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ABSTRACT

This case study of an interorganizational arrangement (IOA) involves a set of school districts and a college of education located in one of the most affluent areas in the United States. The school districts had a reputation for being among the strongest in public education, and it was from these schools that the university drew teachers to become professors at the college of education. The history of the Eastern Private IOA, its roots in 1920, its founding, its decline, and its renewal in the 1940s are related. The institutional structure and procedures are described. Profiles of key personnel (graduate students, directors, school district superintendents, and a college president) are presented with descriptions of their individual activities and philosophies. In discussing the IOA, analyses are made of key events, management activities, the Fellows Program, research and written production, intergroup differences, barriers to collaboration, and successful collaborative activities. The dynamics of the IOA are examined, in particular the areas of conflict and consensus, bargaining and exchange, linkages, and knowledge transfer between participating school districts and the college. The future of the network is examined, focusing on the future socioeconomic context, institutional patterns, staffing, changing objectives, and potential resources. Descriptions are given of the Fellows Program and a writing consortium developed by the IOA. An overview is provided of the entire IOA network and how it is organized. (JD)

SCHOOL-UNIVERSITY COLLABORATION SUPPORTING SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT:

Volume III

THE EASTERN PRIVATE UNIVERSITY NETWORK CASE

October 1981

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART SEVEN: CAUSAL NETWORK

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

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I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to Pat Cox, project research associate, who edited the text and whose suggestions regarding changes were invariably followed. Also my thanks are due to A. Michael Huberman for setting a standard for us to follow with his Midwestern Case, for conducting one of the early field visits and for providing advice and encouragement at critical junctures. Finally, my warmest appreciation is extended to Sara Davidson who came through in a marvelous way to help us get the long text and charts into production.

Our editorial policy called for changing the names of all the actors in each of the case studies; thus I cannot thank by name the many people associated with the Eastern Private Site who contributed their time generously and submitted to my inquiries, but their cooperation made the study possible.

SUMMARY

Background and scope of the larger study. While there are abundant studies of the role of the university as a knowledge builder and knowledge center, less is known about the flow of knowledge and expertise between the university and the world of practice. Often, such processes of knowledge transfer have been left to chance. In other cases, there have been loose, predominantly informal links between knowledge producers and users. More recently, as colleges and universities extend their service and outreach functions, more formal interorganizational arrangements have emerged. The case study reported here is one of three such interorganizational arrangements (IOAs) that were analyzed, each within a different region, of a different age and having a unique institutional configuration, but all involving collaboration between a college of education, intermediary service agency and a collection of schools or school districts.

The study as a whole drew on two theoretical frameworks. First, interorganizational theory helped to map the relationships between partners to the interorganizational arrangement, with a focus on linking mechanisms and boundary-spanning roles that bridged the college of education and community of schools. Theoretically, closer and multiple links should result in greater interorganizational activity, interdependency and reciprocal impact. The use of interorganizational theory also called for an analysis of knowledge flows between units as resource exchanges or transactions depending on the relative power of each party in the arrangement. Secondly, knowledge transfer theory helped to trace the movement of educational ideas, practices and products between participating units as components of a communications process, in which resource-providing institutions such as a college of education diagnosed needs and provided solutions to problems diagnosed within resource-using institutions such as schools. Note that roles could be reversed here, with the college of education as a recipient of practice-derived knowledge. Both theoretical frameworks were intended to illuminate answers to the principal research question, namely: to what extent and in which ways do interorganizational arrangements facilitate changes in instructional practice within local schools?

Methodology. Our design called for a multiple-case study using a common set of research questions for each of the IOAs. Data were collected during site visits means of retrospective interviewing, observations and the collection of pertinent documents. Data collection followed a sequence of progressive focussing, leading to the emergence of a set of some 50 causal variables common to all three cases. Preliminary findings from all sites were fed back to site informants for verification.

An overview of the Eastern Private case. The Eastern Private IOA is by far the oldest of the three studied. Structurally, there is an IOA secretariat consisting of a director, two deputies and a secretary, all working at one-half time or less. There are 29 school district members, most concentrated in four very affluent counties within a 45-minute driving radius of the university. The secretariat is itself embedded in an endowed research unit of the college of education and does not have distinctly separate space from either the research unit or the faculty department within which the senior staff are also located. An advisory board composed of eight superintendents and two principals from member districts meets with the IOA director approximately three times per year. Operational decisions tend to be made by the secretariat and are routinely approved by the board.

The IOA was founded before World War II as a collaborative enterprise to collect and feed back detailed information on innovative practices in school districts. In its heyday it had as many as 70 members, each contributing to the data pool on innovation and most actively using the resulting analyses as a basis for internal evaluation and practice improvement. Even after the retirement in 1962 of its very energetic and charismatic creator, the IOA managed to continue on with considerable vigor along the same lines, focussing its effort on attempts to develop measures of "quality" of school environments which were increasingly elaborate and rigorous.

With the retirement ten years later of the founder's announted successor, the IOA clearly declined in vigor and membership and began to lose its sense of purpose. The efforts to provide elaborate data-based and comparative reports on innovativeness and quality atrophied, income from memberships dues dropped off precipitously and a rump board of directors in early 1976 asked the university to consider ending its life once and for all. The university responded first by bringing the IOA under the wing of an endowed research institute and soon after by appointing a new part-time director who had a strong commitment to supporting practice improvement at the school and teacher level as well as a background in planned change experimentation and networking.

The new leader breathed life into the IOA, recruiting energetic and creative graduate students who had had extensive experience as school practitioners, primarily in teaching and staff development roles. Together with two such assistants, in the spring of 1977, she launched a successful drive to woo back memberships, visiting many of the superintendents in person and providing them with a display of new offerings, including multi-session seminars on a range of topics for staff at various levels; conferences for superintendents with

nationally-recognized speakers; and, as an option, the services of a "Fellow," an experienced graduate student who could come out to a district on a weekly basis as a general purpose consultant and linker to expert knowledge resources. In all these offerings, emphasis was placed on the service function to school districts with no implication that districts would be used as research sites or field settings for student dissertations. In return each district was to contribute a modest fee of $750, actually halved from the previously established dues schedule. The fee was doubled if the Fellow option was taken.

The rejuvenation effort appeared to be successful in many respects. Memberships increased substantially, from 5 dues payers to 29. The secretariat delivered on a busy schedule of workshops and conferences, all of which were well-attended. There were 50 workshops and 10 conferences over a three-year period. Many of these workshops succeeded in involving teachers for the first time, in contrast to the historic administrative focus of the IOA. Much of the physical and logistical effort of putting on conferences and workshops was carried by the Fellows who met as a group, about every two weeks, both to plan activities and to report on their separate experiences as change agents within their assigned districts. Each Fellow's experience was different depending (a) on the background and inclinations of the Fellow, and (b) the expectations and placement opportunities provided by the district.

One of the most visible outgrowths of the revived IOA during its second year was the development of a sub-network of teachers and curriculum and staff developers with special interest in writing. This "Writing Consortium" was organized and coordinated by one of the Fellows and involved four districts actively and four others more peripherally. They held approximately 10 half-day workshops sessions over three school years, some involving outside experts, some involving sharing of craft knowledge among teachers, and some consisting of working sessions at which materials were developed and analyzed. The Writing Consortium was the only focussed activity clearly attributable to the IOA which was able to sustain itself with clear products and impacts over a multi-school year period.

During its four-year revival phase this IOA experienced some turbulence resulting from the following factors: lack of a clear definition of roles; lack of a distinct operational base; frequent and extended leaves-of-absence by its inspirational leader; a weak, uncertain and changing funding base; heavy reliance on part-time and volunteer effort by both university and school-based people; and ambivalence by the university regarding the proper use of its endowment; the importance of service vs. research functions; and the focus of a teacher-centered vs. an administrator-centered strategy.

Outcomes. There is no question that the revival led to a renewal of many individual connections and the establishment of many new ones at the individual level. While the old IOA had long been known as a kind of "old boys' network" for superintendents, the revived network deliberately sought and succeeded in establishing linkages at the teacher and principal levels as well as among district staff in various roles. On the other hand, the rejuvenated IOA had only moderate success in efforts to expand the network beyond the original core of four affluent suburban counties, either to more remote suburban and rural areas to the much poorer urban environments which abound in the immediate vicinity of the university.

For the school districts which were most involved, the IOA provided a varied and continuing input of high quality expertise available to all staff levels through the many conferences and workshops that were held. The high attendance levels and enthusiastic testimonials provided for most of these events suggests that they represented a significantly increased knowledge acquisition capacity. Inter-collegial contacts across districts and personal contacts with university professors can greatly expand the potential resource network that districts and individuals can draw upon.

The Fellows program may represent the clearest effort to improve district problem-solving capacity through providing process expertise on-site. There is evidence that this was the result at some sites. For the most part, however, Fellows were not able to gain acceptance as general capacity-builders; often they had to subordinate or adapt their process goals to the rather different agendas and expectations of their clients. Sometimes this worked beautifully such that an examination of a gifted program desired by a local principal turned into a collaborative development and demonstration project for the whole district.

Nevertheless, in spite of the outpouring of activity generated in the revival, the impact of the network on member districts was not great relative to other forces in the environment. Most of the resources it provided were also available from other network-like arrangements and service agencies which abounded in the region. Thus it was generally regarded by superintendents as worthwhile and providing intellectual inputs of the highest quality but rather inconsequential among the rich and varied assortment of in-service and linking opportunities available to them. There was no district for which it could be said to have provided a service which was either essential or one which was not offered by another source.

Likewise, few university informants other than the IOA staff itself were likely to rate the IOA in its present configuration as an essential aspect of the university, certainly not in a survival sense. No department relied to a large degree on IOA member districts for recruitment, pre-service training sites, research sites, or graduate placement sites, partly because the university (justifiably) saw itself as connected to a national rather than a local constituency.

For the individual graduate students who were involved as Fellows, however, it was quite a different story. IOA involvement gave them diverse opportunities to grow in a number of different directions; to understand other educational settings; to learn the role of linker to change agent through experiencing it; and to compare experiences of challenge, frustration, and growth with one another. In many cases the initial Fellow experience led to other opportunities which included creating spin-off networks such as the Writing Consortium, taking on linking roles in other settings, establishing very solid ties to one another as a peer network, and developing extended ties to educators in the region at all levels as well as to nationally-known experts recruited for various workshops and conferences.

