizational or organizational)--Policies of the second dimension have implied a difference between interaction patterns that operate internal to an organization and those that operate external to an organization. Patterns of interaction within the organization have been seen as input to policy from employees of the organization. Such interactions that are external to the organization, but which affect policy, have been seen as input from interest groups and governmental agencies.
- 3.3 Third Dimension (Distributive or regulatory)--Within the third dimension of policy, a distinction has been made between policy that is designed to distribute available resources or regulate these resources. Policy designed to distribute available resources has been seen as a plan of allocating personnel, materials, equipment, facilities, finances and technical expertise to sub-units of the organization based upon expressed need, but without regulation in terms of how these resources are used. Policy designed to regulate resources allocated to sub-units of the organization has been seen as providing specific controls as to the use of resources prior to or after allocation.

The different dimensions of policy that were used for description in this policy history, were also used in subsequent policy

histories.

The formal policy statement, "Budget," within the three dimensions of policy was observed to be small-scale incremental, both non-organizational and organizational and regulatory. The following observations were made relevant to the three dimensions of policy that have been characterized.

3.11 The policy statement, within the context of the first dimension of policy, represented the documentation of an operating practice that had been in operation since 1954, but had never been formally adopted as policy by the Richmond School Board. Since the policy was not designed to overhaul existing budget practice in the school system, it was classified as a small-scale incremental policy. Implicit in the statement of policy was administrative and school board intention to broaden the base of internal and external participation in budget preparation. This intention was a small, but important increment to existing budget practices.

3.21 The policy statement, in terms of the second dimension of policy, had influences that affected its preparation both within the Richmond Public School System and external to the school system. External influences that impacted on the policy considerations of the Richmond Public School System, in terms of budgets, were the

changes occurring in the Richmond community that affected the tax base and the inclination of the Richmond City Council to drastically reduce school budget requests. The loss of community support for the Richmond Public Schools in the wake of the desegregation order and the accompanying budget reductions produced a willingness in the Richmond Public School System to be receptive to the recommendations of the CEPS group. Internal influences that impacted on the policy considerations of the Richmond Public School System included the intent of Superintendents Adams and Little to secure greater budget control in the immediate environment of declining school monies and a broader base of participation in budget preparations. The work of the Blucher Associates, Inc., in terms of policy revision, updating and recommendation was an important internal variable in the sense that the firm was hired to work for the Richmond Public School System. The firm of Blucher Associates, Inc., actually produced the wording for the policy, titled "Budget," that was finally adopted by the Richmond School Board.

- 3.31 The policy statement, in terms of the third dimension of policy, was designed to regulate the physical and human resources of the Richmond Public School System

through fiscal budget control. Such budget control was necessary in the environment of declining school dollars and the recommendations of the Tax Study Commission, the accounting firm of Pullen and Pullen, the Booz-Allen Hamilton Management Consultant study, and CEPS. Each of these groups recommended tighter controls in the budget over monies budgeted, expended, and evaluation of product.

Process Patterns

4. Process patterns as related to policy-making have delineated between participation of actors in the process and the level of organization structures. The different process patterns were described as follows:

4.1 Participation of Actors--The participation within the policy-making process has been viewed as assuming three forms. The first form of participation in the policy-making process has been viewed as limiting participation to only specialists within the system. The second form of participation in the policy-making process has been seen as involving special interest groups, city council, the board of education and similar groups. A third form of participation in the policy-making process has been seen as allowing input from a wide variety of groups, many of which are not entirely concerned with the effects of a specific policy. These groups have been said to vary depending upon the occasion and issue in question, but could be

taxpayer associations, political groups, religious groups, business associations, labor unions, agencies or other similar organizations.

- 4.2 Level of Structures--The level of organization structures pertinent to the policy-making process of an urban school system has been seen as both an internal and external matter to the urban school system. Within the urban school system, "levels" have been interpreted as applicable to different groups of employees--administrators, supervisors, teachers, paraprofessionals and others. External organization "levels" which affect the policy-making process have been seen as units and agencies of the local government, state government and the Federal government. The interrelationships that exist between these organization levels have been seen as important to the policy-making process.

The different process patterns that were used for description in this policy history, were also used in subsequent policy histories.

The process patterns involved in formulating the policy statement, titled "Budget," included the participation of school administrators within the Richmond Public School System and, indirectly, the influences of a wide variety of groups. Both internal and external levels of organization structure affected, directly or indirectly, the development of this policy. The different process patterns that were involved in developing this policy statement

were described as follows:

4.11 The participation of actors in the arena of policy-making, titled "Budget," included primarily specialists within the Richmond Public School System in the form of top school system administrators in dialogue with a policy consultant firm, Blucher Associates, Inc., that was contracted by the school system to revise and update policies. Other groups were also important, indirectly, in altering conditions in the environment that caused top school system superintendents to perceive a specific need for such a statement of policy at that time. Among these groups, the actions of the Richmond City Council, Tax Study Commission, CEPS and the Richmond School Board were important. The Richmond City Council drastically reduced the school system budget over a period of years, and the Tax Study Commission recommended that a number of traditional functions of the Richmond Public School System be curtailed. CEPS recommended increased efficiency measures in the budgeting operations of the Richmond Public School System. The Richmond School Board was the group that formally reacted to the policy recommendation of the Richmond School Administration. Participation in the policy-making process involved, then, several levels of actors but the primary actors were top

school administrators in the Richmond Public School System and their policy consultant, William Blucher.

- 4.21 The levels of organization structure that were involved in helping to formulate this policy statement included both internal levels, and indirectly an external level. Internal levels of the Richmond Public School System that provided viable input to the policy arena of "Budget" and the eventual statement design were primarily the Superintendent and Assistant Superintendents. School system personnel such as Directors, Principals, Teachers, or School Board members were not important in causing this policy to be stated or helping in policy construction. The foremost persons involved in this policy design were Thomas Little and his policy advisor, Blucher. An external organization level that was, indirectly, important in conditions leading to development of the policy statement was the Richmond City Council. The city council had reduced budgets severely over a period of years and were involved in practices, termed budget "line-cutting," that adversely affected budget requests of the Richmond Public School System. The city council was also the agency that commissioned a broad-base tax study that impacted adversely on many of the Richmond Public School System operations

and traditional functions. The Richmond City Council, indirectly, affected the policy statement because the policy outlined the responsibilities of the Richmond School Board in budget preparations and expenditures according to legislation enacted by the Virginia General Assembly. A number of school officials alluded to the purpose of this policy statement as, "A message to council."

Structure of Influence

5. Structure of influence refers to the degree specific persons or groups have power in producing change or revision in terms of a given policy arena. The structure of influence, in relationship to school system policy-making, has usually made reference to various persons or group coalitions including school superintendents, the political structure of the community, or specific stakeholders. These persons and factions have been described as follows:

5.1 School Superintendents/Administration/School Board: The literature reported that superintendents and school board chairmen indicated that both groups perceive superintendents as having more influence on policies dealing with internal operations and less influence on policies related to external operations of the school system. The influence of superintendents upon policy-making was ranked in the following descending order: curriculum, personnel, pupil services, school plant, public relations and finance.

5.2 Local Community Structure: The literature reported that the concentration of community resources toward influencing a school system policy was related to the degree that major leaders or groups view such action as in their best interest. Organized groups within a community were seen as more effective in exerting influence upon policy-making as compared to individuals.

5.3 Stakeholders in Policy-Making: The literature reported that the power structure of policy-making can be expected to change over time between stakeholders and consequently affect community institutions. Stakeholders were seen as including school administrators, teachers, teacher-organizations, parents, taxpayer committees, civil-rights organizations, community action organizations and parent-teacher associations.

The different structures of influence that were used for description in this policy history, were also used in subsequent policy histories.

The structure of influence in evolving the formal policy statement, "Budget," involved principally specialists within the Richmond Public School System and, indirectly, stakeholders in the Richmond community. The influence of these stakeholders was described as follows:

5.11 School Superintendents/Administration/School Board: The principal actor in the structure of influence affecting

the policy, "Budget," was Thomas Little. He had been a major administrator in the central school administrative officers for almost twenty years prior to adoption of the policy and his specialty was finance, budgeting, and the business services. Dr. Little was the first Richmond administrator to articulate the need to express to the Richmond City Council the differences in roles regarding budgeting between the Richmond School Board and the Richmond City Council because of the tendency of the latter group to "line-cut" school system budget requests. It was Little who coordinated the policy revision work of the Blucher Associates, Inc., in the Richmond Public School System and who had final right of review on the policy statement before it was submitted to the Richmond School Board for final approval. It is probable that Thomas Little had more influence in this area of policy-making than did some of his contemporary school administrators across the nation because of two factors. The State of Virginia and the State Department of Education has decentralized the responsibilities of budgeting and securing finances to communities in a larger degree than is true in many other states. Secondly, Dr. Thomas Little had administered the business operations of the Richmond Public School System for almost twenty years prior to his

selection as Superintendent of the Richmond Public Schools. Consequently, he had established his base of influence both in the school system and the community over an extended time period.

- 5.21 The period during which this policy evolved in the Richmond Public School System was an unsettled period both in the Richmond Public School System and in the Richmond community. Desegregation orders were affecting the Richmond Public Schools and diminishing public support for the schools in the community. The Richmond Public Schools administration was observed to be in a transition phase between white and black control. The student enrollment was on the decline in Richmond as many middle class and affluent citizens relocated outside the city to escape sending their children to desegregated schools. The remaining population both in the school system and the city grew in the proportion of blacks to whites. As the school system tended to become increasingly black, the city fathers tended to shift municipal allocation priorities and school system budgets suffered. Some groups tended to exercise some influence on the public schools in this policy area, but individuals outside the Richmond Public Schools did not seem to exert major influence in this area.

5.31 Stakeholders in Policy-Making: The principal stakeholders in this policy arena tended to be almost exclusively top administrators inside the school system, such as Dr. Thomas Little and his chief advisors. Directors, Principals, Supervisors, and Teachers were not that influential in this policy arena. Groups in the Richmond community, during this period, that tended to have an indirect effect on the policy arena of budget was the Richmond City Council, the Tax Study Commission that had been authorized by the Richmond City Council, and CEPS. Other groups that had influence in an earlier Richmond seemed either to have lost their capacity for municipal influence (power) or did not any longer consider the Richmond Public School System an area of priority concern. The latter explanation was, probably, the most plausible. Richmond was in a transition period of considerable magnitude. The Richmond City Council was still controlled by city business interests through an organization known as the Team of Progress (TOP), but other community interests, including blacks, were gaining seats on the Richmond City Council.

Table 7

Budget Policy Cross-Index Verification by Actors and Footnote Number

	Actors:																				
	School Adm.	L. D. Adams	Tom Little	Jim Tyler	Ron Edwards	Ed Cooke	Sam Sentelle	S. Wilkerson	School Bd.	Miles Jones	L. Wooldridge	City Council	W. Rennie	City/Richmond	Rich. Plann. Comm.	Tax-Study Comm.	Booz-Allen	CEPS	Blucher Associa.	U.S. Dist. Court	Times-Dispatch
1. Court Desegregation Order									119								103 107			118	72 73 120
2. City of Richmond experienced a tax-revenue "crunch"												76 123		78		71 75 121	122				
3. Settlement of annexation represented an initial attempt to acquire more territory and tax revenues for city												124									79

Table 7--Continued

	Actors:																					
	School Adm.	L. D. Adams	Tom Little	Jim Tyler	Ron Edwards	Ed Cooke	Sam Sentelle	S. Wilkerson	School Bd.	Miles Jones	L. Wooldridge	City Council	W. Rennie	City/Richmond	Rich. Plann. Comm.	Tax-Study Comm.	Booz-Allen	CEPS	Blucher Associates	U.S. District Court	Times-Dispatch	
4. Richmond City Council authorized a Tax Study Commission to make recommendations about spending programs										128	127	126 129	130			81 126						
5. Richmond School Board Budget Requests Began to experience severe cuts & educ. programs were affected	85 91 92	88 132		154	134	133				133		82 83 84 93 95	94		90		102 103					
6. CEPS made recommendations for budget efficiency			141	138			137	140		136								96 98 99 139				

Table 7--Continued

	Actors:	
7. School Adm'n. & Board made decision to hire management consultant	School Adm. L. D. Adams Tom Little Jim Tyler Ron Edwards Ed Cooke Sam Sentelle S. Wilkerson School Bd. Miles Jones L. Wooldridge City Council W. Rennie City/Richmond Rich. Plann. Comm. Tax-Study Comm. Booz-Allen CEPS Blucher Associates U.S. District Court Times-Dispatch	144 100 101 104 142
8. Blucher firm commissioned to revise, update policies.	153	146 106 108 109- 114, 147- 150,

SUMMARY

This policy history verified a number of influences and variables that were occurring external to the Richmond Public School System, but yet had a direct or indirect impact upon the Richmond Public Schools. Among these variables was the changing economic, social, and political orientation of the Richmond community. Coupled with these influences was a loss of confidence in the Richmond Public School System by the white political establishment as federal courts ordered integration, a unitary school system and massive bussing. The Richmond Public Schools were also increasingly black in terms of student enrollment. There were also variables internal to the Richmond Public Schools that were operating to affect this policy. These variables included the Richmond School Board and top school system administration sharing a common perception that if Richmond was to maintain an excellent and viable school system, there was a necessity that public confidence in the Richmond Public Schools be restored, particularly in the business community. Within this environment, the Richmond School Board and top administration welcomed a complete study of the Richmond Public School System by both citizen and consultant groups. The environment caused the administration of the Richmond Public Schools to recommend with favor those recommendations for revision of the school system accounting, business and budgeting systems. The policy, "Budget," filled a vacuum area where previously there was not such a policy. There existed, however, an operational

practice concerning budget preparation, but extensive public input to budget preparation was rather limited. It also served public notice that the Richmond Public School System was committed to increased public input to budget deliberations and increased control of educational expenditures through a programmed budgeting system.

POLICY HISTORY

Policy Statement: Pupil Transportation

A. Buses

School buses shall be purchased, operated and maintained by and under the direction of the school board of the City of Richmond for the transportation of eligible pupils between designated pick-up points and the school to which they are assigned. Transportation of physically handicapped pupils will be given special attention.

School buses may be used for school related and school sponsored trips under conditions to be determined by the superintendent.

All buses shall meet the requirements as set forth in the Motor Vehicle Code, State of Virginia: Standards and Specifications of The State Board of Education, and such other regulations as the superintendent shall require for the safety of the pupils.

B. Routes and schedules

Bus routes shall be established by the superintendent. Routes shall be scheduled only over such roads and streets that are properly maintained and safe for bus travel. Bus stops shall be established for loading and unloading of pupils at designated areas which assure the maximum safety of the pupils.

(Adopted: August 17, 1972)

Environment of Policy

A number of influences were operational within the environment surrounding development of the Richmond Public School System policy entitled "Pupil Transportation." Some of these influences had their beginnings many years prior to the subsequent development and statement of this school board policy. These influences included: (1) the Richmond community changing in terms of its racial and economic composition, (2) entrenched Richmond politicians seeking to retain their political control in the city despite the changing racial composition of the municipal population, (3) court-ordered integration of the Richmond Public Schools, and (4) the Richmond School Board commissioned Blucher study.

The first influence concerned the Richmond community and its gradual change during the decades of the 1960's and 1970's in terms of its racial and economic composition. These changes, in combination with other active variables, helped produce an environment where a major transportation function was mandated for the Richmond Public School System. Additional details concerning this variable are included in the policy history, entitled "Budget--Environment of Policy."

A second influence involved entrenched Richmond politicians seeking to retain their political control in the city despite the changing racial composition of the municipal population. This action led to settlement of an annexation suit and acquisition of additional county territory for the City of Richmond and the need to provide

transportation for some students. Additional details concerning this variable are included in the policy history, entitled "Budget--Environment of Policy."

U.S. District Judge Robert R. Merhige's order directing Richmond to integrate its school system by means of bussing, represented a third environmental influence that had implications for development of the Richmond School Board policy, titled "Pupil Transportation." Prior to 1970, the Richmond Public School System assigned students to schools on a "freedom of choice" plan. Under this plan, students were administratively assigned to schools in Richmond ". . . unless their parents requested transfers by a cutoff date." This "freedom of choice" assignment plan was in operation in the Richmond Public Schools between 1964 and 1970.¹⁵⁵ A motion was filed by attorneys for black plaintiffs in U.S. District Court that was eventually to change student assignment plans in Richmond. The motion requested the Richmond School Board to, ". . . take immediate steps to achieve a non-racial 'unitary' school system." The motion cited decisions of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals and U.S. Supreme Court which directed other Virginia school systems (New Kent County) to establish a "unitary" non-racial school system.¹⁵⁶ On April 1, 1970, the Richmond School Board informed the court that the school system ". . . is not operating a unitary school

¹⁵⁵News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia], April 7, 1971.

¹⁵⁶Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], March 11, 1970.

system free of racial discrimination." Judge Robert R. Merhige, on the same date, ordered the Richmond School Board to establish such an integrated school system.¹⁵⁷ More than two months later, black plaintiffs proposed a desegregation plan to the Merhige court that suggested bussing be used to transport 15,000 students and achieve a unitary system. The Richmond School System at this time did not have the buses to execute a large-scale transportation plan of students. Consequently, the Richmond School Board proposed an "interim" plan, on July 23, 1970, to achieve the bussing of 13,000 students. This "interim" plan proposed that 10,400 students ride public buses owned by the Virginia Transit Company. Judge Merhige approved the "interim" plan on August 18, 1970, but said that the plan ". . . does not establish a unitary school system." He approved the "interim" plan because the Richmond Public School System lacked available buses, but directed the Richmond School Board to produce a viable plan for the creation of a unitary school system within 90 days. The Richmond Public Schools opened the 1970-71 school year under the "interim" student assignment and transportation plan.¹⁵⁸ Upon request of Merhige's court, the Richmond School Board on January 15, 1971, filed three new desegregation plans. Plan 1 called for retention of the neighborhood school concept at all grade levels. This plan had already been substantially ruled unacceptable by the court when "freedom of choice" was ruled both unacceptable and

¹⁵⁷Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], April 2, 1970.

¹⁵⁸News-Leader, loc. cit.

unconstitutional. Plan II was similar to the interim plan and called for the desegregation of secondary schools. This plan left racial imbalances in the elementary schools. This plan also had, in effect, been ruled unacceptable by Judge Merhige. He had already said on August 18, 1970, that the "iterim" plan did not establish a unitary school system. Plan III called for bussing of 21,000 students and desegregation of Richmond schools at all grade levels. This plan was clearly the favored means of achieving a unitary school system in Richmond from the very beginning as Plan III promised more extensive bussing and integration than the NAACP plan.¹⁵⁹ During February, 1971, the Richmond School Board was informed that the U.S. District Court's intention was to approve a plan for a unitary non-racial school system by April 1, 1971.¹⁶⁰ The Richmond School Board, on February 18, 1971, was directed by the Court to adopt Pupil Assignment Plan III or the court would adopt the desegregation plan submitted by the NAACP.¹⁶¹ Several weeks later, the U.S. District Court indicated a readiness to approve the Richmond School Board Plan III for the bussing of 21,000 pupils.¹⁶² The Court, on April 5, 1971, issued a directive to the Richmond School Board to initiate Plan III, that called for

¹⁵⁹Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], January 15, 1971.

¹⁶⁰Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], February 17, 1971.

¹⁶¹News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia], February 18, 1971.

¹⁶²Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], March 5, 1971.

large-scale, cross-town bussing of students.¹⁶³ The order by Judge Merhige also directed city officials to make the necessary financial arrangements to purchase a minimum of 56 new school buses to implement Plan III by September, 1971. First-year cost of the plan was estimated to be \$ 517,000.¹⁶⁴ The Richmond School Board indicated that it would ask the Richmond City Council for about \$ 400,000 to purchase the 56 buses to implement Plan III.¹⁶⁵ The Richmond City Council failed to respond favorably to this request from the Richmond School Board to allocate additional funds over those that had previously been planned. Instead, Council moved to reduce the appropriation to the Richmond School Board from the General Fund by \$ 542,240.¹⁶⁶ A second motion was then entertained to provide funds to comply with the new student transportation requirements set forth in the order of the Federal District Court that was issued on April 5, 1971. The majority of Council members voted in favor of the motion. The decision was made to allocate \$ 400,463 to the Richmond School Board to purchase buses and an additional \$ 124,600 for the cost of bus operation during 1971-72.¹⁶⁷ Shortly after Judge Merhige issued

¹⁶³Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], April 6, 1971.

¹⁶⁴News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia], April 7, 1971.

¹⁶⁵Times-Dispatch, loc. cit.

¹⁶⁶Ordinances No. 71-72--No. 71-127 (Budget and Revenue), Richmond City Council Minutes, May 18, 1971, p. 36.

¹⁶⁷Richmond City Council Minutes, Richmond, Virginia, May 18, 1971, p. 39.

the Court order for large-scale, cross-town bussing, the Richmond School Board directed the school administration to make the necessary preparations to convert operations to Plan III by September, 1971.¹⁶⁸ There was considerable opposition to this bussing order in the Richmond community and strategies were pursued to block such bussing plans. Dave Satterfield, Virginia's 10th District Congressman, introduced a proposed constitutional amendment in the U.S. House of Representatives in opposition to bussing.¹⁶⁹ In late May, 1971, the U.S. District Court ordered the Richmond School Board to pay \$ 56,419.46 to the attorneys of the black plaintiffs in the pupil assignment case.¹⁷⁰ The Richmond School Board was informed by Thomas Little, then Associate Superintendent, of the details involving the staggered opening and closing of schools projected for the Fall opening of Richmond Public Schools under Plan III. Little informed the Richmond School Board that each bus during the Fall would make three bus runs as opposed to the two bus runs that the school system used under the "iterim" bussing plan in 1970-71.¹⁷¹ Since the time was short and the problems of moving school equipment and textbooks, plus planning new bus routes

¹⁶⁸ Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, April 15, 1971.

¹⁶⁹ News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia], May 4, 1971.

¹⁷⁰ Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], May 28, 1971.

¹⁷¹ Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, June 3, 1971.

prior to the Fall school openings were staggering, a decision was made to hire a transportation consultant to help plan routes. The firm that was hired was the ATE Management and Service Company of Cincinnati, Ohio.¹⁷² In late June, 1971, the Richmond School Board was informed by the school administration that revised calculations indicated 19,914 students would be transported under Plan III in the Fall, 1971.¹⁷³ On the same date, Dr. Edward Cooke, an Assistant Superintendent in the Richmond Public Schools, told the Richmond School Board that ninety classrooms of furniture and books had been transported as of that date to make provision for the implementation of Plan III when schools opened for the 1971-72 session.¹⁷⁴ The Richmond School Board received a report on August 3, 1971 that the Ohio consultant firm on bus routes recommended three bus runs. Dr. Thomas Little, who informed the Board, said that three bus runs would enable the school system to use fewer buses.¹⁷⁵ One year later, the Richmond School Board officially approved the policy dealing with pupil transportation.¹⁷⁶

A fourth environmental influence was the Blucher Associates, Inc.

¹⁷² Times-Dispatch Richmond, Virginia, June 16, 1971.

¹⁷³ Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, June 30, 1971.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, August 3, 1971.

¹⁷⁶ Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, August 17, 1972.

consultant study for the Richmond Public School System. This firm that was hired to help update and revise the school system policy manual made recommendations in the areas of pupil transportation. Additional details concerning this variable are included in the policy history, entitled "Budget--Environment of Policy."

Each of the four influences that were identified apparently had either a direct or indirect impact upon development of the Richmond School Board policy on Pupil Transportation. These influences included those that were external to the Richmond Public School System but which impacted upon this policy area, as well as some influences that were internal to the school system.

Identified Policy Variables

Variables associated with the Richmond School Board policy, "Pupil Transportation," are as follows:

1. The court integration order (April 1, 1970) hastened the change of the Richmond community in terms of its racial and economic composition and the Richmond Public School System in terms of size and composition of student enrollment.

This identified variable was previously discussed in other policy histories. Additional details concerning this variable are included in the policy history, entitled "Budget--Identified Policy Variables."

2. Entrenched Richmond politicians sought to retain the political control in the city despite the changing racial composition of the municipal population.

The annexation of 23 square miles of Chesterfield County marked the beginning of other considerations, aside from just the political motives, that produced the annexation. Twenty-three square miles and 43,000 additional residents were immediate concerns of city officials, both in the city government and the Richmond Public School System. The annexation became effective January 1, 1970, and Richmond started city services in the annexed area including police and fire protection.¹⁷⁷ Public Schools were another major concern for Richmond officials. Chesterfield County retained operation of the public schools in the annexed area until the end of the 1969-70 school year. This lapse in the Richmond Public School System assuming control of the schools in the annexed area allowed for a more even transition in terms of students, professional personnel, financial planning and acquisition of the necessary buses for transportation of students. Chesterfield County Schools had transported students to schools in the annexed area with buses owned by the Chesterfield County Public School System. Richmond Public Schools did not have sufficient buses to immediately assume the responsibility of student transportation between home and school. The impact of the Chesterfield annexation upon the Richmond Public

¹⁷⁷Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], June 25, 1975.

School System in terms of transportation considerations for school students was verified by a number of Richmond Public School officials. Robert Hildrup, Director of Public Information for the Richmond Public Schools said:¹⁷⁸

Historically, the Richmond Public Schools had never had, prior to 1970-71, 1971-72, a formalized system of school bus transportation. Prior to that, the only school buses we furnished were some for Special Education and a few we might have used for field trips. Children either walked to school or rode the city bus.

Lucien Adams, Superintendent of Richmond Public Schools during the early 1970's, verified the impact of the annexation upon transportation considerations:¹⁷⁹

Annexation of a portion of Chesterfield County . . . and transportation of pupils . . . (are factors that) . . . caused the policy on (pupil) transportation to be developed, because had not . . . those things happened, I'm assuming that Richmond would still operate without a transportation system except for Special Education students.

Dr. Little, the Superintendent of Richmond Public Schools immediately after Adams, also verified the impact of annexation upon transportation considerations:¹⁸⁰

Under "freedom of choice" prior to the 1970 order, we had only limited transportation for Special Education pupils. Annexation of part of Chesterfield County was one reason we were forced to begin thinking in terms of a transportation system for students in the annexed area.

¹⁷⁸Statement of Robert P. Hildrup, Director of Public Information, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, April 29, 1975.

¹⁷⁹Statement by Lucien D. Adams, former Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 19, 1975.

¹⁸⁰Statement by Dr. Thomas Little, former Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 8, 1975.

The political motivations of a group of white city politicians were documented to be the chief, if not the sole reason, why the Annexation Suit was initiated to acquire 23 square miles of territory and 43,000 white citizens for Richmond. This annexation, in turn, has been verified by Richmond Public School officials to be one reason the school system was forced to begin planning for transportation of larger numbers of students.

3. The U.S. District Court Order (April 1, 1970) to integrate the Richmond Public Schools and change from an existing dual system of racially identifiable public schools to a unitary, nonracial system produced massive transportation of students.

Prior to the 1970-71 school year, the Richmond Public Schools did not have either an integrated school system or a transportation system that bused large numbers of Richmond students between homes and the schools. The most immediate force that produced both a unitary, nonracial school system and eventually a school system bus transportation system was the school integration order originating in the U.S. District Court on April 1, 1970. Eventually, these forces led also to the Richmond School Board being persuaded to officially approve a policy concerned with pupil transportation.

Plan III, which had been designed to create a unitary, non-racial school system in Richmond, obviously required many buses to make the plan a success. The Richmond Public School System, however, did not own a large fleet of buses. The school administration used

buses, at that time, only for field trips and to transport Special Education students. During the "interim" integration plan that was allowed for the 1970-71 school year, transportation of school students was accomplished in the old boundaries of Richmond by students riding Virginia Transit Company buses. Students were provided with bus tickets to ride these public buses by the Richmond School Board. The transportation in the annexed portion of Richmond was accomplished in a somewhat different fashion. With the annexation of a portion of Chesterfield County in 1970, Richmond officials purchased 65 buses to support the annexed area. This purchase represented the first time the Richmond Public School System operated a major transportation system of regular school students. This was a requirement for the annexed area of Richmond because the students who formerly had attended Chesterfield County Schools were bused. Also, the Virginia Transit Company did not operate public buses in the annexed area of Richmond.¹⁸¹ It was obvious that additional buses would need to be acquired by the Richmond Public School System if 21,000 students were to be bused under the Court approved Plan III. U.S. District Judge Robert R. Merhige directed Richmond officials to appropriate the necessary funds to the Richmond Public Schools to allow the purchase of 56 new school buses.¹⁸²

¹⁸¹Statement of Gordon Sandridge, Director of Special Services, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 22, 1975.

¹⁸²News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia], April 7, 1971.

The Richmond City Council with considerable reservations acquiesced to this Court order of Judge Robert R. Merhige.¹⁸³

Both former Superintendents of the Richmond Public Schools, Lucien Adams and Thomas Little, have verified that the U.S. District Court order concerning desegregation of the city schools was a major development that hastened the need for development of a Board policy on transportation. The superintendent during the early 1970's, Lucien Adams, said:¹⁸⁴

Annexation of a portion of Chesterfield County and the court order concerning desegregation and transportation of pupils are . . . what caused the policy on transportation to be developed, because had not either of these things happened, I'm assuming that Richmond would still operate without a transportation system except for Special Education students.

Dr. Little, said:¹⁸⁵

The first order of the court was that we provide transportation. We were doing it through public transportation at the expense of the pupils. A 1971 court order stipulated that we buy the buses to provide transportation. All this led to the need for this policy.

A number of persons who serve on the Richmond School Board also attributed this statement of policy on "Pupil Transportation" to the Court order in April, 1971. Linwood Wooldridge stated:¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ Richmond City Council Minutes, Richmond, Virginia, May 18, 1971, p. 39.

¹⁸⁴ Adams, loc. cit.

¹⁸⁵ Little, loc. cit.

¹⁸⁶ Statement by Linwood Wooldridge, Member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 19, 1975.

As we (the school board) perceive it, when you're ordered to do something, the only thing is you find a means to do it. It was a court order to integrate the schools. We did not have the funds for the buses. The court ordered the city to buy the buses. It was part of the court order. The court adopted the bussing Plan III submitted by the school system. I think it (the policy) was a direct result of court ordered litigation, because it did not exist until we were ordered into Plan III.

Another Board member, William Edwards, said:¹⁸⁷

In the Fall of 1970, we (the board) had a joint meeting with Council, one of the few we had. Henry March (a member of Council) said we ought to consider getting our own bus system. . . . I disagreed with that. I thought we had an efficient free enterprise bus system (Virginia Transit Company) that knew how to transport people. We also needed (I thought) to conserve public funds. We went through one year (1970-71) using transit buses (under the "interim" plan). By the next year (1971-72), I was saying "no way;" we need to have our own bus system. I believe we went to Council in early Spring, 1972, and got authority to purchase a bunch of buses because we were concerned about a six month lag in the availability of buses. This (policy) was put in the policy manual (August 17, 1972) after we put in an order for the buses.

There was also wide agreement among administrative personnel that the court order was, perhaps, the most significant event in prompting the conditions for development of the policy on "Pupil Transportation."

The Associate Superintendent of Business Services, Dr. James Tyler, stated:¹⁸⁸

This policy was an outgrowth of a court order in April, 1971, by the Federal District Court of Eastern Virginia which ordered the School Board and the City Council to transport pupils. This policy was a statement to comply with that order.

¹⁸⁷ Statement by William Edwards, member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 25, 1975.

¹⁸⁸ Statement by Dr. James Tyler, Associate Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, April 29, 1975.

Dr. Edward Cooke, an Assistant Superintendent in the Richmond Public School System, suggested:¹⁸⁹

The court order was the most critical incident. I don't see any reason for having this (policy) in there (Rules and Regulations) unless there had been a Court order.

Gordon Sandridge, Director of Special Services for the Richmond School System, who worked extensively with helping develop the bussing plan agreed with the other central office administrators. Sandridge said:¹⁹⁰ "The court order mandating Plan III, was the force that brought about the need for this policy" The official spokesman for the Richmond Public School System under Superintendents Adams and Little, Robert Hildrup, perhaps best summarized the views of all previous personnel identified who attributed a relationship between the Court order and the policy. Hildrup stated:¹⁹¹

The policy ("Pupil Transportation") was a plain sense administrative judgment after it was discovered that we were going to have a full-fledged transportation system. The Court order was the most significant incident that brought about development of this policy. Establishment of the transportation system was definitely affected by the Court order.

There did not seem to be any doubt in the minds of those interviewed that the order originating with the U.S. District Court concerning desegregation of the Richmond Public Schools was directly

¹⁸⁹Statement by Dr. Edward Cooke, Assistant Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 2, 1975.

¹⁹⁰Sandridge, loc. cit.

¹⁹¹Hildrup, loc. cit.

linked with the official statement of policy on "Pupil Transportation." These considerations were certainly in the minds of these same individuals while the Blucher Associates were discussing the need for certain policies in the new policy manual that was under development.

4. The Richmond School Board commissioned a consultant firm to review, revise and update the operational policies of the Richmond Public School System.

William Blucher, head of the Blucher Associates, attributed the policy on "Pupil Transportation" to his firm. He said:¹⁹²

We drafted this. This is our wording. The wording indicated many discretionary terms (which is our trademark), e.g., "pick-up-points." We (Blucher Associates) felt that this was something (transportation routes) the Board should delegate to the Superintendent and administration. At the time we recommended this policy, Richmond was entering into a major transportation function. They had no policy. We (Blucher Associates) had a great deal to do with phrasing. We said, this is what you need to start with.

Two different members of the Richmond School Board attributed this policy to the recommendations of Blucher Associates, Inc. Rev. Miles Jones, who presently serves as chairman of the Richmond School Board, said:¹⁹³

¹⁹² Statement of William C. Blucher, Blucher Associates, Inc., interview in Charlottesville, Virginia, June 23, 1975.

¹⁹³ Statement of Rev. Miles Jones, Chairman, Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 15, 1975.

At this time we were trying to put our policy-house in order. I recall the Blucher Associates aiding us to fill policy-gap areas. This . . . was how we got this policy.

Richard Swartzchild verified the statements of both Blucher and Jones.

He stated:¹⁹⁴

This policy was . . . designed by Blucher up in Charlottesville and put in the manual because he perceived this transportation area as having a vacuum that needed to be filled.

Although the policy was attributable to the Blucher Associates in terminology, by Blucher's own admission the policy on "Pupil Transportation" was suggested because ". . . Richmond was entering into a major transportation function."¹⁹⁵ In this sense, the policy is indirectly related to the U.S. District Court on bussing. This influence has been recognized by two Richmond Public School System Administrators. Dr. Edward Cooke, an Assistant Superintendent, said:¹⁹⁶

"There wasn't much dialogue that went along with this policy area except to say we were going to abide by the court order." The Administrative Assistant to Lucien D. Adams, then Superintendent of Richmond Public Schools, verified Cooke's statement:¹⁹⁷ "Since we were involved

¹⁹⁴ Statement by Richard Swartzchild, member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 15, 1975.

¹⁹⁵ Blucher, loc. cit.

¹⁹⁶ Cooke, loc. cit.

¹⁹⁷ Statement by Roy Puckett, former Administrative Assistant to Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 26, 1975.

for the first time in running a fleet of buses for pupil transportation, . . . Richmond needed its own regulation (policy)." Dr. Thomas Little said, "It (the policy on "Pupil Transportation") was authorized jointly by the Superintendent (Lucien D. Adams) and myself."¹⁹⁸

The policy titled, "Pupil Transportation," was officially approved by the Richmond School Board in regular session on August 17, 1972, when the revised Rules and Regulations manual was presented by Dr. Thomas Little for Board adoption.

RELATIONSHIP OF POLICY VARIABLES

Sequence of variables (by incident)

Most of the identified variables that were associated with development of this policy began about 1970 and continued into the first few years of that decade. The order of occurrence among these variables was as follows:

1. The court desegregation order in April 1970 hastened the change of the Richmond community in terms of its racial and economic composition and the Richmond Public School System in terms of size and composition of student enrollment.

2. The entrenched Richmond politicians, who were members on the Richmond City Council, sought to retain political control in Richmond despite the changing racial composition of the municipal population. These politicians settled an annexation suit with Chesterfield

¹⁹⁸Little, loc. cit.

Table 8

A Flow Chart of Pupil Transportation Policy Variables
by Order of Incident

Date	Incident Flow	Narrative
April 1970 Decision	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> Court Desegregation Order </div>	Court desegregation order changed the Richmond community and the schools were directed to transport students
1969	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> Richmond- Chesterfield Annexation Suit </div>	Annexation suit was settled and Richmond acquired a portion of Chesterfield County and the responsibility to transport pupils to schools.
April 1971	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> Court Order Directed Bus Purchase </div>	Court order directed Richmond to purchase 56 buses to implement Plan III pupil assignment.
May 1971	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> Blucher Firm Hired to Update Policy Manual </div>	Blucher firm was commissioned by Richmond School Board to update policies and regulations of school system.

County to acquire additional white voters. The annexation of land and schools from Chesterfield County produced an immediate need for the Richmond Public Schools to provide transportation for students in the annexed area.

3. The U.S. District Court desegregation order in April, 1970, produced massive transportation of students. The Richmond School Board was directed by the court on February 18, 1971, to adopt Pupil Assignment Plan III which involved transportation of almost 20,000 students. Another court order in April, 1971, directed the Richmond School Board to purchase 56 new buses to implement Plan III by September 1971. The Richmond Public School System was, consequently, forced to begin a large transportation system.

4. The Richmond School Board commissioned the firm of Blucher Associates, Inc., to review, revise and make recommendations for the updating of Richmond Public Schools operational policies (Rules and Regulations). One policy expressly worded by Blucher was entitled, "Pupil Transportation."

Sequence of Variables (by actors)

The order of actors' influence on the incidents leading to development of this policy statement was as follows:

1. Judge Robert Merhige (U.S. District Court, Richmond, Virginia) was a major actor in events leading to development of the policy. It was his decision during April, 1970, that led to desegregation of the Richmond Public School System by means of court-ordered bussing.

His decision was based upon judicial precedent established in a number of cases since Brown. It was "Plan III" that Judge Merhige selected as the best means to use in the desegregation of the Richmond City Public School System. This plan, coupled with massive bussing by court order, obligated the Richmond Public School System to assume the responsibility of a major transportation system. This was followed approximately a year later with the Richmond School Board adopting a policy entitled "Pupil Transportation."

2. The members of the Richmond City Council, as politicians, were actors in relation to the influences and incidents that led to development of this policy. The decision of the Richmond City Council to settle the Chesterfield Annexation Suit had the effect of acquiring enough white votes to retain white Council members in office. The annexation also had the effect of annexing suburban schools into the Richmond Public School System. The Richmond Public School System was forced to acquire this transportation function after annexation. This new area of the city did not have public buses for transportation of pupils to schools. This new transportation function for the Richmond Public Schools established precedent that was to be broadened with a court order a year later to include bussing of students to almost all Richmond Public Schools to achieve desegregation.

3. The members of the Richmond School Board were actors in relation to the influences and incidents that led to development of this policy. The Richmond School Board was a party in the desegregation case involving Judge Merhige. Board members also received and

were obligated to accept a directive mandating the school system to prepare a pupil assignment plan that was acceptable to the court. The Richmond School Board submitted these plans to the Merhige court for consideration and the judge selected "Plan III" over the desegregation plan submitted by the NAACP. The board also was obligated by another court order to effect a major transportation system to accomplish "Plan III." The board later adopted the policy statement.

4. Top administrators in the Richmond Public School System were actors in the incidents that resulted in the statement of policy by the Richmond School Board. Specifically, these actors included two former Superintendents of the Richmond Public Schools, Lucien Adams and Thomas Little. Adams was superintendent during the court litigation involving the desegregation case. Little was Associate Superintendent during that court suit, but he was important as an actor because he coordinated the business services of the school system that developed the pupil transportation and bussing plans that were submitted to the Merhige Court. The court eventually selected "Plan III" pupil transportation plan that involved massive bussing throughout Richmond, Virginia. Adams, with the approval of the Richmond School Board also commissioned the revision and updating of the school system "Rules and Regulations." It was the result of this consultant work by Blucher Associates, Inc., that the policy titled, "Pupil Transportation" was written and eventually adopted by the Richmond School Board.

Table 9

A Flow Chart of Pupil Transportation Policy Variables
by Influence of Actors

Date	Actor Influence Flow	Narrative
April 1970	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> Judge Merhige Issued Desegre- gation Order </div>	Judge Merhige's desegregation order mandated Richmond adopt certain pupil assignment plan and transport students.
1969	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> City Council Settled Annexa- tion Suit </div>	Richmond City Council settled Chesterfield Annexation for purpose (political) of acquiring additional white voters. Also responsibility for transporting pupils.
1960's- 1971	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> School Board Adopted Pupil Assignment Plan III </div>	Richmond School Board was directed several times to prepare pupil assignment plans. Plan III was adopted and involved the transportation of 20,000 pupils.
1970-71	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> Adams and Little Ordered Develop- ment of Plan III </div>	Top administrators of the school system (Adams & Little) authorized development of Plan III and employed the Blucher firm to update school system policies.
1971-72	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> Blucher Firm was Employed by Schools to Update Policy Manual </div>	William Blucher and his consultant firm updated the policies of the Richmond school system.

5. The firm of Blucher Associates, Inc., headed by William Blucher, was a major actor in incidents leading to adoption of the policy statement, entitled "Pupil Transportation," by the Richmond School Board. The firm of Blucher Associates, Inc., actually prepared the statement that was adopted by the Richmond School Board as policy.