When comparing the revived IOA with its historic version, we see a clear shift in goals toward an active service orientation and an attempt to move down into the ranks of the district to get more involvement from principals and teachers. The revived IOA also represented a muting of the research role. For the districts and their involved staffs, however, this IOA was rarely likely to have the kind of impact that would result in goal shifts, nor do we see goal changes reflected in the overall stance of the university.

Institutionalization as an outcome. Major credit must be given to any interorganizational arrangement able to survive intact with continuing visible impact for 40 years. Much of the credit goes to the founder and his immediate successor, through whose efforts "routinization" took place. It began with the promotion of a concept of educational practice improvement through collaborative research, development, and sharing, with the university playing critical coordinative, control, knowledge input, and synthesis roles. The IOA became reified through a standard fee structure for membership, bi-annual conferences and numerous task forces and data collection, write-up, and feed-back exercises which involved the coordinated efforts of school district personnel, gradute students and faculty of the university. The historical growth, diffusion, and stabilization of this IOA is an important case study for the students of educational practice improvement. However, it

was not the focal interest of this project. We began to study this arrangement after it had atrophied and then been revived in a somewhat different form in response to contemporary educational needs and environments.

Institutionalization appeared to be somewhat tenuous for the IOA in its present form. Funding remained but was continuously threatened by intermittent disinterest and competing priorities both within the districts and within the university. For the current IOA, there appeared to be less codification of procedures and less clarity regarding the scope and limits of activity. Although within the university there was a commitment to continuation of field services in something like the present form, the level and consistency of that commitment were not clear. On the school district side, the commitment went on from year to year with no assurance that any particular district was seriously committed in the long term.

I. - BACKGROUND AND SCOPE OF THE LARGER STUDY

Studies of the role of the university as a "knowledge builder" and "knowledge center" abound. These are, to be sure, the traditional roles invested in institutions of higher education. Somewhat more recently there has been interest in tracing the flow of knowledge and expertise produced by the university to its ultimate targets in the world of practice.

This concern for the linkage between universities and local schools has not abated. In fact, pressure has grown on universities to enlarge their service or "outreach" function, and to direct it more operationally toward educational practice improvement. In many cases, the institutional response of colleges of education has been that of intensifying the in-service teaching function and of providing a more formalized process of delivering consultant services to school systems requesting them. The connections made, however, have been comparatively weak, poorly elaborated and not well supported from within. There has emerged a subtle and often implicit differentiation of roles, in which the prestigious private and state institutions attend to post-graduate training and non-mission oriented research, and the local state and community colleges busy themselves with pre-service training of practitioners and, with their remaining resources, remain on call to local school districts requesting specific forms of expertise.

Correspondingly, when the federal government in recent years has attempted to support the improvement of educational practice in schools, it has largely ignored the potential role of universities, relying instead on state or local educational agencies, on semi-public agencies such as regional laboratories or on parallel mechanisms such as the National Diffusion Network.

Study Objectives

A less explored avenue of inquiry has been the instances in which universities and local school systems establish formal inter-organizational arrangements to improve educational practices. When these relationships are non-casual, continuous and directed at instrumental outcomes, there should be a measurable impact within cooperating schools. We would also hope that such interorganizational arrangements would affect participating universities, either in their instructional programs or in their capacity to provide sound and useful knowledge about educational settings.

This is an exploratory study of three such arrangements between a university or college, an intermediate agency (such as a teacher center) and a group of local schools. After a review of the several forms which such collaborative arrangements took throughout the country, three cases were selected for intensive case study analysis. The cases varied on several dimensions. The Eastern Private University case, which is the object of this case study, involved a large number of school districts and had a 40-year history of university-school collaboration. The Midwestern State University case was in its third year and represented a rapidly expanded, activist arrangement. The Eastern State University case, of intermediate age, represented the efforts of a large public university to reach out to urban and suburban schools of its state. The three cases also spanned a continuum between a "corporate structure" of interorganizational arrangements (predominance of vertical ties from the university to local schools) and a "federate structure" (prevalence of horizontal ties among participating units).

Conceptual Schema

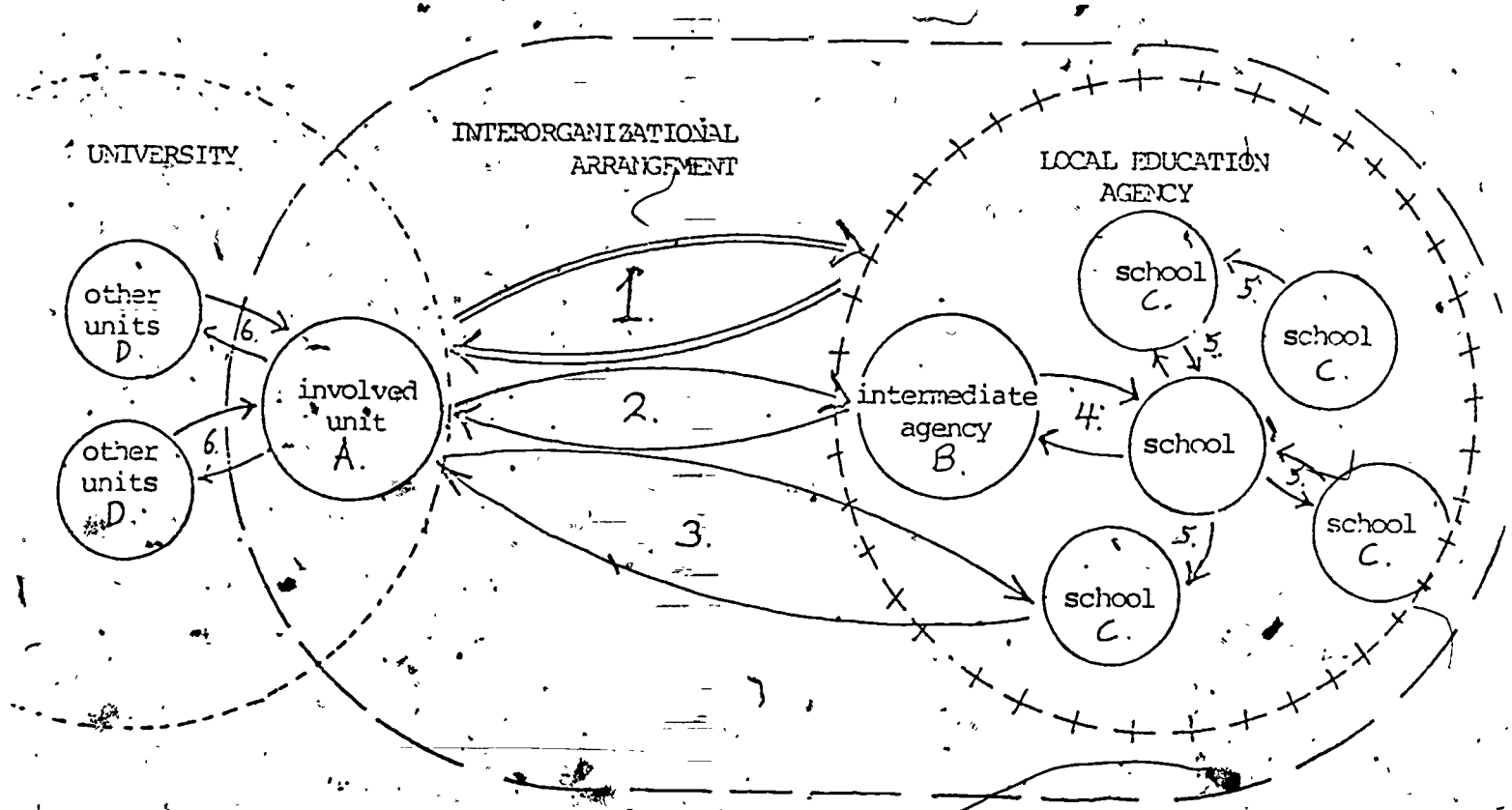
Two broad fields of inquiry oriented the formulation of research questions and the collection of data. First, these arrangements can be studied as an interorganizational network within the framework of interorganizational theory. This involves the analysis of the historical evolution of the arrangement, its environment, its interactions - notably the linking functions and boundary-spanning roles played by intermediaries between the university and local schools - and its structural determinants. The last category is especially important. Are the ties linking the units multipurpose or single purpose? Do they occur at single or multiple levels within each unit? How tightly are the units coupled? Interorganizational theory would predict that closer ties would stabilize and strengthen the interorganizational structure and thereby facilitate the flow of knowledge among the participating units. The greater the number, the variety and levels of communication, the more interdependent the individual units would become and presumably the more consequential would be the outcomes in each unit.

More analytically, interorganizational theory assumes that the flow of knowledge and other resources depends on the relative power of each unit in terms of the value of its resources to the other parties. Knowledge resource flows can thus be seen as a series of transactions or exchanges, resulting in often implicit inter-institutional bargaining and shifts in relative influence. To give an example from the Midwestern Case, school district officials in one of the Midwestern sites gave over control of the choice of in-service workshops and trainers in exchange for a wider assortment of training events which the local teacher center could provide through the university.

A second conceptual framework was that of knowledge transfer theory, which views the transfer of knowledge resources between institutions as a communication process. Crucial to this process is the extent to which the system providing resources is responsive to and addresses the core problems of the user system. Knowledge transfer relationships can be descriptively mapped in four elements: the generation of knowledge in the resource system, the transfer, the utilization of the transferred knowledge inside the user system and the communication of needs, concerns and reactions from the user system back to the resource system. Knowledge can flow in both directions; not only can local schools "consume" university-level expertise, but teaching and research at the university can also be reoriented and empowered.

A map of the interorganizational linkages involving knowledge transfer between schools and universities might look like Figure I-1. The figure shows that there are at least six distinct knowledge transfer situations that need to be examined. The first is between the university-based participating unit (A) and the other members of the arrangement (surrounded by crosses in the figure). The second is between the university unit and whatever agency is acting as coordinator or gatekeeper for school participants (A-B). A third is between the university and schools directly (A-C). A fourth is between the intermediary unit (as a possible type of knowledge linker or broker) and the schools (B-C) and a fifth is among the various schools themselves. Yet

Figure I-1: Interorganizational Linkages Involving Universities and Schools



a sixth type of linkage is that between the participating unit at the university end and other units of the university such as faculties, departments, and central administration.

II. METHODOLOGY

A comparative case history approach was used in this study. Each of the three cases (Eastern Private, Eastern State and Midwestern State) followed a common analytic framework to seek out answers to the principal research questions. Each site was treated as a "case" and the brunt of the data collection effort went into getting in-depth, contextually grounded accounts of how colleges of education and local schools came to create interorganizational arrangements and how those arrangements led to the transfer and the utilization of knowledge between units that might otherwise not have occurred as rapidly or efficiently. The general research strategy called for non-participant observation, multiple interviewing and the collection of archival data in order to get a set of reliable, plausible and convergent accounts and explanations.

Sampling

As in the other cases in this study, we made an attempt to cover the Eastern Private interorganizational arrangement as a whole and to understand the roles of the various actors through focussing on major collaborative projects within it. Accordingly, we started by charting the history and present configuration of the IOA.

Within this unit of analysis there was a further sampling of representative and salient events occurring in the life cycle of the arrangement. We selected four such episodes, which we called "serials." Two serials are reported in final form in this case study: one describes the operation of the Fellows program, while a second traces the development of the IOA's Writing Consortium.

Data Collection

Data were collected over a 12-month period, chiefly through a series of site visits, totalling 18 days on site. These visits were supplemented with telephone interviews.

For both the modal data collection device was retrospective interviewing of informants in each of the participating organizations. Key informants, such as the IOA staff, were interviewed several times. The breakdown by role was as follows:

Table II-1. Breakdown of Interviews by Role

ROLE / SITE	Eastern Private IOA
College	6
Intermediate Unit	15*
Local Schools	10
TOTAL	31

*Nine with graduate students
Six with informants who were also college staff members

The interview sample was purposive and reflected an effort to approach all persons who were reported by others as playing important roles either in the arrangement as a whole or in one of the two serials analysed. Interview notes were then dictated and transcribed. Field note transcriptions totalled 220 pages.

On-site observations were also carried out. A field researcher observed conferences, workshops and routine operations. Site visits were often timed to coincide with important activity at the site. In all, seven observations were made.

A wide range of documentation was collected and analyzed. For the historical period starting in the 1930's this was rich and voluminous; the current arrangement was not as well recorded but there were still available newsletters, minutes, reports and notes kept by participants. Other documents were initiated by the field researchers. These included activity logs over a month filled out by key role incumbents; and reports of communication relationships in which key actors registered at two periods in time the frequency, mode and substance of their communications with other members of the arrangement. In all, 72 documents were analyzed and coded.

Progressive focussing. The basic technique of data collection was that of multiple interviewing with key informants, using many of the techniques of social investigative reporting. The interviews were driven by a core set of research questions, in relation to which a set of key issues began to emerge. These issues focussed much on the energy of informants and illuminated the pattern of resource exchanges, the relative influence of key actors, the institutional strength of the relationship and other mediating variables which appeared to be systematically tied to outcomes. Interviews then focussed on these issues until the most detailed, plausible and independently confirmed account emerged.

Adequacy of the Data Base

The nature of the Eastern Private network and its long history dictated a rather different interviewing strategy than obtained at the other two sites. First of all, there was no "center" other than the offices in the college itself. There was rather thorough coverage of the persons of the staff of the arrangement including key graduate students over a four-year period. However, because of the large number of districts involved and the nature of their involvement, we did not trace effects in depth in particular districts. Instead we traced effects and principal participants in the most prominent and concentrated subject-centered activity, the Writing Consortium, and recorded in some detail the experiences of about five Fellows who were actively engaged in field work in the school years 1977-78 and 1978-79.

Because of its great significance in the history of educational networking in general, we also traced the historic arrangement through the experience of about eight informants who had key roles from 1941 through 1975; we collected and reviewed a large number of documents and newsletters which reflected the activity of those years. We had to go far afield to find some of these people; three were still on the faculty, one was visited in his retirement home in a remote part of Connecticut and two others responded to us in long telephone

interviews. The further back in time, the shakier was our evidential base but this was partially corrected by the excellent quality of the early documents. Unfortunately these documents tended to focus more on the substance than the process of network building and management per se. For almost all observations regarding events after 1965, we were able to obtain at least two distinct perspectives.

All names of persons, institutions and localities are fictitious.

III. CASE STUDY OF THE EASTERN PRIVATE INTERORGANIZATIONAL ARRANGEMENT (IOA)

1. HISTORY OF THE EASTERN PRIVATE INTERORGANIZATIONAL ARRANGEMENT

1.1. INTRODUCTION

A forty-year-old arrangement obviously has a lot of history to be told. In interviews at the university we quickly encountered individuals who had been associated with or well aware of IOA activities stretching back 15, 20, and 30 years. Two things soon became obvious. First, it became increasingly apparent that the historical IOA was one of the most fascinating and significant developments in the educational history of the United States. In the late 1940s and early 1950s it evolved into a rather powerful mechanism for the development and diffusion of innovations and systematic improvement across the full gamut of school district concerns; indeed, the model itself became a popular innovation which spread as a "movement" across the country and became a dominant mode of university-school interaction through the 1950s and into the 1960s.

Second, it became clear to us that the story of the historic arrangement was a story about a rather different phenomenon than the presently existing arrangement. Almost all the features of the historic arrangement which made it unique and powerful had disappeared some years before the arrangement was revived; responsibility for the arrangement had shifted to an entirely new set of actors at the university end and resided in an entirely different unit within the university structure. Thus it was more the birth of a new entity than the revival of an old one that we were witnessing in the late 1970s. The story of this new entity is also of great interest as a model of interorganizational arrangements and it is this story that we set out to tell in the first place.

Thus the historical analysis which follows is in two parts. The first is a very brief summary of what we found

about the original arrangement through five epochs: roots, founding and start-up, heyday, second generation, and decline. In the second part we trace the development of the current configuration, noting the extent to which residual aspects of the original arrangement played a role in the new one.

1.2. HISTORY OF THE ORIGINAL ARRANGEMENT

1.2.1. Roots

We might reasonably start this story in 1920 when the original founder of the IOA wrote a Ph.D. thesis in which he developed a formula for assessing the relative financial needs of school districts. Over the ensuing 20 years as a professor of educational finance at the university's college of education, the founder developed and tested a theory that the quality of education delivered by a school district was directly related to per-pupil expenditures. In the 1930s as a leading figure in what became known as the "survey movement" this professor conducted a number of studies of educational finance and various measures of performance in a number of states and some large city school districts.

The founder's experience, particularly in studying one large midwestern district in the middle 1930s, persuaded him that significant improvements in educational quality could only come from those wealthy suburban districts which valued education and had the tax base to support their schools at a certain relatively high level. His notion of "quality" centered on the idea of innovativeness or what he called "adaptability." Only schools with a high level of expenditure per classroom unit could be expected to engage in the invention or development of new educational ideas whereas a much larger number of schools could be expected to adapt or adopt ideas from elsewhere at much more modest levels of cost. Below a certain level, however, even the adoption of ideas and practices invented elsewhere became impossible.

Elaborate measurement procedures were developed to evaluate the adaptability of a school district using on-site observations and interviews by specially trained research assistants. The classification schema involved 23 major categories of functioning covering such areas as the curriculum, instructional methods and materials, extracurricular activities, special services, supervision and school organization, school influence on the community, school plant, etc.

A total of 182 "adaptations" covering what for 1937 would certainly have looked like a comprehensive set of system elements was used to develop the basic index. The founder published the instrument with a co-author in 1937, perhaps revealing his future intentions in the title: "A Guide for the Self-Appraisal of School Systems." The following year the two published a small monograph explaining the concept and reporting in summary fashion on its use in studies throughout the United States and in South Africa. In addition they reported on its specific use in six districts within one state with a clear implication that such knowledge could be used as a means of both understanding and improving on the adaptability of schools.

It is clear that by 1940 the founder had already achieved considerable stature not only as a researcher who emphasized quantitative approaches in large-scale studies but as a major advisor to educational leaders at federal, state, and local levels. We learned from interviews that he was in addition a person with considerable social skills who developed strong friendships with superintendents in his area and elsewhere, friendships which operated on informal (e.g. fishing trips) as well as formal and work-related bases. He was also eagerly sought by graduate students as a mentor with whom one could learn a great deal about research and school systems, with whom one would be likely to find a clear road to dissertations and to future job placements.

From the reflections of a number of informants we got a picture of the founder as a charismatic figure, referred to in one publication as "the renaissance man of educational administration." He also appeared to some to be "an irascible old bastard" with an image to outsiders of aloofness and formality. However, he excelled in relating to superintendents, frequently going out to rural areas to sincerely congratulate school administrators for all the good things they were doing. He also had a reputation of being very good to his own students and very kind to the people who

worked for him. Being invited to work with him was described by one informant as "kind of like getting a National Merit Scholarship; once you had it you were considered to be made." The informant could not recall any student or staff person being dropped once they were hired. He also made sure that his students got to the annual meetings of the American Association of School Administrators at Atlantic City, and he saw to it that they got visibility and social introductions to important school administrators at these meetings.

It is important to note that the founder was a dedicated researcher who thought that the road to reform was through research. Thus he jealously guarded the research funds that were garnered through various networking activities and he saw the research function as being central, supported in various ways by program elements such as conferences. He was also a person driven by what could be called an elitist theory of reform, a theory largely of his own making (although parallel notions had been developed in cultural anthropology earlier and in rural sociology about the same time). Thus he was delighted when comparative studies showed his local network as a group to be far ahead of most school districts across the country on all his dimensions.

The historic institutional context. A key to the understanding of this case is the fact that it involves a set of school districts and a college of education located in one of the most affluent "old money" areas of the United States. The school districts which later became the pool from which members of the arrangement were drawn had a reputation for being among the strongest in public education, in many cases vying with and passing many private schools in college placements. It was also from these schools that the university drew its original teachers to become professors at the college of education (which was primarily a graduate school of education). Thus it was originally conceived as a special institution at which teachers could learn to improve their

craft through the tutelage of other teachers who had demonstrated mastery. By the 1930s, however, the reputation of the college as a center of research and scholarship was also firmly established and undoubtedly overshadowed the "teacher's college" image. Therefore one might surmise that even in 1940 the idea of providing direct service to a local area was no longer a distinct priority of the college.