CONTRIBUTION OF VARIABLES TO POLICY-FORM

Policy-Type

1. The policy-type of the formal statement, "Pupil Transportation," seems to best-fit the characteristics associated with the political mode. The policy arena was chiefly influenced by judicial opinion in the conditions and environment operating outside the Richmond Public Schools and the school system responded by attempting to reach a settlement with the environment. The following observations were made concerning variables that impacted on the policy arena:

- 1.31 The Richmond Public Schools transported only Special Education and Trades students prior to 1970. Other students either walked to the neighborhood schools or used municipal buses for travel between home and school.
- 1.32 The Richmond Public Schools were forced to begin a sizeable student transportation system when a portion of Chesterfield County was acquired through annexation

a year later through a desegregation court order. The principal actors outside the school system in these actions were the Richmond City Council and Judge Robert Merhige.

- 1.33 The policy statement concerning "Pupil Transportation," was prepared while the policy manual was under revision and update by the firm of Blucher Associates, Inc., and was officially adopted by the Richmond School Board about a year after the massive bussing experiment to achieve desegregation was started.
- 1.34 A number of Richmond Public School officials indicated that Richmond students would, probably, have continued locating their own means of transportation to the Richmond Public Schools had not the annexation and court desegregation order occurred.
- 1.35 The policy statement, "Pupil Transportation," represented an attempt of the Richmond Public School System to achieve consensus in policy with an existing condition that had been forced on the Richmond Public School System by actors outside the school system. In this sense, the policy statement was an effort by Richmond School officials to stabilize the relationship of the school system with its environment. The Richmond Public School System did not have any influence over

the annexation of additional territory or over the court desegregation order after it was issued. The policy statement, consequently, best-fits the policy-type described as occurring in the political mode.

Conceptual Schemes

2. The conceptual scheme of the formal statement, "Pupil Transportation," seems to best-fit the characteristics associated with the political mode, because the school system was attempting to reach a settlement with its environment. The following observations were made concerning variables that impacted on the policy arena and preparations associated with the statement, "Pupil Transportation":

2.31 The primary actors that influenced the statement of policy were the Richmond City Council and Judge Robert Merhige, U.S. District Court. The Blucher consultant firm framed the policy statement for the Richmond Public Schools administration after the annexation action and desegregation order occurred.

2.32 The problem of transportation was created when the annexation and court desegregation order occurred. The acquisition of Chesterfield County territory and many schools required the city to continue the school bus transportation that had formerly been provided for the same schools by the Chesterfield County School System. Municipal buses which provided bus

transportation for students in the inner city did not, during 1970, operate bus runs throughout the annexed area. The court desegregation order and adoption of pupil assignment Plan III, also mandated the acquisition of the necessary buses by the Richmond City Council and Richmond Public School System to make the court desegregation order feasible. The problem was solved when the U.S. District Court ordered the city council and school system to acquire the buses.

2.33 The U.S. District Court by the court order of Judge Robert Merhige exercised the legal power relationship whereby bussing was decided as the means to achieve a desegregated school system in Richmond. It was, indirectly, this court order that also caused the policy statement concerning "Pupil Transportation" to be stated about a year later.

2.34 The buses were acquired by the Richmond School Board and financed by allocation of the Richmond City Council, and it was these actions establishing a transportation system for the Richmond Public School System that caused the policy statement to be formulated and adopted. The game players were actors associated with the Bradley case, including the primary actors of Judge Merhige and the Richmond School Board. Another game player included the Richmond City Council. It was the outcome of the

interaction of these various actors in different combinations and circumstances that resulted in the action. Action refers to the annexation settlement, court desegregation order, allocation of funds and purchase of buses, creation of a school system transportation capability and the eventual statement of transportation policy.

Dimensions of Policy

3. The formal policy statement, "Pupil Transportation," within the three dimensions of policy was observed to be broad, non-incremental, non-organizational, and both distributive and regulatory. The following observations were made relevant to the three dimensions of policy that have been characterized:

3.11 The policy statement, "Pupil Transportation," was seen as a broad, non-incremental policy that set precedent for the Richmond Public School System. The policy statement was an outgrowth of the court order that mandated a transportation system for the Richmond Public Schools. The establishment of the transportation system and fleets of school buses provided the means for the desegregation of the Richmond Public School System and since this represented a new function for the school system the policy was new, broad-based and it set precedent.

3.12 The policy was seen as originating from the influences operating outside the Richmond School System, but affecting policy-making inside the division. These non-organizational influences were those originating with the settlement of the annexation suit by the Richmond City Council and, particularly, the court desegregation order issued by Judge Robert Merhige. The "Pupil Transportation" policy was developed in the Richmond Public School System and written by Blucher Associates, Inc., prior to its adoption by the Richmond School Board. The policy was written to describe, however, a new school system function that had been mandated by both the circumstances of the annexation suit and the court order a year earlier.

3.13 Within the third dimension of policy, the formal statement concerning "Pupil Transportation," was both distributive and regulatory. The policy was the formal board statement of a plan to distribute school system equipment (buses) in the form of a service to students and their families. The policy was also regulatory in that the policy specified the conditions under which the vehicles could be used and for what purposes.

Process Patterns

4. The process patterns involved in formulating the policy statement, titled "Pupil Transportation," included both internal and

external actors, but the external actors seem to have been more important in this policy arena in terms of their influence and contribution. These actors included the Richmond City Council and the U.S. District Court in the person of Judge Robert Merhige. Internal actors of the school system were only important in the sense of identifying the transportation function for statement as a policy recommendation by Blucher Associates, Inc. External levels of organization structure were directly involved in mandating that Richmond Public Schools assume a transportation function and, to this degree, were perhaps more important in the eventual statement of policy. The different process patterns that were involved in developing this policy statement were described as follows:

- 4.11 The participation of actors in this policy arena of "Pupil Transportation" assumed the third form of participation in that input was allowed from a wide variety of actors. These actors included both internal and external actors in relationship to the Richmond Public School System. The top administration of the school system directed the Blucher Associates, Inc., to prepare a recommended policy statement but this directive was, principally, because the Richmond Public Schools had assumed a major transportation function. This function was assumed because of two incidents including the

acquisition of some Chesterfield Public Schools through annexation of territory by the Richmond City Council and the U.S. District Court order mandating desegregated schools in Richmond by means of bussing. This court order was issued by Judge Robert Merhige. There was testimony by some internal school system actors that this transportation function would probably never have been assumed by the school system if it had not been for these other actions by external actors. Consequently, the policy statement seems to have been influenced chiefly by the Richmond Public Schools assuming a new function that was mandated by external actors.

- 4.21 Within the Richmond Public School System, the level of employee that even had opportunity to discuss the need of such a policy was principally at the level of Assistant Superintendent or higher. Top administrators in the business services, including Dr. James Tyler and the Superintendent, Dr. Little, discussed this policy with William Blucher. It was his firm, Blucher Associates, Inc., that eventually framed the policy recommendation. Employees of the Richmond School System in positions of responsibility lower than that of Assistant or Associate Superintendent did not have any valid input to construction, statement, or discussion of the projected policy. External actors that had input to

the conditions that produced the need for the policy, "Pupil Transportation," were principally the Richmond City Council and the U.S. District Court in the person of Judge Robert Merhige. It was these external actors who, through their actions, mandated a transportation responsibility for the Richmond Public School System. These new responsibilities in the area of transporting students to the public schools produced the situation where a policy statement became necessary.

Structure of Influence

5. The structure of influence in evolving the formal policy statement, "Pupil Transportation," involved specialists within the Richmond Public School System in having the policy actually written but stakeholders in the Richmond community were, perhaps, more important in creating the conditions that made the statement of policy necessary.

5.11 School Superintendents/Administration/School Board: One actor in the structure of influence affecting the policy, "Pupil Transportation," was Thomas Little. He had been a major administrator in the central school administrative offices for almost twenty years prior to adoption of the policy and his specialty was business services. It was under the direction of Little that the Plans I-III were designed and submitted to the U.S. District Court concerning pupil assignment to schools to achieve

desegregation. Dr. Little was also influential, first as Associate Superintendent, then as Superintendent, in coordinating the work of Blucher Associates, Inc., in updating and recommending revisions in existing policies of the Richmond Public School System. Dr. James Tyler who became the Associate Superintendent for Business Services when Little was appointed superintendent in 1972 was also influential in having a transportation policy stated by Blucher after the function of transportation had already started in the Richmond Public School System. Both these actors, however, were minimally influential in having this policy stated. The statement of policy resulted more from a realization that all functions of the Richmond Public School System should be identified in policy, particularly as the school system policies were then undergoing revision and update by the policy consultant firm of Blucher Associates, Inc. The transportation area was a new arena of responsibility for the Richmond Public Schools and during the policy revision work, the policy recommendation titled, "Pupil Transportation," was framed by the Blucher Associates, Inc., and included many discretionary terms as befitting the Blucher definition of policy.

5.21 Local Community Structure: The period during which this policy evolved in the Richmond Public School System was an unsettled period both in the Richmond Public School System and in the Richmond community. Desegregation orders were affecting the Richmond Public Schools and diminishing public support for the schools in the community. The Richmond Public Schools administration was observed to be in a transitional phase between white and black control. The student enrollment was on the decline in Richmond as many middle class and affluent citizens relocated outside the city to escape sending their children to desegregated schools. The remaining population, both in the school system and the city, grew in the proportion of blacks to whites. It was within this environment that the whites on the Richmond City Council realized that their potential for re-election was becoming less as the years passed and the city became progressively more black in terms of residents and voters. The whites on the Richmond City Council represented the business interests in the city, primarily, and they made a political decision to retain control if possible. An annexation suit with Chesterfield County had been in the courts for years, but settlement of the suit was quickly reached when the Richmond City Council agreed to settle the suit with

Chesterfield County on the condition that in excess of 40,000 white citizens were annexed to Richmond. Within this number of new residents of Richmond, there were enough potential voters to retain white politicians in office. This action, however, created the circumstance of the Richmond Public Schools acquiring many Chesterfield County schools and the related responsibility of transporting these students to schools in the annexed area since there did not exist a municipal bussing system to serve the area. It was in the same environment that black residents through the NAACP and action in U.S. District Court continued the Bradley v. Richmond case that eventually resulted in the court desegregation order by Judge Merhige. This action also mandated that the Richmond Public Schools should assume a wider responsibility for transportation of students to public schools throughout the city. Consequently, the Richmond Public Schools was forced by court order to acquire the necessary fleet of buses to expedite the desegregation order related to the public schools.

5.31 Stakeholders in Policy-Making: The principal stakeholders in this policy arena tended to be Judge Merhige and other actors in the U.S. District Court including top Richmond Public School Administrators and black plaintiffs. The Richmond City Council was also important as

Table 10

Pupil Transportation Policy Cross-Index Verification
by Actors and Footnote Numbers

	Actors:																	
	School Admin.	L. D. Adams	Tom Little	Jim Tyler	Ed Cooke	Roy Puckett	R. Hildrup	G. Sandridge	School Board	Miles Jones	L. Wooldridge	W. Edwards	R. Schwartzchild	City Council	Blucher Associates	U.S. District Court	Judge Merhige	Times-Dispatch
1. Court Desegregation Order									119							118		72 73 120
2. Annexation suit settlement transferred responsibility for transportation of pupils to Richmond		179	180				178											177
3. Court order directed Richmond to purchase 56 additional buses to implement Plan III	158 159	184	171 185	188	189 196	197	191	181 190	173 174 165 168		186	187		167	195	156	157 161 164 182 183	
4. Blucher Associates, Inc. were commissioned to update, revise school policies										193			194		192			

SUMMARY

This policy history verified a number of influences and variables that were occurring external to the Richmond Public School System, but yet had a direct or indirect impact upon the Richmond Public Schools. Among these variables was the changing economic, social, and political orientation of the Richmond community. The movement of white voters out of the city to the suburbs and the increasing number of black potential voters prompted the white political establishment to annex a portion of Chesterfield County. This annexation that was awarded the city in 1969 provided 44,000 additional white voters and allowed the Richmond Forward organization to retain its 6-3 majority on the Richmond City Council. The Richmond Public School system was forced to acquire 65 school buses to transport school children in the annexed area of Richmond since public buses were not operating in the newly acquired area of the city. This was the beginning of a large fleet of buses that the Richmond Public School System was eventually to acquire. During 1971, the U.S. District Court of Eastern Virginia ordered the desegregation of the Richmond Public School System and the development of a support system including a bussing system to implement this order. Plan III, approved by the court, and the consequent acquisition of many additional buses produced many significant changes in the Richmond Public School System. Richmond was in charge of a large transportation system. It was also during this time that the Blucher Associates, Inc. was updating the policy manual of the

Richmond Public Schools. This firm developed the policy on "Pupil Transportation" to fill a vacuum area where previously a pupil transportation policy did not exist.

POLICY HISTORY

Policy Statement: Pupil Conduct

A. General conduct:

Pupils are expected to maintain reasonable standards of conduct. Malicious damage to school property, carrying of dangerous articles, using obscene and abusive language and possession of obscene or indecent literature, are strictly prohibited and may be the cause for suspension or dismissal.

When a pupil ceases to maintain acceptable conduct, the school shall make every effort to develop improved behavior in the pupil through conferences and close contact with the parents, and through the use of all available school and community resources.

B. To and from school:

Pupils are considered under the jurisdiction of the school when going to and from school. They are required to enter and leave the building in a respectful manner and to leave the neighborhood of the school in a quiet, orderly manner immediately upon being dismissed. All gatherings of pupils before or after school in the neighborhood of the school building should be discouraged unless pupils are participating in an organized program approved by the school.

C. Pupil rights:

Every pupil has the right to a relevant education without disruption and a corresponding responsibility not to deny this right to any other pupil. The school shall protect the liberty, property and rights of pupils to attend school and participate in all activities of the school by due process of law. Therefore, it is imperative that each pupil exercise responsible conduct in accordance with the rules and regulations that have been established by Richmond Public Schools.

(Adopted: August 17, 1972)

Environment of Policy

A number of influences were operational within the environment surrounding development of the Richmond Public School System policy entitled "Pupil Conduct." Some of these influences had their beginnings historically in the school system and Richmond society, but the predominant influences occurred and were, perhaps, perceived first during the early 1970's. These influences included:

(a) court-ordered integration of the Richmond Public Schools, (b) a "culture shock" growing out of the increase in student behavioral incidents on buses and in schools, (c) teacher and Richmond Education Association complaints concerning the growing number of disciplinary infractions in classes, (d) the Richmond School Board seeking answers to the growing problem of poor student

behavior in the Richmond Public Schools, (e) the recommendations from the citizens study group, Citizens for Excellent Public Schools, about alternatives to existing disciplinary practices within the schools, (f) community challenges to school disciplinary actions coupled with changing court actions demanding "due process" for students, and (g) principals with central administrators drafting a policy proposal on "Pupil Conduct" to submit to the Richmond School Board for consideration.

The first environmental influence that had implications for development of the Richmond School Board policy on pupil conduct, was U.S. District Judge Robert R. Merhige's order directing Richmond to integrate its school system by means of bussing. This order produced extensive changes in both professional staffs and students in schools throughout the city. The immediate effect was the creation of new schools in existing facilities. Additional details concerning this variable are included in the policy history, entitled "Pupil Transportation--Environment of Policy."

A second environmental influence that had implications for development of the policy, entitled "Pupil Conduct," was a "Culture shock" growing out of the increase in student behavioral incidents on buses and in schools. During the "interim" integration plan that was implemented in the Richmond Public Schools for the 1970-71

school year, public confidence in Richmond school officials began eroding in the environment of court orders and mixing plans.¹⁹⁹ The year 1971 began in Richmond with a wave of letters written to city newspaper editors and editorials criticizing violence and pupil behavior incidents in the Richmond schools.²⁰⁰ A month later, the Citizens for Excellent Public Schools (CEPS) informed the Board that new solutions are required for discipline in Richmond Schools.²⁰¹ Several weeks later, fifteen serious incidents involving Richmond Public School students were reported in the city newspapers. The behavioral incidents reported were for the first two months in 1971.²⁰² Two school security guards were almost shot while investigating an incident at Mosby Middle School in late March, 1971.²⁰³

¹⁹⁹Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], March 4, 1971.

²⁰⁰News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia], January, 1971.

²⁰¹Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, February 22, 1971.

²⁰²News-Leader, [Richmond, Virginia], March 8, 1971.

²⁰³News-Leader, [Richmond, Virginia], March 30, 1971.

Less than a month later, the Mosby school complex was damaged in the amount of \$50,000 by fires believed to be deliberately set.²⁰⁴

During June, 1971, fourteen Richmond Public School students were arrested in connection with school related incidents.²⁰⁵ Concerned parents in south-side Richmond met during August, 1971, to discuss past behavioral incidents in Richmond Public Schools prior to the opening of the 1971-72 school year.²⁰⁶ There were many problems associated with the bringing together of students from different races and classes during the early months of the 1971-72 academic year. Two months after the school year started, seven student shootings off school grounds were reported in a rivalry between some students in John F. Kennedy and Maggie Walker High Schools.²⁰⁷ High school principals in the Richmond Public Schools reported that while disciplinary problems continued to be serious in the schools,

²⁰⁴Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], April 20, 1971.

²⁰⁵Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], June 11, 1971.

²⁰⁶Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], August 19, 1971.

²⁰⁷Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], October 28, 1971.

incidents were down 10-50 percent over the first three months of the 1970-71 school year.²⁰⁸ A group of parents, in March, 1972, informed the Richmond School Board that the Mosby Middle School was a blackboard jungle where the administration had little control and racism was common.²⁰⁹ The board chairman, Crockford, asked the Richmond Public Schools Administration for a report on the Mosby situation during the same meeting.²¹⁰ The Richmond School Board met with representative students from the respective schools during March, 1972, to seek answers to discipline problems in the schools.²¹¹ Richmond students told board members that many teachers did not motivate students and discipline varied widely from the extreme of too permissive to that of too strict among the schools.²¹² A similar environment continued through the remainder of the 1971-72 school year and through the first semester of the 1972-73 school year.

²⁰⁸News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia], November 25, 1971.

²⁰⁹Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], March 17, 1972.

²¹⁰Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, March 16, 1972.

²¹¹News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia], March 17, 1972.

²¹²News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia], March 24, 1972.

During late February, 1973, a tragic event occurred in Armstrong High School, which is located in the predominantly black Church Hill area of Richmond. A white student was fatally shot when he accidentally entered the path of gun-fire between two black students. Both the school community and the citizens of Richmond were shocked.²¹³ This was followed with one public "voice" recommending unscheduled shakedowns of students as a deterrent to students bringing guns to school.²¹⁴

The complaints of Richmond teachers and the teacher's professional organization, the Richmond Education Association (REA), concerning continued student disciplinary infractions in classes, was a third environmental influence at this time. Roy Puckett, the Richmond School Superintendent's Assistant, reported in January, 1973, that one or two student assaults per week against teachers was not unusual.²¹⁵ The REA charged that the Richmond Public School System failed to stop these assaults.²¹⁶ It was proposed in late January,

²¹³Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, February 27, 1973.

²¹⁴Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, February 28, 1973.

²¹⁵Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], January 18, 1973.

²¹⁶Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], January 19, 1973.

1971, by the Richmond Education Association that teachers should have the right to suspend disruptive students.²¹⁷ During early March, 1971, Superintendent Lucien D. Adams, informed the Citizens for Excellent Public Schools (CEPS) that teachers have the authority to exclude disruptive students from classes.²¹⁸

Within this environment, members of the Richmond School Board moved to seek solutions to the problem of disciplinary infractions and teacher assaults in the schools. This board initiative represented a fourth environmental influence upon the time period in which the policy "Pupil Conduct" was developed. One board member, during January, 1971, proposed that the Richmond School Board review the disciplinary procedures that were used in Richmond Public Schools.²¹⁹ During November, 1971, the Richmond School Board asked the school administration for a full report on discipline.²²⁰ A week later, it was reported that 130 school incidents were

²¹⁷News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia], January 26, 1971.

²¹⁸Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], March 3, 1971.

²¹⁹News-Leader, loc. cit.

²²⁰News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia], November 11, 1971.

reported to the Richmond Police Department during the 1971-72 school year.²²¹ The Richmond School Board, in March, 1972, met with representative students from Richmond schools and sought answers to the disciplinary problems that existed in the public schools.²²²

A fifth environmental influence that had implications for development of the policy on pupil conduct were the recommendations made by the citizens study group, Citizens for Excellent Public Schools, concerning alternatives to existing disciplinary practices within the schools. School officials were interested in restoring community confidence in the schools and ECPS represented a respected community "voice" that had possibilities for unifying some segments of the Richmond community in support of the schools. The Citizens for Excellent Public Schools (CEPS), recommended to the Richmond School Board, in May, 1971, that a school system manual on discipline should be developed with procedures that included a student code of conduct for correction of the problem. It was also suggested by CEPS that a special school ought to be established and classes maintained for the socially maladjusted student.²²³

²²¹Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], November 19, 1971.

²²²News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia], March 17, 1972.

²²³News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia], May 26, 1971.

The sixth environmental influence that impacted on the policy area of pupil behavior was a number of community challenges to school disciplinary actions coupled with changing court opinion that demanded "due process" for school students. It was reported that a Richmond law and equity court Judge, on January 29, 1971, overturned a student's suspension from a Richmond high school because Virginia's suspension laws did not provide for "due process."²²⁴ A Richmond newspaper editorial, in October, 1971, questioned Richmond teachers abuse of the discipline prerogative of paddling.²²⁵ The Richmond School Board was informed in July, 1972, that the board's policy on student suspensions was unconstitutional because it failed to provide "due process." An attorney was the spokesman. Changes to the Richmond School Board's policy on student suspension, that had been adopted by the board initially on August 17, 1972, were submitted to the school board for consideration in November, 1972.²²⁶ Opposition to these recommended changes were voiced by the George Wythe High School PTA and Richmond School Superintendent Dr. Thomas Little.²²⁷

²²⁴Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], January 29, 1971.

²²⁵News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia], October 20, 1971.

²²⁶News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia], July 2, 1972.

²²⁷Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], December 22, 1972.

A seventh environmental influence that impacted on the policy area of pupil behavior was the action of high school principals and school system administration in drafting a policy proposal on "Pupil Conduct." This policy proposal was submitted to the Richmond School Board for consideration. The proposal was developed with the insight gained over several years of developments in the Richmond community and school system. Superintendent Adams said in June 1971, that while he did not condone acts of student misbehavior and class disruption, the unrest in schools at this time was a nation-wide problem.²²⁸ Roy Puckett, Assistant to the Superintendent, suggested that additional security guards were needed in Richmond high schools and middle schools.²²⁹ During late August, 1971, a new five-day suspension policy was announced.²³⁰ Three months later, Roy Puckett repeated his earlier suggestion that additional security guards were needed in Richmond schools to deal with severe problems of student maladaptive behavior.²³¹

²²⁸Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, June 17, 1971.

²²⁹Ibid.

²³⁰Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], August 20, 1971.

²³¹Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, November 24, 1971.

A year later, George Jones, principal of John F. Kennedy High School, spoke for the city high school principals when he voiced opposition to proposed changes in rules and regulations dealing with student conduct. He called the rules "unduly burdensome."²³² During early February, 1973, Superintendent Dr. Little reported to the Richmond School Board on the discipline situation in the Richmond Public Schools followed by the Board adopting a revised suspension policy.²³³ A month later, Dr. Little suggested that the real cause of discipline problems in the Richmond schools was inadequate and inflexible instructional programs in the schools. He called for updated, more flexible, instructional programs.²³⁴ He indicated that for discipline problems to be solved, all affected teachers, pupils, parents and other affected persons would need to assume some responsibility.²³⁵ It was in this environment that the school administration recommended the policy concerning "Pupil Conduct" to the Richmond School Board for review and adoption. The Richmond City Council, during the same

²³²Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, December 21, 1972.

²³³Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, February 8, 1973.

²³⁴News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia], March 3, 1973.

²³⁵Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, April 12, 1973.

week, petitioned the Richmond School Board to adopt improved security measures in the schools.²³⁶ The Richmond School Board adopted the suggested policy concerning "Pupil Conduct," on March 26, 1973.²³⁷

Identified Policy Variables

Variables associated with the Richmond School Board Policy, "Pupil Conduct," have been listed below:

1. The court integration order (April 1, 1970) hastened the change of the Richmond community in terms of its racial and economic composition and the Richmond Public School System in terms of size and composition of student enrollment.

Lucien D. Adams verified that the court order integrating the city schools had a major impact on the community perceptions of the Richmond Public Schools. Adams indicated that the order produced a new student mix and "new schools."²³⁸

²³⁶Afro-American [Richmond, Virginia], March 31, 1973.

²³⁷Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, March 26, 1973.

²³⁸Statement by Lucien D. Adams, Former Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 19, 1975.

During the whole period of desegregation of the schools, we became aware that there was a lot of dissention in the city as a whole. One thing that caused the policy on pupil conduct to be developed was massive desegregation and the creation of new schools. The massive desegregation program made a new school of every school in the system. Pupils didn't know other pupils and teachers didn't know other teachers.

Dr. Thomas Little verified the impact of the federal court order on the public schools. Little said:²³⁹

During 1970-71, this was a period when we were integrating and getting a court order and we were implementing a new pupil assignment plan and that, of course, had a bearing on development of this policy (Pupil Conduct).

Another top administrator in the Richmond Public School System was Dr. James Tyler. He was generally regarded as one of the top two or three men in the administrations of both past Richmond School Superintendents, Lucien Adams and Thomas Little. Tyler acknowledged that community perceptions were modified in the environment of the court order:²⁴⁰

There were a number of pupil incidents that grew out of the integration of the schools. This probably created more incidents in the schools and called more of an awareness to them.

²³⁹Statement by Dr. Thomas Little, Former Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 8, 1975.

²⁴⁰Statement by Dr. James Tyler, Associate Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, April 29, 1975.

These increasing numbers of pupil incidents produced a "cultural shock" among many people in the Richmond community.

2. A "culture shock" in the environment of the court integration order, grew out of the increase in student behavioral incidents on buses and in schools as the mixing plan took effect.

A wide variety of administrative personnel and Richmond School Board members have verified this variable of "culture shock" in the Richmond community and schools following implementation of the integration order. One board member described the situation in the following manner:²⁴¹

As early as the fall of 1970 (the first year of integration under the "interim" plan), there was sort of a "cultural shock" going on. The number of (telephone) calls I received increased. The black child in integrated school seemed more apt to use obscene language. I had a daughter at Huguenot (high School, formerly an all white school of Chesterfield County located in the annexed area) at that time and she was very concerned about the language abuse she would receive. The fall of 1970 was the first year that Richmond had a totally integrated system. We utilized the Richmond Transit System and gave these kids bus tickets. We had a rather uncontrolled situation where whites and blacks were mixed. Much of the stress related to people contact. Many (city bus) lines . . . were carrying office workers and black and white children. We started getting (telephone) calls from these office workers. The shock

²⁴¹Statement by William Edwards, member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 25, 1975.

effect was hitting them, what the children were doing and saying on buses. From September of 1970 to September 1971, there was intense calling about abusive language, pushing and shoving on buses as well as in school physical assaults. I think it is a reasonable assumption . . . that the impact of the desegregation order and the creation of 60 new school staffs and student bodies . . . caused some of these disruptive incidents.

Another Richmond School Board member, Richard Swartzchild, verified the impact of the increasing number of behavioral incidents in the schools upon the thinking of some board members that a policy needed to be established to "speak" to the existing problem. He indicated:²⁴²

We (Board members) felt it (the policy concerned with "Pupil Conduct") needed stronger enunciation because it definitely was a lack of discipline in the schools and a breakdown of moral values. I think there had been a break-down of discipline. I think you'll find that the teachers find they're being confronted with because they don't get the support at home that they need in order to have effective discipline.

Linwood Wooldridge, a black member of the Richmond School Board suggested:²⁴³

The initial impact of disruptive behavior in the schools . . . was brought to bear by the news media. As a result, we were getting so much bad press, and so many people do react to the press, that the board found it necessary to reiterate policy and procedure statements on student behavior. We already had such a policy, but we found a need to . . . review and while we were reviewing to publicly make announcements of how the board felt and bring in people who were concerned about the system to help us evolve some updated policies.

²⁴²Statement by Richard Swartzchild, member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 25, 1975.

²⁴³Statement by Linwood Wooldridge, member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 19, 1975.

His statements indicated that public opinion in the community caused by the "culture shock" of student behavior had an impact on the perceptions of Richmond School Board members. A number of top administrators in the Richmond Public School System verified the climate as described by board members. One Associate Superintendent, Dr. James Tyler, said:²⁴⁴

The incident that was most critical at this time in terms of the policy was probably the clash of cultures, which also quite often was a racial clash.

An Assistant Superintendent in the Richmond Public Schools said the need for a "Pupil Conduct" policy was brought to the fore-front because:²⁴⁵

There was evidence of abuse of teachers, use of bad language and general disrespect for property.

Dr. Edward Cooke, in this statement, verified the changed condition in the schools as a major determinant in the policy statement that was to follow. Roy Puckett, who served as Administrative Assistant to former superintendent, Lucien D. Adams, suggested:²⁴⁶

²⁴⁴Tyler, loc. cit.

²⁴⁵Statement by Dr. Edward Cooke, Assistant Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 2, 1975.

²⁴⁶Statement by Roy Puckett, former Administrative Assistant to Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 26, 1975.

. . . we never had a great deal of experience with youngsters bringing into the schools guns and weapons that might be used and considered dangerous. It was unheard of that students would use profane language in school, but it became prevalent. This was after integration began. As this was begun, both teachers and pupils were going to schools other than those they had attended or worked in for years. The pupils were strangers to the teachers and the teachers were strangers to the pupils. This was like having 60-70 new schools at one time. Since pupils were not known in a school, they began to take advantage of that situation and the behavior (of students) showed remarkable changes.

Robert Hildrup, Director of Public Information for the Richmond School System, verified the same incidents as described by Roy Puckett and other top Richmond School System Administrators. He said, "the increase in pupil incidents involving behavior in the schools gave a priority of concern to this policy area."²⁴⁷ Ron Edwards, the first black Assistant Superintendent in the Richmond Public School System verified the increasing number of pupil incidents and the "culture shock" in the community. He viewed the environment somewhat differently than some other administrators, however. Edwards stated:²⁴⁸

²⁴⁷Statement by Robert Hildrup, Director of Public Information, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, April 29, 1975.

²⁴⁸Statement by Dr. Rondle Edwards, Assistant Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 2, 1975.

Most of the concern of the system intensified in 1970-71 in our efforts to integrate the schools. Moving into integration of students themselves was certainly a lack of understanding of certain behaviors exhibited by members of an opposite race. There was a certain lack of understanding and certain fears. The greatest concern was how to cope with behaviors growing out of lack of understanding. The whole integration involved a massive bussing effort that removed us from the neighborhood schools. There was a tendency of students to act a little differently than they would have in a neighborhood school situation. The meshing of two modes of discipline did not occur completely smoothly. Certain students had become accustomed to a form of discipline that grew out of regimentation. Other students were accustomed more to a discipline that grew out of self-direction. Most of the behavior was either not tolerated or not understood. I think the whole business was lack of understanding. Teachers also did not understand the overt and covert behaviors of students of the opposite race. There was a tendency on the part of principals to suspend students for things the students could get away with in the school he attended before school integration.

As the incidents of student maladaptive behavior in schools increased, Richmond Teachers expressed their concern through the Richmond Education Association (REA) to the administration and the Richmond School Board.

3. The Richmond Education Association (REA) expressed the concern of Richmond teachers about the increased frequency of student maladaptive behavior in classrooms.

The growing number of student incidents occurring in Richmond Public Schools increased the concern of teacher and their professional association, REA, concerning the many internal changes that were mandated for schools with the order integration. The Richmond School Board was addressed on a number of occasions by the REA in attempts

to secure administrative support and solutions to the student behavioral problems the teachers were experiencing in the classrooms throughout the city. Some administrators verified this influence. Robert Hildrup, the Director of Public Information for the Richmond Public Schools, indicated that an influence on the "Pupil Conduct" policy was the reaction coming from teachers within the schools. He said:²⁴⁹

The one on pupil conduct came out, definitely, I seem to recall, as a response to teacher complaints about incidents in the classroom. . . . the school board responded that the teachers did not have to tolerate flagrant misbehavior in the classroom. This (policy) was a school board response to teacher concerns.

One Assistant Superintendent, Edward Cooke, who was also serving as Clerk of the Richmond School Board when this policy was discussed and finally approved, said:²⁵⁰

. . . there was evidence of abuse of teachers and use of bad language, and a general disrespect for property and these were brought to the attention of the school board on numerous occasions, not only by the public, but they were also brought to the administration by teachers and principals in meetings. The REA, of course, brought such matters to the forefront, to the school board and general public in open meetings.

Another Assistant Superintendent, Rondle Edwards, verified the perceptions and statements of Robert Hildrup and Edward Cooke.

²⁴⁹Hildrup, loc. cit.

²⁵⁰Cooke, loc. cit.

Dr. Edwards indicated:²⁵¹

Teachers and parents suggested a need for development of a policy on student behavior. Teacher organizations, parents, the school board and community organizations were important in helping bring this policy about.

These statements of concern about student behavior in the Richmond Public Schools that were entertained during Board meetings, caused Richmond School Board members to perceive that a statement was needed. The situation existing in the schools became a problem that was dealt with by the Richmond School Board.

4. The Richmond School Board sought answers to the growing problem of unacceptable student behavior in the Richmond Public Schools.

The chairman of the Richmond School Board, Rev. Miles Jones, suggested that as student and school related incidents became publicized, attitudes of board members began to change:²⁵²

A certain attitude began to develop among board members as incidents became publicized. (Board members believed that) not only does the aggrieved student have a right to due process, but also the participating student in a classroom has a right to a quiet atmosphere for which an education is conducive.

²⁵¹Edwards, Rondle, loc. cit.

²⁵²Statement by Rev. Miles Jones, Chairman, Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 15, 1975.

Robert Hildrup, Director of Public Information, verified the statements of Dr. Jones.²⁵³

There was . . . a concern on the school board of some members at that time who wanted certain things said, specifically, that every pupil has a right to an education without disruption.

A third verification of incidents that prompted the policy on "Pupil Conduct" came from another members of the Richmond School Board. Richard Swartzchild, a banker. He said:²⁵⁴

We just felt it (the existing policy on behavior) needed stronger enunciation because it definitely was a lack of discipline in schools and a breakdown of moral values. I think there had been a breakdown of discipline. The rigidity with which we've tried to maintain order in the schools has gradually been deteriorating.

William Edward, a member of the Richmond School Board and executive with Virginia Commonwealth University, verified the changing perceptions on the board. He said the board members were aware of behavior incidents in the Richmond Public Schools and believed something should be stated to recognize the intent of the board in this situation. Edwards said:²⁵⁵

²⁵³Statement by Robert Hildrup, Director of Public Information, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, April 29, 1975.

²⁵⁴Swartzchild, loc. cit.

²⁵⁵Edward, William, loc. cit.

The whites (on the Richmond School Board) probably pushed more for this policy. I would think a person from a black background (including the three black members of the board) would be more tolerant of this kind of thing because certainly they heard it (obscene language) more.

Part of the influence on the changed board members perceptions was a result of the recommendations coming from a community group, the Citizens for Excellent Public Schools (CEPS), that was involved with studying the Richmond Public School System.

5. A citizens study group, the Citizens for Excellent Public Schools, recommended to the Richmond School board certain alternatives to existing disciplinary practices within the Richmond schools.

CEPS was a biracial community group that conducted an extensive study of the Richmond Public School System as part of a coordinated effort to restore community support of the schools in the wake of integration. This group made recommendations to the school system regarding solutions to problems of student conduct and were partly responsible for the eventual development of the policy on "Pupil Conduct." Several school personnel have verified this influence. One black board member, a postal supervisor, said:²⁵⁶

²⁵⁶Wooldridge, loc. cit.

This policy (Pupil Conduct) that evolved was based upon recommendations coming to the board from different organization such as REA, CEPS, and public input. We had the input of just about everyone who wanted to be a part of it.

An Assistant Superintendent of the Richmond Public Schools, Dr. Rondle Edwards, verified that CEPS was an influence in development of the policy entitled, "Pupil Conduct." Edwards indicated:²⁵⁷

. . . community organizations (like CEPS) were important in helping bring this policy (Pupil Conduct) about.

6. Community challenges to Richmond schools disciplinary actions coupled with changing court actions demanding "due process" for students influenced development of the Pupil Conduct policy.

Dr. Rondle Edwards, a black Assistant Superintendent in the Richmond Public School System alluded to the fact that community challenges to school disciplinary action was an influence in considerations of this policy. Edwards suggested:²⁵⁸

The feeling that accompanied integration precluded the practice of "corporal punishment" being considered all right.

Lucien D. Adams verified the influence of court opinions in influencing development of this policy. He said:²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷Edwards, Rondle, loc. cit.

²⁵⁸Edwards, Rondle, loc. cit.

²⁵⁹Adams, loc. cit.

Courts at this time were saying that pupils had the right to all processes of the law, particularly "due process." The law was saying that teachers and principals would have to learn whole new ways of dealing with pupils and pupil behavior.

Another former Richmond School Superintendent, Thomas Little, verified the influence of changing court opinion. He indicated:²⁶⁰

Back in 1970-71, it became apparent that the old school board rules and regulations should be revised . . . in light of changing court action, in light of "due process," both on the right of employees and on pupils which at that time had not been defined as they have now, but it was evident that they (changed definitions) were coming.

Rev. Miles Jones, chairman of the Richmond School Board, also alluded to changed court action in terms of "due process" as one of the influences on development of the policy, titled "Pupil Conduct." Dr. Jones said:²⁶¹

A certain attitude began to develop among board members . . . Not only does the aggrieved student have a right to "due process," but also the participating student in a classroom has a right to a quiet atmosphere for which an education is conducive.

Another board member, Richard Swartzchild, alluded to the changed conditions within the school system as reason for revising policies.

²⁶⁰Statement by Dr. Thomas Little, former Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 8, 1975.

²⁶¹Jones, loc. cit.

Many of these changes, as already documented, were produced by changing court opinions. Swartzchild indicated:²⁶²

. . . it had been 10-15 years since the policies had been gone over and revised, but because of the changing conditions that were prevailing in the schools, we (The Richmond School Board) felt that it was necessary to broaden the rules and regulations and policies as well as update them.

Roy Puckett, former Administrative Assistant to several Richmond School Superintendents, verified the contentions of Swartzchild as well as the influences of changing court opinion on development of this policy. Puckett described influences in the following manner:²⁶³

We had rules and regulations that had been adopted by the school board. They were becoming obsolete, because of the kind of rules they were. The court order (on integration) caused us to change some of these things. . . . realizing the supreme court decisions dealing with "due process" ("black arm bands") and such trends, we thought there was a need for such a policy. Also, parents began to challenge actions taken by the principals.

Puckett, then, verified one of the statements of Dr. Rondle Edwards. He had said that integration of the schools caused corporal punishment of students to be perceived as not acceptable in terms

²⁶²Statement by Richard Swartzchild, member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 25, 1975.

²⁶³Puckett, loc. cit.

of discipline. The statements also verified the influence of changing court opinion on the perceptions and circumstances leading to development of this policy.

7. The influence of principals in the Richmond Public School System coupled with an administrative decision made by the Superintendent and Richmond School Board members caused a policy proposal on "Pupil Conduct" to be drafted and later approved by the board.

Rev. Miles Jones, chairman of the Richmond School Board and a black Baptist minister in the Richmond community, verified the influence of building principals and central office administrators on development of the policy. Dr. Jones explained:²⁶⁴

The administration (central office) made us school board members aware that something needed to be done. They influenced the board in promoting this policy.

I think the principals . . . were groping around for a solution of how to deal with these things that were going on in our schools. They were extremely influential in seeing the need to articulate some kind of policy that would give them something to hang on to. I don't recall specific principals.

²⁶⁴Statement by Rev. Miles Jones, Chairman, Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 15, 1975.

Dr. James Tyler, Associate Superintendent of the Richmond Public Schools, verified the influence of secondary principals on development of the policy. Tyler said:²⁶⁵

This policy was first perceived by a group of principals who got together and came up with a draft of a policy. It was mostly secondary principals. George Jones, at John F. Kennedy High School, was chairman of this group.

One Assistant Superintendent in the Richmond School System, who serves as Clerk of the Richmond School Board, verified that both teachers and principals had often come before the Board to speak concerning disciplinary infractions in schools. Dr. Edward Cooke indicated:²⁶⁶

. . . there was evidence of abuse of teachers and using bad language and a general disrespect for property and these were brought to the attention of the school board on numerous occasions, not only by the public, but . . . by teachers and principals in meetings.

The policy titled, "Pupil Conduct" was officially approved by the Richmond School Board in regular session on March 26, 1973. This was about seven months after the Richmond School Board approved the revised Rules and Regulations manual that had been recommended by the administration and Blucher Associates, Inc.,

²⁶⁵Statement by Dr. James Tyler, Associate Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, April 29, 1975.

²⁶⁶Statement by Dr. Edward Cooke, Assistant Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 2, 1975.

of Charlottesville. Blucher was not a significant influence on development of the policy. He said:²⁶⁷

Cases on student rights and student conduct were still up in the air (during the time of the Blucher Associates study). We did not believe the board should set down specific rules because they would have been tested.

Most of the variables that initially impacted on the area of pupil personnel policies through the adoption of the policy (Pupil Conduct) by the Board have been, through documentation, traced to the April 1, 1970, court order to desegregate the Richmond Public School System.

RELATIONSHIP OF POLICY VARIABLES

Sequence of Variables (by incident)

Most of the identified variables that were associated with development of this policy began about 1970 and continued into the first few years of that decade. The order of occurrence among these variables was as follows:

1. The court desegregation order in April, 1970 hastened the change of the Richmond community in terms of its racial and

²⁶⁷Statement by William C. Blucher, Blucher Associates, Inc., Interview in Charlottesville, Virginia, June 23, 1975.

economic composition and the Richmond Public School System in terms of size and composition of student enrollment. This changing environment in the public schools produced a new social and cultural mix of students across the city.