1.2.2. Founding and Start-up

One immediate stimulus for the founding of the arrangement was a national conference for school superintendents convened in the summer of 1941. As a result of the success of the conference a number of superintendents, mostly from the immediate area of the college of education, got together with the founder and decided that it must be kept up on a regular basis. There was no formal structure at that time, no constitution or by-laws, but a general agreement among the districts to share and learn from each other, particularly concerning new practices. The college's capacity to conduct practice-relevant research and to share the results of that research and the work of other distinguished faculty members were additional important attractions. A third aspect was the "lighthouse" concept; the idea that these affluent schools could develop innovations with their greater capacity and that they could then be disseminated to less affluent districts, thereby accelerating educational progress.

The founder hired a former graduate assistant who had worked on the "adaptability" measures to supervise a procedure for collecting material from each member district regarding advanced practices. A number of graduate students teamed up with school district volunteers to collect, observe, and record this material. It is noteworthy that from the earliest stages of this process there was an informal rule that no volunteers would conduct observations in their own districts, a feature which not only increased objectivity but also led to heightened interchange of experience and information among member districts at all levels.

Contributions of the districts to the consortium were originally based on a very small per-pupil fee which was greatly supplemented by the contributed staff time of observers. The fee structure also allowed the founder to begin hiring a core staff which could prepare special publications for the membership and for a larger national audience of educators. The first major collection effort resulted in a book called What Schools Can Do, and since it was a compilation and description of 101 innovative practices it soon became known as the "101 book." The book was very popular and widely distributed throughout the country.

The activities related to the development of the "101 book" were also of some importance to member districts as the material gave them each some good "show-and-tell" for the annual dinner of the metropolitan area boards of education, a major annual event in the area. The activities of the consortium had an additional appeal to member districts in that they offered "survey" services, i.e., documentation of school district operations and finances, at a fraction of the cost that would be involved if each district had to contract separately. Apparently such "surveys" were routinely expected by school boards on a periodic basis as a kind of feedback or evidence to the community that its funds were being well spent.

1.2.3. Heyday

By the third year of collaboration and after considerable experience with the documentation of innovations, the founder and his team organized and formalized the innovation documentation process into an instrument which they called the "Growing Edge," meaning an index of the extent to which a district was on the cutting edge of innovation. This instrument was a clear descendant of the "adaptability" measure of the late 1930s and represented the continuing efforts of the founder to develop a reliable and comprehensive measure of school district quality. By the third or fourth year the Growing Edge became the basis for a survey of services of

all member districts. A special feature of its administration was that each district was assigned a numerical score on each dimension and was given its own code number; each superintendent would know only his own number and would thus be able to compare his district's results with those of others as a group. Thus a sharing and feedback mechanism was developed which preserved anonymity while at the same time providing each with the critical comparative data they needed. These sharing sessions on the Growing Edge data were restricted exclusively to superintendents and no substitutes were ever allowed.

However, the IOA operated on a much broader front through an elaborate arrangement of committees and subcommittees which considered specific content areas. These committees as well as the annual IOA conferences allowed for representation of teachers, specialists, and administrators at all levels. In addition the IOA published a monthly newsletter continuously from the fall of 1942 through the spring of 1977. Both for the newsletter and for conferences and committee work the IOA was able to call upon the very distinguished senior faculty of the college.

Membership rose rather quickly to a little over 60 districts and remained more or less stable at that level for about 20 years. In addition, there were very significant spin-off institutional forms of which at least four deserve mention. The first spin-off involved the establishment of many college-school collaborative networks to collect and share research findings and innovations as the founder's concept spread rapidly across the country in the late 1940s. In some of most successful adoptions of his idea, persons who had worked on the founder's staff were hired specifically to set up and manage the arrangements.

The second new organizational form also followed from the success of the original network. Because of its rapidly growing reputation, the IOA received many requests for

membership from far outside its service area. In these cases "associate" memberships were initially granted at a reduced fee but later the associates were drawn together into their own network which grew in size to nearly 250 members in the 1950s. In the founder's conceptualization of the change process as first involving invention and then diffusion, these associates played a very important role as a national diffusion network for the "101 book" and many subsequent analyses and write-ups of reform practices. They also represented a much broader sample through which the Growing Edge methodology could be validated and extended.

A third activity which resulted partly from the success of the original IOA and partly from the founder's continuing efforts to assist states in formulas for financial assistance to schools was the school centralization program which involved a large number (about 275 and later 350) newly consolidated districts from the more rural parts of the large state in which the university resides. A special arrangement was developed for the university to provide statistical survey services to these districts along with the dissemination of information on innovations. In addition to providing a state dissemination vehicle (alongside the local and national networks), this network had special significance because it supplied a rather large and reliable income to the university which could be used by the founder to greatly expand his staff and increase his research capacity.

Finally, another development of the expansionary period of the late 1940s and early 1950s was the creation of a Research Institute as a new institutional framework under the leadership of the founder within the administration department of the college. The Research Institute became the primary seat of a consolidated program of research with the local, state, and national network activities as the service-outreach components organizationally subordinate to it.

The growing clout of the founder within the university allowed him first to borrow funds from the college to provide for the start-up of the institute and later to provide his key lieutenants with professorships, at least one of which was tenured.

It is rather difficult to assess the impact of this heyday period in quantitative and fully credible terms so long after the fact, but there were certain obvious outcomes which are impressive. First of all, the number of school districts that were directly influenced seems to have been large and the areas of practice where some impact could have been felt were very broad. With each administration of the Growing Edge, IOA members scored higher and higher until the instrument no longer discriminated among them--even though districts in other parts of the county were still far behind. Thus it seems probable that the continued feedback of the triennial survey caused superintendents of lagging districts to take specific steps to catch up in whatever areas seemed to be deficient. Perhaps more importantly, the networking activity provided an institutionalized mechanism for continuous reform of school practice across a very wide front, increasing the capacity of districts to survey their own functions, find out what other districts were doing, and obtain access to resources of every kind (including the talented and well-trained graduates of the founder's program).

On the university side there were also some clear gains. The programs which were collectively an outgrowth of the original IOA were able to support a dozen or more graduate students continuously over a 20-year period in addition to three full-time staff members at faculty rank. By 1961 the founder reported that approximately 200 research studies had been carried out within the Research Institute. Many of these were also Ph.D. dissertations and all were related as pieces of what was probably the largest sustained and cumulative programmatic research effort ever undertaken in the field of education. In spite of these achievements, however, the influence of the IOA upon the college of education as a whole

was only moderate. As new programs (such as a rather large "citizen education project" sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation) were taken up by the college, the IOA turned out to be a fertile ground for access to schools but these connections were ad hoc in nature and did not involve the extension of influence of the IOA and its processes into other college departments nor even to all other members of the administration department itself. In fact another endowed research institute existed in parallel to the founder's institute under its own charismatic leader who advocated "action research," a form of collaborative problem-solving in schools involving joint efforts of university-based researchers and practitioners. From what we have been able to discover there was virtually no interchange between these two institutes.

On the other hand, in the development and administration of the Growing Edge, the founder was able to enlist the support of faculty from several departments. In the "observer's guide" used for scoring the instrument there were twelve subject area sections called "windows" and for each window a senior professor was enlisted as expert consultant. The involvement of professors was not always very successful because traditionally "consulting" meant lecturing to an audience rather than working through an instrument to define categories. In a few cases, however, professors were inspired by this process as a new approach to both research and graduate teaching.

For the arrangement itself, an obvious and impressive outcome was survival and prosperity over a long period of time. Memberships remained steady and activity levels remained high for at least 20 years. An elaborated institutional structure developed at the college end with an impressive measurement capability and senior staff were given faculty appointments.

1.2.4. Second Generation

In the spring of 1960 the founder retired but stayed actively involved as a writer and consultant until his death two years later. As a tribute to his continuing clout within the university he was able to name his successor, an associate who had worked for him and with him since the early 1940s. Victor Warren already had professorial rank and was able to maintain forceful leadership over the Research Institute and its three networks for several years before retiring himself in 1972. This decade represents a clear and distinct phase in the evolution of the arrangement, reflecting partly the character and concerns of Warren and partly the social currents of American society during this period.

Although at one time he had been a school principal himself, Warren's primary interests had turned more and more to the research side of the education enterprise and his tenure as head of the institute strongly reflects this emphasis. In the first year of his succession he established a research bulletin which continued to be published three times per year until after his retirement. Through the issues of this bulletin we can clearly trace the evolution of research concerns over the decade. Warren's primary concern was the development of a new instrument package to replace the Growing Edge, and in particular, to create new measures of the quality of schooling. Intellectually, this concern stemmed from two issues. The first was a recognition that the Growing Edge and its predecessor, the adaptability instrument, were really less measures of quality than of innovativeness. The other issue was the fact that the Growing Edge was no longer discriminating among districts in the IOA, presumably because of the ceiling effect noted earlier but perhaps also because of the increasing obsolescence of many of the items.

Developing the new measure was clearly the capstone project of Warren's career and he set about it soon after the founder's death in a very thorough-going fashion, beginning with an extended series of meetings with a staff of four graduate students and representatives of member districts to lay out the conceptualization. The task also involved the development of an entirely new observer's manual and strenuous attempts to control for variability of observers. Taking advantage of the vastly increased computation capacity of data processing equipment, the new measure was far more ambitious and complex than its predecessor in its number of dimensions and extent of quantification.

When interviewed, Warren was asked if there was also a trend away from involvement of school people as the technical aspect became more complex. He insisted that, on the contrary, there had been even more involvement of school people since the manpower requirements of the data collection process were so great. It would appear, however, that such involvement was highly circumscribed.

The development effort for what became known as the "Indicators of Quality" was strenuous and appeared to dominate the activities of the Research Institute and its three networks throughout the decade, peaking in the later 1960s when the instrument package was being normed and validated. Typically, six graduate student "Fellows" would be directly involved in development work on the Indicators of Quality while six others would be involved in other activities. The IOA, as the most local and accessible of the three networks, was used heavily in pilot testing and early development while the more extended state and national networks were used for field testing and development of test norms.

The heart of the Indicators of Quality was the procedure for classroom observations. In the early pilot work such observations were conducted in two-hour segments but as the instrumentation was streamlined it was found that a carefully structured 15-minute observation could achieve equivalent

results with 95 percent reliability. Because it was also found that no observer could easily handle more than two hours of observation a day, the manpower requirements of a complete survey were rather large. A team of ten was sent into each school, mostly composed of contributing staff of member districts. At the peak of the development process there was a pool of 160 observers.