2. A "culture shock" in the environment of the court desegregation order produced an increase in student behavioral incidents on buses and in schools as the mixing plan took effect. During the "interim" integration plan that was implemented in the Richmond Public Schools for the 1970-71 school year, public confidence in Richmond school officials began to erode in the environment of court orders and mixing plans. Serious behavioral incidents involving students in schools and on buses were reported throughout the 1970-71 school year.

3. The Richmond Education Association (REA) expressed the concern of Richmond teachers about the increased frequency of student maladaptive behavior in classrooms. During the early 1970's, it was reported that one or two student assaults per week against teachers was not unusual. The REA, in January, 1971, said teachers should have the right to suspend students. L. D. Adams, The Superintendent, said during March, 1971 that Richmond teachers had the authority to exclude disruptive students from classes.

4. The Richmond School Board, in the environment of increased behavioral incidents of students, sought answers to the growing problem of student disruptive behavior in the public schools. Between January and November, 1971, members of the Richmond School Board asked the school administration for several studies concerning disciplinary and student conduct infractions in the schools. A year later, in March 1972, the Richmond School Board was holding meetings with students in various Richmond schools as a means of determining a solution to the problem of student behavioral incidents in the schools.

5. A citizens study group, the Citizens for Excellent Public Schools (CEPS), recommended to the Richmond School Board certain alternatives to existing disciplinary practices within the Richmond schools.

6. Community challenges to Richmond schools disciplinary actions coupled with changing court actions demanding "due process" for school students influenced development of the policy. One court action in early 1971 overturned a school disciplinary action in Richmond because "due process" had not been provided the student who was suspended. During October 1971, Richmond newspaper editorials questioned Richmond teachers' abuse of the discipline prerogative of paddling.

Table 11

A Flow Chart of Pupil Conduct Policy Variables by Order of Incident

Date	Incident Flow	Narrative
April 1970	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Court Desegregation Order </div>	Court desegregation order changed the Richmond community and school system to new social and culture mix of students.
1970-71	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Richmond Experi- enced "Culture Shock" </div>	A "culture shock" resulted in school and community from students incidents on buses and in school.
1970-72	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Student Behavior Incidents Increased </div>	Student behavior incidents in schools increased; one or two student assaults per week against teachers occurred.
January- November 1971	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Several Studies Requested Con- cerning School Incidents </div>	Richmond School Board asked administration for several studies concerning increased student disturbances in schools.
1970	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> CEPS Recom- mends Solution to Behavior Problems </div>	CEPS made recommendations to School Board to deal with behavior in schools.

Table 11--Cont.

Date	Incident Flow	Narrative
1971	<div style="text-align: center;">↓</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> Court Action Overturned School Suspension </div>	Court actions overturned school suspensions because "due process" was not granted. Newspapers protested "padding."
1972	<div style="text-align: center;">↓</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> High School Principals Drafted Policy Proposal </div>	High School Principals in Richmond drafted a policy recommendations on student behavior and addressed Richmond School Board on issue.

7. The influence of principals in the Richmond Public School System coupled with an administrative decision made by the central administration and Richmond School Board caused a policy proposal to be drafted and later approved by the Richmond School Board. Secondary principals, during 1972, voiced opposition to proposed changes in the Rules and Regulations dealing with student conduct. The rules were termed "unduly burdensome." Superintendent Thomas Little said the real cause of disciplinary problems in the Richmond Public Schools was inadequate and inflexible instructional programs in the schools. He indicated that for a solution to the problem of conduct to be accomplished, all affected teachers, pupils, parents and others would need to assume some responsibility. The Richmond School Board and school administration, within this environment, prepared a policy statement for the policy manual that was then in a state of revision. The policy was formally adopted by the Richmond School Board on August 17, 1972.

Sequence of Variables (by actors)

The order of actors' influence on the incidents leading to this statement of policy was as follows:

1. Judge Robert Merhige (U.S. District Court, Richmond, Virginia) was a major actor in events leading to development of the policy. It was his decision during April, 1970, that led to desegregation of the Richmond Public School System by means of court-ordered bussing.

It was "Plan III" that Judge Merhige selected as the best means to use in the desegregation of the Richmond City Public School System. This plan coupled with massive bussing by court order created the conditions for: (a) an increased rate of middle class white Richmonders relocating in the adjoining suburbs, (b) the proportional enrollment in Richmond Public Schools becoming increasingly black, and (c) cultures tending to clash as blacks and whites were increasingly mixed on school buses and in the Richmond Public Schools.

2. Students, both blacks and whites, who attended the Richmond Public Schools during the early 1970's were actors in relation to this policy being developed. It was the students in the Richmond Public Schools who were uprooted from their traditional neighborhood attendance zones and who were thrown together under new bussing plans and in public schools, often far from their homes or friends. This mixing scheme brought students of different value systems together for the first time. Students faced other students, teachers and schools as strangers. All these students had to begin to learn to live together and the accommodations that were necessary to accomplish this goal were often not easily realized. This clash of values in new living and educational patterns produced frequent student behavioral incidents in the Richmond Public Schools. These incidents shocked the conscience of both parents and educators in the Richmond community. The result was that the Richmond School Board eventually adopted a policy

concerned with pupil conduct as well as pursuing other strategies to combat the disruptive conditions in the public schools.

3. Teachers in the Richmond Public Schools during the early 1970's were actors in this policy arena. Richmond teachers, through their Richmond Educational Association (REA), expressed the concern about increased numbers of student behavioral incidents in schools including assaults against teachers. The environment with which Richmond teachers were confronted under new court-ordered mixing plans was the same as that described for Richmond students. Teachers were brought together with other teachers and students who were strangers to each other and to the school. Teachers and students did not share a common consensus concerning expectations, rules and regulations. Value systems not only clashed between students, but also between teachers placed in a different school. There was a period, during the early 1970's, where both teachers and students were forced to begin anew to learn to live together with different personalities and evolve new expectations and school rules and regulations. Until these common expectations began to be re-established, the disruptive incidents in the Richmond Public Schools between both teachers and students continued. These incidents shocked the conscience of teachers and their concerns expressed through the REA and administrative channels associated with the Richmond Public Schools helped produce an awareness on need for policy on the part of the Richmond School

Board. The result was that the Richmond School Board eventually adopted a policy concerned with pupil conduct as well as pursuing other strategies to combat the disruptive conditions in the public schools.

4. Parents within the Richmond community were actors in the incidents that led to development of the policy concerning pupil conduct. There was much open and often expressed anger and hostility toward the concept of desegregation by means of massive bussing. Much of this opposition was expressed openly in the community during the desegregation court suit and particularly by white middle class affluent persons in west-end and south-side Richmond. These people were opposed to their children being bussed out of their neighborhoods to schools in north Richmond and those schools in Church-Hill, a black ghetto neighborhood in east Richmond. After "Plan III," a pupil assignment plant to desegregate the schools, had been mandated by court-order, many middle-class white parents changed their residences to the suburban counties of Henrico and Chesterfield. Other parents, who opposed desegregation and bussing, enrolled their children in private schools. Many of the less affluent parents adopted a "wait-and-see" position and watched as desegregation and bussing occurred in Richmond. During the interim year of court-ordered desegregation, many of these same parents observed the "experiment in bussing" as they shared municipal buses with children riding buses to schools.

The behavior incidents that they observed on buses shocked the conscience of many of these parents and middle class professional and office workers. They observed the immediate effect of the culture clash between white and black children and were revolted concerning the language and behavior of black students. As related incidents began to occur with greater frequency in the Richmond Public Schools, there was a public "out-cry" in the community. Additional parents withdrew their children from the public schools and other parents organized community groups designed to work for better public schools in Richmond.

5. The Citizens for Excellent Public Schools (CEPS), was an actor in incidents leading to development of the policy, entitled "Pupil Conduct." CEPS recommended to the Richmond School Board certain alternative educational programs and disciplinary practices. A number of their recommendations were eventually incorporated into Richmond School Board Policy.

6. Jeroid Greene, a former black attorney in Richmond, was an actor in events that eventually led to development of a pupil conduct policy for the Richmond Public Schools. He represented a number of black students and parents who resented certain disciplinary practices of Richmond Public School officials in the environment of desegregation. One practice condemned was that of paddling children in schools for disciplinary infractions.

Representing some students in a few court cases and in visits to school board meetings, Greene argued that such actions were unconstitutional because board policy did not provide for "due process" in such cases. Richmond newspaper editorials supported this argument and openly questioned Richmond teachers' abuse of the discipline prerogative of paddling in the environment of desegregation. Community influences such as these soon made it obvious that corporal punishment as a means of discipline was not any longer acceptable as a means of discipline in the Richmond Public Schools. This environment produced an awareness among public school administrators and members of the Richmond School Board that a new policy statement concerning pupil conduct was needed.

7. Principals, particularly of secondary schools in Richmond, were particularly important as actors in incidents that helped produce the awareness of the need for a policy statement concerning pupil conduct. The environment of desegregation produced a culture clash in the public schools, from which a greater number of pupil behavioral infractions occurred. Yet, during the same time judicial action and community sentiment was discouraging some traditional means of maintaining decorum and order in the Richmond Public Schools. The secondary principals, in this environment, prepared a recommended policy statement and forwarded it to the school administration for review. George Jones, Principal of John F. Kennedy High School, coordinated this effort of secondary principals. The central

administration was seeking an answer to the problem of discipline in the public schools as the condition was affecting community support for the public schools.

8. Dr. Thomas Little, former Superintendent of the Richmond Public Schools, was a primary actor in development of the policy concerning pupil conduct. He suggested that the real cause of disciplinary problems in the Richmond Public Schools was inadequate and inflexible instructional programs in the schools. He indicated that for a solution to the problem of conduct to be accomplished, all affected teachers, pupils, parents and others would need to assume some responsibility. Dr. Little was receptive to the political context of the student conduct situation, from the standpoint of judicial actions and recommendations of his secondary principals. Within this environment, Little recommended to the Richmond School Board a policy statement concerning pupil conduct. The entire manual of policies, at this time, was undergoing revision and updating during this period. The policy entitled "Pupil Conduct," was formally adopted by the Richmond School Board on August 17, 1972. The Richmond School Board was an actor in this policy arena in that the policy statement was adopted by board action.

Table 12

A Flow Chart of Pupil Conduct Policy Variables by Influence of Actors

Date	Actor Influence Flow	Narrative
April 1970	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Judge Merhige's Desegregation Order Produced Changes in Schools </div>	Judge Merhige's desegregation order had effect of producing major changes in Richmond schools and community.
1970-72	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Students Uprooted from Old Schools-- Value Clashes </div>	Students in Richmond schools uprooted from old schools clash as different races and value systems came into contact.
1970-72	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Richmond Teachers Complained about Student Discipline </div>	Richmond teachers and REA expressed concern about number and extent of student behavior incidents in schools.
1970-72	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Parents Opposed Bussing; Some Placed Children in Private Schools </div>	Parents frequently opposed bussing to achieve desegregated schools. Parents put children in private schools and others protested discipline as used.

Table 12--Cont.

Date	Actor Influence Flow	Narrative
1970	<div style="text-align: center;">↓</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> CEPS Made Recommendations to Improve Pupil Conduct </div>	<p>CEPS sought to restore confidence in Richmond schools and made recommendations to improve student conduct in the Richmond schools.</p>
1970-72	<div style="text-align: center;">↓</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> An Attorney Had a Number of School Suspensions Overturned </div>	<p>Jeroid Greene represented a number of black students and had suspensions overturned in court because "due process" was not provided students.</p>
1972	<div style="text-align: center;">↓</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> High School Principals Draft Policy Recommendations </div>	<p>High School Principals in Richmond drafted a policy recommendation on student behavior and addressed Richmond School Board on issue.</p>
June-August 1972	<div style="text-align: center;">↓</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> Dr. Little Offered Leadership in Seeking Solution </div>	<p>Dr. Little (Supt.) offered leadership to addressing problem of discipline in schools. Said responsibility must be shared by all and programs made more flexible.</p>

CONTRIBUTIONS OF VARIABLES TO POLICY-FORM

Policy-Type

1. The policy-type of the pupil conduct policy seems to best-fit the characteristics associated with the political mode because the school system sought to reach a compromise settlement with the environment. The following observations were made concerning variables that impacted on the policy arena:

1.31 The court desegregation order changed the Richmond Public School System in terms of the mix of teachers and students in schools. Regular school operations were upset for a period of time.

1.32 Student maladaptive behavior incidents increased in schools and on buses during this period and it produced a "cultural shock" both within the Richmond Public School System and the community.

1.33 The general outrage in the Richmond community over pupil conduct in desegregated schools was publicly expressed and the Richmond Public Schools administration and the Richmond School Board sought a solution to the problem of student conduct. Some recommendations in this area were made by CEPS, a community-interest group that was organized to study the Richmond Public Schools and make recommendations to restore public confidence in the schools.

- 1.34 The Richmond Public Schools began to exercise a stronger stance concerning disciplinary infractions in schools and more parents took such cases to court protesting lack of "due process." The courts overturned many of these suspensions.
- 1.35 High School Principals in Richmond drafted a policy recommendation on student conduct and addressed the Richmond School Board on the matter.
- 1.36 The Richmond School Board adopted a policy statement in the arena of "Pupil Conduct" to stabilize the relationship of the school system with its changed internal and external environments. The policy statement resulted from a consensus that developed during a period of two years with actors both in the school system and the community.

Conceptual Schemes

2. The conceptual scheme of the pupil conduct policy statement seems to best-fit the characteristics associated with the political mode because the system sought to reach a settlement with the environment. The following observations were made:

- 2.31 The actors in this policy arena included persons both within and outside the school system. Actors internal to the Richmond Public School System included students, teachers, the school administration, and the

Richmond School Board. The sudden mix of students in new schools and between cultures created a conduct situation that was of concern to both students and teachers. Teachers expressed their sentiments to both the school administration and the Richmond School Board. Actors external to the Richmond Public School System included the Richmond community in general, CEPS, parents who initiated court cases related to school suspensions, and the courts that overturned these suspensions. The Richmond community demanded a quick solution to the problem of maladaptive behavior in public schools and the CEPS group presented specific recommendations to the Richmond School Board. The court decisions that overturned suspensions in the Richmond Public Schools produced an awareness with the school administration and school board that provisions for "due process" needed to be included in a policy statement about "Pupil Conduct."

- 2.32 The problem in this policy arena was identified by both internal and external actors. The problem was the increase of student maladaptive instances and behavior problems in schools resulting from the "culture clash" in the wake of court orders mandating school system desegregation. Problem was, therefore, raised by the special situation of desegregation.

2.33 Strategy selection in this policy arena was the consensus that evolved both within and outside the school system over a period of two years concerning the solution to the problem. Courts dictated "due process" and school system personnel stated expectations. These ingredients were perceived by principals and the central administration and presented as a policy recommendation to the Richmond School Board.

2.34 The action, produced by the consensus that evolved between game players, represented the statement of policy, "Pupil Conduct," by the Richmond School Board. The policy statement had evolved in a political context involving actors and concerns that existed both in the Richmond School System and the Richmond community.

Dimensions of Policy

3. The formal policy statement, "Pupil Conduct," within the three dimensions of policy was observed to be small-scale incremental, both non-organizational and organizational and regulatory. The following observations were made relevant to the three dimensions of policy that have been characterized:

- 3.11 The policy statement, within the context of the first dimension of policy, represented the extension of an existing policy. Since the policy was not designed to overhaul existing budget practice in the school system, it was classified as a small-scale incremental policy. The addition to existing policy was in the sub-section titled "Pupil Rights." The intention of the Richmond School Board in this extension of policy statement was to make clear that the rights of students do not just accrue to the aggrieved student.
- 3.21 The policy statement, in terms of the second dimension of policy, had influences that affected its preparation both within the Richmond Public School System and external to the school system. External influences that impacted on the policy considerations of the Richmond Public School System included the public criticism concerning student conduct in schools and on buses, the recommendations of the CEPS group, and the action of some courts in overturning suspensions because "due process" was not provided students. Internal influences that impacted on the policy considerations of the Richmond Public School System included criticism by teachers and their professional association, The Richmond Education Association,

concerning the increase of student rule infractions in schools and student assaults on teachers. High school principals also were an internal influence in having the policy recommendation framed and submitted to the central school administration and the Richmond School Board.

- 3.31 The policy statement, in terms of the third dimension of policy, was designed to regulate the conduct of students attending Richmond Public Schools during school hours and while coming to schools from home or returning to homes after school. Specific requirements of students were stipulated in the policy statement, "Pupil Conduct."

Process Patterns

4. The process patterns involved in formulating the policy statement, titled "Pupil Conduct," included the participation of specialists within the Richmond Public School Systems and interest groups from the community. Both internal and external levels of organization structure affected, directly or indirectly, the development of this policy. The different process patterns that were involved in developing this policy statement were described as follows:

- 4.11 The participation of actors in the arena of policy-making entitled "Pupil Conduct," included specialists within the Richmond Public School System in the form

of teachers, principals, central office administrators and the Richmond School Board. High School Principals, most notably George Jones, was most active in framing a policy recommendation and submitting this recommendation to both the central school administration and the Richmond School Board. Interest groups within the Richmond community that were important in influencing the development of a policy in this area included CEPS and a number of parents that initiated court actions to have school suspensions overturned because "due process" was not provided. Participation in the policy-making process involved several levels of actors but the final policy was adopted by the Richmond School Board.

- 4.21 The levels of organization structure that were involved in helping formulate this policy statement included both internal levels, and indirectly external levels. Internal levels of the Richmond Public School System that provided viable input to the policy area of "Pupil Conduct" and the eventual statement design teachers, high school principals and some top central school administrators including most assistant superintendents, the superintendent (Dr. Thomas Little) and members of the Richmond School Board. High School

Principal George Jones was particularly important as he headed a group of high school principals that produced much of the policy recommendation. External levels that, indirectly, influenced the input to policy design included the CEPS groups and parents who demanded, through court action, due process for their children.

Structure of Influence

5. The structure of influence in evolving the formal policy statement, "Pupil Conduct," involved principally specialists within the Richmond Public School System and, indirectly, stakeholders in the Richmond community. The influence of these stakeholders was described as follows:

5.11 School Superintendents/Administration/School Board:

Dr. Thomas Little was an actor in development of this policy but his influence was, perhaps, not as strong as it was in some other policy arenas. There was testimony that indicated Dr. Little helped encourage the examination of alternatives concerning the problem of student conduct in the schools. He also listened for an extended period to the public out-cry in the community concerning the problem and perhaps decided it was best to wait until a consensus emerged within the community and school system

concerning recommended action for the problem. Recommendations were forthcoming from the high school principals groups, headed by George Jones, court decisions on "due process" and the CEPS group. It was only at this stage that Dr. Little was prepared to offer a definite policy recommendation to the Richmond School Board.

- 5.21 Local Community Structure: The period during which this policy evolved in the Richmond Public School System was an unsettled period both in the Richmond Public School System and in the Richmond community. Desegregation orders were affecting the Richmond Public Schools and diminishing public support for schools in the community. The Richmond Public Schools administration was observed to be in a transition phase between white and black control. The student enrollment was on the decline in Richmond as many middle class and affluent citizens relocated outside the city to decide sending their children to desegregated schools. The remaining population both in the school system and the city grew in the proportion of blacks to whites. As the school system tended to become increasingly black, the "culture clash" between the remaining black and white students and increase proved to be "shocking" to the white community. Although the Richmond

community was about 50 percent black at this time white political control continued to be dominant in the city, both in the Richmond City Government and the Richmond Public School System. There was considerable pressure applied to the Richmond Public Schools administration and Richmond School Board to do something to improve the behavior of students in schools and on buses. The Richmond newspapers reflected the majority influence and business interests in the community. The resulting policy statement represented a positive response to these community groups and to classroom teachers that the Richmond School Board meant to improve the condition. During this period, the Richmond School Board was in transition between white and black control, but the influence of the former continued to be formidable.

- 5.31 Stakeholders in Policy-Making: The principal stakeholders in this policy arena tended to be students, parents of students, teachers, principals and top school administrators in addition to the Richmond School Board. Much of the criticism of student conduct came from white students who were intimidated by black students and the parents of these students. Teachers were increasingly stakeholders in this arena of

Table 13

Pupil Conduct Policy Cross-Index Verification by Actors and Footnote Number

	Actors:																					
	School Admin.	L. D. Adams	Thomas Little	Jim Tyler	Ron Edwards	Ed Cooke	Roy Puckett	Robert Hildrup	H.S. Principals	School Board	Miles Jones	L. Woodridge	W. Edwards	R. Swartzchild	City Council	CEPS	Other Ct. Decisions	Parents/Community	Students in Schools	REA	News-Leader	
1. Court Desegregation Order		238	239	240																		
2. "Culture Shock" in community and schools				244	248	245	246	247	208	210 211 212 241		243		242				200 209 213 214	200 205 207 211 212			
3. Student behavior incidents increased		218			251	250	215	249													216 217	
4. Richmond School Board sought answers to student disturbances in schools	221							253		219 220 222	252		255	254		224						

Table 13--Continued

	Actors:																				
	School Admin.	L. D. Adams	Thomas Little	Jim Tyler	Ron Edwards	Ed Cooke	Roy Puckett	Robert Hildrup	H. S. Principals	School Bd.	Miles Jones	L. Wooldridge	W. Edwards	R. Swartzchild	City Council	CEPS	Other Ct. Decisions	Parents/Community	Students in Schools	REA	News-Leader
5. CEPS makes recommendations about pupil conduct in schools					257							256				201					
6. Court actions overturn school suspensions because "due process" not provided		259	260		258		263				261			262			224 226				225
7. High School Principals draft policy recommendations on student behavior & address Richmond School Board on issue.	230		233 234 235	265		266	229 231		232		264				236						

policy concern as student classroom behavior incidents and assaults against teachers became more frequent. Principals, particularly secondary school principals felt the impact of such student incidents from students, teachers, and parents. The secondary principal, in the situation, was the "man-in-the-middle." Consequently, this group became the most articulate in the end as these principals drafted a policy recommendation and submitted the same to the central administration and school board for adoption. The board responded favorably.

SUMMARY

This policy history verified a number of influences and variables that were occurring external to the Richmond School System as well as those influences and variables occurring inside the school system which had an effect upon development of the policy entitled, "Pupil Conduct." The court-ordered desegregation of the Richmond Public School System in April, 1970, had immediate and long-range effects upon the Richmond Public Schools. This variable was external to the school system, but nevertheless affected development of school system policy including the one entitled, "Pupil Conduct." A second influence on the development of this policy was the "culture shock" arising from integration of the schools, mixing of students and the resulting increase in student

disciplinary cases. This variable was traced to both external and internal influences impacting on the Richmond Public School System. A third influence and variable impacting on the development of this policy was teacher and REA criticism of the increase in pupil behavior incidents in respective Richmond schools. Clearly, this variable was an internal influence to development of the policy.

A fourth influence and variable on this policy was the Richmond School Board seeking answers to the growing problem of poor student behavior in the Richmond Schools. This, too, was an internal influence to development of the policy, titled "Pupil Conduct." The Citizens for Excellent Public Schools was an example of an external variable that affected development of the policy. The changing complexion of the Richmond Public School System produced a sentiment in the community that many cases of student discipline in school were immediately suspect as to the real intent of school administrators. This, in turn, produced community challenges to school disciplinary actions. Coupled with this influence and variable was the matter of changing court opinions. These influences and variables were external to the school system, but yet had an influence in the consideration of the policy that was eventually developed. With the many influences and variables impacting on the Richmond Public School System, secondary principals and central office administrators determined that action was needed in the area of pupil conduct. These administrators seeking a solution to the problem of student disciplinary infractions in schools, produced a

policy draft that was eventually submitted to the Richmond School Board. Board members, sensing both the mood of the community as well as employees of the school system, finally adopted a policy dealing with "Pupil Conduct" on March 26, 1973. This seventh influence and variable was internal to the Richmond School System. When the policy was finally adopted by the Richmond School Board, about three years had elapsed since Judge Merhige ordered the desegregation of the Richmond Public Schools.

POLICY HISTORY

Policy Statement: Instruction

The purpose of the school must be not only to transmit knowledge, but also to translate knowledge into desirable action. This concept emphasizes the fact that the development of rational powers is essential to important educational outcomes, which include vocational competence, strong moral character, deep spiritual values, love of home and country, respect for duly constituted authority, general concern and thoughtful consideration for the welfare and rights of others, willingness to act in the interest of the general welfare, a disciplined approach to the varied responsibility of life, and a desire even to improve in those competencies essential to effective personal and community life.

The school board's chief responsibility is to provide high quality education for all the children of Richmond. Sound educational goals must provide opportunities for children of all races to associate on equal terms in the public schools as do children of various religious and national origins.

In addition, the board recognizes that, although handicapped children have the same basic needs as other children, they also have certain specific needs that cannot be met through the regular classroom program. Additional educational services must be provided for those who deviate mentally, physically, emotionally, or socially to

such a degree that they cannot achieve to their fullest potential without special class placement or supplementary services. Pupils shall be identified and assigned to special groupings after careful study by representatives of the various disciplines indicated by the nature of the pupil's impairment. These include medical, psychological, psychiatric, social, and educational personnel.

(Adopted: August 17, 1972)

Environment of Policy

A number of influences were operational within the environment surrounding development of the Richmond Public School System policy entitled "Instruction." Some of these influences had their beginnings historically in the school system and Richmond society, but the predominant influences occurred and were, perhaps, officially perceived during the early 1970's. These influences included: (1) court-ordered integration of the Richmond Public Schools and the Richmond community changing in terms of its racial and economic composition, (2) the Richmond Public Schools' enrollments increasing in terms of lower socio-economic students coupled with a definite decline in reading scores, (3) the Richmond School System acknowledging historic inequities that existed between many public schools in Richmond, (4) the recommendations from the citizens study group, Citizens for Excellent Public Schools (CEPS), for improvement of instructional programs in the Richmond Public Schools, (5) a change in the leadership of the Richmond Public School System with the appointments of a new Superintendent and School Board

Chairman, and (6) the Richmond School Board pioneering release of school system standardized test scores to newspapers.

The first environmental influence that had implications for development of the Richmond School Board Instruction policy was U.S. District Court Judge Robert R. Merhige's order directing Richmond to integrate its school system by means of bussing and reassignment of teachers to city schools on a 50:50 racial ratio basis. Changes of professional staffs and students between schools had the effect of creating new schools and pinpointing inequities. Additional details concerning this variable are included in the policy history, entitled "Pupil Transportation--Environment of Policy."

The Richmond Public Schools' enrollments increasing in terms of lower socioeconomic students coupled with a definite decline in reading scores was a second environmental influence that had implications for development of the Richmond School Board policy on Instruction. During early February, 1972, a number of reading supervisors employed by the Richmond Public Schools called on the Richmond School Board for additional reading teachers immediately and for the retraining of teachers in reading instruction. These supervisors contended that retraining programs such as the one suggested, were vital to resolving student skill deficiencies within the school system.²⁶⁸ It was reported six months later, in August, 1972, that

²⁶⁸ Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], February 1, 1972.

reading achievement scores in Richmond schools had plunged down for at least six years.²⁶⁹ One month later, a Richmond newspaper editorial expressed the view that the Richmond Public School System was in a state of collapse and had, furthermore, failed in their primary mission to teach children to read and write.²⁷⁰

A third environmental influence that had implications for development of the Richmond School Board Instruction policy was the Richmond School System acknowledging historic inequalities that existed between many public schools in Richmond. During August, 1971, Lucien Adams, then Superintendent of Richmond Public Schools, while testifying in U.S. District Court said that (standardized) test scores of students in Richmond will lag as long as the school system enrolls primarily black students.²⁷¹ A month later, some black groups in Richmond charged that Adams' statements, made as court testimony, represented a "cop-out."²⁷² Two weeks later, Richmond School Board members called for a new emphasis upon reading instruction in the public schools.²⁷³ Lucien Adams, during late December, 1971, testified in U.S. District Court that Head Start and other federal programs of compensatory education had failed to boost the reading performance

²⁶⁹Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], February 1, 1972.

²⁷⁰Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], August 24, 1972.

²⁷¹News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia], September 20, 1972.

²⁷²Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], September 16, 1971.

²⁷³Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], September 30, 1971.

of inner-city students.²⁷⁴ About the same time, Lucien D. Adams wrote in the Richmond Public School System staff bulletin that Richmond (standardized) test results can and must be improved.²⁷⁵ Six months later, in June, 1972, the Richmond School Board affirmed its commitment to quality in fully integrated education.²⁷⁶

The recommendations that issued from the citizens study group, Citizens for Excellent Public Schools (CEPS), was a fourth environmental influence that had implications for development of the board policy on instruction. CEPS represented a respected "voice" of the community and school officials were interested in restoring community confidence in the schools in the wake of school desegregation and changing schools. A CEPS position paper concerned with instruction in the Richmond schools stated: "Remedial classes in reading should be instituted at all grade levels emphasizing particularly materials of interest to today's urban youth."²⁷⁷ During late May, 1971, the Citizens for Excellent Public Schools (CEPS), called for more instructional improvement emphasis in the Richmond schools and suggested that principals should be provided with more support services on instructional

²⁷⁴Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], December 26, 1971.

²⁷⁵Staff News Bulletin, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, December, 1971.

²⁷⁶Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, June 29, 1972.

²⁷⁷A Study of the Richmond Public Schools: Citizens for Excellent Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, 1971, p. 86.

matters.²⁷⁸

A fifth environmental influence that had implications for development of the Richmond School Board policy on Instruction was the change in the leadership of the Richmond Public School System with the appointments of a new Superintendent and School Board Chairman. Lucien D. Adams, Superintendent of the Richmond Public Schools, between 1969 and 1972 announced his decision to take an early retirement in 1972. Dr. Thomas Little, then Associate Superintendent of the Richmond Public Schools, was named Acting Superintendent and later was named Superintendent in June, 1972.²⁷⁹ Rev. Miles Jones, a prominent black university dean and minister in the Richmond community, was named Chairman of the Richmond School Board during the same month.²⁸⁰ A month later, Richmond newspaper editorials were calling for the newly named Superintendent and Board Chairman to offer new leadership in raising reading scores and improving reading instruction in the Richmond Public Schools.²⁸¹ During late August, 1972, Little stated that the Richmond School Board and administration were not satisfied with the (standardized) scores and more strength was needed in primary

²⁷⁸News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia], May 26, 1971.

²⁷⁹Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, June 15, 1972.

²⁸⁰Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, June 29, 1972.

²⁸¹Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], July 29, 1972.

programs.²⁸² Dr. Little, by January 1973, had issued an administrative directive that Richmond school children were to become better readers and city teachers would be evaluated accordingly. Little, in his letter to Richmond teachers, stated:²⁸³

. . . every professional employee in this system, including my own immediate staff, will be evaluated next year on the basis of how well he contributes to improving the reading skills of our children. This does not mean there will be no other factors used in evaluation; it does mean the contribution to the reading program will be the main one.

Quite frankly, I have grown tired of hearing excuses as to why children in urban schools can't read. I don't believe any of them. Further, I am also convinced that children from an urban school system, particularly children from a poverty background, need to read just as much if not more than the so-called advantaged children.

The level of literacy has always been a measure of the progress of a civilization. I am not demeaning the necessity for speaking and listening when I speak of reading, but it is reading--the ability to see a printed word, to comprehend its meaning, to evaluate its content--which is the one historic path upward and outward for the civilized man.

We cannot afford to have unemployable children coming out of our schools who cannot follow printed instructions, who cannot read and understand the terms of a credit purchase or how to prepare a package of food or the advertised claims from a newspaper.

I am sure many of our more experienced employees have seen priorities come and priorities go and some may be tempted to think this is just another which will pass. Let me assure you that the reverse is true. We have a strong basic program in the Lippincott series and a wealth of materials. We are prepared to give in-service to those who need it.

What I think would be wise to do now is to start "thinking reading." A science teacher will have to be prepared to teach reading with her science, for what should certainly be obvious is that a child who cannot read is critically handicapped in attempting to learn science, whether that science is the pure physics of the laboratory or the art of the kitchen.

²⁸² Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], August 24, 1972.

²⁸³ Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], January 5, 1973.

Elementary teachers, in particular, are going to have to reorder their sense of priorities and use all the means at their disposal to achieve this goal. Those who administer and supervise the schools are going to have to set the example in leadership and ordering of their own priorities. Our children deserve no less and, I feel, the parents of this city will support this emphasis on reading without regard to economic status, race or class.

By the time you read this, we will be well into our budget-making cycle for 1973-74. You may be sure my commitment to reading will be reflected in this budget--not by adding new personnel, which is not the answer--but by trying to provide a budget that will enable our existing personnel to do the job.

A month after Dr. Thomas Little forwarded copies of this letter to professional personnel in the Richmond Public School System, the Superintendent stated that the teaching of reading skills would be the number one academic priority because all other academic skills were based upon the foundation of reading skills.²⁸⁴ A plan was outlined to achieve the goals which were stated in Little's earlier letter to Richmond School System employees. Provisions of this plan included:²⁸⁵

- (1) All . . . teachers who have not completed a recent course in the teaching of reading . . . will do so on or before the end of the 1973-74 school year. Those who do not do so will not be eligible for any salary . . . increase. . . .
- (2) Effective immediately, the Personnel Department has been instructed not to employ any elementary school teacher of English who . . . will not complete a course in the teaching of reading by the end of first semester (1973-74 school year).
- (3) The teaching of reading in the school division will be conducted within the following framework:

²⁸⁴Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, February 8, 1973.

²⁸⁵Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, February 19, 1973.

- a) Developmental reading will be taught K-5.
- b) At the end of the 5th grade, any child who is reading two or more years behind grade level will be retained in a holding class for one year. The class to be completely oriented around diagnostic and remedial reading.
- c) The concept of holding classes as described above also applies to grades 6-8.
- d) In grades 9-12 any student scoring in the 25th percentile or below shall schedule a special reading course as part of his curriculum in addition to the regular requirements for graduation. This special reading course shall be continued throughout the pupil's high school career or until the deficiency is corrected even if an additional year is required for the student to graduate.

The announcement of a new leadership team of the Richmond Public Schools in the persons of Dr. Thomas Little and Rev. Miles Jones set in motion many of the forces that culminated in a new policy statement, titled "Instruction," for the Richmond Public School System. The policy was formally adopted by the Richmond School Board on February 19, 1973.

The Richmond School Board's decision to pioneer release of school system standardized test scores to newspapers was a sixth environmental influence that had implications for development of the policy on instruction. During January, 1971, Lucien Adams provided the Richmond School Board with copies of the 1969-70 standardized test results in reading. Adams explained that the results, while below the State and National averages, were above what might be expected with existing student aptitudes.²⁸⁶ It had been the practice of the Richmond Public

²⁸⁶ Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, January 17, 1971.

Schools, prior to 1971, for reading to be taught by the method favored by the individual teachers and principals of given schools. Two months after Lucien Adams' explanation to the Richmond School Board concerning low standardized test scores, the Richmond Public School System was busily preparing to revamp its reading program from a "look-see" teaching approach to one of phonics instruction utilizing a tightly structured Lippincott Reading Program.²⁸⁷ A reporter from the Richmond Times Dispatch, Charles Cox, prodded the Richmond School Board for a number of years to release test score results although such precedent was not established by school systems in Virginia. The Richmond School Board decided, however, to pioneer release of such standardized test scores in June, 1971. These scores indicated generally that Richmond students were one year behind in reading scores on the third grade level and one and a half years behind on the seventh grade level.²⁸⁸ During the same summer, a Richmond newspaper editorial suggested that the Richmond Public Schools could not accept the reputation of having the worst readers of all Virginia cities.²⁸⁹ A year later, in August, 1972, the Richmond School Board decided to release standardized reading scores on a school-by-school basis instead of a system-wide basis as

²⁸⁷News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia], March 29, 1971.

²⁸⁸Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], June 21, 1971.

²⁸⁹News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia], August 12, 1971.

occurred the previous year.²⁹⁰ The Richmond School Board, by pioneering the release of standardized test scores, consciously exposed the measured level of student achievement that existed in the public school system.

The policy, entitled "Instruction," was adopted by the Richmond School Board on February 19, 1973.²⁹¹ The school board renewed its pledge, ". . . to provide high quality education for all the children of Richmond."

Identified Policy Variables

Variables associated with the Richmond School Board policy, "Instruction," have been listed below:

1. The court integration order (April 1, 1970) hastened the change of the Richmond community in terms of its racial and economic composition and the Richmond Public School System in terms of size and composition of student enrollment.

Lucien D. Adams verified that the court order integrating the city schools had a major impact on the student composition of the Richmond Public Schools. Adams indicated also that the order produced a new student mix and lower standardized test scores. Adams stated:²⁹²

²⁹⁰Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, August 1, 1972.

²⁹¹Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, February 19, 1973.

²⁹²Statement by Lucien D. Adams, former Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 19, 1975.

The very dramatic leaving of your upper socioeconomic child both black and white contributed to the lowering of scores. This (moving to the suburbs) started 20 years ago, but you got a dramatic impact of it when the desegregation movement came in 1970. You had a surge of students leaving the system at this time.

Dr. Thomas Little, verified the impact of the desegregation order on the concern of the community about the quality of education and the relationship of the order to development of this policy.

Little said:²⁹³

This was a time of real change coming about in the Richmond Public Schools, fear on the part of the public of a degrading of the quality of public education in light of desegregation that was going on. This was drafted to identify the responsibility of the school board.

The Director of Public Information for the Richmond Public School System, Robert Hildrup, substantiated the accounts of both Lucien Adams and Thomas Little concerning the impact of the court order on the community and incidents prompting development of the instruction policy. Hildrup suggested:²⁹⁴

The incidents which prompted this thing (policy). . . was the concern focused on the instructional program by the court order and by the bussing. People became concerned then about not only the quality of education in the school their child had been attending, but the quality of education in the school their child might attend. The fact that students were being assigned out of their neighborhoods to schools they had never heard of was very much in the minds of people at that time.

²⁹³Statement by Dr. Thomas Little, former Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 19, 1975.

²⁹⁴Statement by Robert Hildrup, Director of Public Information, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond Virginia, April 29, 1975.

These changes that were occurring in the Richmond community also produced a change in the student composition of Richmond schools. The Richmond Public Schools' enrollments increased in terms of increasing proportions of lower socioeconomic students. This change also produced a definite decline in measured reading achievement scores for the system.

2. The Richmond Public School's enrollments increased proportionally in terms of lower socioeconomic students coupled with a definite decline in reading achievement scores.

A number of educators associated with the Richmond Public School System suggested that the changing mix of students was primarily responsible for the decline in reading achievement scores. These school administrators also indicated that the Richmond School System during this period, was changing from a school system that had a middle class orientation to one oriented toward the lower socioeconomic classes.

Robert Hildrup, Director of Public Information for the Richmond Public Schools verified that the school system had changed. Hildrup said: "During this time we were moving from a school system that had a middle class orientation to one oriented toward the lower socioeconomic classes. . . ."295

Lucien Adams, verified the changed nature of the school system as he

295 Ibid.

perceived it. "The school system has been weakened in terms of academic achievement for many, many years and it has pretty well reached the bottom now. . . ." ²⁹⁶ Rondle Edwards, an Assistant Superintendent, substantiated that the school system was changing in terms of the population the schools served. He also verified that reading scores were on this decline. Edwards indicated: ²⁹⁷

Our reading scores as reported through the media certainly suggested to the lay public that the quality of education in Richmond was going down. I doubt that this perception was correct since actually the socioeconomic level of pupils in the school system was changing. This caused a lessening of reading scores as measured by (standardized) tests.

One Assistant Superintendent verified that reading scores, during this time, were on the decline in the Richmond Public Schools. He was, however, unsure of the cause. Dr. Edward Cooke suggested: ²⁹⁸

There was a general decline in the accomplishment of students. Whether this could be attributed to poor teaching or the low socioeconomic conditions is still being debated.

The testimony of major actors verified that the Richmond Public Schools experienced a proportional change in the student populations that were served by the schools. The school system was serving lower socioeconomic children than had been the case in previous years. As a result of this loss of students from more affluent and enriched

²⁹⁶ Adams, loc. cit.

²⁹⁷ Statement by Dr. Rondle Edwards, Assistant Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 2, 1975.

²⁹⁸ Statement by Dr. Edward Cooke, Assistant Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 2, 1975.

socioeconomic circumstances, it appeared to the public that the students attending Richmond schools were not achieving as well in reading as had been the situation in past years.

These fundamental changes in the orientation of the Richmond Public School System established the environment where historic conditions that had existed in the school system could be openly criticized by some members of the Richmond School Board. This initial perception of gross inequalities between Richmond Public Schools was first expressed by black board members. A number of white board members, however, were gradually convinced that these inequities did exist and were in need of resolution.

3. The Richmond Public School System acknowledged historic inequities that existed between many public schools in Richmond.

Rev. Miles Jones, Chairman of the Richmond Public Schools, acknowledged the fact that inequities between primarily white and black schools in the city was one big reason for the policy statement on "Instruction." Jones indicated:²⁹⁹

There were a number of factors that had a bearing on the (Instruction) policy and its development. One was the realization that the Richmond Public School System had not been historically dealing fairly with all its pupils, in that it had a historic pattern of racial segregation and this produced other inequities. That realization was about in the community, but it was not acknowledged until very recently. The great controversy in the Richmond system for a long time was whether we were

²⁹⁹Statement by Rev. Miles Jones, Chairman, Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 15, 1975.

going to say we had a dual system. The old order (administration) in the system, for a long time, operated on the premise admit only what you have to admit. Tell the truth when you can't do anything else. The dual system was not acknowledged until the whole matter of "freedom-of-choice" came up (in connection with integration of the schools). The presence of more blacks (3 blacks on a 7 member school board) gave impetus to this requirement for such acknowledgement (policy statement).

Another black member of the Richmond School Board, Linwood Wooldridge, verified that the policy was adopted to convey the message that the Board was interested in providing an excellent education for all students in the Richmond Public Schools. Wooldridge said:³⁰⁰

One big reason for the statement of policy was the Board wanting to say it wanted quality for all its students, not just those at Cary and Bellvue. (Cary and Bellvue were primarily white model elementary schools serving children of upper middle class parents). We (board members) did not want pockets of isolation. The Board has tried to eliminate this social prejudice through administrative action.

One white member of the Richmond School Board, in privileged testimony, verified historic inequities as a basic influence on development of the policy, entitled "Instruction." He suggested:³⁰¹

I think this policy could have been an attempt on the part of the administration to bring before us something that would be passed in the presence of the press and get a few lines that we were concerned about the quality of education.

The onset of integration brought out on the surface of the table things that had been simmering there all the time. I can't believe that the reading profile was any different in black schools prior to 1970. I think the condition was always

³⁰⁰ Statement by Linwood Wooldridge, member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 19, 1975.

³⁰¹ Anonymous, member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 25, 1975.

there. The times were such, we were more inclined to publicly acknowledge past inequities in schools.

Historically, schools in Church Hill and other black areas of the city received worn textbooks (from white schools in other parts of the city) and their libraries were not well stocked while the opposite was true in schools occupying white areas of the city. Once schools were integrated, parents (of white students who were bused to attend formerly black schools) were appalled at the condition of the school and it not being equipped as their own children began to attend these schools.

Another white member of the Richmond School Board alluded to some of the same reasons specified by other Board members for the policy statement on "Instruction." Richard Swartzchild said:³⁰²

The Board was attempting to equate the educational opportunities in all the schools. We realized that some (black) schools did not have the backing and support of the homes that others did.

Former Superintendent of Richmond Public Schools, Dr. Thomas Little corroborated the testimony of other policy actors concerning the reasons behind the statement of policy. Dr. Little suggested:³⁰³

This was the beginning of our massive integration program and where it said, "sound education goals must provide opportunities for children of all races to associate on equal terms in the public schools," was an outcome of integration and was an assurance of equal education for blacks and whites.

It was in this environment that the Richmond School Board, on June 29, 1972, ". . . affirmed its commitment to quality in fully integrated education."³⁰⁴ This environment in the Richmond community

³⁰²Statement by Richard Swartzchild, member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 19, 1975.

³⁰³Little, loc. cit.

³⁰⁴Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, June 29, 1972.

also prompted the work of the citizens study committee, Citizens for Excellent Public Schools (CEPS).

4. The citizens study group, Citizens for Excellent Public Schools (CEPS), made recommendations for the improvement of instructional programs in the Richmond Public Schools.

During the period of school desegregation, community and particularly the support of the business community for the Richmond Public Schools declined. School officials viewed the CEPS organization as a respected community "voice" that held promise for unifying some segments of the community in support of the schools, and consequently, welcomed the group's recommendations.

Roy Puckett, a former Administrative Assistant to Lucien D. Adams, verified the criticism of Richmond Public Schools that was present in the business community. Puckett indicated: "During this time of integration we had criticism from businessmen saying we were not turning out employees who could read and write."³⁰⁵

A member of the Richmond School Board said in privileged testimony that criticism of the school system by the business community adversely affected the Richmond Public Schools. He suggested:³⁰⁶

³⁰⁵ Statement by Roy Puckett, Former Administrative Assistant to Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 26, 1975.

³⁰⁶ Anonymous, Member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 25, 1975.

We clearly had some real enemies on Council at this time. Some Council members said unofficially, how can we support a school system that is going down the drain. Its a matter of record that in an executive meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, they were unable to pass a resolution supporting the Richmond Public School System in its efforts to continue the education and keep order in the schools.

CEPS provided an available avenue whereby the Richmond Public School System was able to rebuild a semblance of public support for the schools. Robert Hildrup, Director of Public Information for the Richmond Public Schools acknowledged this support given the school system by CEPS. Hildrup said:³⁰⁷

The CEPS was an organization that . . . was helpful to us in trying to smooth over the transitions and concerns in connection with bussing. One of their major concerns was quality education. There was a considerable amount of concern about the instructional program and quality education. I do know it (CEPS concern) resulted in some actions that were taken at the administrative level.

One Assistant Superintendent, Dr. Rondle Edwards, verified that CEPS was an influence upon policy development in the Richmond Public School System. Edwards mentioned, ". . . community organizations (like CEPS) were important in helping bring this policy about."³⁰⁸

5. A change in the leadership of the Richmond Public School System occurred, during June 1972, with the appointments of Dr. Thomas Little as Superintendent and Rev. Miles Jones as Chairman of the Richmond School Board.

³⁰⁷Hildrup, loc. cit.

³⁰⁸Rondle Edwards, loc. cit.

The change in chief leadership positions of the administration and the school board was significant in terms of the policy on "Instruction," being developed during 1973. Little viewed his role as a transition Superintendent, working in partnership with a school board that was partly black in membership and had a black Chairman. He viewed his responsibility, in the role of a transition Superintendent, as holding the black and white factions of the Richmond School Board together in a viable working coalition. Consequently, the blacks on the Richmond School Board had influence out of proportion to their actual numbers. Blacks accounted for three of the seven member Richmond School Board. During this time, a chief priority of the blacks on the Richmond School Board was the resolution of the problems in instruction that had their origin in a dual school system. The growing black influence on the Richmond School Board and the inclinations of Superintendent Thomas Little were influential in development of the instruction policy.³⁰⁹

Rev. Miles Jones, the first black Chairman of the Richmond School Board, verified the influence of the leadership change on development of the policy. Jones suggested:³¹⁰

The great controversy in the Richmond System for a long time was whether we were going to say we had a dual system. The old order (administration) in the system, for a long time, operated on the premise, admit only what you have to admit. The dual

³⁰⁹Statement by Dr. Thomas Little, former Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 8, 1975.

³¹⁰Jones, loc. cit.

system was not acknowledged until the whole matter of "freedom of choice" came up. The presence of more blacks on the board gave impetus to this requirement for such acknowledgement. It was our (black board members) position that we can't move ahead until you confess your sins; then move ahead and build a healthy body.

Dr. Edward Cooke, Assistant Superintendent and present Clerk of the Richmond School Board, acknowledged that the leadership change had an influence on this policy. Cooke indicated:³¹¹

The previous administration (Lucien D. Adams) was aware of the problem, but had not taken any concrete steps to do anything of an overt nature to correct the situation. If we had been smart, this could have been used as a diversionary tactic although I don't have any proof of that. The change in leadership personnel introduced new perceptions to the solutions of long-standing problems.

The change in leadership of the Richmond Public School System introduced yet another variable that was influential in creating the circumstances where a policy statement on "Instruction" by the Richmond School Board became a necessity. The Richmond School Board decided to pioneer release of school system standardized reading test scores to the press. Once the scores were released, forces were set in motion that prompted the Richmond School Board to make a policy statement concerning Instruction.

6. The Richmond School Board decided to pioneer release of school system standardized reading test scores to state newspapers.

One member of the Richmond School Board, William Edwards,

³¹¹Cooke, loc. cit.

described the circumstances leading to the decision of the school board to release test scores of the Richmond Public School System to area newspapers. Edwards said:³¹²

Richmond pioneered in release of reading scores. I can say with very good conviction that Lucien Adams was very reluctant to release reading scores. Tom Little was less reluctant, but neither wanted to because they had the educational concern of a lay person trying to interpret what this really meant. I think it was I and Richard Swartzchild and to a lesser extent Mrs. Calloway (all Board members) who said why not give them out. Charles Cox (an educational news writer for the Richmond Times-Dispatch) had carried on a campaign for the few years preceding of trying to get reading scores.

The release of standardized reading test scores to area newspapers prompted newspaper editorials calling for the newly named Superintendent and Board Chairman to offer new leadership to raising reading scores and, in general, improving instruction in the Richmond Public School System.³¹³

The effects of the indicated variables resulted in the Richmond School Board adopting the policy, entitled "Instruction," on February 19, 1973.

RELATIONSHIP OF POLICY VARIABLES

Sequence of Variables (by incident)

Most of the identified variables that were associated with

³¹²Statement by William Edwards, Member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 25, 1975.

³¹³Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], July 29, 1972.

development of this policy began about 1970 and continued into the first few years of that decade. The order of occurrence among these variables was as follows:

1. The court desegregation order in April 1970 hastened the change of the Richmond community in terms of its racial and economic composition and the Richmond Public School System in terms of size and composition of student enrollment. This changing environment in the public schools produced a new social and cultural mix of students across the city. Many students from educated, middle-class families had relocated in the suburbs and the city schools were, in the 1970's, attempting to educate predominately lower socioeconomic children.

2. The Richmond Public School's enrollment increased proportionally in terms of lower socioeconomic students coupled with an apparent decline in social system reading achievement scores. Reading supervisors of the Richmond Public School System publicly called attention to the problem of declining reading scores in February, 1972.

3. The Richmond Public School System acknowledged historic inequities that existed between many public schools in Richmond. This occurred during 1970 and for several years afterwards as blacks, who had been appointed to the Richmond School Board, began to exert an influence on basic school system priorities. The time and environment in the community and school system was such that the Richmond School Board publicly acknowledged historic inequities between schools in terms of physical and human resources.

4. The citizens study group, Citizens for Excellent Public Schools (CEPS), made recommendations for the improvement of instructional programs in the Richmond Public Schools.

5. A change in the leadership of the Richmond Public School System occurred during June, 1972, with the appointment of a new Superintendent and the election of a new Chairman of the Richmond School Board. The Superintendent was the person who had earlier prepared the specifications of the court-ordered desegregation plan that was finally accepted by U.S. District Court. The new Board Chairman was the first black to serve in that position during the Twentieth Century. It was during this period that the school administration and Richmond School Board announced a commitment to quality in fully integrated education for the school children of Richmond.

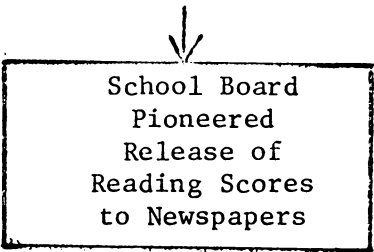
6. The Richmond School Board pioneered release of school system standardized test scores to State newspapers in June, 1971. The scores were a public acknowledgement of inequities between Richmond schools and served notice that a major school system effort to boost reading scores through improved instructional programs was needed. The released scores revealed that students were one year behind in reading scores on the third grade level and one and a half years below grade level on reading in the seventh grade. A year later, the Richmond School Board released standardized reading scores on a school-by-school basis to newspapers. The public was appalled concerning the achievement of students in Richmond Public Schools.

Table 14

A Flow Chart of Instruction Policy Variables by Order of Incident

Date	Incident Flow	Narrative
April 1970	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Court Desegregation Order </div>	Court desegregation order changed the Richmond community and school system to majority of lower socio-economic pupils.
1970-72	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Reading Scores Declined in Schools </div>	Reading scores declined in Richmond as school enrollment grew in numbers of lower socio-economic students
1970-72	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> School System Acknowledged Historic Inequities </div>	Richmond School System acknowledged historic inequities that existed between many public schools in Richmond.
1970	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> CEPS Made Recommendations for Instruction in Schools </div>	CEPS made recommendations for improvement of instructional program in Richmond Schools
June 1972	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> School System Leadership Change Caused Re-focus of Attention on Instruction </div>	Leadership change in Richmond schools top administration and chairman of Richmond School Board helps re-focus attention on instruction.

Table 14--Cont.

Date	Incident Flow	Narrative
1971-72	 <p data-bbox="409 478 634 641">School Board Pioneered Release of Reading Scores to Newspapers</p>	Richmond School Board pioneered release of reading scores to newspapers. Community demanded improvement in school instructional programs.

The Richmond School Board responded with a public policy statement on "Instruction" in the Richmond Public Schools on August 17, 1972. This was during the period that the policy manual was under revision.

Sequence of Variables (by actors)

The order of actors' influence on the incidents leading to development of this policy statement was as follows:

1. Judge Robert Merhige (U.S. District Court, Richmond, Virginia) was a major actor in events leading to development of the policy. It was his decision during April 1970 that led to desegregation of the Richmond Public School System by means of court-ordered bussing. It was "Plan III" that Judge Robert Merhige selected as the best means to use in the desegregation of the Richmond City Public School System. This plan, coupled with massive bussing by court order, created the conditions for an increased rate of middle class Richmonders relocating in the adjoining suburbs. This had the immediate effect of removing large numbers of white students from the rolls of the Richmond Public Schools and the remaining enrollment growing proportionally in terms of black students and others from low socioeconomic circumstances. These children also had the greatest reading problems and standardized test scores in the Richmond Public Schools began to plummet as the composition of the Richmond Public School enrollment changed. The decision of Judge Robert Merhige contributed to the circumstances that eventually led to development of a policy statement concerning instruction.

2. Students of the Richmond Public Schools, who contributed to the low averages on standardized test scores, indirectly were actors and made a contribution to the incidents that led to development of a policy statement about instruction. Many of these students were black students and in the environment of the Richmond School Board having a greater number of black board members, the low achievement levels of these students contributed to the evolving public awareness that there were inequities between Richmond schools serving different parts of the city.

3. The Richmond School Board was a major actor in development of the policy concerning instruction. During 1970 and for several years afterwards, as blacks gained proportionally more influence on the board, the remaining white board members began to acknowledge that historic inequities did exist between formerly black schools in the city and formerly white schools. A realization occurred among board members that these past inequities were in need of correction if all school children were to develop educationally to their fullest potential. During June, 1972, when a change of leadership occurred in the Richmond Public School System with the appointment of a new Superintendent and the election of a black school board chairman, the Richmond School Board announced a commitment to quality in fully integrated education. This represented an announcement by the Richmond School Board that past inequities in schools and educational programs would begin to be corrected. The policy statement

concerning instruction represented a further announcement that the school children in Richmond would be provided with an education stressing the basics of instruction and, in so doing, skill deficiencies of students would be resolved.

4. The citizens study group, Citizens for Excellent Public Schools (CEPS), was an actor in the incidents leading to development of the policy entitled "Instruction" by the Richmond School Board.

5. Dr. Thomas Little and Rev. Miles Jones were primary actors in the incidents leading to development of this policy. Both persons assumed major leadership positions with the Richmond Public School System during June, 1972. Dr. Little was appointed the new Superintendent of Richmond Public Schools. Previously, Little had served as Associate Superintendent of the Richmond Public Schools and was largely responsible for the pupil assignment plan that was eventually adopted by Judge Merhige to hasten desegregation in Richmond. The previous Superintendent, Lucien Adams, had publicly acknowledged that he did not believe reading scores of the students in city schools would improve as long as the schools enrolled primarily blacks. Dr. Thomas Little, the new Superintendent, immediately set as a priority that the fundamentals of education would be taught to all children regardless of their color and he backed this priority with in-service training for all teachers. The new school board chairman, Rev. Miles Jones, was the former Vice-Chairman of the Richmond School Board. He was one of the three blacks on the seven member Richmond School Board. He was a strong influence in articulating the moral obligation

Table 15

A Flow Chart of Instruction Policy Variables by Influence of Actors

Date	Actor Influence Flow	Narrative
April 1970	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Judge Merhige's Order Produced Changes in Schools and Community </div>	Judge Robert Merhige's desegregation order has effect of producing dramatic changes in Richmond schools and community
1970-72	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Students who Remained in Richmond Schools Had Low Achieve- ment Scores </div>	Students who remained in the Richmond Schools after desegregation had low achievement scores.
1970-72	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> School Board Acknowledged Historic Inequities Between Schools </div>	Richmond School Board acknowledged historic inequities in schools as blacks gained membership on Richmond School Board sought quality in education.
1970	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> CEPS Made Recommendations for Instruc- tional Program in Schools </div>	CEPS sought to restore confidence in Richmond Schools and made recommendations for instructional programs.
June 1972	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Change in Leader- ship Produced Focus on Quality Education for all Children </div>	Dr. Little (Supt.) and Rev. Jones (Bd. Chairman) assume leadership positions and help address issue of quality education for all students.

of the School Board to remove the inequities and injustices of the past from the Richmond Public Schools and begin anew to provide quality education for all students, both blacks and whites. Rev. Jones supported the programs suggested by Thomas Little for accomplishing this task. The result of the efforts of these two primary actors was eventually a statement of policy regarding "Instruction," that was adopted by the Richmond School Board.

CONTRIBUTION OF VARIABLES TO POLICY-FORM

Policy-Type

1. The policy-type of the formal statement, "Instruction," seemed to best-fit the characteristics associated with the political mode, because the school system was attempting to reach a settlement with its environment. The following observations were made concerning variables that impacted on the policy arena:

1.31 The court desegregation order of Judge Robert Merhige changed the Richmond Public School System and exposed historic inequities to public view. It was noted, as an example, that the former black schools were not as well equipped in terms of human or physical resources as was true of former white schools in the city. This caused white parents, who had influence in the community, to protest these school conditions in school facilities to which their children were transported by bus.

- 1.32 As many whites relocated outside the city to prevent their children from being bused to desegregated schools across the city and others enrolled their children in private schools, public support of Richmond Public Schools declined. The CEPS group, in this environment, organized for the purpose of studying the school system and making recommendations to restore public confidence. Many recommendations of this group were directly related to improving the quality of education in all Richmond Public Schools.
- 1.33 A leadership change occurred in terms of a new Superintendent and a new Chairman of the Richmond School Board. It was in this environment that the school board wanted some changes made in the Richmond Public schools to remove the remaining traces of historic and racial inequalities between schools. The new Superintendent, Dr. Thomas Little, was a realist and he started what changes in the school system were needed.
- 1.34 The Richmond School Board released reading scores of students to Richmond newspapers. The scores revealed that students were several years behind in reading score achievement levels. This situation caused a public outcry from the community for improvement in

the Richmond Public Schools from both the white and black communities.

- 1.35 Within this overall environment, the Superintendent and Richmond School Board established new priorities for the Richmond Public Schools. These priorities included improving the instructional program and the policy statement put the Richmond School Board on record, before the community, that new priorities in the area of instruction were being pursued. This was followed by a massing in-service re-training program for all elementary and secondary school teachers in the area of basic skill instruction.

Conceptual Schemes

2. The conceptual scheme of the formal statement, "Instruction," seemed to best-fit the characteristics associated with the political mode, because the school system was attempting to reach a settlement with its environment. The following observations were made concerning variables that impacted on the policy arena:

- 2.31. The actors who had a definite influence in this policy arena included participants in the U.S. District Court desegregation case, particularly Judge Robert Merhige who issued the court order. This was because the court order had the effect of changing the Richmond community and school system. Other actors included the CEPS group, the new Superintendent and Board

Chairman leadership team and the white and black factions of the Richmond School Board. Each of these actors had a definite coalition. In the environment of desegregated schools and bussing, some white and black interest groups joined to improve the educational climate for all children in all Richmond Public Schools. This produced the necessary majority on the Richmond School Board, supported with community groups such as the CEPS group, to change statements of priority in the instructional areas and renew a commitment to quality education for all students. This action represented a first step toward ending historic inequalities in many Richmond schools.

2.32 The problem was the historic inequalities that existed between many schools in the Richmond community, particularly between schools that had formerly served all white students and schools that had formerly served all black students. These long-standing inequalities were credited with causing many discrepancies among student achievement in basic skill areas.

2.33 Strategy selection represented the solution to the problem in terms of power relationship. The manner of the times, court decisions and a changing Richmond community caused the blacks who served on the Richmond School Board to gain influence in their official

positions. They were able to articulate many black concerns using the combination of past inequalities that could be supported with facts, and logic to develop a new school board coalition that included some whites and represented a school board majority. Within this environment, equality of education for all students in Richmond Public Schools soon became the common consensus and goal of board members. This change in the power relationship among school board members occurred during 1972 and the new Superintendent who was appointed was willing to expedite board goals and priorities for the school system.

- 2.34 The action represented the consensus of game players, in this case the internal and external actors to this policy issue. The consensus was represented by the policy statement, "Instruction," that indicated quality education for all school children in Richmond was the goal. The policy statement had been developed within the context of political considerations as a means of achieving a balance with a new set of environmental conditions and power relationships.

Dimensions of Policy

3. The formal policy statement, "Instruction," within the three dimensions of policy was observed to be small-scale incremental,

both non-organizational and organizational, and both distributive and regulatory. The following observations were made relevant to the three dimensions of policy that have been characterized:

- 3.11 The policy statement, within the context of the first dimension of policy, represents a small-scale incremental policy. The first paragraph of the policy statement was part of a board statement about the purposes of public education in Richmond. This statement is included in an old version of a board policy manual that is dated August 19, 1963. The second and third paragraphs of the policy statement, however, represents new policy that did not exist prior to August 17, 1972. Since the policy did not represent a complete restructuring of instructional goal, the policy was considered to be small-scale incremental. Implicit in the additions to the policy was a board commitment to provide quality education and the necessary support services for all regular and handicapped students who attended the Richmond Public Schools.
- 3.21 The policy statement, in terms of the second dimension of policy, had influences that affected its preparation both within the Richmond Public School System and external to the school system. External influences

that impacted on the policy considerations of the Richmond Public School System, in terms of "Instruction," were the recommendations of the CEPS group for quality education in an atmosphere of declining public support of the Richmond Public Schools. Public criticism concerning low published reading achievement scores of Richmond students was also impacting on both the school administration and the Richmond School Board. The loss of community support for the Richmond Public Schools in the wake of the desegregation order produced a willingness in the Richmond Public School System to be receptive to the recommendations of the CEPS group. Internal influences that impacted on the policy considerations of the Richmond Public School System included an acknowledged awareness of historic inequities that existed between many former black and white Richmond Public Schools. The black board members, in the environment of desegregation and a city that was growing in terms of black residents, increased their influence on the Richmond School Board. A priority of concern for the black board members was equality of educational opportunities for all students in the Richmond Public Schools. The election of a new Superintendent also helped emphasize this changed power relationship between factions of the Richmond School

Board. The new Superintendent, Dr. Thomas Little, was willing to expedite the instructional priorities of the Richmond School Board.

- 3.31 The policy statement, in terms of the third dimension of policy, was both distributive and regulatory. The policy, entitled "Instruction," was distributive in the sense of board intent to provide for equality of educational opportunity for all children attending the Richmond Public Schools in terms of human and physical support services. The policy was regulatory too, because it required identification of all students requiring special support services.

Process Patterns

4. The process patterns involved in formulating the policy statement, titled, "Instruction," included the participation of primarily the Richmond School Board, several top Superintendents in the Richmond Public School System and, indirectly, the influences of the CEPS groups. Both internal and external levels of organization structure affected, directly or indirectly, the development of this policy. The different process patterns that were involved in developing this policy statement were described as follows:

- 4.11 The participation of actors in the area of policy-making, entitled "Instruction," included primarily the Richmond School Board and several top Superintendents in the

Richmond Public School System. The CEPS group, an outside community study group, indirectly contributed to the policy considerations through a dialogue and recommendations to improve the total instructional program.

- 4.21 The levels of organization structure that were involved in helping to formulate this policy statement included only internal levels, but not any external levels. Internal levels of the Richmond Public School System that provided viable input to the policy arena of "Budget" and the eventual statement design were primary members of the Richmond School Board and top Superintendents. School system personnel such as Directors, Principals, and Teachers were not important in causing this policy to be stated or assisting in policy construction. The foremost persons involved in this policy design were black board members, the new Superintendent in the person of Dr. Thomas Little, and several other Assistant Superintendents including Drs. James Tyler, Rondle Edwards, and H. B. Pinkney.

Structure of Influence

5. The structure of influence in evolving the formal policy statement, "Instruction," involved some specialists within the Richmond Public School System, the Richmond School Board, and some stakeholders in the Richmond community. The influence of

these stakeholders was described as follows:

5.11 School Superintendents/Administration/School Board:

There were a number of black board members who were very concerned about historic inequalities between former white and black Richmond schools in terms of human and physical resources. They were also concerned about the achievement of many black children as indicated by standardized test scores. The Superintendent prior to 1972, Lucien Adams, said publicly that there was little that could be done to raise the reading scores as long as Richmond was educating primarily black children. Soon after this statement was made, Adams took an early retirement although there may not have been a direct link between these two events. There has been some testimony that suggests a political realignment took place on the Richmond School Board in 1972. This was about the same time that the new Superintendent was appointed to office by the school board, and Rev. Miles Jones was appointed as Chairman of the Richmond School Board. It is common knowledge in the Richmond Public School System that Dr. Little was the second choice of the school board for Superintendent. The position was first offered a black administrator who had just accepted a

position with another school system. Yet, Dr. Little was a strong candidate for the position of Superintendent as he had functioned as Associate Superintendent and had headed up the business services of the Richmond Public Schools for about twenty years. He had also prepared the pupil assignment plan and bussing plan that was finally accepted by Judge Robert Merhige to accomplish the desegregation of the Richmond Public Schools. Dr. Little was, foremost, a politician. He viewed his appointment as Superintendent as a transitional phase in the Richmond Public Schools affairs between white and black control. Consequently, he realized the white and black factions on the Richmond School Board and attempted to hold the factions together in work toward common goals. He openly sought to prevent a division between the white and blacks on the Richmond School Board for fear of what a division would accomplish in the Richmond Public School and community. Shortly after his election as Superintendent, he recommended that the Richmond School Board state as a common goal, "Quality in fully integrated education." It was in the spirit of this board consensus that the decision was made to remove any inequities from any phase of the Richmond Public

schools that was based upon racial considerations. It was in this environment that the Richmond School Board discussed quality education for all students of Richmond regardless of race. Top officials in the Richmond Public Schools were aware of such conversations and when the policy was revised for recommendation to the Richmond School Board, the thinking of board members was reflected in the recommended policy statement. Input was also secured from the CEPS group, but the primary actor in this policy consideration was the Richmond School Board. Dr. Rondle Edwards and the Pupil Personnel Services of the Richmond Public Schools provided much of the wording for the section of the policy concerned with services for special children.

5.21 Local Community Structure: The period during which this policy evolved in the Richmond Public School System was an unsettled period both in the Richmond Public School System and in the Richmond community. Desegregation orders were affecting the Richmond Public Schools and diminishing public support for schools in the community. The Richmond Public Schools administration was observed to be in transition between white and black control. The student enrollment was on the decline in Richmond as many middle class and affluent citizens relocated outside the city to escape sending their

children to desegregated schools. The remaining population, both in the school system and the city, grew in the proportion of blacks to whites. Public support of public schools in Richmond declined during this period, but one biracial group (CEPS) sought to make recommendations to the school system and help restore confidence. This was a period when participation in Parent-Teacher Associations almost totally ended as neighborhood schools became a thing of the past as desegregation and bussing took effect. Old coalitions of parents and citizens that had once assumed pride in the public schools rejected them. The only white parents that gradually became more concerned about the schools during this period were often white parents who found their sons and daughters being bused across the city to formerly black schools. Parents were shocked at how ill-equipped these schools appeared, and demanded that something be done to improve the school system and instruction. Aside from professional blacks, there was little reaction from the black community to conditions of the Richmond Public Schools. White political groups, such as the Team of Progress (TOP), retained political control in the city, but the old power factions adopted a policy of "benign neglect" concerning the Richmond Public Schools.

Table 16

Instruction Policy Cross-Index Verification by Actors and Footnote Number

	Actors													
	School Admin.	L. D. Adams	Tom Little	Ron Edwards	Ed Cooke	R. Hildrup	School Board	Miles Jones	L. Wooldridge	W. Edwards	R. Swartzchild	CEPS	Times-Dispatch	News-Leader
1. Court Desegregation Order		292	293			294								
2. Reading Scores of Richmond Public School's Students Declined Citywide.	269	271 296		297	298	295							269	270
3. Richmond School Board acknowledged historic inequities that existed between city schools		274 275	303				273 276 304	299	300		302			
4. CEPS made recommendations for improvement of instructional programs in Richmond Schools.				308		307						277 278		

Table 16--Continued

	Actors													
	School Admin.	L. D. Adams	Tom Little	Ron Edwards	Ed Cooke	R. Hildrup	School Board	Miles Jones	L. Wooldridge	W. Edwards	R. Swartzchild	CEPS	Times-Dispatch	News-Leader
5. Leadership change of Richmond Public Schools and School Board			282 283 284 285 309		311		279 280	310						
6. Richmond School Board pioneered release of reading scores to newspapers and community calls for improved instruction	287	286					288 290			312			313	289

Attempts were not made during this period by such groups in attempting to improve the schools. The most critical voices of the Richmond School System during this time came from the Richmond City Council and the Richmond newspapers which both represented the business community. One of the few positive voices raised in support of the Richmond schools came from the CEPS group.

- 5.31 Stakeholders in Policy-Making: The primary stakeholders in this policy arena who were able to exert an influence on policy-making during this period were a few top school administrators in the persons of Drs. Tyler, Edwards, Pinkney and Little and the Richmond School Board. The Citizens for Excellent Public Schools (CEPS) also offered some related recommendations concerning instruction during this time. Directors, Principals, Teachers, and students were not important as actors in this policy arena during the early 1970's.

SUMMARY

This policy history, concerned with "Instruction," verified a number of influences and variables that were occurring either external or internal to the Richmond Public School System. The variables identified and supported through documentation or through the testimony

of actors apparently affected development of the policy. The court-ordered desegregation of the Richmond Public School System, in April, 1970, had immediate and long range effects upon the Richmond Public Schools. The court order hastened the exodus of affluent white tax payers to the suburbs and in the process changed the orientation of the Richmond School System from a system serving primarily middle class children to one serving children from lower socioeconomic classes. Clearly, this was an external influence to the Richmond School Board policy. A second variable that affected development of this policy, was a lower socioeconomic class of students served by the school system and lowered reading achievement test scores. This variable was an internal influence to development of the policy. A third variable affecting development of the policy was the Richmond School Board acknowledging past effects of a dual school system that resulted in basic inequities between the black and white schools of former years. This acknowledgement occurred in the environment of desegregation of the school system and testimony about the same in U.S. District Court. It was also a time when black influence in both the Richmond School Board and school administrative positions was on the increase. This variable that influenced policy was an internal influence to the school system in terms of an increasing number of blacks on the school board. The variable was also an external influence upon policy in terms of the court integration order that established the climate for change. Recommendations that were

made by the citizens study group, Citizens for Excellent Public Schools, represented a fourth variable upon development of the policy concerned with "Instruction." The CEPS study group was concerned with re-establishing public support for public education in Richmond in the climate of the Richmond business community having lost confidence in the school system. The Richmond Public School System was receptive to the recommendations of CEPS since confidence needed to be re-established in order that further cuts in Richmond Public School finances would not materialize. CEPS and the recommendations issuing forth from this group was an external influence to the development of this policy. A fifth variable in the development of the policy was the change of leadership positions in the Richmond Public School System that occurred during 1972. A new Superintendent and School Board Chairman in the persons of Drs. Thomas Little and Miles Jones were named. There was a consensus among these two men and among the majority of Richmond School Board members that educational offerings in the Richmond system needed to be equalized for both the black and white child. This goal which was passed by Board resolution was certainly influential in development of the policy. This variable was primarily an internal influence to the Richmond Public School System and the policy. A sixth variable that impacted upon the development of policy was the Board decision to release reading achievement scores to area newspapers. This decision set in motion forces in the community that resulted in newspaper editorials calling upon the new leadership team of Dr. Thomas Little and Rev. Miles Jones to improve

reading and the entire general instructional program of the Richmond Public School System. The decision to release scores was made internal to the school system, but was based upon the external variable of a particular newspaper continuing to request the release of such scores over a period of years. The policy, entitled "Instruction," was finally adopted in 1973.

POLICY HISTORY

Policy Statement: Equal Opportunity Employer

The School Board of the City of Richmond is an equal opportunity employer. The administration is directed to take positive steps to secure qualified applicants from members of minority groups and women for positions at all levels of employment.

(Adopted: August 17, 1972)

Environment of Policy

A number of influences were operational within the environment surrounding development of the Richmond Public School System personnel policy, titled "Equal Opportunity Employer." These influences included: (a) the court-ordered integration of the Richmond Public Schools that established racial ratios of faculty members in schools, (b) federal funding projects requiring "equal opportunity" considerations in staffing and the populations served by such programs, (c) an increasing awareness of Richmond School Board members concerning the inequities existing among white and black administrators employed by the Richmond Public School System, and (d) a change in the leadership of the Richmond Public Schools during 1972.

The first environmental influence that had implications for development of the Richmond School Board policy, entitled "Equal

Opportunity Employer," was U.S. District Judge Robert R. Merhige's order directing Richmond to integrate its school system both in terms of students and teachers by means of bussing and special location assignments. The desegregation order specified teachers assignments to city schools on the basis of a 50:50 racial ratio assignment. This order also focused renewed attention on staffing standards and the type persons that should be hired to fill other positions. Additional details concerning this variable are included in the policy history, entitled "Pupil Transportation--Environment of Policy."

A second environmental influence that had implications for development of the Richmond School Board policy entitled "Equal Opportunity Employer," was that of federal funding projects requiring "equal opportunity" considerations in staffing and the populations served by such programs. Many of these federal programs were designed to serve disadvantaged student populations and Richmond with a growing proportion of lower socio-economic students received significant sums of monies from these federal programs. It was to the advantage of Richmond Public Schools to adhere closely to the specifications and regulations of the various federally-funded educational programs. Many of these federal program requirements mandating "equal opportunity" staffing standards had their origin in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 had its roots in the Supreme Court decision of

May 17, 1954, in the case of Brown versus Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas. Several primary sources indicated this existing relationship between Brown versus Board of Education, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and "equal opportunity" considerations in employment. One source indicated:³¹⁴

The decision (Brown) had the indirect effect of touching off a dramatic nationwide struggle--much of it violent on both sides--for racial equality in areas beyond education, the most important being housing, employment, and suffrage. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 . . . marked subsequent victories in what amounted to a revolution in U.S. race relations.

A noted contemporary news columnist verified these same relationships. James J. Kilpatrick wrote:³¹⁵

By that (Brown) opinion, the court . . . set in motion the dammed-up moral and political forces that would produce a social and legal revolution. Everything flowed from Brown. The decision led to the Civil Rights Act . . . and to equal opportunities at law in housing and employment.

A chief implementation tool that was used by the Federal Government in the past several decades to effect the intent of national legislation, such as the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, was a requirement of certain program specifications before

³¹⁴"School Desegregation Decision," Readers Digest and Yearbook 1973, W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., p. 541.

³¹⁵James J. Kilpatrick, "Court's Brown Decision Still Bad," Daily Times-News, Burlington, North Carolina, January 8, 1976.

funds were granted. Through this means, "equal opportunity" provisions of federal programs for Richmond Public Schools set precedent for hiring practices and informal personnel policy in the school system.

An increased awareness of Richmond School Board members concerning the inequities existing among white and black administrators employed by the Richmond Public School System was a third environmental influence that had implications for the Richmond Public School System policy. This awareness occurred as a result of testimony that occurred in the desegregation case. The awareness was heightened by commentary criticizing employment practices in the Richmond Public School System. Such commentary occurred both in the community and in the Richmond Public School System. During May 1971, the Richmond Chapter of the NAACP termed "shocking" the inequity of blacks and whites in top Richmond school administrative positions.³¹⁶ Chairman Crockford, of the Richmond School Board, had earlier supported the view that it was desirable to have additional blacks in the Richmond Public School System administrative and supervisory positions.³¹⁷ Two months later, in July 1971, Richmond School Board member Linwood Wooldridge called

³¹⁶Afro-American [Richmond, Virginia], May 8, 1971.

³¹⁷Ibid.

for a more equitable racial balance in school administrative positions.³¹⁸ This changing perception of what constituted proper racial ratios of administrators in the Richmond Public School System became more widespread among members of the Board during late 1971 and 1972.

The fourth environmental influence that had implications for development of the Richmond School Board policy, entitled "Equal Opportunity Employer," was the changes in leadership of the Richmond Public School Board and administration during 1972. The changes, within a two week period, of both the Superintendent and Chairman of the Richmond School Board caused a re-focusing of school system priorities, including recruitment practices. Three weeks later, newly appointed Superintendent Little informed the Richmond School Board that the inequity of black-white appointments to administrative-supervisory positions was in the process of being corrected.³¹⁹ Two months after Drs. Thomas Little and Miles Jones were appointed to their positions, several new personnel policies were adopted by the Richmond School Board to emphasize a new emphasis in personnel recruitment for the Richmond Public Schools.³²⁰

³¹⁸Afro-American [Richmond, Virginia], July 10, 1971.

³¹⁹Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, July 20, 1972.

³²⁰Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, August 17, 1972.

The policy, titled "Equal Opportunity Employer," was adopted by the Richmond School Board on August 17, 1972. Two years after this policy was adopted to provide a new priority to hiring practices in the Richmond School System, the long-term white Assistant Superintendent of Personnel, Dr. Francis Sisson, was given an early retirement and a black administrator was hired to replace him.

Identified Policy Variables

Variables associated with the Richmond School Board policy, "Equal Opportunity Employer," have been listed below:

1. The court integration order (April 1, 1970) hastened the desegregation of the Richmond Public Schools and established racial ratios (50:50) of faculty members in the public schools. Court ordered desegregation of the Richmond Public Schools, in terms of both student and teacher populations, produced a realignment of political interest groups and influence patterns in the Richmond Public School System. The outcome was a direct influence on the evolution and development of the policy, "Equal Opportunity Employer," that was adopted by the Richmond School Board on August 17, 1972.

Lucien Adams verified that the court order mandating the integration of the city schools had a major impact on considerations

of "equal opportunity" inside the school system and on the development of policy. Adams suggested:³²¹

Court action had as much to do with this ("Equal Opportunity Employer") policy as anything else both nationally and locally. The findings in the Richmond case brought "equal opportunity" to focus and had a great deal to do with getting that (policy) statement.

Thomas Little verified the influence of the court order on development on this policy. Little indicated:³²²

The year 1972 was a period of great awareness on the part of local minorities, for "equal opportunity" not only in employment, but in anything else. We were going through our desegregation suits at that time. The court order on its own ensured that there be no reduction in the employment of blacks and that they would have an "equal opportunity." So the whole atmosphere of public opinion was an outside influence. With . . . those factors operating, they were bound to influence (the) general perceptions of those persons in the school system.

Roy Puckett, a former Administrative Assistant to both superintendents Adams and Little, verified that the court order mandated certain personnel assignment changes in the Richmond Public School System. Puckett, during the period of the desegregation court case, served as a liaison person for the Richmond Public Schools in contacts with the Merhige court. Puckett said:³²³

³²¹Statement by Lucien D. Adams, former Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 19, 1975.

³²²Statement by Dr. Thomas Little, former superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 8, 1975.

³²³Statement by Roy Puckett, former Administrative Assistant to Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 26, 1975.

Plan III came out of a court order directive in the case of Bradley versus the Richmond School Board. This case directed that 50 percent of the teachers (in each Richmond school) should be white and 50 percent should be black. This only affected the teachers, not the administrators. The court did not expect a sudden change of administrative heads.

Dr. James Tyler, a former Assistant Superintendent with the Richmond schools and present Associate Superintendent, suggested that the incidents that were most critical in making the Richmond School Board aware of the need for the policy were integration of the school system and court ordered assignment of teachers.³²⁴ The Director of Public Information for the Richmond Public Schools, Robert Hildrup, verified the importance of contributing incidents on the policy that were suggested by both Roy Puckett and Dr. James Tyler. Hildrup indicated:³²⁵

The "equal opportunity" (policy) was given emphasis by our earlier being caught up in the desegregation The court had made quite clear that equality and opportunity was part of its order, not only as children were involved, but also as staff were involved.

³²⁴Statement by Dr. James Tyler, Associate Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, April 29, 1975.

³²⁵Statement by Robert Hildrup, Director of Public Information, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, April 29, 1975.

The court order mandating personnel changes in the Richmond Public Schools affected the perceptions of the Richmond School Board in recruitment practices. One white board member, Richard Schwartzchild, described the effect of the Merhige court order. He said:³²⁶

Because of the (court ordered) ratio in the schools, we had to definitely recruit a certain number of black teachers whether they were fully qualified or not. We just had to have a ratio (in each school). I think its unfortunate. I think we ought to get the best in the way of teachers and administrators regardless of whether they are black or white.

Rondle Edwards, a Richmond native and former Guidance Counselor who was named the first black Assistant Superintendent in the Richmond Public Schools, described the climate surrounding this policy area. Dr. Edwards indicated:³²⁷

I believe we had a clear mandate from the . . . court for integration of pupils and staffs. One incident critical to the development of this policy was there had been considerable change in our racial population and that dictated we should move more rapidly toward an adjustment of staff ratios.

The changing personnel orientation of the Richmond Public Schools apparently was a significant variable in the decision to include a policy about "Equal Opportunity Employer" in the school system manual. The Merhige court order mandating personnel assignments to schools based on a definite ratio system changed the existing personnel hiring and assignment practices in the Richmond Public

³²⁶Statement by Richard Swartzchild, member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 25, 1975.

³²⁷Statement by Dr. Rondle Edwards, Assistant Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 2, 1975.

School System. There were also other variables that apparently contributed to development of the policy, titled "Equal Opportunity Employer."

2. Federal program requirements specified that "equal opportunity," as a staffing consideration, be included in programs funded to serve the students in Richmond Public Schools.

A number of provisions designed to provide "equal opportunity" were component parts of such legislation as the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act.³²⁸ One method that the Federal Government used to enforce "equal opportunity" provisions of such legislation was through the administration of federal funding specifications for related programs in states and public school systems across the nation. This influence that was impacting on the Richmond Public School System was identified by a number of actors.