One informant who was directing the pilot testing work in the later 1960s described the observer training process as both rigorous and highly rewarding to the trainees, the bulk of whom were recruited from IOA districts and served without pay other than their school-district salaries. It was a three-day process. The first day they typically felt swamped by the overwhelming complexity, detail, and demands of the observation procedures. The second day, trainees were sent out to the field to try out some of what they had learned in the first day, and in so doing "they began to recognize that it probably works." On the third day, returning to the training site and sharing their trial observation results with each other, they could see that there was a great deal of agreement among observers of the same setting and by the end of this day "they were converted."

Several of our informants reported that the Indicators of Quality observation process was a great in-service training process for the observers themselves, whether they were in teaching or supervisory positions. It was clearly an interactive learning device which illustrated to the observers what quality educational processes were all about in a way which was both comprehensive and behaviorally specific. The realization of this potential led in the late sixties and early seventies to at least one very serious conflict. Some former graduate students and their colleagues in some IOA districts began experimenting with use of the instrument primarily as an in-service device without imposing the same restrictive rules of data collection and reporting which were required by the manual. To Warren himself, this clearly

constituted misuse and unauthorized tampering which threatened to diminish the value of the instrument as a school evaluation device.

Serving as an observer and being recognized by the institute as a good observer had very significant extrinsic rewards for school district personnel as well. It meant that a letter would go to their superintendent from Warren applauding their contribution. It also meant that they would later be invited to do field observations in other parts of the state and across the rest of the country; in those days, superintendents were glad to release teachers and administrative staff for such chores; our informant who managed much of the field work recalled never being turned down for such a request.

The pattern of special district codes and high-level feedback seminars instituted by the founder was continued with the emerging data from the Indicators of Quality. There would be annual retreat-type meetings of two to three days in isolated settings which were much enjoyed by the superintendents. On the other hand, many were somewhat dissatisfied with the direction that the Indicators of Quality measure was taking the IOA, considering it to be too abstract and research-oriented and not adequately service or need-oriented.

In spite of some dissatisfactions, membership in the IOA and in the other two networks remained constant at a rather high level throughout the decade and through Warren's retirement in 1972. Membership in the IOA held at around 70 districts while the statewide network (with a much smaller fee structure and fewer services in return) held at about 350 and the national network of "associates" remained at about 250 covering between 40 and 45 states.

Structurally, it is most appropriate to think of the three networks during this period as parts of an integrated unit. Associates of the institute worked in all three, the Indicators of Quality development process engaged all three with the IOA being the lead network for pilot testing and

hot-housing. Each network had its executive secretary, one of whom had professorial rank, a legacy of the founder's clout, but when that individual went on to another position in 1964, Warren remained as the only person at the institute with faculty status.

From 1960 through 1970 there were continuously between ten and twelve Fellows working for the institute and carrying out the research and service agendas of the institute. While the Indicators of Quality development was the major theme there were other agendas as well. The institute was a relatively cohesive and responsive unit compared to the typical university department. As a result when funds became available from the federal government for a variety of programs after passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, the institute was able to garner substantial additional funds, often quite unrelated to the Indicators of Quality effort. One was for a social science center for the non-western world, a Title III project involving the institute and a consortium of five districts drawn from the IOA. This project, awarded in 1965, brought in $125,000 the first year and $250,000 the second.

During this period the institute was also deluged with requests from various professors for the use of IOA schools for research purposes including, for example, the norming of a major reading test in 1965. The institute was also the recipient of a USOE training grant which supported from four to five Fellows from 1966 through 1970. Another such grant continued to support between two and three Fellows through 1972.

One respondent who had been a Fellow in 1967-68 described the experience as "one of the best things I've ever done in my life." He thought it was a superb program which offered him a variety of experiences not only with research but with traveling to many different school districts and sharing

research results, an activity which he estimates he engaged in about 20 times in that one year.

A continuing though typically rather muted theme of the second generation was the concern of superintendents to get more in the way of service from the institute. Respondents who were well-informed on the period reject the notion that there was any resistance to research, as such; in fact it is clear from the level of cooperation in the Indicators of Quality development effort that research was a valued activity. Nevertheless, in addition to the research, members of the IOA wanted more service, including more adequate sharing of the Indicators of Quality data. This concern was already present at the time of Warren's succession to leadership. A serious proposal to raise fees to $5,000--explicitly to strengthen the service function--was put forward by one superintendent for consideration at the two-day retreat meeting of May 1962, but as fate would have it, the founder died unexpectedly the night before and the session became a kind of memorial service. Thus the issue was never resolved, but remained as a kind of tension. The person who served under Warren as executive secretary of the IOA during most of the 1960s recalls superintendents at IOA board meetings saying things like: "Can't we make more use of the resources of the university as a whole?" or "Don't focus on the determinants of school quality, just tell us what makes a good school work." He also recalls that these complaints dissipated when the Indicators of Quality measure was finally developed and used. Then, he said, "there were two great years, 1967 and 1968."

On many counts the second generation was as successful as the first and significant credit for this success must go to the character and perseverence of Warren himself. It is important to note that he was a long-time associate and devoted follower of the founder and had had operational responsibility for managing IOA activities almost since the

founding. He had also had varied experience as a school principal and as founder of a second successful school-university collaborative arrangement in a neighboring state. He was also the principal author of the "101 Book" and an important contributor to the development of the Growing Edge. Thus Warren was a skilled administrator, researcher, and communicator, much admired by his former students, particularly for what one called "a magic talent for identifying the strengths of people." He was also a shrewd tactician of educational politics at the local and state levels, a fact which allowed him to maintain reasonably high funding levels for his research program over a period of three or four years (1963-67) when practically no useful results were coming back to the districts.

Warren's dedication to his primary research objective did lead to some strain with some superintendents and to a legal wrangle with a former student, but these problems were by no means debilitating, though they were harbingers of things to come in the decline period after his retirement. One former student described him as "an autocrat, but he got the job done." Probably his most notable failing was in dealings with colleagues in his own department and with the administration of the college. Toward outsiders he maintained a rather aloof posture and became increasingly isolated. He was also unsuccessful in persuading colleagues of the merits of the research program and the Indicators of Quality in particular.

As a result, as powerful as it was, the institute was a kind of island in the college both socially and intellectually. Articles in the institute's research bulletin tended to cite heavily other bulletin articles or work of the founder and his associates, and aside from the bulletin itself, dissertations, and the documents describing the Indicators of Quality, there were no publication landmarks.

1.2.5. Decline

Changing times: Contextual factors related to the decline. When interviewed in the spring of 1980 at his retirement home, Warren noted that "what we were doing was pretty well worn out" by the time his retirement was approaching. New problems were coming up that he didn't feel he could get into seriously with the time he had left. Among these he noted the issues of desegregation, teacher militancy, and the decline of quality even among the elite corps of IOA schools.

A second contextual issue of importance at the very end of the 1960s was a change in student interests and attitudes. Warren described many graduate students of that era as more militant and anti-establishment, and much less oriented toward quantitative research or disciplined scholarly activity in general. It may also be revealing that the institute had almost no luck in recruiting either minorities or women.

There also seems to have been a declining interest in research on all sides--students, faculty, and the schools--as the conception of change through direct and immediate action became dominant. Warren strongly resisted against the tide, but his program was vulnerable because it had not taken into account many of the new fashions and could not adapt easily and quickly to them. Adding to his problems was the fact that many of the outcome measures against which "quality" was measured failed to pan out, most particularly student achievement scores. Correlations were generally low with criterion measures, leaving the program open to criticism and skepticism of colleagues.

A fourth important factor was a change in the role and situation of the school superintendent during the late 1960s and early-1970s. It was a period of great turbulence in which the first priority of a superintendent seemed to be to maintain control and the second to sooth parental concerns. The IOA as it was then constituted was not perceived as an entity which would be usefully responsive to these new trends (although it could perhaps have been mobilized to meet them

with the right kind of leadership, resource investment, and linkage to the most appropriate expertise). Even with a responsive IOA there would have been problems since the generation of superintendents which had grown up with the founder's leadership was now coming to retirement. Their replacements had shakier status, a flood of new issues to cope with, and typically a short tenure in office. One superintendent, when asked why his district had dropped out during the period, said, "Like many other districts, we were going through superintendents like water." Thus there tended to be little follow-up and no continuity from one superintendent to another. With the resulting failure of institutional memory, administrators could easily lose track of why they were contributing to a particular networking activity and strike the item from the budget as an easy cost-saving measure.

Yet a fifth and related contextual issue was the beginning of enrollment decline and a reduced public concern for education which resulted in reduced financial support. Ironically, a function of the IOA which had continued from the 1940s through the 1960s was the annual school finance survey. With Warren's retirement the capacity to conduct this survey atrophied; thus a function of generally perceived and even increasing utility to the schools was lost.

A sixth contextual factor was the growth of competing resource systems and services in the region, many of them spawned by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, particularly the Title III program to support locally generated supplementary centers and services. These represented alternative points of access to resources of all kinds including help from university experts. As later became evident, there was still a clear niche for a somewhat reconfigured IOA, one which capitalized on the excellence of the college faculty as a group, but this was not a direction pursued in the late 1960s.

Obviously, contextual factors in this period loomed large and seemed to foreordain either the end or a major change in the IOA configuration. Nevertheless, it took some specific events to precipitate the decline and to lead to the virtual disappearance of the IOA. Chief among these precipitants was the leadership transition which was accompanied by a fading or increasing confusion of purpose on all sides, which in turn were followed by sharp membership drops and income loss, creating a crisis of attrition, inevitably leading to either institutional death or metamorphosis.

Leadership transition. With his retirement approaching, Warren began to turn his attention to the issue of a successor. By his own report he went several times to the president of the college and to others in the administration to urge that they think seriously about the question of naming a successor, but in spite of his efforts no search was made, and the president, nearing retirement himself, referred the matter back down the line as a matter to be dealt with by the administration department. Some perceived these efforts as an attempt by Warren to name his own successor as the founder had done. In any case it was clear that there was no tenured professor available who had (a) the clout with the university and the member districts, (b) the energy to launch the needed revival effort, and (c) the dedication to the basic aims and modus operandi of the Research Institute.

When Warren's retirement finally came in 1972, Fred Sands, a tenured professor, was named to the leadership position as an add-on to his normal teaching duties. Sands was someone who had not been on friendly terms with Warren for some years although both shared a dedication to school improvement through networking processes. Actually, from a logical standpoint the new leader was a very reasonable choice. He had strong school connections, school experience, and was at the time serving on the school board of one of the member

districts. He was also dedicated to the notion of sharing practice concerns and strong service-oriented university-school linkage. On the other hand, he lacked specific expertise in the school finance area where the IOA had been traditionally strong and highly valued by the members. Adding to his woes was the fact that the one professor who was strong in the finance area took a sabbatical at about the time of the leadership transition. The new leader also had ~~no prior involvement~~ and probably not much interest in the research agenda that had been carried on with great consistency over a thirty-year period.