Lucien Adams indicated:³²⁹

³²⁸James J. Kilpatrick, "Courts Brown Decision Still Bad," Daily Times-News, Burlington, North Carolina, January 8, 1976.

³²⁹Adams, loc. cit.

All your federal projects brought to your attention that you must be doing this ("Equal Opportunity"). You signed for it every time you signed a project. All of those things bring it to your attention forcefully.

Thomas Little verified the influence of federal regulations on development of the equal opportunity employer policy. Dr. Little suggested:³³⁰

"Equal Opportunity Employer" was being pushed at us from numerous federal regulations and actions. I don't think equal opportunity laws were in effect in 1972, but (they) were shortly thereafter, and the handwriting was clearly on the wall from a national point of view.

Assistant Superintendent Edward Cooke verified the accounts of both Adams and Little. Dr. Cooke said:³³¹

The school board had to do things in order to qualify for certain grants, to comply with the Civil Rights Act that had been passed by Congress. Some memoranda from the Civil Rights office in Washington did come down, but it was not directed toward Richmond. It was of a general nature. This (policy) was a stop-gap measure that was taken to head off direct action.

Robert Hildrup also verified the influence of federal actions on development of this policy by the Richmond Public School System. Hildrup suggested:³³²

³³⁰Little, loc. cit.

³³¹Statement by Dr. Edward Cooke, Assistant Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 2, 1975.

³³²Hildrup, loc. cit.

I am sure that this ("Equal Opportunity Employer" policy) is a direct result of equal opportunity actions on the part of the Federal Government. We are frequently asked what our policy states about this (Equal Opportunity) or do we have a non-discriminatory statement.

Two other administrators of the Richmond Public School System verified that federal program requirements and regulations were significant in development of the policy. Dr. Francis Sission, a former Assistant Superintendent of Personnel, indicated:

" . . . various government regulations required . . . school systems . . . to begin saying they were equal opportunity employers."³³³ Dr. H. B. Pinkney, a former Director of Personnel and present Assistant Superintendent, suggested: "I would . . . attribute it to the fact that we are deeply involved with federal funds. Such use of funds requires "equal opportunity" for all (personnel considerations)."³³⁴

Federal program requirements specified that "equal opportunity", as a staffing consideration, be included in programs funded to serve the students in Richmond Public Schools. These requirements produced changed perceptions among administrative

³³³Statement by Dr. Francis Sission, Former Assistant Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 21, 1975.

³³⁴Statement by Dr. H. B. Pinkney, Assistant Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 16, 1975.

personnel in the Richmond Public School System and contributed to the recommendation that was eventually made to the Richmond School Board concerning policy for this impact area. There were also other variables that influenced development of the policy, entitled "Equal Opportunity Employer."

3. Awareness increased among members of the Richmond School Board that employment inequities existed in the proportions of black and white administrators in the Richmond Public School System.

The composition of the Richmond School Board changed during the late 1960's as black membership increased to three members, of the seven member board, by 1970. A number of these black members were articulate and openly expressed their conviction that increased black consideration was needed in the Richmond Public Schools. Over a period of years, coupled with the desegregation case and specifications related to federal program funding, a consensus gradually began to emerge among members of the Richmond School Board that employment inequities existed in the proportion of black and white administrators in the Richmond Public School System.

One black member of the Richmond School Board, Linwood Wooldridge, described the incidents leading to the dialogue among

Board members about "equal opportunity" considerations. Wooldridge indicated:³³⁵

I challenged recruitment practices and equal opportunity practices when I came on the Board. I asked for research on these areas time and again. I kept making these issues public to the point, I suppose, that I became a problem to some people. The Board found it necessary to support me on these issues. . . . this was a unanimous vote of all Board members. The administration was mandated by the Board to come up with a better presentation on paper of equal opportunity practices and recruitment of personnel. I take principal credit for this policy. I thought there should be a proper mix of personnel and I brought this observation before the Board.

Wooldridge supported his arguments in public and before the Richmond School Board with results of one report that he asked the school administration to conduct. Among other findings, the report indicated that:³³⁶

. . . we had about 80 percent female (employees) in the system, but we had about one percent of female administrators. We had 60 plus percent of blacks in the system, but had zero percent of (school system) administrators above the principal level.

Supported with these statistics in a school system with a predominantly black enrollment of students, Wooldridge had a strong influence on this issue.

Another black member of the Richmond School Board who was chosen Chairman in 1972, Rev. Miles Jones, verified that perceptions

³³⁵Statement by Linwood Wooldridge, member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 19, 1975.

³³⁶Ibid.

of Board members were changing on personnel practices in the Richmond Public School System and alluded to the strength of the black argument in this matter. Dr. Jones suggested:³³⁷

We discovered that there was a kind of closed hierarchy at the top of the administrative structure that was not actively seeking to identify supportive personnel for advancement. The evidence around the country that black administrators were greatly needed to identify with more of the systems alerted us to the fact that we said we ought to be identifying some of these people in our system. We did not see any mechanism formulated that could be indentified as effective in encouraging persons to aspire toward higher positions. We felt that there were some very definite racist tendencies in the matter of promotions and one of the ways to deal with it, we felt, was to encourage the personnel department to adopt a more vigorous approach in identifying persons whether inside or outside the system who could make a contribution to the administration of the system. I also recall that my concern was for development of a personnel procedure. I wanted an objective procedure, not just to give these persons a promotion and let the whole thing die again. I also felt that our personnel department needed to be revised in functions to get some of these things done. The black Board members were very concerned about the "equal opportunity" policy. This is not to say that the white members were not concerned, but this was more of a priority concern for black members. I can recall that some of the other board members joined in the expression with regard to developing a mechanism that would be fair for all persons as we moved along.

As evidence amassed that there were "racist" tendencies in hiring and promotinn practices within the Richmond Public School System, as suggested by Rev. Jones, other Board members shifted their positions on this matter. One white Board member who joined in the

³³⁷Statement by Rev. Miles Jones, Chairman, Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 15, 1975.

expression to develop an improved personnel mechanism and policy was William Edwards, a university administrator.

Edwards described the changing dialogue among Board members concerning personnel practices within the Richmond Public School System. He verified the black articulation of the personnel issue and the view that more opportunities needed to be created for advancement. Edwards said:³³⁸

It was a period in which there was more intense scrutiny on the part of Alice Calloway (a black Board member) and when Linwood Wooldridge came on the Board. I don't recall Miles Jones having a lot to say about supervisory and principalship jobs, but Alice was very vocal on this. Alice has been in this type of struggle much of her adult life (she had initiated other court actions in Richmond to win blacks the right to swim in the formerly white Byrd Park Lake and the city tennis courts. One beneficiary was the tennis star Arthur Ashe). Alice and Linwood said they were both shocked that there were so few blacks in administrative positions within the school system. Even after integration in 1970-71, there were fewer black principals in Richmond than there were before integration. Board members were also aware of a feeling among blacks in the school system that there needed to be more opportunities created for advancement.

Both Lucien D. Adams, a former Superintendent, and Linwood Wooldridge, a member of the Richmond School Board, described the emerging Board consensus that the Richmond Public Schools needed to be more of an "equal opportunity" employer and also

³³⁸Statement by William Edwards, member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 25, 1975.

promote more blacks into leadership positions. Adams suggested:³³⁹

It was a consensus of most members of the (Richmond) school board that we ought to seek out and get them (blacks) in positions of importance. It was started at this time.

Wooldridge verified Adams' statements and provided further elaboration. He indicated:³⁴⁰

The feeling of the Board was that we needed to be more of an "equal opportunity" employer. We (blacks) mandated that since the (school) system was 70 percent black, we wanted at least 50 percent administrative personnel who were black.

The testimony of major actors associated with consideration and development of the policy revealed that the increase of awareness among members of the Richmond School Board resulted from inequities in the proportions of black and white administrators in the Richmond Public School System. This change in perception of Board members, concerning employment practices in the Richmond Public School System, was a significant variable in development of the equal opportunity employer policy. There was, however, another contributing variable to development of this policy.

³³⁹Statement by Lucien D. Adams, former Superintendent, Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 19, 1975.

³⁴⁰Wooldridge, loc. cit.

4. The leadership of the Richmond Public School System changed during July 1972, with the appointment of a new Superintendent, and the selection of a new Board Chairman.

The change of leadership in the Richmond Public School System produced a change of priorities in administrative recruitment and promotional practices. The new Superintendent, Thomas Little, and the new Board Chairman, Miles Jones, were in agreement that additional blacks should be promoted to positions of administrative responsibility.

There was testimony that alluded to the possibility that Adams was not as amenable as Little to the Richmond School Board suggestion of hiring more blacks for administrative positions and establishing employment ratios based on racial considerations:³⁴¹ A former top administrator in the Richmond Public School System alluded to the possibility that Adams' lack of willingness to do "the Board's will" was responsible for his early retirement from the Superintendency and his being replaced with Dr. Little who was more willing to administer certain changes. This anonymous source suggested:³⁴²

³⁴¹Edwards, William, loc. cit.

³⁴²Anonymous, member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 25, 1975.

I believe that Mr. Adams' retirement, Mrs. Crockford's (former Board Chairman) retirement from the Board, Rev. Jones appointment and Dr. Little's appointment at that time was a political move that took place in the school board itself at that time. As a result (of this change in leadership) Dr. Little began to pull out of the schools those persons who had the greatest potential and give them positions of leadership. More blacks were being placed in assistant principal roles for training. As positions became available, these persons were promoted.

Dr. Little acknowledged that he was aware of the Richmond School Board's desire to have more black appointments to leadership positions. Little said:³⁴³

. . . at this time, we had a strong minority representation on the school board. I had sensed from their questions that we had damn-well better include something on equal opportunity in our Rules and Regulations.

One white board member, Richard Schwartzchild, alluded to the change in the power coalition on the Richmond School Board that resulted in personnel practices and operational policies being changed. Schwartzchild suggested:³⁴⁴

We have succumbed to the pressures of the black majority in the (Richmond) school system. I'm positive that this succumbing of Board members to pressures from within the school system is what brought about this policy on personnel. This pressure came from personnel within the system The

³⁴³Statement by Dr. Thomas Little, former Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 8, 1975.

³⁴⁴Swartzchild, loc. cit.

Superintendent (Dr. Thomas Little) said he felt he was obligated to increase the number of black teachers and administrators when the vacancies occurred.

Dr. H. B. Pinkney, an Assistant Superintendent, suggested his awareness of the same influences acknowledged by Schwartzchild. Pinkney said:³⁴⁵

I came with the school system in March, 1972. There were some pressures at this time coming from . . . black school board members to possibly prompt such policies. I would attribute the policy on "equal opportunity" to the large majority of minority members who comprise the school system. The . . . fact that they are there mandates this policy.

Associate Superintendent Dr. James Tyler acknowledged that the Richmond School Board worded this policy and alluded to the possibility that there may have been some hidden influence to make such a policy from minority employees in the school system. Tyler indicated also that the change of top leadership in the school system had an influence on the policy. He suggested:³⁴⁶

The (Richmond) school board itself worded and expressed the policy, "Equal Opportunity Employer." There may have been some hidden prodding . . . (from personnel within the system). I think that the school board believed that this was a right policy and insisted that it be included in the "Rules and Regulations." Integration, assignment of teachers and the change in leadership of the school system all prompted an increased awareness of the need for this policy.

³⁴⁵Pinkney, loc. cit.

³⁴⁶Statement by Dr. James Tyler, Associate Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, April 29, 1975.

One other administrator, Assistant Superintendent Dr. Edward Cooke verified that the change in the Superintendency was important in bringing the policy consideration to the fore-front.³⁴⁷ Dr. Cooke viewed some of the deliberations concerning this area of policy from the perspective of Assistant Superintendent and Board Clerk after Dr. Thomas Little was appointed Superintendent. Although the consultant firm of Blucher Associates, Inc. was in the process of making recommendations for revision in the "Rules and Regulations" during this period, Cooke indicated that the policy entitled "Equal Opportunity Employer" was not a result of Blucher Associates, Inc.³⁴⁸

There was ample evidence from the testimony of actors that an important variable in development of the Equal Opportunity Employer policy was the change that occurred in the leadership of the Richmond Public School System during June 1972. Apparently, the administration of Superintendent Little was more amenable to instituting changes in personnel operational policies than was the administration of Little's predecessor, Lucien Adams. The administration of Dr. Little was viewed as a transition administration from predominantly white control to black control. ³⁴⁹ The Little

³⁴⁷Cooke, loc. cit.

³⁴⁸Ibid.

³⁴⁹Little, loc. cit.

administration promoted more blacks to central office administrative positions. Personnel hiring practices were accomplished in terms of both competence and racial proportions. Although the policy concerning "Equal Opportunity Employer" was adopted in 1972, the policy represented the beginning of a personnel trend that continued through the middle 1970's and the appointment of the first black Superintendent in the Twentieth Century. Dr. Richard C. Hunter, a black, was appointed Superintendent of the Richmond Public Schools on December 18, 1975.³⁵⁰ The trend, related to personnel operational practices, that was started in the early 1970's completed the cycle.

RELATIONSHIP OF POLICY VARIABLES

Sequence of Variables (by incident)

Most of the identified variables that were associated with development of this policy began about 1970 and continued into the first few years of that decade. The order of occurrence among these variables was as follows:

1. The court desegregation order of April, 1970, established staff ratios of 50:50 in Richmond Public Schools using a racial

³⁵⁰ Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], December 19, 1975.

context. The court order was a prime ingredient in changing the focus of personnel policies and practices in Richmond to hiring professional personnel on the basis of race.

2. Federal program requirements specified that "equal opportunity," as a staffing consideration, be included in programs funded to serve the students in Richmond Public Schools. These program requirements grew out of the Brown decision and the later Civil Rights Act of 1964. Richmond, during this period, had a growing proportion of lower socio-economic students. Consequently, the Richmond Public Schools had greater eligibility for federal funds as instructional monies from local sources became more difficult to secure. It was to the advantage of the Richmond Public Schools to adhere closely to the specifications and regulations of the various federally-funded educational programs.

3. Awareness increased among members of the Richmond School Board that staff employment inequities existed in the proportions of black and white administrators in the Richmond Public Schools. These staff inequities were widely known, but not publicly acknowledged prior to 1970. Factors that contributed to this growing awareness of staff inequities included testimony in the desegregation case, a larger number of black Board members and a majority of blacks in the school system teaching ranks.

Table 17

A Flow Chart of Personnel Policy Variables by Order of Incident

Date	Incident Flow	Narrative
April 1970	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Court Desegregation Order with staff ratios in schools </div>	Court desegregation order mandates 50:50 black-white staff ratios in Richmond schools
1964-76	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Federal Programs mandate equal opportunity </div>	Federal Program requirements mandate "Equal-opportunity" in Fed. Prog. staffing considerations.
1970-73	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> School Bd. acknowledged staff inequities in administrative positions </div>	Richmond School Board acknowledges staff inequities in admin. positions between blacks and whites
June 1972	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> School System Leadership change focused attention on personnel practices </div>	Leadership change in Richmond schools top administration and chairman of Richmond School Bd. changes focus of personnel employment practices.

4. A change in the leadership of the Richmond Public School System occurred during June 1972, with the appointment of a new Superintendent and the election of a new Chairman of the Richmond School Board. It was during this period that the school administration and Richmond School Board announced a commitment to quality in fully integrated education. The new Superintendent viewed his role as that of a white transitional Superintendent to black control and consequently hired and staffed school leadership positions on that basis.

Sequence of Variables (by actors)

The order of actors' influence on the incidents leading to development of this policy statement was as follows:

1. Judge Robert Merhige (U.S. District Court, Richmond, Virginia) was a major actor in events leading to development of the policy. It was his decision during April, 1970, that led to desegregation of the Richmond Public School System by means of court-ordered bussing. His decision was based upon judicial precedent in a number of cases since Brown. Judge Merhige, together with "Plan III" also ordered staff desegregation among the various schools in Richmond. Staff ratios of 50:50 black and white teachers in each Richmond school was mandated by court order. Prior to this court order in 1970, teachers were assigned to teach in schools on the basis of administrative discretion. This court order, by Judge Merhige, was a prime incident in changing the

focus of personnel policies and practices in Richmond to hiring professional personnel on the basis of race.

2. Federal bureaucrats who administered federally-funded programs in the U.S. Office of Education were indirect actors in incidents leading to development of the Richmond School Board policy, entitled "Equal Opportunity." Richmond had a high proportion of students from low socio-economic families and consequently had a higher eligibility for federal educational monies than was true of most school systems. It was to the advantage of the Richmond Public Schools to adhere closely to the specifications and regulations of the various federally-funded educational programs. This was a variable that influenced development of the policy concerning equal opportunity by the Richmond School Board.

3. The Richmond School Board was a major actor in incidents leading to development of the policy, entitled "Equal Opportunity Employer." As the board increased in black membership, it was noted that central office black administrators in the Richmond Public School System did not exist in numbers proportional to the percentage of blacks in the ranks of teachers in the city. Prior to 1970, all Assistant Superintendents in the Richmond Public School System were white. These staff inequities were widely known, but not publicly acknowledged prior to 1970. Factors that contributed to this growing awareness of staff inequities included:

(a) testimony given in the Richmond desegregation case, (b) an increasing membership of blacks occupying seats on the Richmond School Board, and (c) a majority of blacks in the school system teaching ranks.

4. Dr. Thomas Little and Rev. Miles Jones were primary actors in the incidents leading to development of this policy. Both persons assumed major leadership positions with the Richmond Public School System during June 1972. Little was appointed the new Superintendent of Richmond Public Schools. Previously, Dr. Little had served as Associate Superintendent of the Richmond Public Schools and was largely responsible for the pupil assignment plan that was eventually adopted by Judge Robert Merhige to hasten desegregation in Richmond. The previous Superintendent, Lucien D. Adams, had not moved rapidly to equalize staff positions in terms of racial ratios. Thomas Little, the new Superintendent, immediately set as a priority that of bringing additional black administrators into the ranks of central school administration and he established an administrative in-service training program as a means of identifying blacks to promote to higher levels of responsibility in the school system. The new school board chairman, Rev. Miles Jones, was the former Vice-Chairman of the Richmond School Board. He was one of the three blacks on the seven member Richmond School Board. He was a strong influence in articulating the moral obligation of the school board to remove the inequities and injustices of the past from the Richmond Public Schools and begin

Table 18

A Flow Chart of Personnel Policy Variables by Influence of Actors

Date	Actor Influence Flow	Narrative
April 1970	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Judge Merhige Orders Desegre- gation of Schools and Staffs </div>	Judge Robert Merhige orders desegregation of Richmond schools including students and teachers.
1954-73	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Outside Actors Enforce Concept of Equal Oppor- tunity Through Court Decisions and Legislation </div>	Warren Ct., Congressmen, and Federal Bureaucrats enforce concept of "equal opportunity" in legal decisions and federal programs, with money grants.
1970-73	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> School Board Acknowledged Employment In- equities Between Blacks and Whites </div>	Richmond School Board acknowledges employment inequities between blacks-white as more blacks become board members.
June 1972	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> School System Leadership Change Focused Attention on Personnel (Little & Jones) </div>	Dr. Little (Supt.) and Rev. Jones (Bd. Chairman) assume leadership positions and help change focus of school system in personnel practices.

anew to build a public school system in Richmond based upon fairness and equality for all employees. Rev. Jones was supported in this effort by the other black members on the Richmond School Board and eventually by a board majority. The majority supported the programs recommended by Little for accomplishing this task. The result of the efforts of these two primary actors, coupled with the support of other members of the Richmond School Board, resulted eventually in a statement of policy regarding "Equal Opportunity Employer," that was adopted.

CONTRIBUTION OF VARIABLES TO POLICY-FORM

Policy-Type

1. The policy-type of the formal statement, "Equal Opportunity Employer," seemed to best-fit the characteristics associated with the political mode because the school system was attempting to reach a settlement with its environment. The following observations were made:

- 1.31 The court desegregation order did much to change the balance of political power both within the city of Richmond and inside the Richmond Public School System. The court decision was a hint of things to come. The court order mandated staff ratios in each school based upon a 50:50 racial quota.

- 1.32 Minority employees of the Richmond School System began to articulate their frustration with the inequality of promotional opportunities to administrative positions in the Richmond Public Schools Administrative Offices. Although principalships and supervisory positions were fairly well balanced during the early 1970's, there was only one black in the central offices who held the rank of Assistant Superintendent. These concerns were openly expressed to black members of the Richmond School Board and it also became their concern.
- 1.33 Federal programs required a staffing standard based upon considerations of "Equal Opportunity" and the school administration agreed to these conditions with the signing of each federal programs application.
- 1.34 A major leadership change occurred in the Richmond Public School System during June 1972. The new Superintendent, Dr. Little, expressed a concern to the Richmond School Board that administrative positions should be staffed on the basis of ability and appointment of more blacks to leadership positions. He also stressed that an affirmative action program should begin to locate more blacks for leadership positions in the Richmond Public School System, and

a leadership training program was started in the Richmond Public School System. Dr. Little's concerns were also the concerns of black school board members. The Superintendent prior to Dr. Little, Lucien D. Adams, did not actively begin an affirmative action program in personnel recruitment. One reason Dr. Little decided to start such a recruitment program was to keep the black and white factions of the Richmond School Board working together on common goals. He did not want the Board divided on basic issues.

Conceptual Schemes

2. The conceptual scheme of the formal statement, "Equal Opportunity Employer," seemed to best-fit the characteristics associated with the political mode because the school system was attempting to reach a settlement with its environment. The following observations were made:

2.31 The actors in this policy arena included Judge Robert Merhige as a result of the order that desegregated Richmond Schools and set staff ratios by race. Federal Bureaucrats were indirect actors in this policy arena because guidelines concerning "equal opportunity" in staff hiring practices were a requirement of each program financed by federal monies

that were used in Richmond. These guidelines were based in the language and provisions of the Civil Rights Act. The Richmond School Board was an actor in this policy arena as a result of the stated realization that occurred that blacks were not in central administrative positions in balance to white administrators. Dr. Thomas Little and Rev. Miles Jones were actors as they assumed major leadership roles in the Richmond Public School System in 1972. Each was determined to change personnel practices that had operated in the Richmond Public School System in previous years.

- 2.32 The problem was seen as a system that did not seek to identify persons in the Richmond Public School System with leadership potential and the imbalance between white and black administrators in central office positions. There was evidence that white administrators held the vast number of administrative positions above the rank of supervisor. During this period, as an example, there was only one black Assistant Superintendent in the Richmond Public Schools while there were four white administrators that held the rank of Assistant Superintendent or

Superintendent in a school system that was 70 percent black. The majority of Directors positions were also held by white administrators.

2.33 Strategy selection was seen as the issue that had been raised by the circumstances of a system that had not openly developed a personnel strategy to identify capable blacks for promotion to leadership positions. The solution to these issues was an articulate black-white coalition that developed on the Richmond School Board that hired a Superintendent who was willing to change the existing system and develop an in-service training program to identify promising employees for future positions of leadership. The solution also involved removing the existing Assistant Superintendent of Personnel and replacing him with a black Personnel Director to coordinate the activities of the department.

2.34 The action was seen as the gradually emerging school board consensus that the inequality in hiring and promotional practices needed to be corrected. This consensus emerged in the environment of school system desegregation, appointment of additional black members to the Richmond School Board, black student enrollment and a change of leadership in

the Richmond Public School System.

Dimension of Policy

3. The formal policy statement, "Equal Opportunity," within the three dimensions of policy was observed to be broad, non-incremental, both organizational and non-organizational and regulatory. The following observations were made relevant to the three dimensions of policy that have been characterized:

3.11 The policy statement, within the context of the first dimension of policy, was a broad non-incremental policy. The policy as written established precedent in hiring practices of the Richmond Public School System in that the administration was directed to take steps to secure qualified applicants from members of minority groups and women for positions at all levels of employment. Prior to this statement of policy, there was not a similar or related policy in existence.

3.21 Both organizational and non-organizational influences operated in helping to frame the policy concerning "Equal Opportunity Employer." Non-organizational influences included the court ordered staff racial ratios set by Judge Robert Merhige for the Richmond Public School System. Other external influences

included federal program directives mandating "equal opportunity" considerations for school programs operated with federal monies. These directives came from federal bureaucrats operating within the guidelines set by the Civil Rights Act. Organizational actors included the Richmond School Board and the Superintendent of Richmond Public Schools during this period, Dr. Thomas Little.

- 3.31 The policy statement, within the context of the third dimension of policy, was regulatory. The policy directed the school administration to seek out qualified minority applicants and women for all levels of employment. This was an affirmative action policy.

Process Patterns

4. The process patterns involved in making this policy statement included the second (special interest groups) and third (a wide variety of groups, some without a direct interest in the effects of the policy) forms of participation in influencing the policy. The process patterns were described as follows:

- 4.11 The participation of actors in the arena of policy-making, titled "Equal Opportunity Employer," included principally the Richmond School Board and the Superintendent in the Richmond Public Schools and a

variety of external actors including Judge Robert Merhige and federal bureaucrats who enforced the "equal opportunity" provisions of the Civil Rights Act. The role of each actor was described in an earlier section of analysis about this policy.

- 4.21 The level of organizational structures that were involved in this policy arena, from the standpoint of influencing development of this policy included the Richmond School Board, and the Superintendent of the Richmond Public Schools in terms of internal organizational levels. Other school system personnel were not actively involved in formulating this policy. Another public organizational level that contributed to considerations of policy in this area included the U.S. District Court through the Judge Merhige staff integration order. Federal Bureaucrats were representative of yet another organizational level in the influence that was exerted through federally financed educational programs. Equal opportunity staffing considerations were required.

Structure of Influence

5. The structure of influence in evolving the formal policy statement, "Equal Opportunity Employer," involved principally board members and one specialist within the organization. Indirectly, a number of stakeholders both in the Richmond community and occupying federal agency positions were active in this policy arena. The influence of these various stakeholders was designed as follows:

5.11 School Superintendents/Administration/School Board:

The principal internal school system actors in development of this policy were the Richmond School Board and the Superintendent of Richmond Public Schools, Dr. Thomas Little. The Superintendent was minimally active since the policy was articulated and written by a majority coalition on the Richmond School Board that included both blacks and whites. The board was determined to remove inequalities in hiring and promotional practices from the Richmond School System. This had become more of a concern to the Richmond School Board in the environment of desegregation, a growing black enrollment and increased black representation on the school board. The new superintendent supported this action as a means of keeping the white and black board members united on the basic issues of the Richmond Public Schools.

5.21 Local Community Structure: As the school system tended to become increasingly black, the leading political organization in the city, Team of Progress (TOP), seemed to ignore both the plight and the internal considerations of the Richmond Public School System. This was also indicated by TOP representatives who held control of the Richmond City Council tending to repeatedly and drastically reducing recommended budgets of the Richmond Public School System. It was in this environment of desegregation of schools and a changing political order in the Richmond community that the Richmond School Board considerations in "equal opportunity" and more opportunities for minorities and women went unchallenged. During the same period, the Richmond City government did not move as rapidly to equalize public positions between blacks and whites. The municipal government was, however, controlled by the Richmond City Council that continued to have a white majority.

5.31 Stakeholders in Policy-Making: The principal stakeholders in this policy arena tended to be both the internal and external actors and the would be beneficiaries of the policy, "Equal Opportunity Employer." External actors included federal bureaucrats that prepared guidelines for funding

educational programs financed with federal monies. Another external policy actor was Judge Robert Merhige who issued the court order mandating staff racial ratios in terms of teachers for each school. His order represented "equal opportunity" by court directive. Internal school system policy actors included the Richmond School Board and the new Superintendent of Richmond Public Schools. The Richmond School Board in framing this policy was considering the realities of a recently desegregated school system, a growing black enrollment and a growing black representation on the school board. The new Superintendent was a realist. His objective was to keep the Richmond School Board united on basic school system issues during this critical period. He did not want to divide the Richmond School Board into black and white factions which could harm future programs and human relationships in the Richmond Public School System.

Table 19

Equal Opportunity Employer Policy Cross-Index Verification
by Actors and Footnote Number

	Actors:																	
	School Admin.	L. D. Adams	Tom Little	Jim Tyler	F. Sisson	H. B. Pinkney	Ron Edwards	Ed Cooke	Roy Puckett	R. Hildrup	School Board	Miles Jones	L. Wooldridge	W. Edwards	R. Swartzchild	Dist. Ct. (Blacks)	Brn/CR/VR/Acts	Times-Dispatch
1. Court Desegregation Order		321		324			327		323	325					326			
2. Federal Program Requirements mandated "Equal Opportunity" considerations in school programs funded with federal monies		329	330		333	334		331		332							314 315 328	
3. Richmond School Board acknowledges staff inequities in central office administrative positions between blacks and whites		339									317	337	340 318 335 336	338		316		
4. Leadership change of Richmond Public Schools and School Board	342		319 343 349	346		345		347 348			320			341	344			350

SUMMARY

This policy history, concerned with "Equal Opportunity Employer," verified a number of influences and variables that were occurring both external and internal to the Richmond School System that had implications for development of this personnel policy. Two of these influences that impacted in this personnel policy area occurred through actions of the Federal Government and two other policy influences occurred from forces operating within the Richmond Public School System.

One variable that influenced the development of the personnel policy was the court-ordered integration of the Richmond Public School System that established racial ratios for faculty members in individual schools. This court decision, from a U.S. District Court, occurred on April 1, 1970, and was an external influence. The court decision mandated faculty ratios of 50:50 black and white. These ratios pertained only to teachers, but established a precedent.

A second variable that influenced the development of the personnel policy was federal government endorsement of "equal opportunity" provisions through federal program specifications. The Richmond School System utilized the resources of many federally-funded programs and, therefore, was required to abide by many of these provisions related to staffing standards. This was an external influence on development of the policy.

The third variable that influenced the development of the personnel policy was an increasing awareness of Richmond School Board members concerning inequities that existed in the proportions of black and white administrators in the system. This awareness developed from the articulation of minority employees in the school system and on the Richmond School Board. This input to policy development represented an internal influence of the Richmond Public School System.

A fourth variable that influenced the development of the policy "Equal Opportunity Employer," was the change in the leadership of the Richmond Public School System that occurred during June 1972. There is testimony that suggests a change occurred among school superintendents because one was more amenable to hiring employees on the basis of racial proportions. Two weeks after Superintendents were changed, the Richmond School Board changed its Chairman. Rev. Miles Jones, as Board Chairman, was the first black to serve in that position in the Twentieth Century. These leadership changes in the Richmond Public School System hastened the change in school system personnel practices and the development of the personnel policy. This variable represents an internal influence of the Richmond Public Schools on development of the policy, titled "Equal Opportunity Employer."

POLICY HISTORY

Policy Statement: Meetings with Organizations and Associations

I. Preamble

The Richmond School Board solicits and welcomes the views of all interested citizens and groups and associations of interested citizens on matters of mutual interest and concern. It is the policy of the Richmond School Board to continue its public information period at the beginning of each regular meeting at which time it will hear interested citizens and groups and associations of interested citizens.

In implementation of its resolution of February 28, 1973, the Board is also willing to meet in special session with interested organizations and associations for the purpose of hearing and considering recommendations and proposals on matters of mutual interest and concern by such organization or association. In the first request for such a meeting the organization or association will identify itself, its officers, and the interested citizens for whom it speaks. The special sessions with such organizations and associations, hereafter referred to in this policy as the Organization, will be governed by the policies and procedures set forth in this memorandum.

II. Meetings

- A. Meetings to discuss recommendations made by the Organization to the School Board will be held as often as may be appropriate within the context of the School Board's resolution on February 28, 1973, and will be conducted at times mutually agreed upon by the School Board and the Organization.
- B. Requests for meetings shall be in writing and shall state the recommendations to be discussed. The requests may be submitted by either the School Board or the Organization. A written response shall be made to any such requests for meetings.

III. Conducting Meetings

- A. All meetings will be conducted in strict conformity with the provisions of the Virginia Freedom of Information Act.
- B. During meetings conducted pursuant to this procedure, the Organization may present data relevant to, and in clarification of, or elaboration upon, its recommendations to the School Board. The School Board shall consider such recommendations in reaching its decisions. Also, if appropriate, the School Board shall respond in writing to such recommendations. The Board shall maintain a file on all recommendations by the

Organization and the Board's responses to them for a period of at least three years.

- C. The School Board will be governed by the requirements of the Virginia Freedom of Information Act in supplying information to the Organization. Any request for information must be in writing and received at least five days prior to a meeting. The School Board may request the Organization to supply it with information in like manner.
- D. Either the School Board or the Organization may utilize the services of advisors who may attend the meeting but who shall not have the right to speak for their respective parties at such meeting. Neither the Board nor the Organization has the right to request that any particular individual be excluded from a meeting.
- E. When meetings are scheduled during the school day, any representatives for the Organization who are employees of the Richmond School Board shall be given professional leave time with pay; subject, however, to the prior approval of the School Board as to the number of representatives granted leave time and the duration of such leave.

(Adopted: December 4, 1973)

Environment of Policy :

A number of influences were operational within the environment surrounding development of the Richmond School System policy, titled "Meetings with Organizations and Associations." These influences included: (a) the National Education Association strongly supporting "professional negotiations" between teacher groups and school boards, (b) the Virginia Education Association gradually adopting the National Education Association's strategy of pursuing "professional negotiations, (c) Virginia government officials opposing proposed legislation designed to allow "professional negotiations" between teacher organizations and local units of government, and (d) the Virginia Education Association making an agreement with the Richmond Education Association to test the concept of "professional negotiations" between teacher organizations and school boards in U.S. District Court with legal assistance. These influences occurred during the late 1960's and early 1970's. Each of these influences, either directly or indirectly, was influential on the eventual development of the Richmond School Board policy, entitled "Meeting with Organizations and Associations."

The movement toward "professional negotiations" between school boards and teacher associations was a long, slow, but steady process for teacher organizations across the country and in Virginia. The National Education Association, the Virginia Education Association, and Virginia Government officials were all influential in this

environmental influence area as was the Richmond Education Association on the local level.

Elizabeth D. Koontz, a past president of the National Education Association, suggested that teacher associations on both the national and state levels met with much initial opposition during the middle to late 1960's as an effort was made to secure "professional negotiations" agreements. She indicated that much progress had been made in these agreements between school boards and teacher organizations since that time.³⁵¹

Many events on both the national and state levels during the past decade, such as that described by Mrs. Koontz, provided the "push" toward "professional negotiations." During 1969, ". . . the nation's first merger of a local education association and a rival teacher union took place in Flint, Michigan."³⁵² Many communities across the nation experienced NEA and AFT sanctioned teacher strikes in the years since 1969. One Virginia Governor, Mills E. Godwin, Jr., in 1969, said he was gratified that Virginia

³⁵¹Virginia Journal of Education, Virginia Education Association, Richmond, Virginia, September, 1968, p. 38.

³⁵²Virginia Journal of Education, Virginia Education Association, Richmond, Virginia, February, 1970, p. 19.

teachers had not abandoned their classrooms and pursued an adversary relationship with their employers. Godwin said that he was opposed to collective bargaining, but suggested, "I believe we can reach agreement on these and other points of teacher concerns by amicable means."³⁵³ The next Virginia Governor, however, expressed a more liberal view toward teacher participation concerning discussion of their profession, working conditions, and job security. Linwood Holton suggested in 1969:³⁵⁴

We should have a state law to establish standard negotiation procedures which will insure effective professional relationships and adequate communication between teachers and administrators, school boards and supervisors or city council.

The pronouncements of Holton were in agreement with the views of Dr. Robert Williams, the Virginia Education Association, who had started to "push" the strategy of "professional negotiations" in the Virginia Education Association during the late 1960's. Williams, in 1968, indicated, "The Virginia School Boards Association . . . This month, did not go on record in favor of helping us secure "Professional negotiations legislation in 1970, but they did direct their Board of Directors to work in that direction and that was a step forward."³⁵⁵ Williams, during 1970, was even more articulate

³⁵³Virginia Journal Of Education, Virginia Education Association, Richmond, Virginia, September, 1969, p. 6.

³⁵⁴Ibid., p. 37.

³⁵⁵Virginia Journal of Education, Virginia Education Association, Richmond, Virginia, December, 1968, p. 10.

concerning "professional negotiations" between school boards and teacher organizations. He addressed the Virginia Education Association Delegate Assembly and said:³⁵⁶

The accomplishment of our professional negotiations . . . objectives is essential for the . . . improvement of public education in Virginia. The Virginia Education Association now occupies a position of influence . . . that we have never occupied before. The only way we can . . . keep the same rate of progress is to behave . . . responsibly in new ways-- through new programs, through professional negotiations . . . and the like.

During 1971, Williams called for a VEA dues increase and suggested the additional monies would, ". . . enable us to vastly expand our services and . . . take care financially of all the court cases we now have in the making."³⁵⁷ One court case to which he made reference was the "professional negotiations" case launched by the Richmond Education Association against the Richmond School Board in U.S. District Court.³⁵⁸ It was evident, however, that these changes of strategy did not occur in the VEA leadership overnight. One VEA president, Edwin M. Betts, Jr., discouraged

³⁵⁶Virginia Journal of Education, Virginia Education Association, Richmond, Virginia, December, 1970, p. 6.

³⁵⁷Virginia Journal of Education, Virginia Education Association, Richmond, Virginia, December 5, 1971, p. 5.

³⁵⁸Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public School System, Richmond, Virginia, July 9, 1971.

professional negotiations in 1967. He suggested:³⁵⁹

There is a feeling in Virginia that certainly the NEA is not our salvation in this struggle because, the NEA is actually fighting the union with union tactics. Professional people do not buy this method.

Another VEA President only two years later, however, articulated the new strategy of the VEA in the area of professional negotiations.

Dr. Melton F. Wright, said:³⁶⁰

It takes courageous statesmanship to develop a Professional Negotiations Act for public education and to present it to the General Assembly in 1970 for passage into public law. This is an act that ought to be sent to the General Assembly with . . . overwhelming support from the Delegate Assembly. The right for teachers . . . to bargain for their working . . . conditions is a constitutional right and deserves the united support of the entire profession throughout the Commonwealth.

All VEA Programs of Action, beginning with 1969 and continuing through 1973 urged the passage of a "Professional Practices Act" that would include the following: (a) mandated professional negotiation, (b) provision of impasse machinery including mediation and fact-finding, (c) provision of rights to negotiate for all certified personnel, (d) provision for the adoption of a grievance procedure with arbitration.³⁶¹

³⁵⁹Virginia Journal of Education, Virginia Education Association, Richmond, Virginia, December 1967, pp. 14-15.

³⁶⁰Virginia Journal of Education, Virginia Education Association, Richmond, Virginia, December, 1969, p. 12.

³⁶¹Virginia Journal of Education, Virginia Education Association, Richmond, Virginia, December 1967, 1968, 1969, 1963, January 1971, 1973.

Another event that aided in the identification of "professional negotiations" as a priority for Virginia Education Associations was the decision of the National Education Association to help fund "Uniserv" workers for districts having a minimum of 1200 members. A number of Virginia Education Associations, including the Richmond Education Association, benefitted from this decision. An Executive Director of the Prince William Education Association said of the "Uniserv" worker's function, "Since a uniserv worker isn't a school board employee, he can speak out freely on major (educational) issues. Teachers are no longer afraid to challenge and confront school officials as they have been in the past."³⁶² During the early 1970's, the Richmond Education Association employed two separate Executive Directors whose salaries were partially paid with uniserv funds originating with the NEA. Julian Ferris was employed in this capacity with the Richmond Education Association when the policy, "Meeting with Organizations and Associations," was discussed and finally adopted by the Richmond School Board.

The Richmond Education Association, beginning during the late 1960's and continuing through 1973, attempted to win recognition

³⁶²Virginia Journal of Education, Virginia Education Association, Richmond, Virginia, April, 1974, p. 23.

rights from the Richmond School Board as bargaining agent for school division employees. The Richmond School Board on a number of occasions refused these requests that originated with the Richmond Education Association. It was because of these refusals by the Richmond School Board, that the Richmond Education Association made the decision to bring suit in U.S. District Court in an attempt to win bargaining rights. VEA provided the legal assistance for that suit.

The Virginia Education Association, during January, 1971 voted to challenge the Richmond School Board in court if that body refused the Richmond Education Association recognition. This action of the VEA Board of Directors was the result of a request made by officials of the Richmond Education Association.³⁶³ Two days after this action by the VEA Board of Directors, the Richmond School Board refused to recognize the Richmond Education Association as the exclusive bargaining agent of Richmond teachers. The Richmond School Board based its refusal on the Richmond city attorney's legal opinion that the Richmond School Board was without legal authority to enter into such an agreement.³⁶⁴

³⁶³Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], January, 1971.

³⁶⁴Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, January 21, 1971.

As a result of the Richmond School Board denial of the Richmond Education Association recognition request, the Virginia Education Association agreed to finance a test case in U.S. District Court to establish the Richmond Education Association right to represent Richmond teachers in "professional negotiations" with the Richmond School Board.³⁶⁵ The Richmond Education Association, on February 3, 1971, was reported as voting to take legal action against the Richmond School Board under provisions of the first and fourteenth amendments to the U.S. Constitution.³⁶⁶ Margaret Lewis, REA President, informed members of the Richmond School Board of the Richmond Education Association intention to initiate suit in U.S. District Court.³⁶⁷

The U.S. District Court, during June, 1971, rebuffed a Richmond School Board motion to dismiss the Richmond Education Association case on jurisdictional grounds.³⁶⁸ Less than a month later, on July 9,

³⁶⁵Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], January 29, 1971.

³⁶⁶Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], February 3, 1971.

³⁶⁷Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, February 22, 1971.

³⁶⁸Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], June 15, 1971.

1971, the Richmond School Board received notification of the Richmond Education Association case, #CA-372-71-R, being placed on the docket of the U.S. District Court.³⁶⁹

The new REA President, Lewis Carter, requested the Richmond School Board on August 19, 1971, to assume payroll deductions for members of the Richmond Education Association.³⁷⁰ REA repeated the same request less than a month later after the Richmond City Council rejected the request of the Richmond Education Association. The Richmond School Board failed to take action on the request in view of the litigation in U.S. District Court with the Richmond Education Association.³⁷¹

The Richmond Education Association, during October, 1971, attempted to make a deal with the Richmond City Attorney for "back door" recognition if the Richmond Education Association dropped the case against the Richmond School Board.³⁷² Almost two years

³⁶⁹Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, July 9, 1971.

³⁷⁰Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, August 19, 1971.

³⁷¹Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, September 21, 1971.

³⁷²Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], October 22, 1971.

elapsed before the Richmond Education Association made similar attempts to gain "back door" recognition during meetings of the Richmond School Board.³⁷³ During the interval, two attempts by the Virginia Education Association to have professional bargaining bills passed by the Virginia General Assembly to benefit public employees, failed to pass. Such collective bargaining bills failed to be adopted in the 1972 and 1973 Virginia General Assemblies.³⁷⁴

Margaret Dungee, the new REA President, presented a proposal to the Richmond School Board during September, 1973, for establishing procedures and guidelines for discussions between the two groups.³⁷⁵ The following day, it was reported that the leadership of the Richmond Education Association acknowledged that the suit in U.S. District Court had cost the Richmond Education Association in terms of total members. It was the view of the new Executive Director of the Richmond Education Association, Julian Ferris, that Richmond teachers ought to get into politics ". . . with both feet."³⁷⁶

³⁷³Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, September 4, 1973.

³⁷⁴Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], December 4, 1971; January 30, 1973.

³⁷⁵Richmond School Board Minutes, loc. cit.

³⁷⁶Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], September 5, 1973.

A week later, Richmond City Council again rejected a payroll dues deduction that was requested by the Richmond Education Association.³⁷⁷ The Richmond Education Association, after this action of the Richmond City Council, charged that the Richmond School Board and school administration had "come down hard" on the Richmond Education Association with new restrictions.³⁷⁸ During late September, 1973, the Richmond Education Association again proposed discussions with the Richmond School Board. One member of the Richmond School Board, Linwood Wooldridge, suggested that the school board and the Richmond Educational Association settle their differences out of court.³⁷⁹ Superintendent Little made conciliatory gestures toward the Richmond Education Association in October, 1973. He suggested that the Richmond Education Association could take part in the budget process of the Richmond Public School System the following year.³⁸⁰ The Richmond School Board said, however, that board members would not negotiate with the Richmond Education Association

³⁷⁷Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], September 12, 1972.

³⁷⁸Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], September 19, 1972.

³⁷⁹Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], September 29, 1972.

³⁸⁰Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], October 3, 1972.

until the court suit was withdrawn.³⁸¹ During December, 1972, the Richmond Education Association said it would settle for "meet and confer" rights.³⁸²

The Richmond School Board was advised on February 28, 1973, that the Richmond Education Association was willing to drop the suit filed in U.S. District Court, concerning "professional negotiation" between the Richmond School Board and REA, on the condition that the board would adopt a resolution dealing with meetings between the two groups. The Richmond School Board agreed to this condition,³⁸³ and the case was dropped.³⁸⁴

Lewis Carter, the new REA President during early October, 1973, presented the Richmond Education Association suggested procedures on conducting meetings between the two groups. Upon this occasion, the Richmond Education Association sought a "Memo of Understanding" with the Richmond School Board. The board initially refused this proposal of the Richmond Education Association.³⁸⁵

³⁸¹Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], October 4, 1972.

³⁸²Times-Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], December 22, 1972.

³⁸³Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, February 28, 1973.

³⁸⁴News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia], February 28, 1973.

³⁸⁵News-Leader [Richmond, Virginia], October 3, 1973.

Several days later, the Richmond School Board proposed a policy to be considered for adoption at the November 6, 1973 meeting.³⁸⁶ After several additional meetings, both the Richmond School Board and the Richmond Education Association reached agreement on sections one, two and three of the "Memo of Understanding," and these sections were adopted as policy by the Richmond School Board on December 4, 1973. Section four of the original "Memo of Understanding," which was prepared in sessions between attorneys for the Richmond Education Association and the Richmond School Board, was not acted upon by the board. The Richmond School Board was ready to "meet and confer" with the Richmond Education Association, but was not ready to conclude such sessions with "mutually reached" agreements as called for in section four of the "Memo of Understanding."³⁸⁷

Identified Policy Variables:

Variables associated with the Richmond School Board policy, "Meeting with Organizations and Associations," are listed below:

³⁸⁶Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, October 8, 1973.

³⁸⁷Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, November 6, 1973; November 15, 1973; December 4, 1973.

1. The National Education Association strongly supported "professional negotiations" between the Richmond Education Association and the Richmond School Board, and helped train members of the Richmond Education Association in "negotiation" techniques.

A number of major actors in the Richmond Public School System have verified the National Education Association as an important variable in the attempts of the Richmond Education Association to seek "professional negotiations" with the Richmond School Board. This influence has also been verified to be the first in a chain of events that resulted in the Richmond School Board adopting the Meetings with Organizations and Associations policy.

Margaret Lewis, who served as President of the Richmond Education Association during 1970-71 school year, described her contacts with the National Education Association during that year. Lewis said:³⁸⁸

This all started at the NEA Convention in San Francisco in 1970, the year I was taking over as REA President. This was in August 1970. (I was introduced) . . . to Frank Masters, who was the Eastern Regional Negotiations Specialist for NEA. Frank and I set up a (later) meeting . . . in Richmond. He came down every Tuesday afternoon . . . (between August and December, 1970). We started out with about 30 people from the REA and ended-up with 18-20 people who stayed at it regularly. He trained us in negotiations. We discussed our situation in Richmond. We went through the whole negotiation procedures.

³⁸⁸Statement by Margaret Lewis, former President, Richmond Education Association, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 20, 1975.

. . . in November 1970, . . . we requested a meeting with . . . a committee of the school board. We met with the school board and . . . discussed negotiations, what we thought it was, the terms, what the whole thing was about. I should not have taken Frank Masters to that meeting because Frank was talking about full complete negotiations. . . . all the REA wanted at this time was a more formal meeting and the right to meet directly with the school board without the school board going through the administration We had (another) meeting with the school board . . . on December 18, (1970). This was the famous meeting at which the statement (was read) saying they could not . . . meet with us . . . that we were a labor union

She suggested that when these attempts of meeting with the Richmond School Board concerning "professional negotiations" came to a halt, the Richmond Education Association presented Superintendent Little with a proposed Master Contract.

Thomas Little verified the impact of the National Education Association's influence on the Richmond Education Association in their attempts to secure a "Professional Negotiations" agreement.

Dr. Little suggested:³⁸⁹

There was tremendous pressure at this time for collective bargaining on the part of REA, VEA, and NEA. They had requested all sorts of recognition including pre-drafted contracts that were submitted to the board for adoption. VEA was soliciting such recognition agreements across the state and this was also a time of their uniserv and unification efforts.

Dr. James Tyler, an Associate Superintendent in the Richmond Public School System, verified the influence of the National Education

³⁸⁹Statement by Dr. Thomas Little, former Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 8, 1975.

Association as an important link in a chain of events that contributed to the Richmond Public School's policy. Tyler indicated:³⁹⁰

There were contributing incidents outside the community. I don't know of any at the local level, but there certainly were at the State and National level including General Assembly actions and actions by the National Education Association.

2. The Richmond School Board rejected initial requests from the Richmond Education Association for "professional negotiations."

Once the Richmond School Board was confronted with a request for "professional negotiations," a position of opposition developed among Board members and the administration. A number of actors verified this link in the chain of pertinent variables that led to development of the school system policy.

L. D. Adams described a series of events in the relationship of the Richmond Public School System and the Richmond Education Association that resulted in the Board assuming a position of opposition to "negotiations." L. D. Adams said:³⁹¹

³⁹⁰Statement by Dr. James Tyler, Associate Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, April 29, 1975.

³⁹¹Statement by Lucien D. Adams, former Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 19, 1975.

I was there three years. The first year I was there, we (Richmond School Administration and REA Officers) worked out what I thought was a very satisfactory agreement of what we were going to ask for and sit down and talk with them. We had that statement in writing and it went very well. At the end of the first year, the (REA) president asked me to set up a member of my staff and meet with certain committees of theirs, to discuss and bring back to both groups certain recommendations. I do so (but) they (REA) never called a meeting or asked to meet with them. They came back the next fall (1970-71) with a demand for recognition. The REA leadership during that 2nd year was no longer willing to "meet and confer" as they had in the past. They wanted a formalized instrument. . . . so we didn't come out with anything. The school board just made its recommendations and that was it. The third year (1971-72) there were no meetings of agreements.

Another major actor during this period was Ed Ooghe, Principal of Summerhill Elementary School in Richmond, Virginia. Ooghe was President of the Richmond Education Association during the 1968-69 school year and served both on the Executive Board of the REA and was Chairman of the Professional Negotiations Committee in the same association during the 1969-70 school year. The account of L. D. Adams was substantially verified by Ed Ooghe for school years 1969-70 and 1970-71, concerning interactions between the school administration and the REA. Ooghe indicated:³⁹²

³⁹²Statement by Edward Ooghe, Elementary Principal in Richmond, Virginia and former President of the Richmond Education Association (1968-69), Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 24, 1975.

We attempted the following year (1969-70), when Y. B. Williams was (REA) President, to formalize the procedures that were already taking place. I was appointed chairman of the Professional Negotiations Committee which had as its main job to study and make recommendations to the REA concerning procedures for professional negotiations. We did that with the help of Dr. Little, who was then Associate Superintendent. We came up with a resolution that both he and we agreed to that provided for written recognition of REA as a group with whom: (1) the school board will discuss matters of mutual concern, (2) will develop written procedures, (3) will file written responses, and (4) will develop a time-table for the REA representatives and the school board or their representatives to meet and discuss budgetary and non-budgetary matters.

Margaret Lewis, a Speech Therapist in the Richmond Public School System, served as President of the Richmond Education Association during the 1970-71 school year. She verified the account of L. D. Adams that the REA demanded recognition as a group of professional employees during her year in office. Lewis suggested:³⁹³

Actually, all the REA wanted at this time was a more formal meeting and the right to meet directly with the school board without having to go through the administration, to present our "Program of Action" and receive answers to it. We had always been told by Dr. Little, Dr. Tyler and Dr. Sisson that they couldn't answer any of these things. We had a meeting, then, with the (Richmond) School Board formally in December, 1970. This was the famous meeting at which Mrs. Crockford read the statement saying they (The Richmond School Board) could not meet with us because we were a labor union. This was on the advice of Mattox, City Attorney. I was not allowed to speak at that meeting.

³⁹³Lewis, loc. cit.

One Board member, Jacob M. Orndorff, Jr., suggested a reason for the school board making the choice of rejecting the REA request for recognition. Orndorff said:³⁹⁴

It was the general feeling of all the members of the board that since there was no enabling legislation in Virginia for such negotiation with teacher groups, there couldn't be any negotiating. It was felt that before such could occur, state law and city ordinances were needed.

Other board members including Rev. Miles Jones,³⁹⁵ Linwood Wooldridge,³⁹⁶ and Richard Swartzchild,³⁹⁷ verified the Orndorff account that the lack of guidelines or enabling legislation on the state or municipal level was the primary reason for the rejection of the REA request for recognition.

³⁹⁴Statement by Jacob M. Orndorff, Jr., member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 24, 1975.

³⁹⁵Statement by Rev. Miles Jones, Chairman, Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 15, 1975.

³⁹⁶Statement by Linwood Wooldridge, member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 19, 1975.

³⁹⁷Statement by Richard Swartzchild, member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 25, 1975.

3. The Board of Directors of the Virginia Education Association agreed to provide funding and legal assistance for the Richmond Education Association to bring suit in U.S. District Court to test the legality of the Richmond School Board refusal to recognize the REA.

A third variable that had implications for development of the Richmond Public School System policy "Meetings with Organizations and Associations," was the Virginia Education Association Board making an agreement to provide funding and legal assistance to test the Richmond School Board refusal to recognize the Richmond Education Association. This was a significant variable because the court suit eventually resulted in the policy and the Richmond Education Association did not have the financial resources to initiate such a suit. The cost of this suit to the Virginia Education Association over a period of two years was in excess of \$20,000.³⁹⁸

Margaret Lewis, who served as President of the Richmond Education Association during the 1970-71 school-year, provided an account of the events which resulted in the legal suit. Lewis indicated:³⁹⁹

³⁹⁸Statement by David Johnson, Executive Director, Virginia Education Association, Richmond, Virginia, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 20, 1975.

³⁹⁹Lewis, loc. cit.

(After the Richmond School Board rejected the REA resolution and further talks with Dr. Little and others proved fruitless) . . . we went back and met with VEA and NEA, Frank Master. This is when we made the formal request for the monetary backing of the VEA. The request to the VEA Board was made by Ed Ooghe who was the President of District Q (of the VEA) and a VEA Board member (in addition to being a prominent actor in the Richmond Education Association). I made the original request through Dr. Williams (a former Executive Director of the VEA).

The account of Margaret Lewis was substantiated by Ed Ooghe. He described his role, when he said:⁴⁰⁰

I was the liaison man (between the REA and VEA) from the very beginning to the end. My role stopped when the suit was settled out of court. At the time (January 28, 1971), I requested the VEA Board of Directors to fund this suit. They said "no problem." I made the request and was authorized to make the request by Peg Lewis

Another actor, David Johnson, verified the persons and manner in which the Richmond Education Association contacted the Virginia Education Association and made the request for backing to fund a legal suit against the Richmond School Board. During this time, Johnson was a major official with the Virginia Education Association. He succeeded Dr. Williams as Executive Secretary of the Virginia Education Association. Johnson described related events as follows:⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰⁰Ooghe, loc. cit.

⁴⁰¹Statement by David Johnson, Executive Director, Virginia Education Association, Richmond, Virginia, January 28-29, 1971.

They (REA) came to us (VEA Board of Directors) and asked for our (financial and legal) assistance. Ed Ooghe was liaison between VEA, our attorneys and REA. He was formerly an REA President and was on the VEA Board of Directors. We looked into the situation and found they (REA) had a case that would have merit not only for Richmond, but if successful would have tremendous implications for Virginia as well as the nation. There had never been a successful suit brought that said in the absence of a law, teachers have a constitutional right to negotiate with the school board. The grounds we used in building our case was that teachers do have a constitutional right to determine their working conditions. The VEA paid for the case in its entirety. This VEA acceptance of funding the suit was made by the VEA Board of Directors. The case extended over several years and the total cost to the VEA . . . was about \$20,000.

The request of the REA for financial backing of the VEA in the legal suit was also verified by documentation in the "Minutes of the VEA Board of Directors." An excerpt of the January 28-29, 1971, Board meeting provided the following information:⁴⁰²

Heard resolution from District Q petitioning VEA Board of Directors to support the REA by providing financial funding for a court suit regarding professional negotiations. The Board went into Executive Session and approved motion to accede to the request of the REA to furnish counsel for investigation and bringing of a suit to test the rights of the REA. The VEA will furnish counsel for the REA but no funds in kind, and will further pay any expenses of litigation in addition to counsel fees but will act in concert with the REA and subject to the policies of the VEA.

⁴⁰²Minutes, Board of Directors, Virginia Education Association, Richmond, Virginia, January 28-29, 1971.

Thomas Little and Edward Cooke verified the action of the VEA Board of Directors that resulted in the court suit. Little said:⁴⁰³

The Virginia Education Association supported the REA law suit and was soliciting such (professional) recognition agreements across the State. This was also a time of their Uniserv and Unification efforts (in association with the National Education Association).

Cooke acknowledged that the REA entered a court suit against the Richmond School Board with the financial backing and legal assistance of the VEA Board of Directors.⁴⁰⁴

4. The Richmond Education Association initiated a suit in U.S. District Court, concerning the right of teachers to engage in "professional negotiations" with their employer, the Richmond School Board.

A number of major actors verified the significance of the court suit as an important variable in the eventual development of the Richmond School Board policy, titled "Meetings with Organizations and Associations." These actors included school administrators, members of the Richmond School Board and officials of the Richmond Education Association.

⁴⁰³Little, loc. cit.

⁴⁰⁴Statement by Dr. Edward Cooke, Assistant Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 2, 1975.

Edward Cooke, who served as an Assistant Superintendent in the Richmond Public Schools during this period, verified the significance of the REA initiated court suit in development of this policy. Cooke indicated:⁴⁰⁵

The REA court suit was the prime moving factor in this policy being adopted by the (Richmond) School Board for inclusion in the "Rules and Regulations." For a period of time prior to the court suit, there had been indications on the part of REA Presidents that they wanted a recognition and bargaining agreement with the school board. They had been before the Board on numerous occasions and had, in effect, asked for this under a different name. They would not use the word "collective bargaining." When they saw the approach to the Board was hopeless they entered a court suit with the backing of the VEA. This court suit was pending for a year or more and resulted in the policy being adopted.

Two actors identified with the Richmond Education Association during this period, Margaret Lewis and Ed Ooghe, verified the REA initiated court suit against the Richmond School Board and the reasons for this action. Margaret Lewis suggested:⁴⁰⁶

The REA resolution for meetings between the (Richmond) School Board and the REA was rejected by the Board on advice of City Attorney Mattox. This was followed by subsequent "meet and discuss" sessions with Dr. Little upon the advice of Board Chairman Crockford. These sessions again produced nothing in the way of agreements between the administration, the Board or the REA. In fact, there was evidence of "bad-faith" discussion

⁴⁰⁵Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶Statement by Margaret Lewis, Speech Therapist in Richmond, Virginia, and former President of the Richmond Education Association (1970-71), Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 26, 1975.

sessions. This was when we made the formal request for the monetary backing of the VEA. The vote of the REA membership for such action (in the courts) was (a proportional vote of) four to one.

Ed Ooghe, who served during this period as liaison between REA and VEA, verified the REA court suit and indicated:⁴⁰⁷

When the (REA) resolution (requesting recognition) was ruled unconstitutional by Conard Mattox (City Attorney), we took it to court. At this time, I was serving as liaison person between the REA and the attorneys who represented REA and VEA in this case. It was to be presented in federal court on the grounds of the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the (U.S.) Constitution. In other words, we (REA) had the right to speak, the right to organize and the right to petition the governing body and we were raising the question, "What value is it to have the right to talk when there is no reassurance of a reasonable response from those with whom we are talking."

Another actor during this period was David Johnson, who occupied an administrative position with the Virginia Education Association. Johnson later was chosen to fill the position of VEA Executive Director. He described the reasons behind the court suit initiated by the REA and verified the accounts provided by Margaret Lewis and Ed Ooghe. Johnson said:⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁷Statement by Edward Ooghe, Elementary Principal in Richmond, Virginia, and former President of the Richmond Education Association (1968-69), Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 24, 1975.

⁴⁰⁸Johnson, loc. cit.

The court suit that the REA brought against the (Richmond) School Board in Richmond was the result of their inability to be recognized or to gain negotiation rights with the school board. They came to us and asked of our assistance. There had never been a successful suit brought that said in the absence of law teachers have a constitutional right to negotiate with the school board. The grounds we used in building our (REA-VEA) case was that teachers do have a constitutional right to determine their working conditions.

Lucien D. Adams, Superintendent of the Richmond Public School System during this period, also verified that the REA court suit was brought to test whether negotiations could be forced through the courts in the absence of State or municipal enabling legislation. He indicated that the court case was initiated prior to his retirement, but that agreement on a policy dealing with meetings and organizations had not been achieved when he left.⁴⁰⁹

Thomas Little verified that the court suit was an important variable that resulted eventually in a statement of policy. Little indicated:⁴¹⁰

There was a suit pending in federal court demanding recognition of the REA as exclusive bargaining agent for the teachers. The school board worked out a resolution on February 28, 1973, with the REA and they withdrew the suit. This policy

⁴⁰⁹Adams, loc. cit.

⁴¹⁰Statement by Dr. Thomas Little, former Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 8, 1975.

was intended as an implementation of these resolutions.

Another actor during the later stages of discussions concerning development of this policy was Dr. Richard Hunter, the Superintendent of Richmond Public Schools immediately following the Little administration. Hunter verified Little's account that the court suit was important as a variable in development of the policy. Hunter suggested:⁴¹¹

. . . the school board was involved in a suit that was brought about by the REA prior to the adoption of this policy. At issue was how the school board would entertain suggestions and ideas and concerns by the organization named in the suit. The suit was settled out of court and the settlement did speak to the need for the two groups to communicate in some kind of organization way. The settlement in the form of a "Memorandum of Understanding" resulted in the policy.

Members of the Richmond School Board held differing views concerning the suit initiated by the Richmond Education Association concerning "professional negotiations." Some members welcomed the suit in terms of the probability of securing a definitive agreement about negotiations with public employees. Other boards members tended not to be anxious to carry through with such a court case because of the requirements of time and money. William Edwards, a

⁴¹¹Statement by Dr. Richard Hunter, Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 7, 1975.

white board member and University administrator in Richmond, verified the court suit and considered the REA action as significant in relation to the policy that was finally adopted. Edwards said:⁴¹²

REA filed suit against the Richmond School Board. The suit said our refusal to recognize REA as the sole bargaining agent was an infringement upon: a) freedom of speech and b) right of assembly. That could have been one of the most important things in labor-relations history if REA had won the case. Had they won on that basis, they would have wiped out Taft-Hartly, Landrum-Griffin and the structure of American Labor-Relations Law. I was intensely interested in this (case) and was hoping it would go to court. The suit was eventually dropped before going to court. A policy on meetings with groups was established because of this action.

Another Board member, Linwood Wooldridge, was not as anxious to contend with such a suit in court. He acknowledged that his lack of enthusiasm for such a court action was largely related to the requirements of time and money. He thought that the REA's case was weak in the absence of State enabling legislation, but acknowledged that the case resulted in the eventual statement of policy. Wooldridge suggested:⁴¹³

⁴¹²Statement by William Edwards, member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 25, 1975.

⁴¹³Wooldridge, loc. cit.

. . . we simply wanted to get these people (REA) to see that there wasn't any sense in bringing a suit at a time that nobody would rule in their favor and it would be a waste of taxpayers money in dealing with an issue like this. We wanted harmony within the system and we saw no reason to go to court if we could do anything to prevent it. So, as a result, we came up with a "Memorandum of Understanding." . . . the Board decided that maybe between the attorneys of the Board and REA (could) try to get something to let them know we were serious about any issue they wished to bring before the Board. The policy grew out of the "Memo."

Previous actors verified that the court case initiated by the Richmond Education Association was important as a variable in the eventual statement of policy concerned with, "Meetings with Organizations and Associations." Since the policy resulted from the REA withdrawal of the case in U.S. District Court, this withdrawal of suit was also an important variable.

5. The Richmond Education Association withdrew the case on "professional negotiations" in U.S. District Court based upon the Richmond School Board resolution of February 28, 1973, which resulted in a later "Memorandum of Understanding."

Ed Ooghe, one of the major actors in the REA initiated court suit against the Richmond School Board, suggested that the suit was dropped in U.S. District Court as a result of an out-of-court settlement. He indicated:⁴¹⁴

⁴¹⁴Ooghe, loc. cit.

The out-of-court settlement caused the suit to be dropped. Our (REA-VEA) attorneys said this was a good settlement and was the very best that we could expect to get. If we took it to court, by virtue of rulings in other federal courts, we would not likely get nearly so much. It (Dropping the suit) was based upon the recommendation of our counsel. REA was represented by the law firm of Smith, Betts, and Epps. The Epp's law firm was the same law firm that represents the Virginia Education Association.

Two other actors substantiated the case being dropped as a result of the Richmond School Board adopting the February 28, 1973, "Resolution." Margaret Lewis, REA President during the 1970-71 school year and principal litigant in the suit, verified the account provided by Ed Ooghe.⁴¹⁵ Another actor who was associated with the Virginia Education Association provided the following account of the reasons that caused the case to be dropped:⁴¹⁶

The case was dropped because in the opinion of our attorneys this "Memorandum of Understanding" (and resolution of February 28, 1973), was the best that we could get out of this case. We didn't feel, our attorney's didn't feel that we were going to have a chance of getting (Judge) Merhige to say that teachers have a right to collective bargaining. There was not a chance of that, to our thinking, in the absence of State or federal law. Obviously, we went into the case with the idea that we were going to win. I suspect, however, that had we asked our attorneys at the outset, they would have said you have a 25 percent chance of getting everything you want. But we were hoping for something in-between, some middle-ground, a settlement that would get the teachers something that they didn't have. We were interested in a compromise either in-court or

⁴¹⁵Lewis, loc. cit.

⁴¹⁶Johnson, loc. cit.

out-of-court. The best possible settlement we could get was this February 28, 1973, "Resolution" and "Memorandum of Understanding." If it had been followed to the letter of the policy, it would have meant a great deal to teachers and it was viewed rather enthusiastically by the National Education Association.

Margaret Lewis indicated three points that the Richmond Education Association viewed as a minimum for which settlement of the suit was made. Lewis suggested these points were: (a) to meet directly with the Richmond School Board, (b) to secure written responses from the Richmond School Board, and (c) the development of written procedures that would be used for meetings between the Richmond Education Association and the Richmond School Board. VEA attorneys met with attorneys representing the Richmond School Board to formulate these "understandings." The firm of Venable, Baetjer, and Howard of Baltimore, Maryland represented the Richmond School Board in these meetings.⁴¹⁷

A number of school administrators and members of the Richmond School Board identified the relationship of the suit being dropped and the "Memorandum of Understanding" that was product and parcel of the February 28, 1973 "Resolution." Robert Hildrup, Director of

⁴¹⁷Statement by Margaret Lewis, Speech Therapist in Richmond, Virginia, and former President of the Richmond Education Association (1970-71), Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 26, 1975.

Public Information for the Richmond Public Schools, said:⁴¹⁸

The court case that was dropped probably had a tenuous relationship to development of this policy. The case would not have been withdrawn without that "Memorandum of Understanding" and that "Memo" is a document. The "Memo" was filed with the case as a court document.

Another school administrator, Dr. James Tyler, who served as both an Assistant Superintendent and Associate Superintendent during this period indicated:⁴¹⁹

A forerunner of this policy was reached in the settlement of a court case. This was the February 28, 1973, "Resolution" in which the REA and school administration and Board formulated a "Memo of Understanding." The policy evolved from that.

One member of the Richmond School Board, Richard Swartzchild, verified the previous accounts provided by both Robert Hildrup and Dr. Tyler. Swartzchild suggested:⁴²⁰

I would verify absolutely that this policy including the first three articles came out of a "Memo of Understanding" between the Richmond School Board and REA attorneys.

⁴¹⁸Statement by Robert Hildrup, Director of Public Information, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, April 29, 1975.

⁴¹⁹Tyler, loc. cit.

⁴²⁰Swartzchild, loc. cit.

Jacob Orndorff, another Board member, verified the same origins of the policy that were acknowledged by Hildrup, Tyler, and Swartzchild.⁴²¹

It was verified by accounts of actors that the Richmond Education Association dropped the court suit against the Richmond School Board on condition that a "Memorandum of Understanding," that was worked-out between attorneys for both sides, was formalized as a "Resolution" of the Board. This "Resolution" was adopted by the Richmond School Board on February 28, 1973. Minutes of the Richmond School Board for that date reveal the following:⁴²²

In Executive Session the Board discussed conditions of settlement of the suit with the REA and was advised by counsel that the REA is willing to settle the suit on condition of the School Board adopting a "Resolution" (Memorandum of Understandings). The Board agreed to adopt the resolution and reconvened in public session.

In Open Session, Mr. John R. Haynes, Jr., Assistant City Attorney, announced that the pending suit in U.S. District Court, Civil Action # CA 372-71 R, REA v. the School Board, has been settled by mutual agreement and will be dismissed without prejudice. On recommendation of the City Attorney's office, the Board adopted the following resolution:

⁴²¹Statement by Jacob Orndorff, member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 24, 1975.

⁴²²Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, February 28, 1973.

Be it resolved that the School Board of the City of Richmond acknowledges the REA as an association of certain personnel employed by the School Board. The School Board resolves that open and good faith communication with REA, which it will undertake as set forth below, is desired to promote best the interests of the Richmond school system.

The School Board shall permit the REA to make recommendations to the School Board as to matters of concern to REA. The School Board shall consider such recommendations in reaching its decisions. Discussions with respect to such recommendations shall take place pursuant to procedures to be agreed upon mutually. Also, if appropriate, the School Board shall respond in writing to such recommendations.

With respect to budgetary items, the School Board shall afford the REA ample time to make recommendations and the School Board to consider such recommendations prior to the submission of the budget.

The School Board shall maintain a file on the REA recommendations and any School Board responses for a period of at least 3 years.

Julian Ferris, Executive Director of the Richmond Education Association, substantiated that this Board "Resolution" was the basis for the policy that was later adopted, titled "Meetings with Organizations and Associations." Ferris was a late-comer to the Richmond scene as he assumed his position after the "Resolution" was adopted, but before the policy, including articles I, II, and III were adopted on December 4, 1973. Ferris provided the following account:⁴²³

⁴²³Statement by Julian Ferris, Executive Director, Richmond Education Association, Richmond, Virginia, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 23, 1975.

I started work on September 1, 1973. I found that they (REA) had settled out-of-court for a policy statement. There was a statement in the settlement that said, "Discussions shall take place pursuant to procedures to be agreed upon mutually." To me this was saying this would be some form of procedure as to how this agreement would be carried out. This "Memo-of-Understanding" was adopted February 28, 1973. That was worked out by attorneys for both sides.

The February 28, 1973, "Resolution," held the promise of negotiations on the basis of "good-faith" and the relationship between the Richmond Education Association and the Richmond School Board possibly entering a new phase. Ten months were to pass before the exact status of this new relationship would be fully clarified with the adoption of the Board policy.

6. The Richmond School Board was on the verge of recognizing the Richmond Education Association for a period of time after adoption of the February 28, 1973, "Resolution."

There is evidence that the Richmond School Board was bordering on recognition with the Richmond Education Association during the ten months following adoption of the February 28, 1973, "Resolution." Such evidence was verified by both school administrators and members of the Richmond School Board. The policy, titled "Meetings with Organizations and Associations," was adopted on December 4, 1973.

Dr. Thomas Little, Superintendent during this period,

verified that the Richmond School Board was bordering on recognition.

Little suggested:⁴²⁴

This policy was drafted during the time I was in the hospital (undergoing an operation for removal of a lung). I think it was drafted by the (Richmond) School Board and School Board attorneys with most participation by the Board Chairman (Rev. Miles Jones) and the Vice-Chairman (Edward Booker). When I came back from the hospital, Board members were bordering on recognition at this time. I tried to stay out of these deliberations since I didn't have all the facts.

Another school administrator, Dr. James Tyler, verified that the Richmond School Board was bordering on recognition of the Richmond Education Association. Tyler described Board attitudes during this time. He said:⁴²⁵

The Board's attitude toward negotiation, which was one of vacillation at first . . . mislead the teachers. Whether the Board mislead them deliberately or whether they were seriously considering negotiation and their position hardened or whether they were just playing with them (REA) is hard to say. I do think the Superintendent of (Richmond) Schools played a very important role in this. I do believe that if the Superintendent had been leaning in the direction of a policy on negotiations it might very well have resulted, but he (Dr. Little) was leaning in the opposite direction.

Rev. Miles Jones, Chairman of the Richmond School Board, verified Board sympathy with the efforts of the REA to gain recognition. Dr. Jones indicated:⁴²⁶

⁴²⁴Little, loc. cit.

⁴²⁵Statement by Dr. James Tyler, Associate Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, April 29, 1975.

⁴²⁶Statement by Rev. Miles Jones, Chairman, Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 15, 1975.

The Board wanted to continue its practice of making itself available to citizens who had matters to put before the Board. We wanted to spell out our availability . . . in terms that would be clear to employee groups. Inasmuch as we were at that time in touch with a very specific employee group, the Richmond Educational Association, we felt it might be helpful to adopt this policy with regard to procedures to be employed in such conversations. REA was making very direct efforts to gain recognition as a bargaining agent for teachers. We were sympathetic to REA efforts although we were not sympathetic to their aim. We wanted to create a climate where they (REA) could be heard. The REA did have the sympathetic ear of the Board for awhile. The feeling was let's explore some areas in which we could do some things cooperatively. This was my feeling too

Another Board member, Linwood Wooldridge, described the attitude of the Richmond School Board during this period. Wooldridge suggested that the Richmond School Board was anxious to build bridges in the community and in the school system. Wooldridge said:⁴²⁷

When I came on the Board in 1970, I submitted a motion that the Board go out and meet with students, teachers, the public, anywhere that such relationships might create some good for the system. After about six months, the Board agreed to try this approach. We were attempting to build new bridges--new relationships. This policy . . . evolved from this attitude. We tried to develop a policy to meet with all groups. REA helped point up the need for development of such a policy that we (the Board) may not have recognized. We wanted harmony within the (school) system.

⁴²⁷Wooldridge, loc. cit.

A third Board member, William Edwards, verified the accounts of Little, Tyler, Jones, and Wooldridge, concerning the sympathetic attitude of the Richmond School Board to the efforts of the REA to win recognition. Edwards suggested:⁴²⁸

It was possible the Board may have been receptive to the approaches and talks with the REA while Tom Little was in the hospital. Tom Little has a more direct style and Jim Tyler (his Associate Superintendent) has a more indirect approach. REA may have thought they were making progress during this time The Board was attempting to maintain an open-mind with respect to their relationship with the Richmond Education Association.

It was in the environment of such amiable attitudes of Board members that the Richmond School Board adopted the policy proposal, entitled "Meetings with Organizations and Associations." The policy was adopted on December 4, 1973, and the three articles included in the statement resulted from the "Memorandum of Understandings." This "Memo" was formulated prior to the February 28, 1973, "Resolution" of the Richmond School Board by the attorneys for the REA and the attorneys for the Board.⁴²⁹ One Board member, William Edwards, verified that the policy " . . . wasn't written by a consultant (Blucher Associates, Inc.). This (policy) was almost negotiated at a Board meeting."⁴³⁰ Dr. Little previously suggested that

⁴²⁸Statement by William Edwards, member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 25, 1975.

⁴²⁹Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public School System, Richmond, Virginia, December 4, 1973.

⁴³⁰Edwards, loc. cit.

most of the wording in this policy was prepared by Rev. Miles Jones, Board Chairman, and Lewis Booker, Vice-Chairman of the Board. Dr. James Tyler, an Associate Superintendent of the Richmond Public Schools during this time, verified the influence of Lewis Booker on the wording of the policy.⁴³¹

The fourth article of the proposed policy that was included in the February 28, 1973, "Resolution," and "Memorandum of Understandings" failed to pass the close scrutiny of the Richmond School Board. Consequently, this article was not part of the final policy that was adopted on December 4, 1973. The proposed "Article IV" was concerned with, "Discussions shall take place pursuant to procedures to be agreed upon mutually."⁴³² Dr. Little described the reasons for dropping "Article IV" from the final statement of policy. He suggested:⁴³³

The fourth section of this "Memorandum" dealing with "mutual understandings" was dropped before final adoption (of the policy). I had reservations about "mutual agreements" and what constitutes "mutual agreements." The doubt and reservations about section four existed (among Board members) before I came back from the hospital. I think rather than the influence I had on dropping it, the (increasingly) militant attitude of the REA convinced Board members not to go ahead with

⁴³¹Tyler, loc. cit.

⁴³²Richmond School Board Minutes, Richmond Public Schools, Richmond, Virginia, February 28, 1973.

⁴³³Little, loc. cit.

"Article IV" because they might be getting in water over their heads.

7. The Richmond Education Association adopted a more militant position with a change in leadership that occurred during 1973.

There is evidence that supports the contention that the REA change in leadership and the adoption of a more militant position concerning "professional negotiations" during 1973, resulted in a change of attitude on the part of Board members toward the issue. Since this change in attitude of Board members was largely responsible for the defeat of "Article IV" in the proposed policy, it was an important policy variable. Dr. Little verified this influence in the last direct quotation. Two members of the Richmond School Board also alluded to the new tactics of the REA that occurred during late 1973.

Rev. Miles Jones described the change of leadership of the REA and the change it produced in Board attitudes. Jones suggested:⁴³⁴

The change in the leadership of REA occurred at this time. It brought about a hard-line response on the part of the Board because REA began to engage in certain practices. The REA took off the "kid-gloves" and began to do some very divisive things. I warned her (the President) of her divisive tactics to Board members as an effort to divide and conquer. I told her she was not winning friends on the Board by this tactic.

⁴³⁴Jones, loc. cit.

This happened about the same time as the Superintendent (Dr. Little) being out (in the hospital).

Another member of the Richmond School Board, Richard Swartzchild, verified the account of Dr. Miles Jones concerning the change in tactics and diplomacy that occurred in the REA leadership during 1973. He indicated that he took exception to such tactics as did other members of the Richmond School Board. It was during this period in late 1973, that the first three articles of the policy was adopted while the fourth article was rejected by the Richmond School Board.⁴³⁵

8. Members of the Richmond School Board experienced second thought concerning the wisdom of adopting "Article IV" of the proposed policy.

Once the Richmond School Board was confronted with the REA leadership adopting a more militant position concerning "professional negotiations," members of the Richmond School Board and the school administration adopted a hardened line toward the REA. It was never clear to the REA leadership concerning the cause of this change in Board attitude, but this change of attitude was an important variable in the statement of the final policy.

⁴³⁵Statement of Richard Swartzchild, member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 25, 1975.

Margaret Lewis, who had pushed "professional negotiations" with the Richmond School Board since her term as REA President, stated the the Richmond School Board was the cause of the "Memorandum" failing to be implemented in full. Lewis indicated:⁴³⁶

It was about this time we started getting the shaft. We were told the Board couldn't meet so and so time, couldn't do this or that. We could not get the school board to adopt "Article IV."

The Executive Director of the Richmond Education Association, Julian Ferris, alluded to the difficulty that the REA experienced in having the "Memorandum" adopted as policy of the Richmond School Board. Ferris described the related events as follows:⁴³⁷

The procedure understood from the "Memorandum of Understanding" had not been implemented on September 4, 1973. We submitted to the School Board a recommendation that the REA and the (Richmond) School Board begin to develop procedures. As a result of this (action), we submitted a recommended procedure on October 2, 1973. We (REA and the Richmond School Board) got hung-up on "Article IV," how to conclude the discussions. The problem was with (the term) "mutual."

Dr. James Tyler suggested that Dr. Little was largely responsible for changing perceptions of the Board members concerning the term, "mutually agreeable." Tyler indicated:⁴³⁸

⁴³⁶Statement by Margaret Lewis, Speech Therapist in Richmond, Virginia, and former President of the Richmond Education Association (1970-71), interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 26, 1975.

⁴³⁷Ferris, loc. cit.

⁴³⁸Statement by Dr. James Tyler, Associate Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, April 29, 1975.

I think Dr. Little helped to define "mutually agreeable" as not meaning negotiation, but "mutually agreeable" procedures. The Superintendent was largely responsible for Article IV of the "memo" concerning "mutually reached agreements" being dropped.

The Superintendent of the Richmond Public Schools during this time, Dr. Thomas Little, verified the account of his opposition to the term "Mutually agreeable." Little said:⁴³⁹

I had reservations about "mutual agreements." The whole matter was discussed with representatives of . . . the legal department of the city and at that time a resistance policy was begun to be formed rather than one of cooperation.

There were a number of Board members and administrators who said this resistance policy toward the term "mutually agreeable" was not unanimous among members of the Richmond School Board. Jacob Orndorff,⁴⁴⁰ Richard Swartzchild,⁴⁴¹ William Edwards,⁴⁴² and EdwardCooke⁴⁴³ suggested that there were two members of the

⁴³⁹Statement by Dr. Thomas Little, former Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 18, 1975.

⁴⁴⁰Statement of Jacob Orndorff, member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 24, 1975.

⁴⁴¹Swartzchild, loc. cit.

⁴⁴²Statement by William Edwards, member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 25, 1975.

⁴⁴³Statement by Dr. EdwardCooke, Assistant Superintendent, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 2, 1975.

Richmond City School Board who were not of the opinion that the word "mutual" had any particular dangers. The names of two black Board members were mentioned most frequently in this regard, Rev. Miles Jones and Linwood Wooldridge. Wooldridge suggested that the Board was advised by its attorneys to refrain from using the term "mutual" in policy.⁴⁴⁴

The policy entitled "Meetings with Organizations and Associations," was finally adopted on December 4, 1973. The policy finally approved by the Richmond School Board had three articles. The fourth article that was originally a part of the "Memorandum of Understandings," which was an out-growth of the court suit, was dropped from the proposed policy prior to adoption. The work of the Richmond Education Association that was started during the term of Ed Ooghe, in 1968-69, had come full cycle. The Richmond Education Association had secured a Board policy that was linked in a small way with "negotiations" between the two groups. An uncertainty still lingered, however, concerning what really had been accomplished. Robert Hildrup, Director of Public Relations for the Richmond Public Schools said:⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴⁴Statement by Linwood Wooldridge, member of Richmond School Board, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 19, 1975.

⁴⁴⁵Statement by Robert Hildrup, Director of Public Information, Richmond Public Schools, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, April 29, 1975.

In my judgment, a careful study of the "Memo" would show the (Richmond) School Board wasn't really required to do anything. The original settlement had a lot of shalls, mayes, wills, and if advisable in it. All these are loop-holes through which the school board could run if it had chosen to do so.

The Executive Director of the Virginia Education Association, David Johnson, also had reservations concerning what had been gained.