Some informants doubted whether Sands had either the clout or the energy to launch a revival but it is clear that he did not want to see it die. One of his first acts was to send several professors out on status-needs assessment missions to the member districts for one-on-one consultations with the superintendents. This is still remembered as a very popular act giving the sense that something new and significant was going to happen to the IOA. He also initiated a series of one-day workshops (seven to ten per year) on a variety of topics such as ~~conflict resolution, accountability~~, state regulations and finance, the clearly popular topics of the day. Most of these workshops were well attended. College faculty were recruited for these workshops and paid an honorarium, but Sands reported to us that, in general, he had difficulty getting faculty back into IOA activities because in the last days of the previous regime it had not been seen as a vehicle through which they could pursue their own research interests.

Another activity initiated by the new director was an "education fair," a special meeting to which he invited teams from different Title III projects in the area to come and demonstrate to a larger group what they had been doing. It was an interesting and partly successful attempt to capitalize on some of the burgeoning resources in the area and was a kind of small-scale harbinger of the subsequent nationwide

effort to demonstrate Title III projects known as the National Diffusion Network (NDN). Sands reported that a few new memberships were generated in this way, but apparently there was no real follow-up and no repeat performance.

The fading of purpose. With the disappearance of the finance survey a significant aspect of the IOA reward value to school districts was lost. Furthermore, with the disappearance of the Indicators of Quality there was no longer a major research program which could attract students and generate the kind of ongoing involvement that would make the arrangement truly viable. The new leader had no clearly formed ideology of reform and no research agenda and the residual professional staff of the Research Institute were soon looking elsewhere for employment.

Moreover, as a last act, Warren copyrighted the Indicators of Quality instruments, orientation manual, observers guide, and norming data and established a small consulting firm consisting primarily of himself and his last most trusted deputy (the man who many believed was his favorite candidate to succeed to leadership of the institute). Through this means he intended to insure its further dissemination and use under appropriately monitored conditions. The package is clearly well-designed, attractively printed, and exhibits the extended, careful, and systematic research and development work that had been invested in it from 1963 to 1972.

Nevertheless, we could find little evidence of further use, and to some extent further use must have been discouraged by the stringently worded warnings on the inside cover of the observer instrument: "This instrument is not available for distribution or use by untrained persons. It is to be administered only by specially trained observers." But without the institute and its cadre of graduate students, and without the IOA member districts and their contributed staff time there could be no observers and no training. There was no longer a facilitating mechanism

and there was no longer a bargain that could be struck which would give all parties a fair measure of benefits.

The crisis of attrition. It will be recalled that the institute was sustained by income from three arrangements: one local network (the IOA which is the focus of our study and also the original arrangement established by the founder); one national network of "associates" which was linked largely through mailings and major conferences; and one very large state network which was, in turn, broken down by regions within the state. This third element with 350 members made the largest financial contribution to the institute over a number of years through a continuing contractual arrangement with the State School Boards Association through which school funds derived from various sources were conduited as "dues." This state network, even more than the others, was created and sustained through the political clout of the founder as an expert on school finance and its purpose was partly to deliver statistical services related to school finance to member districts.

Throughout the 1960s, however, districts became more and more dubious about their investment in the state network as they developed resources of their own and as the state developed school service centers. Warren, in his last years was able to stave off such attacks, but within a year of his retirement the Association decided to terminate its agreement with the college, thus eliminating the network and its substantial revenue in one administrative act. Although there is some disagreement on the matter, many observers retrospectively view this as the death blow for the institute as it provided the major part of the financial income by which a fulltime professional staff and a cadre of parttime Fellows could be sustained. Meanwhile there was also a decline in IOA memberships, from 70 in the mid-1960s to about 30 at the time of leadership transition. In spite of the new leader's efforts the slide continued throughout his four year tenure so that by the spring of 1976 there were no more than seven full dues paying members.

With membership slide there was financial slide. Adding to the financial woes caused by reduced membership dues and the loss of the state network was the conclusion of the USOE training grant and the apparently considerable cost of printing the Indicators of Quality package, a cost which was passed on to the new director.

Institutional metamorphosis. The new president, taking office in 1974, was a scholar with a determination to shore up the service image of the college. Thus, while making the financial "save" of the IOA alluded to above, he decided that outreach activities should now be consolidated by bringing the remaining two networks under the endowed [illegible]tion Research Institute, simultaneously abolishing the Research Institute and transferring departmental responsibility out of the administration department and into the curriculum and instruction department.

The new president of the executive board of the IOA in 1975, a very bright and rather young superintendent of one of the area's most affluent and prestigious districts, met with his colleagues to discuss openly and frankly whether or not the IOA at this point had outlived its usefulness and should be terminated. He was particularly concerned with the fact that Fred Sands was going on sabbatical the following year, that there was no paid executive secretary and no commitment to hire or appoint one. It was time, he felt, for the college to put up or shut down. There was no rancor in this; nor did he feel he was bringing pressure to bear on Fred or on the new president. He simply had the feeling that the university cared very little about the schools, preferred to go its own way with its own scholarly interests; but the board president likened himself to the good pro ball player who keeps on doing his bit for a losing team. "At a very troubled time I hung in there," he says. Thus, he feels that he kept a thin institutional thread from breaking, while gently nudging an ambivalent university to take some positive new action. It was the beginning of a new beginning, but it was also an end, the end of the complex and far-reaching

networking-research enterprise that was embodied in the Research Institute, in the research program, in the research-feedback program, and the many other school-college joint efforts and bargains that had been struck by the founder and maintained so faithfully by his successor.

In the foregoing pages, we will have to admit, the story is not fully told. It is an interesting story and a great story which we kept stumbling upon as we were trying to trace another much more contemporary story. What is provided here is but a taste of the whole. We were not able to lay out the very well founded logic of the founder's grand strategy of educational reform, the substantive nature and merits of the research programs, first of "adaptability" and the Growing Edge, later of the Indicators of Quality. The successor concluded our interview somewhat wistfully with the comment: "Well, an institution is the shadow of a man," clearly referring with admiration to the founder, his own chief mentor; but in so saying he probably gives less than due credit to himself as the sustainer and rebuilder of a great research program which might have led to another great wave of school reform but for a few missed cues and a university unable to comprehend and to capitalize upon its own special resource.

1.3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CURRENT ARRANGEMENT

1.3.1. Historical-Institutional Context

The period from 1972 to 1976 might generally be characterized as a cooling-off period in education. There was less innovative activity and somewhat less turbulence accompanied by continuing enrollment attrition as the "baby bust" rolled upward through the school grades. It was a time of fiscal constraint and school closings and also a time of increasing concern in the suburbs for academic standards, school quality, and college entrance opportunities. It was also a time when many of the resources available through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 were transferred to state

authority under "special revenue sharing" and were, in various ways, stabilized and institutionalized. Large urban districts now typically had their own resource centers and teacher centers and development offices largely paid for out of re-channelled federal monies, and the suburbs and towns received similar help through regional centers and services. Public education as a result of ESEA and its aftermath had developed a somewhat more complex infrastructure of staff development, curriculum development, special skills instruction, and counselling. This new infrastructure was also reflected in the establishment of new interorganizational arrangements, often with state participation or sponsorship and often with the involvement of smaller colleges and community colleges which provided various forms of in-service support and credit.

For the college of education at Eastern Private University it was a time of leveling off and then reduced support from federal grants and of reduced enrollments generally although some departments, e.g., educational administration, actually increased enrollments between 1974 and 1979. For the college it was also a period of transition with many of the senior professors retiring and new faculty being recruited representing the trends of the late sixties and early seventies, e.g., a greater concern for urban education and social problems generally, a concern for greater "relevance" interpreted rather divergently, and a much greater sophistication and awareness of the changes wrought by the 1960s, e.g., student and teacher militancy, minority issues, accountabili[redacted]

As noted in the previous section there were changes of leadership at several levels in the college during this period, each affecting the future of the IOA and each leaving a residue of disappointment, concern, and uncertainty. Comparing the backgrounds of the new president and his chief rival for the position, the choice of president itself appeared to represent a kind of victory for scholarship over action, but the new president, Leonard Carlson, immediately

took a practitioner-oriented initiative by insisting that the college must make a contribution to the field and that professors henceforth would be judged on such contributions in addition to scholarship and teaching. In a number of all-day meetings he organized his faculty into task forces on various issues facing the college including field ties. Carlson appointed as head of the endowed Action Research Institute, Frank Innes, the chairman of the administration department and Carlson's rival for the presidency--a move perhaps to repair relations with a defeated colleague. Soon thereafter he passed to this institute responsibility for the IOA, transferring it from the now defunct Research Institute in the administration department.

Within the administration department itself there was another succession battle which pitted Fred Sands against a newly appointed young professor, Dirk Morgan. Morgan, who won the appointment as department chairman, was a tough-minded researcher who had worked on major national evaluation studies for a prestigious consulting firm. He was dedicated to reforming the department to make it at the same time more rigorously research-oriented and more dedicated to the hot issues of the day which he saw much more as residing in the cities than in the "green grass suburbs" which represented the IOA. As Morgan himself put it, he was "forced down the throats" of the administration faculty by the new president, but he in turn made a point of visiting privately with each faculty member to assess their concerns and solicit their cooperation in reform efforts.

Within the department of curriculum and instruction there was also a reform spirit but of a somewhat different variety. In this case the young turks were two newly appointed associate professors dedicated to much greater university involvement with practitioners in the planning and execution of use-oriented and concerns-based research and development. One of these, Alice Loveland, was soon to be appointed the new head of the IOA.