Johnson indicated:⁴⁴⁶

If it (the "Memorandum of Understanding") had been followed to the letter of the policy, it would have meant a great deal to teachers If out of this suit all we got was a statement that is going to say the school board will listen to the REA's proposals, then do what they want to do, they have always done that. That was not our understanding of what we were getting out of the case. If it was, the case wasn't worth anything.

Julian Ferris, Executive Director of the Richmond Education Association, expressed his view of the policy more bluntly.

Ferris suggested, "There is not now anything in existence as a consequence of the court suit."⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁶ Statement by David Johnson, Executive Director, Virginia Education Association. Richmond, Virginia, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, June 20, 1975.

⁴⁴⁷ Statement by Julian Ferris, Executive Director, Richmond Education Association, Richmond, Virginia, Interview in Richmond, Virginia, May 23, 1975.

RELATIONSHIP OF POLICY VARIABLES

Sequence of Variables (by incident)

Most of the identified variables that were associated with development of this policy began during the late 1960's and continued into the decade of the 1970's. The order of occurrence among these variables was as follows:

1. The National Education Association strongly supported "professional negotiations" between the Richmond Education Association and the Richmond School Board, and helped train members of the Richmond Education Association in "negotiation" techniques. The NEA, by the late 1960's was encouraging such agreements, both nationally and in Virginia, with funding and in-service training of organizers attached with education associations. NEA trained negotiators were sent to Virginia to work with local associations. One President of the Richmond Education Association, Margaret Lewis, attended the NEA National Convention in San Francisco during August 1970. She made contact with an NEA organizer during this convention and received promises of training in negotiation techniques.

2. The Richmond School Board, on December 18, 1970, rejected initial requests from the Richmond Education Association for "professional negotiations" and related written agreements.

The request was made by officers of the Richmond Education Association after the officers had received training in "negotiation" techniques from one organizer that was attached to the National Education Association. The Richmond School Board based its rejection of the REA request on the perception of board members, that the REA was a labor union and that Virginia did not have enabling legislation permitting school boards to negotiate with municipal employee's unions.

3. The Board of Directors of the Virginia Education Association agreed to provide legal assistance for the Richmond Education Association to bring suit in U.S. District Court (Richmond) to test the legality of the Richmond School Board's refusal to recognize the Richmond Education Association. This request of the VEA, made by the REA, was a direct result of the Richmond School Board refusing to enter into "professional negotiations" with the REA. The Richmond Education Association did not have the necessary financial resources for such extended litigation without the assistance of the Virginia Education Association. This request of the VEA was made by Edward Ooghe on January 28, 1971. Ed Ooghe was a former President of the Richmond Education Association and during 1971, also served as a member of the Board of Directors of the VEA.

4. The Richmond Education Association initiated a suit in U.S. District Court, concerning the right of teachers to engage in "professional negotiations" with their employer, the Richmond School Board. The REA voted in favor of such action on February 3, 1971, after the VEA Board of Directors had earlier agreed to provide legal assistance for such a legal suit.

5. The Richmond Education Association withdrew the case concerning "professional negotiations" in U.S. District Court based upon the Richmond School Board resolution of February 28, 1973, which resulted in a "Memorandum of Understanding" between the board and the REA. This resolution was the result of many meetings between the board and the REA. This resolution was the result of many meetings between attorneys representing the Richmond School Board and the Richmond Education Association. Prior to these meetings between attorneys representing both sides, there were long gaps in communications between the Richmond School Board and the Richmond Education Association.

6. The Richmond School Board was on the verge of recognizing the Richmond Education Association for a period of time after adoption of the February 28, 1973, "Resolution." There were several black board members who believed the relationship between the Richmond School Board and the Richmond Education Association could be improved with an open dialogue between the two groups.

During this period, Superintendent Little was in the hospital undergoing a major operation for removal of a lung. Dr. Little's opposition to such recognition agreements was, consequently, removed from school board dialogue about "professional negotiations" with the Richmond Education Association. It was during this time, also, that board members prepared a proposed draft of this policy concerning "Meetings with Organizations and Associations."

7. The Richmond Education Association adopted a more militant position with a change in leadership that occurred during 1973. The new leadership of the REA used divisive tactics to "divide and conquer" members of the Richmond School Board. The practice of the new REA leadership was to interview individual members of the Richmond School Board concerning their position on "professional negotiations" with the REA. This information was then used in a somewhat "distorted" manner in the next interview with another school board member. The REA tactic had the effect of causing members of the Richmond School Board to have second thoughts about entering into "professional negotiations" in written agreements with the Richmond Education Association.

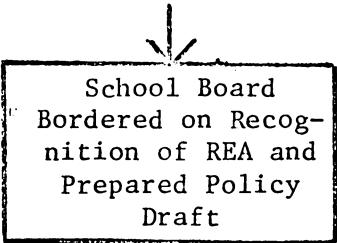
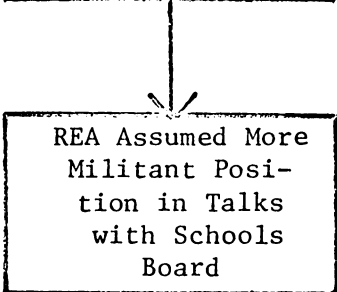
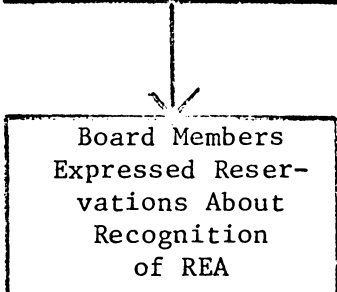
8. Members of the Richmond School Board had definite reservations concerning a fourth article that was part of the "Memorandum of Understanding." The fourth article said in essence, all discussions between the Richmond School Board and the REA should

Table 20

A Flow Chart of Meeting with Organizations and Associations
Policy Variables by Order of Incident

Date	Incident Flow	Narrative
August 1970	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> NEA Made Contact with REA and Provided Negotiation Training </div>	NEA makes contact with REA and provides negotiations training.
Dec. 18, 1970	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> School Board Rejected REA Request for Professional Negotiations </div>	Richmond School Board rejects REA request for "professional negotiations"
Jan. 28, 1971	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> NEA Requests Legal Aid from VEA to Initiate Suit Against Board </div>	REA requests legal aid from VEA to bring suit against the Richmond School Board
Feb. 3, 1971	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> REA Membership Voted to Pursue Court Suit Against School Board </div>	REA membership votes to pursue suit against Richmond School Board after aid is assured.
Feb. 28, 1973	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> REA Withdraws Court Suit with Promise of Policy Statement </div>	REA withdraws suit with agreement of mutual understandings and promise of policy statement.

Table 20--Cont.

Date	Incident Flow	Narrative
March- June, 1973	 <p>School Board Bordered on Recognition of REA and Prepared Policy Draft</p>	Richmond School Board borders on recognition of REA. Board prepares policy draft.
July 1973	 <p>REA Assumed More Militant Position in Talks with Schools Board</p>	REA assumes a more militant posture with change in leadership. Board members' attitudes change.
July- Dec. 1973	 <p>Board Members Expressed Reservations About Recognition of REA</p>	Board Members form reservations about recognition of REA. Supt. helps define "professional negotiations" for Board members.

end in "mutually agreeable" procedures. Once Dr. Little returned to his responsibilities, after his stay in the hospital, he helped to define "mutually agreeable" as meaning "mutually agreeable" procedures, not just as a reference to the process of "professional negotiations." The Richmond School Board adopted the policy titled, "Meetings with Organizations and Associations," on December 4, 1973. Articles 1-3 of the proposed policy were mutually agreeable to both the Richmond School Board and the REA, but the school board refused to act upon article 4, that included the term "mutally reached agreements."

Sequence of Variables (by actors)

The order of actors' influence on the incidents leading to this statement of policy were as follows:

1. The National Education Association was an actor in the incidents that eventually led to a statement of policy about "Meetings with Organizations and Associations" by the Richmond School Board. During the late 1960's, the National Education Association encouraged "professional negotiation" agreements among its state and local education association affiliates. The National Education Association also provided training in negotiation techniques for local associations requesting such assistance. The Richmond Education Association requested such training from an NEA organizer in August 1970. This training eventually led to the Richmond Education Association bringing suit in Federal Court

against the Richmond School Board concerning "professional negotiations." The settlement of this suit out-of-court established the foundations for the policy that was eventually adopted by the Richmond School Board in December, 1973.

2. The Richmond Education Association, as the representative of a majority of Richmond teachers, was a major actor in the incidents that led to adoption of this policy by the Richmond School Board. During the late 1960's, the Richmond Education Association began meeting with central school administrators in Richmond to reach "meet and confer" agreements. During the early 1970's, the local association sought to extend such agreements to include "Professional negotiations" with the Richmond School Board, by-passing the central school system administration. This effort to secure a "professional negotiations" agreement with the Richmond School Board occurred after the National Education Association, through an organizer, Frank Masters, provided in-service training to REA officers in negotiation tactics. This training was requested by Margaret Lewis, who served as President of the Richmond Education Association during 1970-71. The REA made an official request for recognition by the Richmond School Board and a "professional negotiations" agreement. The Richmond School Board rejected this request, giving as its reason that enabling legislation did not exist in Virginia for bargaining with union groups representing municipal employees. The REA through Ed Ooghe, a past president

of the REA, made a request to the Virginia Education Association for legal assistance to test this board refusal in Federal Court. The VEA Board of Directors provided legal assistance for the suit and the REA entered a suit regarding "professional recognition" against the Richmond School Board. The suit was later withdrawn upon mutual agreement between the Richmond School Board and the Richmond Education Association that a policy statement would result regarding conditions for meetings between groups and organizations.

3. The Virginia Education Association Board of Directors was an actor in incidents that led to development of a statement of policy concerning, "Meetings with Organizations and Associations," by the Richmond School Board. The VEA Board of Directors, upon request of the Richmond Education Association, agreed to provide legal assistance for the REA in an anticipates suit with the Richmond School Board concerning "professional negotiations." The suit was eventually entered on the docket of the U.S. District Court in Richmond and over a period of two years cost the Virginia Education Association about \$20,000. Settlement of this court suit out-of-court eventually resulted in the policy statement.

4. The Richmond School Board was an actor in the incidents that led to the statement of policy, titled "Meetings with Organizations and Associations." The board refused recognition of the Richmond Education Association and consequently a court suit was

Table 21

A Flow Chart of Meeting with Organizations and Associations
Policy Variables by Influence of Actors

Date	Actor Influence Flow	Narrative
Late 1960's	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> NEA Encouraged Professional Negotiations </div>	NEA encourages "professional negotiations" agreements through state and local associations.
1968-73	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> REA Sought Negotiations with School Board </div>	REA seeks "meet & confer," then "professional negotiation" agreements with Richmond School Board.
Jan. 28, 1971	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> VEA Board of Directors Pro- vided REA with Legal Assistance for Court Suit </div>	VEA Board of Directors agrees to provide legal assistance to REA for court suit against the School Board.
1968-73	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> School Board Discouraged REA Recognition At- tempts, Then Settled Suit Out of Court </div>	Richmond School Board discourages REA recognition attempts, then agrees on a related policy as condition to end court suit.

entered by the Richmond Education Association against the board. Settlement of the suit out-of-court was based on the condition that a policy statement would be the outcome concerning procedures for meetings with organizations and associations. The Richmond School Board, through its attorneys in meetings with REA attorneys, agreed to this condition and the suit was settled hours before it was to be argued in U.S. District Court. The Richmond School Board eventually formalized a policy statement concerning, "Procedures for Meetings with Organizations and Associations," during December 1973. Dr. Thomas Little assisted the Richmond School Board in reaching certain understandings about the proposed meanings of terminology in the proposed policy statement. Consequently, some words were changed and other phrases and clauses were dropped prior to official adoption of the policy.

CONTRIBUTION OF VARIABLES TO POLICY-FORM

Policy-Type

1. The policy-type of the formal statement, "Meeting with Organizations and Associations," seemed to best-fit the characteristics associated with the political mode since the school system was attempting to reach a compromise solution with its environment. The following observations were made concerning variables that impacted on the policy arena:

- 1.31 As early as 1968, the Richmond Education Association through its elected representatives was attempting to secure "Meet and confer" agreements with the Richmond Public School Board and administration. These efforts, at first, appeared to be successful, but as additional meeting agreements were presented by the REA, the school administration started to retreat from such agreements.
- 1.32 During 1970, the REA requested a "professional negotiations" agreement with the Richmond School Board, but the request was rejected. Previously the REA officers had trained by NEA field representatives in negotiation techniques and in this environment REA took the matter to court with the legal assistance of the Virginia Education Association.
- 1.33 Two years later the case continued to be on the docket of the U.S. District Court, but the REA decided to drop the case after an agreement was reached with the Richmond School Board that a policy statement would be adopted concerning meetings between the REA and the school board. This agreement was reached on February 28, 1973.

- 1.34 After this case was dropped and the Richmond School Board began to consider a policy draft about meetings with groups, the board members bordered on recognition of the REA. This board position changed as the REA assumed a new leadership and REA took an increasingly militant stance.
- 1.35 The Richmond School Board honored their February 28, 1973, agreement during December 1973 and adopted a policy statement, titled "Meeting with Organizations and Associations." The policy statement, however, stopped short of REA proposed meetings ending with "mutually reached agreements." The board seemed to stop short of full recognition as a result of the following two factors: a) an increasingly militant stance assumed by the REA, and b) the reluctance expressed by the Superintendent, Thomas Little, concerning the actual implications of the term "mutual agreements." As a result of these expressed concerns, the fourth article of the recommended policy dealing with "mutually reached agreements" was dropped from the adopted statement.
- 1.36 The major actors in this policy arena were the Richmond School Board and the Richmond Education Association. Thomas Little, the Superintendent, also played an important role in these policy considerations.

The policy was drafted and adopted as a direct result of the court case and the compromise reached between the two groups to stabilize their relationship in the school system.

Conceptual Schemes

2. The conceptual scheme of the policy statement, "Meeting with Organizations and Associations," seemed to best-fit the characteristics associated with the political mode since the school system was attempting to reach a settlement with its environment. The following observations were made:

2.31 The actors in this policy arena included Frank Masters, an NEA Field Representative, several past REA Presidents including Edward Ooghe and Margaret Lewis, The Virginia Education Association, The Richmond School Board, several top school administrators including Drs. Little, Tyler, and Hunter, and attorneys for both the Richmond School Board and the REA. Frank Masters helped train REA representatives in negotiation techniques upon the request of the past REA President Margaret Lewis. Edward Ooghe and Margaret Lewis coordinated the strategies and planning to accomplish the REA goal of "professional negotiations." The Virginia Education Association provided the funding for legal assistance that was needed to execute the court suit against the Richmond

School Board on constitutional grounds. The Richmond School Board and the Richmond Education Association were chief parties to discussions prior to the court suit, during the court suit and after the suit was dropped. The administrators named, such as Drs. Little, Tyler, and Hunter, participated in meetings with REA officials during the years of the court suit and were parties to the strategies developed in this policy arena. Indirectly, the U.S. District Court was an external actor to this policy arena since the fact of the court suit was an important influence. Also, the U.S. District Court on one occasion refused to dismiss the REA instituted case as the request of the Richmond School Board.

- 2.32 The problem was seen as the refusal of the Richmond School Board to agree to "professional negotiations" by the REA, but the Richmond School Board perceived the problem as the court suit instituted by the REA to gain "professional negotiations."
- 2.33 The selection was seen as the solution to issues that had been raised between the Richmond School Board and the REA. The solution was the agreement that the court suit would be dropped on the condition that the Richmond School Board would adopt a policy concerning meetings with the REA. This agreement was reached between both parties to the

court suit on February 28, 1973.

- 2.34 The action was seen as the policy statement that was adopted by the Richmond School Board in December 1973 concerning, "Meeting with Organizations and Associations." Article IV of the recommended policy concerned with "mutually reached agreements" was dropped prior to final adoption of the first three articles of the policy statement. This was the decision of the Richmond School Board, but dropping Article IV did not meet with the approval of the REA.

Dimensions of Policy

3. The formal policy statement, "Meeting with Organizations and Associations," within the three dimensions of policy was observed to be broad, non-incremental, both organizational and non-organizational and regulatory. The following observations were made relevant to the three dimensions of policy that have been characterized:

- 3.11 The policy statement, within the context of the first dimension of policy, was a broad non-incremental policy. The policy as written established precedent in meetings and procedures to be used by the Richmond School Board. Prior to this statement of policy, there was not a similar or related policy in existence.
- 3.21 Both organizational and non-organizational influences operated in helping to frame the policy concerning

"Meeting with Organizations and Associations." Non-organizational influences included the training in negotiation techniques that was provided REA officials by NEA field representatives. Included in this category of non-organizational influences was the legal assistance provided the REA by the Virginia Education Association. It would not have been possible for REA to afford such a legal suit without backing by their parent organization. The court case initiated in U.S. District Court was a primary influence in this policy arena. Organizational influences in this policy arena included teachers who held membership in the REA, the Richmond School Board and some top school administrators including Drs. Little, Tyler and Hunter. The administrators named were parties to meetings with both the REA and Superintendent in which strategies circulated around this policy arena.

3.31 The policy statement, within the context of the third dimension of policy, was regulatory. The policy listed specific procedures to be used in board meetings with organizations and associations. The policy was particularly directed toward the Richmond Education Association.

Process Patterns

4. The process patterns involved in formulating the policy statement involved the second and third forms of participation in influencing the policy. Both internal and external organizational levels were active in developing the policy, "Meeting with Organizations and Associations." The different process patterns that were involved in developing this policy statement were described as follows:

4.11 The participation of actors in the arena of policy-making, titled "Meeting with Organizations and Associations," included principally the Richmond School Board and the Richmond Education Association. Some top school system administrators were involved in discussions with the REA and assisted in the development of strategies related to the issue through dialogue. These actors included Drs. Little, Tyler, and Hunter. Other external actors included NEA field representatives, the Virginia Education Association and the U.S. District Court.

4.21 The level of organizational structures that were involved in this policy arena, from the standpoint of influencing development of this policy included Richmond Public School teachers who were members of the Richmond Education Association, some central administrators who have been named and the Richmond School Board. An outside level of public government (the organization) that was important as an actor was U.S. District Court (Richmond) where the

court suit was filed.

Structure of Influence

5. The structure of influence in evolving the formal policy statement, "Meeting with Organizations and Associations," involved largely actors who were also employees of the school system. Reference is made to the Richmond School Board and the Richmond Education Association, the latter organization was the professional association for the majority of teachers in the Richmond Public Schools. There were also other external actors not directly associated with the Richmond Public School System who, indirectly, were linked with policy development in this arena.

5.11 School Superintendents/Administration/School Board:

The principal internal school system actors in development of this policy were the Richmond School Board, the Superintendent Dr. Thomas Little, and several central office administrators including Drs. Tyler and Hunter. The Richmond School Board became an actor when it was named as a litigant in the suit entered in U.S. District Court by the Richmond Education Association. The superintendent was influential in developing the strategy that lasted two years before the case was dropped. He was also important in influencing the board to drop Article IV of the policy that was proposed before the first three articles were adopted. Drs. Tyler and Hunter assisted in the development of dialogue and strategy surrounding

the policy arena.

5.21 Local Community Structure: The Richmond community or the State of Virginia was not union-oriented during this period. Consequently, "right-to-work" laws were in effect state-wide and there was not any state or local "enabling legislation" that would allow bargaining or negotiations in terms of public government employers and employees. The traditional mood of central Virginia was also one of anti-unionism. It was in this community structure that the Virginia Education Association and National Education Association entered and encouraged "professional negotiations" agreements. This effort was not successful in Richmond because the Richmond Education Association lacked close unity and staying power in the struggle with the Richmond School Board. Also, enabling legislation for "professional negotiations" did not exist. The politics of the Richmond area and in the business group that controlled the Richmond City Council frowned on union actions. The Richmond Education Association was regarded as a union.

5.31 Stakeholders in Policy-Making: The principal stakeholders in this policy arena tended to be both internal and external actors that expected to be beneficiaries of any court action or compromise coming out of a court

Table 22

Meetings with Groups and Organizations Policy Cross-Index
Verification by Actors and Footnote Number

	Actors:	L. D. Adams	Tom Little	R. Hunter	Jim Tyler	Ed Cooke	R. Hildrup	School Board	Miles Jones	L. Wooldridge	W. Edwards	R. Swartzchild	J. Orndorff	VEA	David Johnson	REA	Julian Ferris	Ed Ooghe	Margaret Lewis	U.S. District Court
1. NEA makes contact with REA & provides negotiation training			389		390														388	
2. Richmond School Board rejects REA request for "professional negotiations"	391							364	395	396		397	394					392	393	
3. REA requests legal aid from VEA to bring suit against Richmond School Board			403			404								363 365 402	401	363		400	399	
4. REA membership votes to pursue suit against Richmond School Board after aid is assured	409	410	411		405					413	412				408	366		407	367 406	369

Table 22--Continued

	Actors:																		
	L. D. Adams	Tom Little	R. Hunter	Jim Tyler	Ed Cooke	R. Hildrup	School Board	Miles Jones	L. Wooldrige	W. Edwards	R. Swartzchild	J. Orndorff	VEA	David Johnson	REA	Julian Ferris	Ed Ooghe	Margaret Lewis	U.S. District Court
5. REA withdraws suit with agreement of mutual understandings & promise of policy statement.		380		419		418	381 383 422		379		420	421	428	416	373 382 383 384	423	414	415 417	
6. Richmond School Board borders on recognition of REA. Board prepares policy draft		424		425			386	426	379										
7. REA assumes more military posture with change in leadership and Board members attitudes change								434			435								
8. Board members form reservations about recognition of REA. Supt. helps define "professional negotiations" for Board		439		438	443		387		444	442	441	440				437		436	

action. These external stakeholders included the NEA and VEA. Internal stakeholders of the school system included the REA and the Richmond School Board. The superintendent as top executive officer of the Richmond Public School System was also a stakeholder.

SUMMARY

The Richmond Education Association developed a strategy during the term of Ed Ooghe as REA President in 1968-69, to develop a written agreement concerning meetings with the REA and the Richmond School Board. The following year, an attempt was made to further refine written agreements concerning procedures for such meetings between the two groups. Progress was slow. During the term of Margaret Lewis as REA President, in 1970-71, a more militant position was adopted by the Richmond Education Association with the advisory backing of the National Education Association.

During the 1970-71 school-year, a formal request was made by the REA for recognition and "professional negotiations" with the Richmond School Board. The Board refused such recognition upon advice of attorneys and in the absence of state enabling legislation.

The Richmond Education Association contacted the Virginia Education Association and requested financial assistance for a court suit against the Richmond School Board testing whether teachers have a constitutional right to recognition and talks with their employer,

the School Board. The VEA Board of Directors granted the REA request for financial and legal assistance in the court suit.

During 1971, the suit was launched in U.S. District Court and was continued on the court's docket until December, 1973. The Richmond Education Association, in the interval, attempted to secure recognition with the Board through "back-door" agreements. REA attorneys met with attorneys for the Richmond School Board. REA proposed that the case would be dropped if the Board would agree to recognize the REA as agent for the city school teachers. As a result of such discussions, a "Memorandum of Understandings" was prepared between attorneys for both sides.

An arrangement was made between attorneys for both the Richmond Education Association and the Richmond School Board whereby the case would be dropped by the REA upon the Richmond School Board adopting the "Memorandum of Understandings." This action was accomplished by the Richmond School Board on February 28, 1973, in the form of a "Resolution."

The Richmond School Board, for about ten months after the February 28, 1973, "Resolution," was on the verge of according the Richmond Education Association full recognition. This was a period when Dr. Little, Superintendent, was in the hospital undergoing a serious operation. The Richmond Education Association also chose to adopt a more militant position concerning professional negotiations" with a change in leadership of the REA during 1973.

Members of the Richmond School Board expressed second thoughts about the wisdom of recognition and adoption of "Article IV" of the "Memorandum of Understandings," with the more militant position that was adopted by the new REA leadership. Reservations were expressed by both administration and members of the Board concerning the meaning of "mutually-reached" agreements. A few black board members expressed less concern about the implications of such a term expressed in a policy format. Attorneys for the Richmond School Board swayed opinion on the Richmond School Board and "Article IV" of the "Memorandum" was defeated.

The Richmond School Board adopted the policy, titled "Meetings with Organizations and Associations," on December 4, 1973. The efforts of the REA over a period of five years resulted in this policy statement.

Actors who were influential in development of this policy included the Richmond School administration, Board members, the Virginia Education Association and the National Education Association. The Superintendent, Dr. Thomas Little, was also very influential in the final statement of Board policy.

SIGNIFICANCE OF OPERATIONAL POLICY VARIABLES IN RICHMOND

It was reported in the literature that community size was seen as an important variable in the degree to which control by bureaucrats is sought and the influence of citizens and elected public officials is ignored. It was suggested that as community

size increases, the influence of school board members decreased while the reverse situation tends to be the rule in situations of smaller community size. Increasing size of school systems and advanced technology were seen as associated with decentralization of the policy-making process although one study reported that behavior and decision-making was apparently more cautious in centralized systems.

The population of Richmond, Virginia, according to figures reported in the 1970 U.S. Census, was 249,430. This represented an increase of almost 40,000 residents in a ten-year period between 1960-1970. With a municipal population of one-quarter million persons and a greater metropolitan population exceeding one million persons, Richmond may be considered a medium-size city.

A study of the variables that impacted on two or more policy arenas that were reported in this paper suggest that a wide variety of actors influenced the different policy areas, although the influence of external forces in Richmond did not totally control policy considerations. The Richmond School Board did not seek to serve as a closed group in policy matters. Testimony revealed that members of the Richmond School Board during this period openly sought the recommendations of the community and interest groups in attempting to construct a more viable school system for the students in Richmond. It is, perhaps, possible that school board members in large cities appear to some researchers to have less

influence over policy-making, when in reality these urban board members may be more responsive to the urban flow of incidents and actors. Such seemed to be the situation in Richmond.

It cannot be concluded that policy-making was decentralized in Richmond in all areas. Testimony revealed that there were a number of policy areas influenced almost solely by the Superintendent and the Richmond School Board. There was also evidence that in some other policy areas, the policy-making process was more decentralized and input of a wide variety of actors was considered in formulating a few policy statements. There was also some evidence in a number of policy areas that the court orders dealing with desegregation of the Richmond Public School System and changing court opinions in other areas indirectly caused some policy statements to be prepared. Such evidence refutes some research that has been reported which indicates, supposedly, that the size of school systems and advanced technology results in the decentralization of the policy-making process. Research reported in this paper seems to suggest that centralization or decentralization of policy-making in urban school systems is, perhaps, more dependent upon the range of events impacting on a given school system and the blend of personality and experience of major actors including school administrators and members of the school board.

Table 23

Variables that Impacted on Two or More Policy
Areas in the Richmond, Virginia, School System

Illustration: (Variables impacting on two or more policy arenas)

1. <u>Variables Impacting on Two Policy Arenas:</u>	<u>Policy Arenas:</u>
1.1 Annexation Suit (Richmond-Chesterfield)	Budget Pupil Transportation
1.2 Historic Inequities	Instruction Personnel (Equal Opportunity)
1.3 Leadership Change	Instruction Personnel (Equal Opportunity)
1.4 Blucher Associates, Inc.	Budget Pupil Transportation
2. <u>Variables Impacting on Three Policy Arenas:</u>	<u>Policy Arenas:</u>
2.1 Citizens for Excellent Public Schools (CEPS)	Budget Pupil Conduct Instruction
3. <u>Variables Impacting on More Than Three Policy Arenas:</u>	<u>Policy Arenas:</u>
3.1 Court Desegregation Order	Budget Pupil Transportation Pupil Conduct Instruction Personnel (Equal Opportunity)

Table 24

Contribution of Variables to Policy Form in the
Different Policy Areas

Policy Classification	Policy Areas		
	Budget	Pupil Transportation	Pupil Conduct
Policy-Type	Organizational	Political	Political
Conceptual Schemes	Organizational	Political	Political
Dimensions of Policy	1) Small-Scale incremental 2) Non-organizational and organizational 3) Regulatory	1) Broad-non-incremental 2) Non-organizational 3) Dist. & Regul.	1) Small Scale incremental 2) Non-organizational and organizational 3) Regulatory
Process Patterns	1) Organization Specialists & 2) Wide variety actors	1) Internal Actors & 2) Wide variety across	1) Organization Specialists & 2) Wide variety actors
Structures of Influence	1) Organization specialists 2) Community stakeholders	1) Dr. Little 2) U.S. District Court	1) Organization specialists 2) Community stakeholders

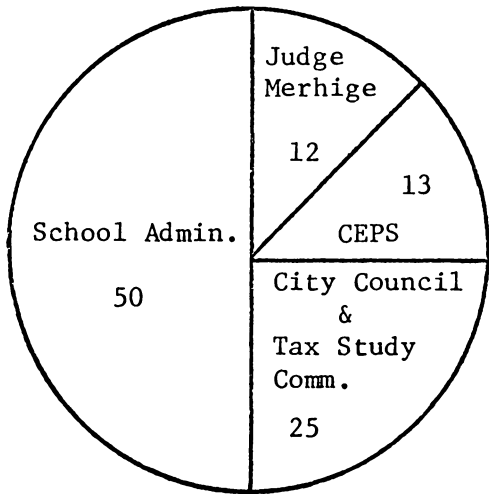
Table 24--Continued

Policy Classification	Policy Areas		
	Instruction	Personnel: Equal Opportunity Employer	Meetings with Organizations and Associations
Policy-Type	Political	Political	Political
Conceptual Schemes	Political	Political	Political
Dimensions of Policy	1) Small-Scale incremental 2) Non-organizational and organizational 3) Dist.& Regul.	1) Broad, non-incremental 2) Non-organizational and organizational 3) Regulatory	1) Broad, non-incremental 2) Non-organizational and organizational 3) Regulatory
Process Patterns	1) Organization Specialists & 2) Wide variety actors	1) Internal Actors & 2) Wide variety actors	1) Internal Actors (Sch.Bd. & REA) 2) External Actors (NEA, VEA, CT.)
Structures of Influence	1) Organization specialists 2) Community stakeholders	1) Organization specialists 2) Int. Actors 3) Community stakeholders	1) Organization specialists 2) Internal Actors 3) External Actors

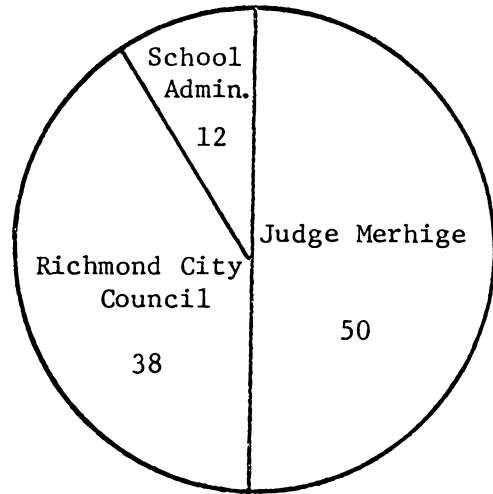
Table 25

Proportion of Actor Influence

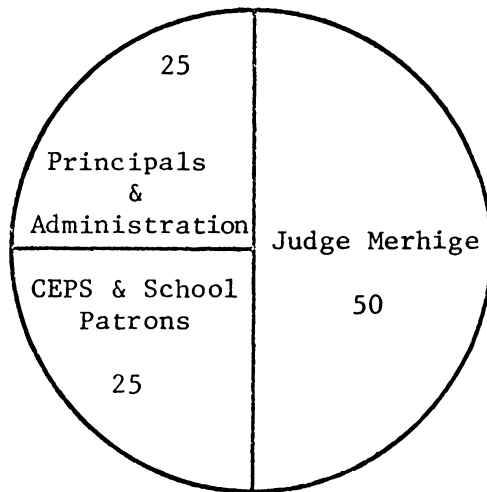
1. Budget



2. Transportation



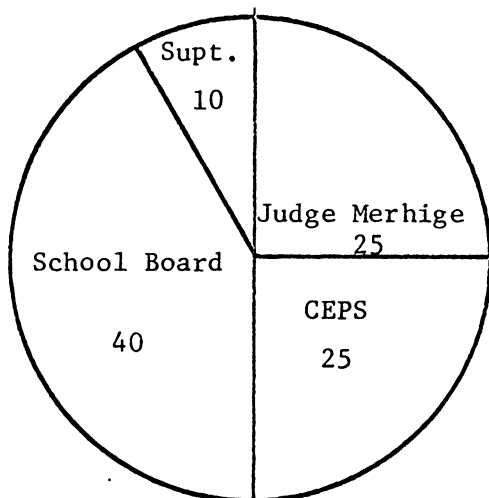
3. Pupil Conduct



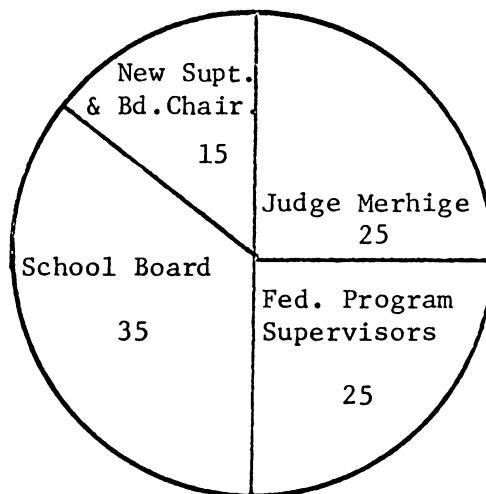
Notation: These pie graphs represent an interpretation based upon the judgment of the investigator concerning the proportion of influence different actors exhibited in specific policy areas of the Richmond, Virginia School System.

Table 25--Continued

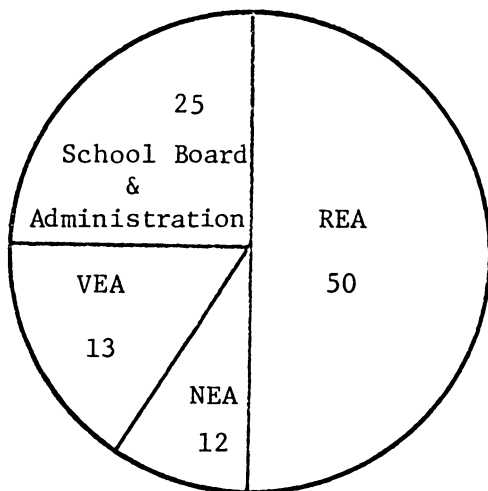
4. Instructions



5. Equal Opportunity



6. Meeting with Organizations and Associations



ANSWERING THREE BASIC QUESTIONS OF THE STUDY

Rational Policy Model

1. To what extent was the rational interpretation of policy-making appropriate to explaining the policy-making process in the Richmond Public School System?

The rational interpretation of policy-making assumed that the policy-making process is an attempt by those who have influence, "to maximize certain values where alternatives are carefully assessed and choices are made rationally." This interpretation of policy-making assumed the constant of a continual and comprehensive analysis of possible futures. Theories and concepts of general systems methodology have often been assumed to be associated with this interpretation of policy-making.

Within this interpretation of policy-making, the actor was conceptualized as the unified and commonly understood activity of organization agents pertinent to determining goals, options and consequences for each alternative. A problem was seen as produced by discrepancies or opportunities that occurred in relationship to the organization. Strategy selection was seen as the total steady activity of organization agents pertinent to determining the solution for a problem and action was seen as the choice factor when confronted with rational goals, options and consequences.

The rational interpretation of policy-making was not judged to be a "best-fit" with any of the six policies that were investigated in this study. The school system was, during this period, involved with the rapidly changing dynamics of a changing community and

school system. The style of decision-making within the Richmond Public School System during this period was reactive rather than pro-active to new situations and demands that confronted the school system. The internal operating style of the school system lacked the elements usually associated with systems design.

The Richmond Public School System was not organized to approach problem solutions in a systematic fashion using rational and systematic methods until well after 1973. The Booz-Allen, Hamilton Management Consultants suggested such an organizational scheme during the early 1970's.

During the time period this investigation was conducted, important decisions concerning instructional and business services tended to be made at the highest organizational levels between friends who worked as contemporaries for between fifteen and twenty years. Both Lucien D. Adams who became Superintendent of the Richmond Public Schools in 1968 and Dr. Thomas Little who became Superintendent in 1972 had worked side-by-side for many years. L. D. Adams handled instructional matters and Dr. Thomas Little handled business matters of the Richmond Public School System. Both men had maximum exposure to the political acumen of the Richmond Superintendent with whom they were employed during many years. H. Willet was the tutor and both Adams and Little were the students. School administration was taught by H. Willett as an exercise in political one-upmanship. According to testimony of both L. D. Adams and Thomas Little, these lessons, however, were

taught in the environment of yester-year and the Southern community "way of doing things." The lessons were not meant for the conditions and changing conditions of urban community life of the 1960's and 1970's. Decisions were, during this period, still made "close-to-the vest" and between friends and other intimates. The period and conditions of the early 1970's called for a more involved type of leadership that was adaptable to newly emerging urban coalitions of policy actors. Adams was not up to the task and he took an early retirement. The new Superintendent, Little, tended to be more of a political realist. He gradually went to work forming new alliances and rejecting former policy actors that had lost their base of support. Although he was a realist, Little still held tight operational reins as he interacted with new political coalitions both on the Richmond School Board and in the Richmond community. Under these circumstances and with the existent personality types of top school administrators and members of the Richmond School Board, perhaps the new Superintendent did not perceive that policy-making might be developed in any other manner than in a political context.

Policies during the early 1970's were not developed in a rational context of those characteristics associated with the rational policy-making model. The decision-structure did not exist in Richmond for policy to be made in this manner. Dr. Little said, to this investigator, "Any person who believes policy-making is anything but a political activity in an urban school system is only fooling themselves."

Organizational Policy Model

2. To what extent was the organizational interpretation of policy-making appropriate to explaining the policy-making process in the Richmond Public School System?

The organizational interpretation of policy-making assumed that the policy-making process is conducted through a pyramidal arrangement of departments headed by one professional manager. Decisions of specialists within an organization resulting from established routines have been seen as basic to understanding the policy-making process in the organizational mode. The factors of technical expertise, professional experience and control over policy implementation by specialists within public organizations have been seen as reducing the operational role of legal policy-makers to that of approval only. This interpretation of policy-making assumed incremental additions to public policy by specialists, which are "reinforcing, systematic and defensible strategies" when viewed together.

An actor in the organizational interpretation of policy-making was seen as specialist within organizational departments. A problem was defined as produced by discrepancies or opportunities that occurred. Selection was seen as solutions to particular problems based upon the recommendation that generated from a department with a speciality related to the problem. The solution was viewed as one that tends to be rather autonomous from the political system and action was perceived as behavior that reflected existing

routines, related to standard operating procedure and avoidance of uncertainty and cumulative organizational knowledge.

The organizational interpretation of policy-making was judged to be a "best-fit" for only one of the six policies that were investigated in this study. The criterion of "best-fit" appeared to be applicable only to the policy area, titled "Budget." It was indicated that decisions of specialists within an organization resulting from established routines have been seen as basic to understanding the policy-making process in the organizational mode. Thomas Little, between 1954 and 1972, when he was appointed superintendent, was in charge of the business services and operations of the Richmond Public Schools. It was under his direction that business procedures manuals were organized and printed of business practices that developed during his years of business oriented leadership. The policy that was developed, "Budget," was directly linked with statements of existing practices that were documented in the business procedures manuals. It is, perhaps, probable that this particular policy was framed by a school system specialist in an organization context because the primary budget specialist was also the superintendent.

The policy statement, "Budget," was not entirely autonomous to the political system, but seemed to have been formulated more as the result of organizational considerations and the policy update and revision that was then ongoing in the Richmond Public School System.

The policy statement represented incremental additions to existing budget routines documented in school system business procedures manuals.

It was because the characteristics associated with the organization interpretation of policy-making "best-fit" this policy that this policy was linked to the organizational framework. The rational and political interpretation of policy-making were not applicable to describing the variables or policy characteristics associated with this policy arena.

Political Policy Model

3. To what extent was the political interpretation of policy-making appropriate to explaining the policy-making process in the Richmond Public School System?

The political interpretation of policy-making viewed actors in a competitive game where bargaining occurred within regular channels among players in the system. Good decisions were thought to be ones that achieve consensus rather than those meeting specifications for efficiency and effectiveness, thus aiding the organization to stabilize its relationship with its environment in such a way as to protect its own domain. This interpretation of policy-making assumed certain components which included the manner in which each player adapts to pressure, his operating style, the peculiar mix of personality-types and styles of game players. Problem identification and policy resolution of problems were viewed as operating with long lead and lag times. Policy-making in terms of a political

orientation was viewed in terms of uncertainty, risk, incomplete information, partial ignorance of the situation in which problems evolve, the resources of interest groups and the effectiveness of proposed solutions.

Within the context of the political interpretation of policy-making, actors were seen as a number of players, with coalitions of these players serving as agents of the system in decision-making coupled with resulting action. The problem was seen as game issues that have been raised by special situations, and deadlines which cause individual players to devote attention to the decisions that must be made within time limits. The strategy selection perceived the solution to particular problems in terms of power and a player increasing his in areas of policy, as a result of formal authority, constituent recognition, support of expertise, skill in bargaining and "potential capacity for using coercion." The action has been perceived as based upon consensus of game players when confronted with individual political goals, and uncertain environment, structure, rules, game pace and rewards.

The political interpretation of policy-making was judged to be a "best-fit" in five of the six policy areas that were investigated in this study. These five policy areas included: (a) pupil transportation, (b) pupil conduct, (c) instruction, (d) personnel--equal opportunity employer, and (e) meeting with organizations and associations. The political interpretation of policy-making was not

applicable to the policy areas of "Budget." The political influences that interacted in these five policy areas were discussed and clearly specified in other parts of this paper and accompanying chart. There were a wide variety of both influences and actors that caused these five policies to be framed in the context of political input and considerations. It is significant to note, however, that the traditional orientation of the school system was to make policy in a tight circle of confidants. The decision structure and support services did not exist for other types of policy-making to be seriously considered in most policy areas. The new superintendent viewed himself not as an educator, but as an administrator and a politician. He viewed all policy-making in terms of politics, interest groups, and arriving at a consensus to stabilize events.

Chapter 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter reports the results of field research related to the variables that affected policy-making in a medium size urban school system that was located in Virginia. The school system, the Richmond City Public Schools, at the time of this research had a student population of about 40,000 and was serving the state capital community of 250,000 residents with a larger metropolitan population of about one million people. The school system was located in an environment where about half the city population was white and half was black. The city school population was about 70 percent black and 30 percent white. Desegregation of the public school system was ordered by the courts in 1970, and the policies that were discussed in this study were adopted between two and three and one-half years after this court order.

The thesis of this study was that existing models of policy-making that were commonly discussed in educational literature did not, in isolation, adequately explain or account for variables that were operating both within and between policy areas. It was suggested

that the rational, organizational, or political models, in isolation, were not adequate for explaining the complete range of factors that impacted upon policy-making in an urban school system. The suggestion was made that educational administration and planning in urban school systems was, possibly, adversely affected as a result of insufficient knowledge about policy-making that occurred in urban school systems. The broad purpose of this study was to investigate six areas of policy development in an urban school system to identify and analyze the relationships of variables impacting within and between distinct policy areas. The importance of this investigation was related to the broad area and responsibility of educational administration and planning in most operational areas of an urban school system. Results and conclusions of this study were offered to enable educational administrators and planners to better understand variables and the relationship of variables that tend to impact within and between distinct areas of educational administration and planning responsibility. Through such improved processes of identification and understanding, it was argued that educational administration and planning efforts of urban school systems can be made more practical and efficient.

The format for this chapter included the following sections:

- (1) Summary, (2) Conclusions, (3) Implications, and
- (4) Recommendations. This section, titled "Summary," included a description of the problem, the research methodology, and the

findings. The section, titled "Conclusions," listed the outcomes of the study in terms of importance for planning in an urban school system. The section, titled "Implications," listed interesting "spin-offs" of the study that were not directly related to the research topic. Finally, the section titled "Recommendations," included suggestions for future studies of policy-making in urban school systems. The recommendations that were listed were intended to assist urban school systems in planning administration, and individuals who may wish to follow-up this investigation with a related study of policy-making in public school systems.

Summary

The thesis suggested that existing models of policy-making (Rational Model, Organizational Model, Political Model), in isolation, were not adequate for explaining the range of factors important to policy-making in an urban school system. This study answered questions related to the extent that different interpretations of policy-making were appropriate to explaining the policy-making process in the Richmond System.

An ex post facto design of research was selected as a means of reducing the time requirements needed to examine policy-making in six areas of school system operation. A 19 months period (between 1970-73) was selected for the study of policy-making based upon the date a given policy was adopted. Policies that

were studied in terms of internal and external impact policy variables included: (a) personnel recruitment, (b) instruction, (c) transportation, (d) budgeting, (e) pupil conduct, and (f) procedures for meeting organizations. These policies were selected as representative of a cross-section of school system policies approved during the administration of one superintendent and one school board chairman.

Research was conducted through the process of identification of actors by review of school system or external documentary sources including official records and newspapers. Interviews were held as appointments could be arranged with actors who were important to policy considerations. Actors were identified through documentary records and testimony of other actors.

The case study method was utilized for treatment of data. Available information was assimilated in a series of six case histories, one for each policy. Similar treatment was accorded data in each case history. First, the given policy was stated. Second, the policy environment was described. Third, policy impact variables were discussed. Fourth, the contribution of policy variables to policy-types, conceptual schemes, dimensions of policy, process patterns and the structure of influence were analyzed. Finally, the case study findings were used to answer questions related to the extent that the three specified models (interpretations) were appropriate to explaining the policy-making process in the school system.

Validity of actor testimony was accomplished with a verification of facts recorded in surveyed documents and through the testimony of other actors. A check of reliability was not possible with experimental means because of the characteristics associated with ex post facto research.

The research findings as associated with the identified questions were:

1. The rational interpretation of policy-making was not judged to be a "best-fit" with any of the six policies that were investigated in this study.
2. The organizational interpretation of policy-making was judged to be a "best-fit" for only one of the six policies (e.g., "Budget") that were investigated. Recommendations of organizational specialists significantly affected development and expression of this policy.
3. The political interpretation of policy-making was judged to be a "best-fit" in five of the six policy areas that were investigated. These five policy areas included: (a) transportation, (b) pupil conduct, (c) instruction, (d) personnel recruitment, and (e) procedures for meeting with organizations. The orientation of the school system was to make policy in a tight circle of top school system administrators,

most notably the Superintendent, the school board and some external actors. One federal judge, the city council and several citizen study groups were, indirectly, effective as external actors to policy-making.

Conclusions

Conclusions of this investigation are listed in two separate categories. The first category of conclusions is related to the degree of usefulness that existing policy models possessed in interpreting policy-making in an urban school system. The second category of conclusions is related to the type of policy arena in which different actors operated and many methods they employed in exerting influence.

Conclusions related to policy-making models

1. The rational interpretation of policy-making (Rational Policy Model) was judged not to be a "best-fit" with any of the six policies that were investigated in this study. The basic assumption of the "Rational Policy Model" indicated that the organization promoted an open-flow of information to all levels and, hence, alternatives to problems could be considered by all affected persons and logical recommendations made in terms of policy.

This basic assumption did not correctly fit the circumstances of the Richmond Public School System where there was not an open flow of information and incomplete information often tended to be the rule in some policy considerations. The "Rational Policy Model" was not appropriate for describing policy variables in the Richmond Public School System.

2. The organizational interpretation of policy-making (Organizational Policy Model) was judged to be a "best-fit" for only one of the six policies ("Budget") that were investigated. The basic assumption of the "Organizational Policy Model" indicated that specialists within the school system formulated policy recommendations incrementally and these recommendations were "rubber-stamped" by the school board. This apparently occurred in only the policy area, titled "Budget," in the policy areas of the Richmond Public School System. The Richmond School Board apparently respected the special competence of the Superintendent and his long background in finance and budgeting and so looked with favor upon his policy recommendation in this area.
3. The political interpretation of policy-making (Political Policy Model) was judged to be a "best-fit" in five of the six policy areas that were investigated. These

five policy areas included: (a) transportation, (b) pupil conduct, (c) instruction, (d) personnel recruitment, and (e) procedures for meeting with organizations. The basic assumption of the "Political Policy Model" indicated that policy was made through a process of bargaining between actors as a means of the school system establishing its relationship with the environment. The orientation of the Richmond Public School administration lacked serious challenge within the school system concerning policy issues, with the one possible exception of the policy area "Meeting with Organizations" The teacher's professional association was active in this area. More serious challenges to the operation of the Richmond Public Schools occurred from without the system. It was in this environment that the top administration of the school system, most notably the Superintendent, and the school board indirectly reached a consensus with outside actors to stabilize the relationship of the school system with its environment. Apparently, this was true in considering the policy issues related to the following: (a) transportation, (b) pupil conduct, (c) instruction, and (d) personnel recruitment. The same school system actors in the policy area titled,

"Meeting Organizations . . .," apparently sought to stabilize the internal school system relationship with its professional employees. Within these five policy areas, influential actors aside from school system administration and board included one federal judge, the city council, several citizen study groups, and in one instance, the teacher's association or related personnel. The environment of the school system was directly affected by both political and judicial actions and, correspondingly, the school system operated within the same context in locating policy "solutions" to policy-gap or problem areas.

4. The policy models discussed in the paper (Rational Model, Organizational Model, Political Model) were not helpful in describing "Dimensions of Policy" that occurred in the development of given policies in particular policy areas. This category identified the nature of the policy statement (small-scale incremental or broad-scale non-incremental, participation by non-organizational or organizational actors, distributive or regulatory). With the exception of the policy titled "Budget," there did not seem to be any important differences between characteristics of the particular policy that was finally adopted and the manner

(organizational specialists or political consensus) in which the policy was developed. The policy, titled "Budget," represented incremental additions to existing operational practices. The remaining policy areas (transportation, pupil conduct, instruction, personnel, and meeting groups) were about equally divided between small-scale increments to existing policy and broad-scale statements of new policies. Policy areas in which increments were added to existing policies included the following: (a) budget, (c) pupil conduct, and (c) instruction. The policy "budget" was identified with the organizational approach to policy-making. Both policies, "pupil conduct" and "instruction" were associated with the political approach to policy-making. Policy areas in which broad statements of new policy priorities occurred included: (a) pupil transportation, (b) personnel recruitment, (c) meeting with organizations and associations. These policy areas were associated in a political context with either actors internal or external to the school system. All six of the policy areas included both organizational and non-organizational actors in incidents leading to the statements of policy except the policy, titled "Pupil Transportation." This last policy statement was an outgrowth of a

court-order establishing a transportation system in the Richmond Public School System. All six of the policy areas included regulatory features in statements of policy. Only two of the policy areas addressed the issue of distributing resources to aid in achieving the intent of a particular policy. These two policy areas included: (a) transportation, and (b) instruction. It can be concluded that: (a) the area in which organizational specialists exerted chief policy-making influence, policy tended to be stated in an incremental fashion, (b) the areas of policy developed in a political context did not indicate a tendency toward small-scale additions to existing policy or broad new statements of policy, (c) almost all areas of school system policy-making involved input from both organizational and non-organizational actors, except the area of "Pupil Transportation" where court-orders represented compelling reasons for a statement of policy, and (d) all policy areas included regulatory aspects in policy statements, while only a third of policy statements made reference to distribution of resources.

5. The policy models described in the literature (Rational Model, Organizational Model, Political Model) are not,

either individually or collectively, appropriate for explaining operational variables across a wide range of policy areas in an urban school system. This investigation demonstrated that in an urban school system (Richmond), that the "Organizational Policy Model" and the "Political Policy Model" tend to be "best-fits" for describing policy variables operating in some policy areas. Individually, however, these policy models were not appropriate for describing policy impact variables across a wide range of policy areas in an urban school system. The "Rational Policy Model," that has been discussed in the literature was not seen to be operational, either individually or collectively, with the six policy areas that were investigated. This research finding suggested a need for development of a policy model that more comprehensively describes policy impact variables across a wide-range of policy areas. Such a conceptual policy model would need to be eclectic in orientation and possess the characteristic of adaptability to different conditions.

Conclusions Related to Policy
Arenas and Actors

1. The policy arena including budgeting was, probably, chiefly affected by the recommendations of organizational specialists, most notably the Superintendent and the policy consultant firm, Blucher Associates, Inc., that was employed by the school system to help update and revise the policy manual. Other external actors who added input to this policy arena included: city council, several citizen study committees including one study of the school system by concerned citizens and another tax study recommendation committee that was commissioned by city council. The school board seemed only to be important in the official capacity of adopting a policy that had already been prepared by directive or organizational specialists.
2. The policy arena including transportation was, probably, chiefly affected by the court-order issued by Judge Robert Merhige through the U.S. District Court. This order mandated that the Richmond Public School System acquire a transportation capacity to expedite a desegregation order. The top administration of the school system was only important in the sense of identifying an area of policy-gap for the Blucher Associates, Inc., that was involved with updating the

school system policy manual. The school board seemed only to be important in the official capacity of adopting a policy that had already been mandated by function in a court-order.

3. The policy arena including pupil conduct was, probably, chiefly affected by the recommendations that were the outgrowth of dialogue involving teachers, principals, central office administrators, school board, and many external actors. High school principals, most notably George Jones, apparently, was most influential in securing such a revised statement of policy from the school board. Actors within the community whose concerns were articulated through the newspapers and city council were also influential in terms of the school board finally adopting a policy concerned with pupil conduct. A citizens study group that offered recommendations for improving school environments was heard in this policy arena by the school administration and the school board. Changing court opinions concerned with "due process" considerations were also heard and considered as input in this policy arena by both school administration and school board. The school board was clearly searching for a "consensus" solution to the problem of behavior in schools and consequently was

willing to receive input from all sectors of the school system and the community.

4. The policy arena including instruction was, probably, chiefly affected by a combination of the dialogue that ensued between such actors as the school board, top school system administration, a citizens study group that was concerned about the community image of the public schools, and other actors in the community whose concerns were articulated by the newspapers. The chief actors in this policy arena were, probably, the school board that was concerned about a growing sense in the community of inequities in public education, and the community "voice" articulated by city council and the newspapers about a school system "on the decline." Some top administrators were important in the sense of adding a clause about educational opportunities for exceptional children prior to the policy being put in final form and adopted by the school board.
5. The policy arena including personnel was, probably, chiefly influenced by the school board, followed to a lesser degree by federal program supervisors and one federal judge. The blacks on the school board had as a priority equal opportunity as well as promotion of more blacks and women to leadership positions. Federal

program specifications mandated "equal opportunity" provisions and one judge mandated certain teacher staff ratios in the city schools. The Superintendent represented an influence concerning this statement of policy because he was a new superintendent and endorsed the sentiments of board members on this issue.

6. The policy arena including meeting organizations was, probably, chiefly influenced by the interactions of two groups, the Richmond School Board and the teachers association. The teachers association brought suit in court against the administration and school board as a means of achieving "professional negotiations" between the groups. Other actors including the National Education Association and the Virginia Education Association were important as policy actors. NEA provided the negotiations training for some Richmond teachers and the VEA provided legal assistance for the court suit in federal court.
7. The changes occurring within the Richmond School Board during the early 1970's in terms of proportional black-white membership, apparently, had an important influence on a number of policy arenas. This was a period when the black influence on the school board seemed to gain additional weight in policy decisions. This impact was

mostly exercised in the policy arenas including:

(a) instruction, and (b) personnel. The leadership change in the positions of different superintendents and school board chairmen during 1972 heightened this changing influence.

8. The influence of the federal courts impacted on five of the six policy arenas. These five policy arenas included: (a) budget, (b) transportation, (c) pupil conduct, (d) instruction, and (e) personnel. Court opinions and court directives affected school board considerations in all these policy areas. The influence of federal courts was, probably, the chief external influence to policy-making in the Richmond Public School System.
9. The influence of the city council impacted on two of the six policy arenas. These two policy arenas included: (a) budget, and (b) transportation. The influence was in the form of budget reductions, reallocation of previously budgeted monies, and suggestions that the school system improve in efficiency and reorganize according to the wishes of council.
10. The influence of the citizens study group for excellent public schools impacted on three of the six policy arenas. These three policy arenas included: (a) budget,

(b) pupil conducts and (c) instruction. The recommendations of this group was given serious considerations by both the Richmond City Council and the school board as this group was attempting to restore public confidence in the school system. This was the period of school desegregation and exodus from the city of middle-class whites with accompanying loss of tax revenues.

11. The influence of the policy consultant firm, Blucher Associates, Inc., impacted upon the policy considerations of the Richmond Public Schools in all areas since it was their task to revise and update the policy manual of the school system. However, in terms of providing the wording for any of the six policies investigated, their impact was greatest in the areas of the following: (a) budget, and (b) transportation. The chief influence of this firm, perhaps, was encouraging the dialogue that ensued inside the Richmond Public School System concerning all policy arenas and helping to coordinate the system considerations of policy.
12. The literature associated with past studies suggested that the influence of superintendents upon policy-making was ranked in the following descending order when compared with that of the school board: curriculum, personnel, pupil services, school plant, public

relations and finance. This particular study, apparently, suggests that this particular superintendent's influence ranked in the following descending order: (a) budget, (b) meeting with organizations (staff relations), (c) pupil conduct, (d) instruction, (3) personnel, (f) transportation. These findings do not support the findings of past studies concerning superintendent influence.

14. The literature associated with past studies suggested that the concentration of community resources toward influencing a school system policy was related to the degree that major leaders or groups view such action as in their best interest. Organized groups within the community were seen as more effective in exerting influence upon policy-making as compared to individuals. This particular study supported the same conclusions concerning policy-making in this urban school system. This study, however, revealed that certain individuals can be most influential, directly or indirectly, in school-system policy-making depending upon the position a given person occupies. Within the context of this study, a federal judge, school superintendent, and school board chairman were shown to be most influential in certain arenas of policy-making.

14. The literature associated with past studies suggested that the power structure of policy-making can be expected to change over time between stakeholders and consequently affect community institutions. Stakeholders were seen as including school administrators, teachers, teacher-organizations, parents, taxpayer committees, civil-rights organizations, community action organizations and parent-teacher associations. This particular study supported this conclusion. The study demonstrated changes that were occurring in the Richmond community during the late 1960's and early 1970's that had the effect of changing or modifying the power structure impacting on community institutions such as the Richmond Public School System.

Implications

Implications of this investigation included "spin-offs" of the study that are related to the research topic, but which cannot be stated as either a conclusion or, necessarily, a recommendation for further study. These items were inferred by this investigation about policy-making in an urban school system. The implications of this investigation are listed in four separate categories as follows: (a) General Implications, (b) Implications Related to Policy-Model Development, (c) Implications Related to Planning, and (d) Research Implications.

General Implications

1. The investigation seemed to infer that an updated and comprehensive model should be constructed on the foundations of the personal orientations of a school superintendent and members of his school board. It can be inferred that one superintendent might tend to picture himself as a curriculum leader while another might think of himself as an expert on school finances or public relations. Such perceptions would tend to influence both the manner in which he offered leadership to a school system and the manner in which he was perceived by school board members and others. It can be further inferred that a superintendent tends to be accorded more general authority to make policy in his area of expertise. Consequently, some existing policy models might tend to distort impact policy variables in terms of more or less importance. It seemed to be the case that the accuracy or inaccuracy of a given policy model when making reference to impact variables might be dependent principally upon the different personalities who head the school system.
2. The investigation seemed to indicate that the orientation of a given school system to policy planning in either the rational, organizational or even political conceptual

frameworks might be dependent upon the historic traditions of that school system and the skills possessed by top school system administrators and other professional personnel. It seemed, for example, that a given superintendent who had been oriented to think of himself as a politician rather than an educator might tend to always place policy planning within a political context. On the other hand, if a given superintendent had wide experience and training in organizational management and systems techniques, he might tend to aid policy development through all levels of the organization. Within such a context of comparisons, the recommendations of each type superintendent would probably tend to influence recommendations to the school board. It was inferred that policy planning may not be so much the general function of a school system according to rational, organizational or political models, but might be more a function associated with the unique personalities and leaders of a given school system.

3. The investigation seemed to demonstrate that federal courts are becoming much more active in relationship to public school systems and their activities in practically all areas of school system planning, particularly where civil-rights considerations are involved and litigated in courts. The assumed power of federal courts to take

whatever action necessary and appropriate to enforce court orders, possibly, helped bring federal courts into all areas of school operations in ways never conceived until recent years. The federal courts as a policy actor might tend to increase in school affairs over the next decade based upon wide-ranging court decisions that have already affected systems. Such an increase of influence upon the manifest operations of a given school system would, probably, decrease the influence of other actors now operating as actors in school system policy-making. Most notably among actors affected, in such a circumstance, would be school system specialists and even school board members.

4. The investigation seemed to infer that positive relationships that frequently existed between school boards and city councils in past decades might tend not to be as easily accomplished in the years ahead. Different forces may now be impacting on both the city council and school boards that produce a direct conflict between the two bodies over what might be considered an appropriate priority. Part of this problem might be that urban areas and constituents are demanding increased services in social realms and priorities seem to be in need of realignment considering limited tax revenues. In such a situation school systems may tend to be the

"whipping-boy" because the community support that once existed had lessened. Many persons who, in the past, supported school system budgets have relocated outside the metropolitan area. The total proportion of city residents of lower socio-economic classes, on the other hand, has tended to increase. This urban population is often not sufficiently articulate, persuasive, or politically influential to have educational budgets maintained at existing levels. These changed relationships of potential policy actors, of course, has affected policy planning in urban school systems.

5. The investigation seemed to infer that as desegregation decisions continued to impact on urban school systems, coupled with whites tending to relocate in suburban areas, newly franchised black majority school boards have tended to overcompensate for perceived past injustices. Planning of policies in such school systems has been removed from the rational realm since many considerations first have to be placed in minority perspective.
6. It could be inferred from the investigation that a standard technique that tends to be used by public school systems and other public municipal bodies when shifts of organization and program priority are about

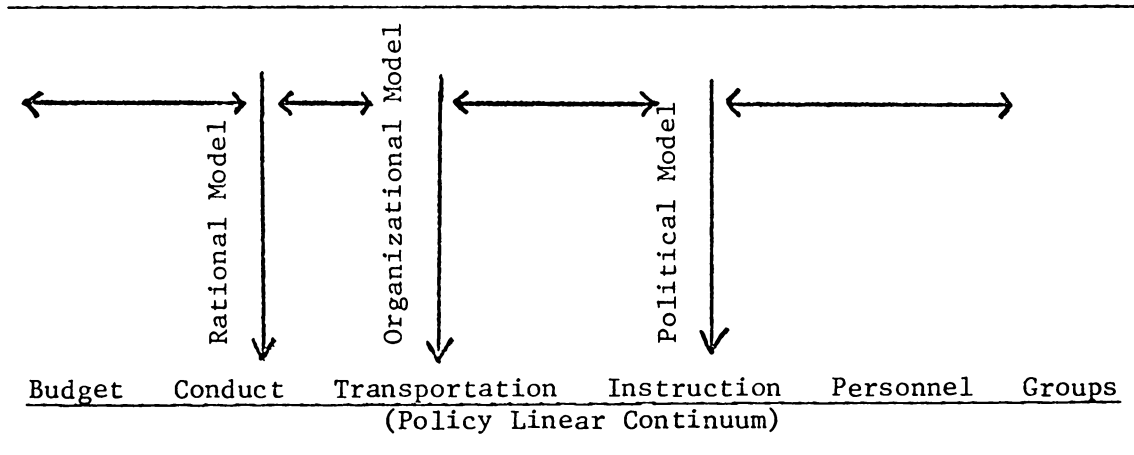
to occur has been the employment of management and consultant firms. If such a trend among public organizations is on the increase, as in this investigation, these consultants would tend to have a proportionally greater influence, directly or indirectly, in school-system policy-making.

7. The investigation seemed to infer that the trend of persons choosing to initiate legal suits against school systems might tend to be on the increase. Also it was inferred that the organization of community groups to produce changes in social institutions might tend to be on the increase. Such actions and group formations can be expected to influence the power structure of policy-making in urban school systems to a greater degree in the next decade.

Implications related to policy-model development

1. The investigation seemed to infer that there continues to be a need for development of a policy model that more comprehensively describes policy impact variables across a wide range of policy areas. Such a conceptual policy model would need to be eclectic in orientation and possess the characteristic of adaptability to different conditions.

2. A need of a policy model with the following conceptual design seemed to be indicated by the investigation:



A model of this conceptual design would retain the characteristics of models described in existing literature. The linear scale, however, would allow different sets of model assumptions and processes to be used to describe the impact policy variables of a given policy area. The linear scale should be thought of as representing the assumptions of a stated policy model moving along a linear line of different policy areas, until it located its "best-fit" according to the particular environment of a school system and the personal orientations of school system leaders. The different policy models reported in the literature under such a scheme would be seen as one part of a larger eclectic policy model that would be adaptable to the variety of

conditions and variables that tend to impact upon urban school systems.

Implications related to planning

1. The investigation seemed to infer that educational planners need to be able to identify potential policy actors, anticipate the level of influence of these actors on policy-making, understand the trade-offs that may be necessary in a given policy arena, and be able to provide statements of alternatives to top school administrators and school board.
2. The investigation seemed to indicate that the most important key to a particular school system developing a "planning capacity" rests with the particular orientation of superintendents in a given system. In the absence of an administrative commitment to utilizing educational planning to fullest advantage, it behooves planners to quietly begin to develop data banks of information and frame alternatives to major issues whenever possible.
3. The investigation seemed to infer that the planning process of an urban school system could be helped through the following:
 - 3.1 Identification of environmental influences that tend to impact upon the policy-making, organizational

and planning processes.

- 3.2 Identification of stakeholders and actors associated with the interests of a particular policy or planning area and their degree of interest and influence in the area.
- 3.3 Identifying resources and restraints associated with a particular policy arena or planning area.
- 3.4 Establishing goals of educational and business services through involvement of a wide-range of representative persons from the immediate internal and external school system environment.
- 3.5 Analysis of policy or planning alternatives using an open-system approach to allow viable input from policy or planning arena actors. Such involvement of interested parties would allow "trial balloons" to be floated in the environment so as to assess community reactions prior to final planning recommendations being formulated, and
- 3.6 Design of an information system or data bank that would include recent and constantly revised information related to human and physical resources for program improvement, evaluative results of on-going operations and planning areas and current information about policy or planning actors and

realms of influence. These types of information could add considerable insight in the planning area.

Research implications

1. A number of identified actors refused interviews or comments about many of these events. Many of these issues continued to be "sensitive." Some of these actors were politicians with a changing constituency and they were hesitant to speak out on some issued because they desired to remain in public office.
2. Some identified actors external to the school system hesitated to grant interviews to the interviewer who they viewed as a close associate of the school superintendent since he shared an office over a ten month period beside the superintendent's office and had many opportunities to participate in top school system planning sessions.
3. Some identified actors external to the school system discouraged interviews about incidents that lead to policy statements because these one or two hour interviews represented time that could be devoted to professional appointments. Some of these persons were physicians, attorneys and business administrators.

4. Some identified actors internal to the school system were reluctant to grant interviews about incidents that lead to policy statements because they had received promotions in the school system and believed that their new positions might be threatened if they openly expressed some convictions.
5. The researcher found that his ten-months central office administrative internship aided him to secure interviews with school system actors, judge the dynamics of actors' personalities and the power relationships that existed between identified actors.
6. The ten-months central office administrative internship was seen by the researcher as aiding him to secure or review some school system records than, otherwise, would not have been available to a researcher outside the system.
7. There was a 2-4 weeks lag time between requested interviews and appointments with identified actors where appointments were granted. The researcher, often, experienced a gap of 1-2 weeks between interview appointments while on other dates five or six hours of interview time was required. The researcher had to maintain a flexible daily schedule because he had to fit his interview appointments to the time period suggested by the actor who was to be interviewed.

8. Many of the identified actors were actors in two or more policy areas. Since the questions asked during the taped interviews were essentially the same for each policy area, individual taped interviews ranged between one and two hours in length. This required, on occasion, two or more extended interview sessions with a number of the actors.
9. There was a certain degree of difficulty in sequencing variables as leading to the development of a given policy. This was caused by time periods, when specified variables were in operation, tending to overlap and begin earlier or extend beyond the time periods associated with other variables.
10. Policy histories varied in terms of time periods and the incident of variables that impacted on a policy area. Policy histories, in terms of pertinent variables, were usually traceable within a five year period, but the roots of a few policies extended between five and twelve years previous to the formal adoption of these policies.
11. The researcher experienced difficulty in locating some identified actors for interview appointments because a number of years had passed from the date of pertinent incidents occurring and a number of actors had relocated outside the community. The location of new residences in

other cities or states could, frequently, not be determined.

Recommendations

The recommendations of this investigation are offered in two categories. The first category offers recommendations to policy researchers who might be interested in this study as a follow-up to their own investigation of policy-making. The second category offers recommendations to practitioners in the field of educational administration concerning policy planning.

Recommendations to policy researchers

1. This investigation of policy-making in an urban school system was able to be accomplished in a relatively short period of time by using an ex post facto research design. The chief value of the investigation, perhaps, was the determination that existing policy models reported in the literature (Rational Model, Organizational Model, Political Model) were not suitable, in isolation, for describing policy-making in an urban school system across a wide-range of school system policies. However, since ex post facto research assumes a risk of improper or change interpretation of variables, it is highly desirable that this investigation be followed-up with a similar policy-making study using an experimental design of

research. A wider sampling of urban school systems of approximately 40,000 students in different geographic regions of the country should also be secured in a follow-up experimental study. If similar results were obtained through such a study, the reliability of these research findings would be assured.

2. This particular investigation could be followed-up, using the "Delphi" research technique and related questionnaires to secure data for objective and experimental comparison. Such a research technique would aid in securing research data without having to wait between three and five years for a sufficiently wide-range of policies to be developed.
3. A follow-up investigation of policy-making in urban school systems could check validity in a number of ways including:
 - 3.1 substantiation of variables and actors by two or more identified actors or documented sources,
 - 3.2 allowing contact persons in a wide-range of school systems selected as a sample to compare answers with verifications by using the "Delphi" research technique.
 - 3.3. using experimental formulas, tabulations, compilations, and analysis to offer validity to

research hypotheses.

4. Results of this policy investigation suggested that there was an apparent need for development of a more comprehensive model related to policy-making in urban school systems. It was concluded that the existing policy models, reported in the literature, did not in isolation adequately describe variables impacting upon policy-making across a wide-range of school system policies. The results of a follow-up experimental study of policy-making would allow, perhaps, the further development and refinement of an eclectic policy model possessing the characteristic of adaptability to conditions of policy-making.
5. A review of the literature revealed that there have not been many studies associated with policy-making in small city or rural school systems. This would also be a fertile area of investigation to further knowledge concerning policy-making and the variables and actors that impact on policy considerations in school systems of different sizes. A "Delphi" research format would also be appropriate to this form of policy-making investigation.

Recommendations to educational administrators

1. It is important for educational administrators to be aware of impact variables, both within and outside the school system, that have potential for affecting the school system, system planning capacity or the making of operational policy in any of its manifest forms. Educational administrators are advised to carefully review both the stated conclusions and implications included as portions of this last chapter. Suggestions are included for improving the planning capacity of an urban school system in association with identification of policy area environmental incidents, policy actors and influences operating across policy areas.

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Appendix A

Lead Interview Questions

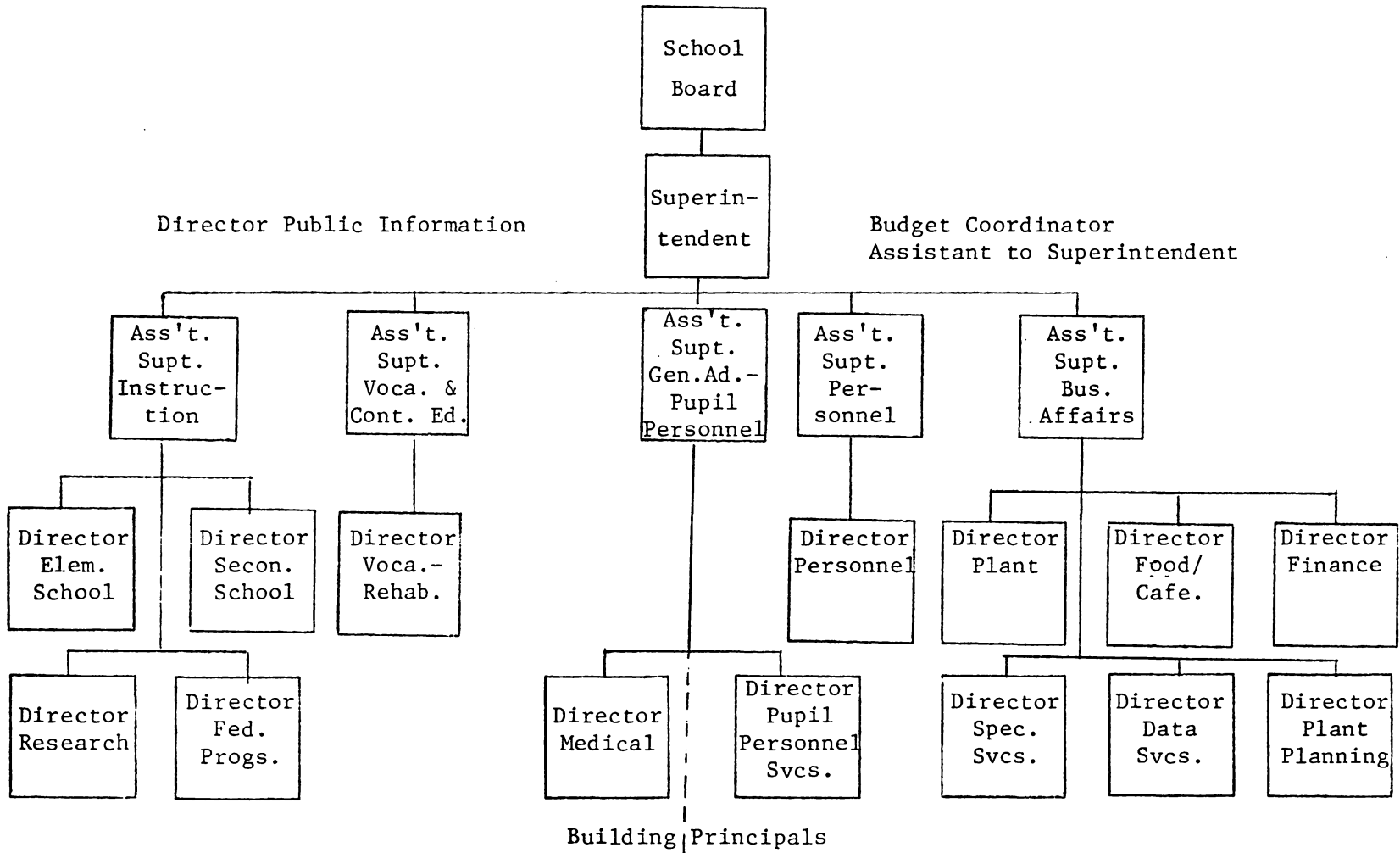
Note: The lead questions that follow were asked, at the discretion of the investigator, as a group of questions in relation to each of the six policies investigated. The decision to ask a certain number of these questions or all these questions was based upon the person who was interviewed, the degree of his association with a given policy's development and in the discretion of the investigator during the scheduled interview. The six policy areas that were investigated included: (a) personnel recruitment, (b) instruction, (c) pupil transportation, (d) budgeting, (e) pupil behavior and (f) procedures for meeting with organization groups. The time period under investigation was identified for the actor who was interviewed and he was given a copy of each policy under discussion.

Lead Questions

1. What were the incidents that prompted an awareness of the need for this policy? What person or persons perceived this need first?
2. Which of these incidents would you describe as happening within the school system?
3. Were there any contributing incidents that were occurring outside the school system such as in the community or on a state or national scale?
4. What was the order of these incidents that contributed to the development of the policy in the sense of awareness by the school system?
5. Aside from yourself, what other people were involved in the development of this policy?
6. What groups, organizations or associations were involved in the development of this policy?
7. How were you involved in the development of the policy and what was the extent of your involvement?

8. What concepts or considerations did you contribute to the development of the policy?
9. What portions of the stated policy would you attribute to people or organizations other than yourself? Who were these people?
10. Who, if anyone, blocked or attempted to block development of this policy?
11. What compromises are you aware of that were made in the process of developing the policy? By yourself? By others?
12. Who authorized this policy to be developed? What form did this authorization or directive take?
13. What provisions were made to allocate fiscal or other resources of the school system to achieve the priorities set by this policy? What form did these provisions take?
14. Do you have written correspondence, memoranda, or notes related to the policy that could be made available for my review?

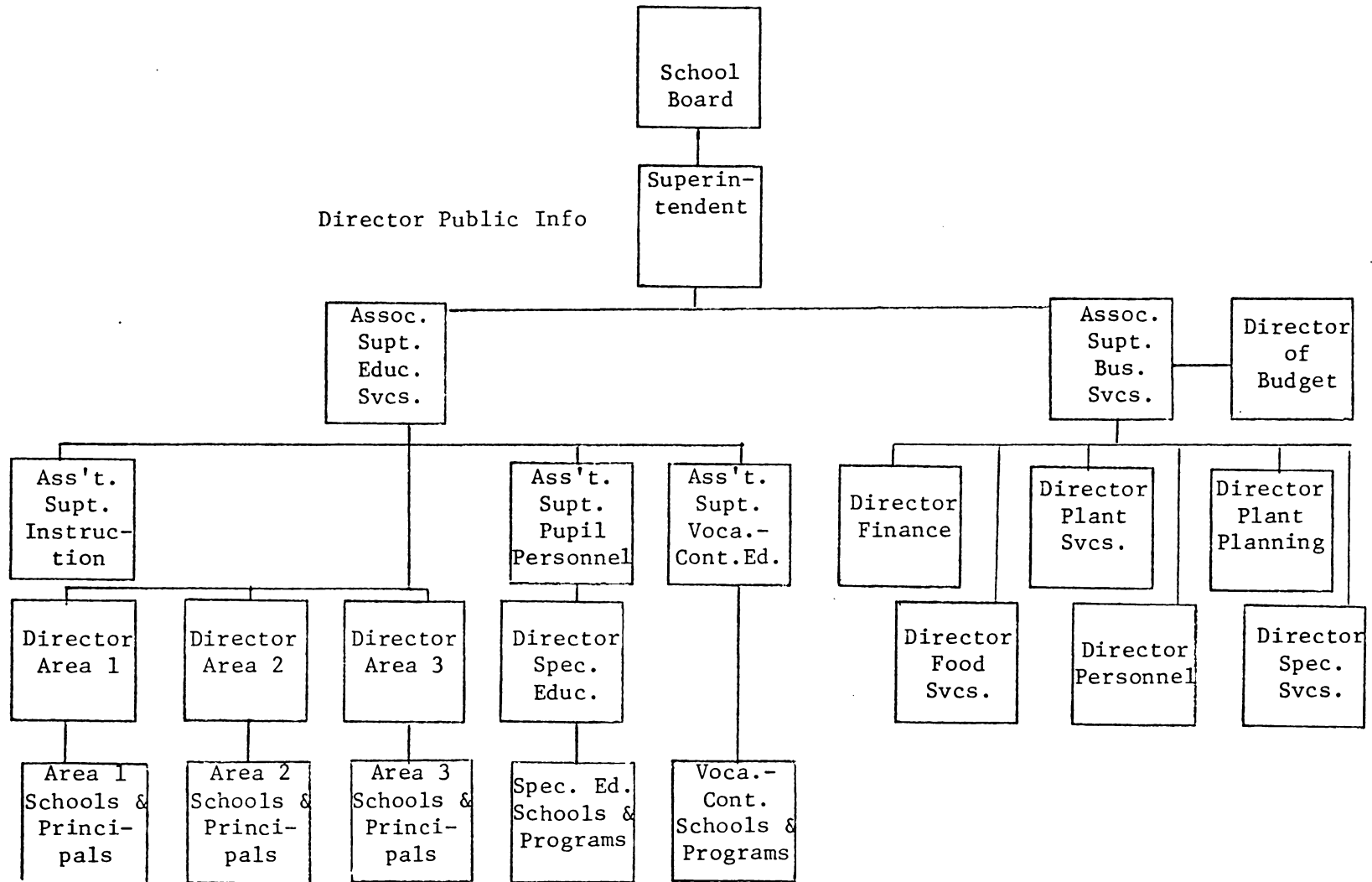
Organization Structure of the Richmond Public School System (September 1969-January 1973)



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Appendix B

Organization Structure of the Richmond Public School System (January 1973-1976)



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AN ANALYSIS OF POLICY MODELS IN TERMS OF IMPACT VARIABLES
AFFECTING THE RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, SCHOOL SYSTEM

by

Kenneth W. Stanley

(ABSTRACT)

The thesis of this investigation was that existing models of policy-making (rational, organizational, political) did not, in isolation, adequately account for variables that were operating within and between policy areas. It was suggested that planning in urban school systems was, possibly, adversely affected as a result of insufficient knowledge about policy-making in urban school systems.

An ex post facto design of research was selected to examine policy-making, in six areas of school system operation between 1970-1973, that occurred within the Richmond School System. Policy areas that were studied included: budget, transportation, pupil conduct, instruction, personnel recruitment, and meeting with organizations. These policies were selected as representative of school system policies adopted during the administration of one superintendent.

The case study method was utilized for treatment of data accumulated from the investigation of the six policy areas. Each of the six policy histories included: a statement of the policy, a discussion of the policy environment, identification of policy variables, and an analysis of policy variables. Data associated with

each case study were secured through interviews with identified policy actors and review of documentary records and newspapers.

The conclusions of this investigation included:

(1) The "Organizational Policy Model" and the "Political Policy Model" were useful for describing policy variables operating within the Richmond School System. The Organizational Model explained the policy variables that contributed to making the "Budget" policy. The remaining five policies were influenced, principally, through the variables associated with the Political Model and associated environments.

(2) The "Rational Policy Model," was not observed to be operational, either individually or collectively, with the six policy areas that were researched.

(3) The investigation suggested a need for development of a policy model that more comprehensively describes policy impact variables across a wide range of policy areas. Such a conceptual policy model would need to be eclectic in orientation and possess the characteristic of adaptability to different conditions.

(4) Organized groups within the community were seen as more effective in exerting influence upon policy-making as compared to individuals. Certain individuals, however, by virtue of their positions were very influential policy actors. Among these individuals were a federal judge, a superintendent and school board chairman. The business community, indirectly, was influential in school system policy-making.

(5) This urban school superintendent's influence in the policy areas investigated ranked in the following descending order: budget, meeting with organizations, pupil conduct, instruction, personnel, and transportation.

(6) The study demonstrated environmental changes that were occurring in the Richmond community during the late 1960's and early 1970's that had the effect of changing or modifying the power structure impacting on community institutions including the Richmond, Virginia, School System.

The investigation inferred that the planning process of an urban school system could be helped through the identification of environmental influences that tend to impact upon the policy-making, organizational and planning processes. It was suggested that this investigation be followed up with a similar policy-making study using an experimental design of research to establish reliability of the conclusions.