Through a thicket of interpersonal and institutional rivalries, alliances, and feuds one could detect a number of consistent themes which are expressable as polarities. First there was the new versus the old with the younger generation slowly but inevitably gaining dominance and in the process often ignoring or discounting the hard-war achievements of their predecessors (such as the Indicators of Quality). There was the tension of research versus service with the former orientation generally dominant in the university but with the continuing need to demonstrate that research is relevant to the needs of educators. There was also the related tension between hard data-based research which follows accepted experimental designs and measurement rules and soft research which explores, which allows collaboration and which is directed toward immediate practice change. Another tension related to the level of the system which should be the target of concern. For many of the young professors who had worked with the federal government and its contractors during the late sixties and early seventies the logical focus was the policy level, the top where the key decisions are made concerning districts across the country. For the old IOA and the professors and superintendents who grew up with it, the key level was the district--especially the superintendency. For another segment of the younger generation--including Fred Sands--it was the principal. For yet another group, young turks such as Alice Loveland, it was the teacher. Finally, another undercurrent here was probably tied to feminism: teacher militants and teacher advocates were women by a heavy majority and they were also likely to be feminists; administration and policy-oriented types were likely to be males.

These themes clearly affected the course of the IOA as it moved in the 1960s from an exclusively male-run research-generating entity oriented to an all-male constituency of

school administrators to being an almost exclusively female-run service-oriented entity serving a multitude of levels and concerns in these same districts by the late 1970s.

1.3.2. Institutional Precursors

The current arrangement clearly has two institutional precursors: the administration department's Research Institute which was the home of the IOA for nearly 30 years and the Action Research Institute which became its home by administrative fiat of the new president in 1976. It should be recalled that the Research Institute by 1976 was nearly bankrupt, having lost much of its resource base, and it was viewed skeptically by the new chairman, Morgan, as both a financial liability and a haven for dated research concepts. What the new IOA owed to the old was a still-respected name among many of the older superintendents in the area and a standing as the only arm of the college which had persistently forged a link with certain districts and maintained that link over two generations. The question is: does tradition, per se, make a difference in institutional survival?

At a number of meetings in 1975 and 1976 as membership dwindled to a handful, perhaps as few as five dues-paying districts (no one is quite sure how many were left at lowest ebb), various persons including the IOA's executive board of superintendents were asking themselves out loud: should there continue to be an IOA? No one was willing or eager to kill it and to the new president it was a possible instrumentality for some new effort at providing field services and maintaining or strengthening the image of the college in the local area. Thus when the Research Institute ceased to exist, the IOA was able to live on even though this new "life" was only tenuously connected to the old.

The Action Research Institute (ARI) was quite a different kettle of fish. As old as the IOA, it had survived and thrived over the years on an endowment of something like $4,000,000

from which the annual interest of over $200,000 was spent on research and staff salaries. Like the Research Institute, the ARI had its founding guru who was known as the father and for many years chief promoter of "action research"--collaborative problem-focussed research in which the practitioner and the scholar had equal investment. Surprisingly, however, although the ARI was very productive in terms of publications up through 1965 it established no networks of its own, occasionally relying on the IOA to provide access and generally performing its research in the same affluent suburban settings represented in the IOA. In the late 1960s the emphasis at ARI was on action more than on research productivity. Furthermore the ARI took under its wing a number of federal projects including an urban studies center. There was definitely a concern for the cutting-edge issues of the day related to minorities, women, and urban problems. Placing the IOA in the ARI clearly meant a reorientation in substance and process as well as the chance of a stronger and more secure financial base. For ARI it meant, on the other hand, another financial drain on its jealously guarded "hard" monies but, on the other hand, possibly stronger and more lasting field relations for its various purposes.

1.3.3. Philosophical and Ideological Roots

In some ways the revival effort was more pragmatic and seat-of-the-pants action than ideological, but there was a philosophical root in the training and previous work of Alice Loveland. Her course on the management of change was one of the most popular in the college, having an enrollment of 100 at the time she was interviewed. The course covered a substantial amount of material in the "planned change" tradition, organization development in schools, the culture of the school, the process of linking and consultation on problem-solving with practitioners, and networking. Some of the featured authors were Matthew Miles, Seymour Sarason,

John Goodlad, and Ronald Havelock. Loveland herself had a national reputation as a change process expert particularly with regard to teachers and school settings. It was a dynamic, rather loose, practice-centered view of helping which had begun to be articulated in the mid-1960s, and staff of the ARI had at one time or another been prominently identified with the movement.

1.3.4. Transitional Support Persons

Prior to the direct involvement of Alice Loveland herself there were a handful of persons on the faculty and two or three superintendents who played a key role in setting up the new regime. First mention should be given to the new president, Leonard Carlson, a scholar and an effective spokesman who retained a sense that the college must have a strong field service component and who also sensed that the IOA could be it. He absorbed the debt of the Research Institute and he also was a key actor in effecting the transfer of the IOA to ARI, without which survival was probably impossible. He also put the faculty on notice that they must attend to field concerns and in so doing, by intention or not, he raised Alice Loveland's stock throughout the college. On the other hand, to most of the actors in this story he was a rather remote figure who paid lip-service to practice issues and the IOA but never really attended to what was really going on. Actually, it was probably not his appropriate role to do so.

Frank Innes, director of the ARI and formerly chairman of the administration department, was a very dynamic figure, heavily involved in action projects and for that reason popular with graduate students: "He always had interesting projects; he was into 100 things; he gave his graduate assistants a lot of autonomy." Like the president he was also often inaccessible because of his many activities and he tended to leave a trail of loose ends. With Fred Sands going on sabbatical, Innes took over the IOA but he is reported

to have assented to this "only if I can get Alice Loveland." Thus, in fact, his running of the IOA lasted through one or two executive board meetings where he impressed on the superintendents that something fresh and good was going to happen and in October of 1976 announced that Loveland would soon take over as executive secretary under him. Subsequently Innes was supportive, decided on budget matters, but was mostly uninvolved.

Fred Sands also played a very positive role in the transition, a role which has gone largely unrecognized and unappreciated by many of the other actors. First of all he kept the IOA going; secondly, he already had changed the orientation toward greater involvement of levels of administration other than superintendents and he was careful to select a staff of Fellows in which both women and minorities were represented. Roughly speaking he had the same ideological orientation as Alice Loveland, and indeed they saw each other as allies on most issues. Sand's chief failing seems to have been that he could not breath new life into a dead horse, but he tried with various types of meetings, with no budget and no encouragement from skeptical departmental colleagues.

On the district side perhaps the key transitional figure was Sam Taylor, the IOA board chairman in 1975-76 who liked what Sands was doing and appreciated his efforts but, when he heard there was going to be no paid staff and that Sands was going on sabbatical, thought the question should be put to the college as forcibly as possible: "Do you really want to keep this thing going?"

1.3.5. Analysis of Events Leading to the IOA Revival

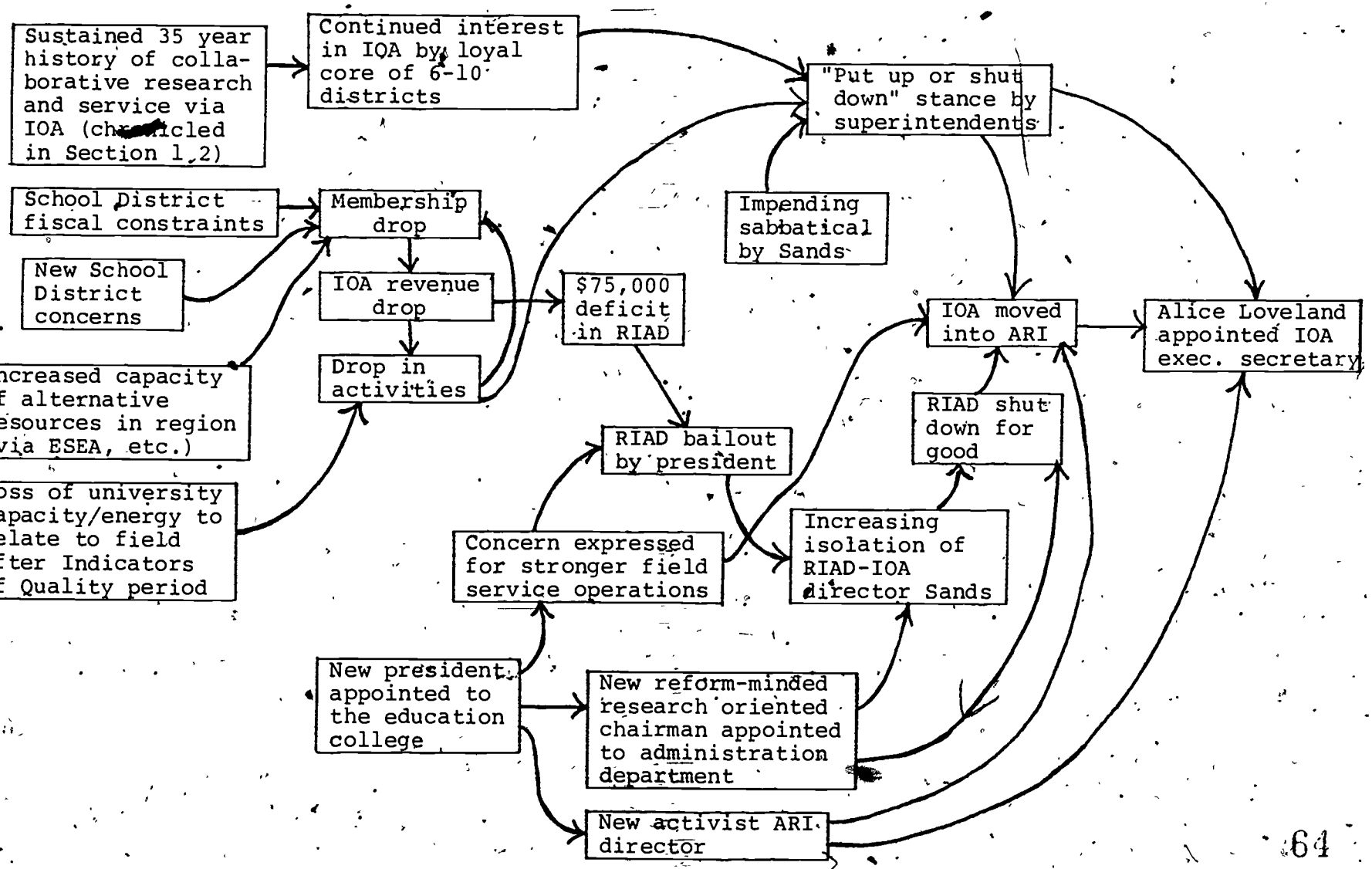
Table 1-1 Event Sequence Leading to the IOA Revival

Date	Event
Mid-1974	Leonard Carlson becomes president of the education college within the university.
1974 - 75	New president organizes faculty into task forces/ stresses importance of field ties.
1975	New president selects Dirk Morgan to be new administration department head over Fred Sands; Sands remains head of IOA Research Institute in administration department (RIAD).
1975	Frank Innes becomes ARI head.
1975	New president Carlson pays RIAD deficit out of reserve fund.
1976	Fred Sands plans sabbatical.
1976	(February) Superintendent Sam Taylor discusses with colleagues the desirability of IOA termination.
1976	Taylor communicates "put up or shut down" message to Sands.
1976	Carlson abolishes RIAD and transfers IOA to ARI with Morgan's blessing.
1976	Innes becomes nominal head of IOA; seeks Alice Loveland as executive secretary.
1976	(September) Innes meets with the board, explains that a new start will be made; board encouraged.
1976	(September) Alice Loveland accepts leadership of IOA.

As summarized in Table 1-1 and illustrated in Figure 1-1, there was a fairly clear series of circumstances leading up to the transfer of the IOA to ARI and the appointment of Loveland, the two key events which signaled the beginning of the new era. Loss of interest and motivation by both the university and the districts led to a precipitous drop in membership, activities, and resources. Carlson's bail-out of the RIAD debt, together with Morgan's lack of interest, left IOA as an institutional orphan badly needing a new home and some means of support in addition to the very meager revenues from the six to ten loyalist districts.

The loyalist districts muttered among themselves about termination through the 1975-76 school year, delivering a guarded ultimatum to Sands, and through him to Carlson and the university. Carlson was probably reluctant to close down an operation which had the potential of contributing to and even being the centerpiece of his new initiative to develop a college-wide field services unit. ARI director Innes was willing to take on the old thing, but only if he could use its shell to create something entirely new, something he himself could probably not define clearly, but something that was alive, dynamic, and stimulating to school people and graduate students.

Figure I-1 Causal Factor Configuration Leading to Revival of the Eastern Private IOA



RIAD = Research Institute in Administration Department
ARI = Action Research Institute

2. THE FIRST TWO RENEWAL YEARS: 1976-78

2.1. INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE

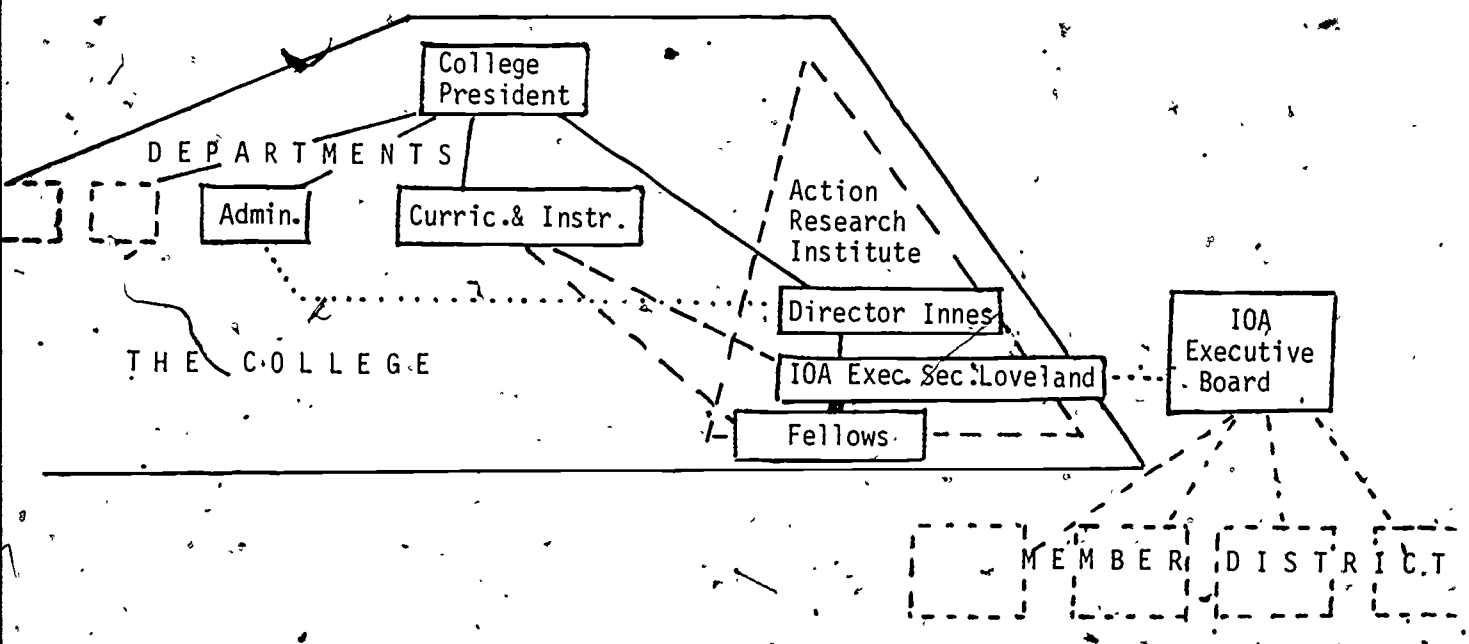
As Alice Loveland took over, the IOA had an institutional structure more or less as indicated in Figure 2-1. The "director" was Frank Innes but Innes was also director of the umbrella unit, the Action Research Institute. In this role he reported directly to the president. Reporting to Innes was the "associate director" or "executive secretary" Alice Loveland but in fact she ran the IOA with almost complete autonomy except on fiscal matters which were handled by a graduate student working as an assistant to Innes. Initially Alice had no staff except for a part-time secretary and another professor, Tim Anderson, who was identified as an "ARI associate." Alice quickly recruited two graduate students to work with her through the 1976-77 school year to develop the program. By the end of the year about ten additional graduate students had been recruited to serve as Fellows. These twelve students, all but two being women, served as the de facto operational staff of the IOA.

The school districts were represented by an executive board initially composed of seven superintendents to which two principals were later added. The board had a president who served for one year on a rotating basis. Board members were selected to represent roughly the sub-regions within the area but selection appeared to be a very informal process, mostly steered by Alice Loveland. At the time of the leadership transfer the "board" and the "membership" must have been about the same thing. After the successful recruitment drive there were as many as 29 districts listed as members, and the board had about ten members including the two principals.

The old IOA had been very much a creature of the department of administration but the new IOA was much more identified with the department of curriculum and instruction where Alice Loveland had her teaching appointment and where most

of the graduate students were enrolled. On the other hand, Innes, Anderson, and Sands were all members of the administration department. Physically, the IOA did not really have its own offices although there was a "Fellows room" the first two years, located in a different building than Loveland's office and the part-time secretary. Again, informally, Loveland's office in the department of curriculum and instruction was the IOA office also.

Figure 2-1 Institutional Structure of the IOA



The IOA seemed to function very informally, having no by-laws even in the founder's day. This allowed Loveland and her graduate student staff to invent new procedural forms and mechanisms of networking and service as they went along. It also meant that when there was work to be done, such as organizing a conference or getting out a brochure, it was quite a scramble to get things done. Other faculty of the college were under no formal obligation to provide service to the IOA, but Loveland had extensive informal connections and when she asked

someone to make a presentation or run a work group session they almost invariably agreed if they were available. Conference presenters got a $100 honorarium but the many faculty who contributed to the work groups served gratis.

Nominally the executive board passed on all decisions including the many changes that were made during the first year, but in reality Loveland ran the board meetings very smoothly, soliciting advice and approval and always getting the latter. Leadership initiative almost never came from the board membership or the member districts. On the other hand, Loveland was very sensitive to board member concerns and could generally anticipate them. Their approval was also important to her as a legitimizing force with the college.

Underneath the formal institutional structure there was an informal but solid structure in which Loveland delegated most of the operational details and much of the decision making to two very energetic senior graduate students. The management of the IOA really consisted of the three of them working together. When other Fellows were brought on board they formed a kind of outer circle, formally led by Loveland but often taking orders or activity suggestions from the two senior graduate students. As we will see, this structure was very effective but led to some tensions and subsequently some open conflict.

2.2. OBJECTIVES

Although we could not find a clear statement of objectives representing the first two years of the revival, certain implicit objectives were fairly obvious. The first was to revive or revitalize the IOA as a network through increasing memberships, increasing numbers and varieties of joint activities, and increasing all manner of contacts. Loveland's ideal was sharing rather than transfer of knowledge that was one-sided, and there were three types of sharing that she was especially concerned about. The first was sharing between university and school people, which might involve the exchange of ideas concerning needs, practice wisdom, research,

or expertise generally; high on her list would be process knowledge, i.e., knowledge about how to bring about changes and introduce innovations in ways that would be beneficial for all concerned. A second type of sharing would be among districts including all levels from superintendent on down; in large part she saw the college and its IOA activity as a catalyst to allow this district-to-district interchange to take place. A third type of sharing involved direct teacher-to-teacher sharing and collaborative action to improve their classroom practice. In some ways both Loveland and her personally selected Fellows were most emotionally committed to this last type; most were either practicing teachers or former teachers as well as being women; their orientation was practical, not academic or theoretical, and they generally had limited experience with the upper levels of school administration.

While knowledge transfer from the academic world to practice was not a highly touted or emotionally valued aspect of the IOA as far as the new leadership was concerned, it was by far the most visible aspect and apparently the most valued by the superintendents. Thus there was some discrepancy between "objectives" as aspirations of the IOA staff and "objectives" as represented in their most visible behaviors. This discrepancy continues to this day but has never produced much tension because there is an overriding ethic that any activity involving contacts among school and college people is good for networking and serves multiple goals in unaccountable ways.

The objectives of the revival period come into sharper relief when they are contrasted to the objectives and operations of the original IOA as conceived and developed by the founder and carried on by his successor. By the time of the revival, the notion of collecting data systematically from member districts was gone and even distinctly devalued.

There was a perception that (a) such activity is a priori suspect as potentially exploitative (b) it serves no real school-improvement purpose and (c) in any case, the mere mention of research objectives is poison to the typical school person in the current climate. But of course some babies go out with that bath water: lost are the possibilities of getting some sort of systematic needs assessments from member districts, of giving districts comparative (and hence very grabbing) data on performance on various dimensions, of providing significant numbers of graduate students with thesis opportunities, and of making substantial contributions to the written knowledge base regarding schools and school innovation efforts. The revived IOA for the most part gave up these features.

An unheralded but important objective of the revival was also to provide meaningful and partially supervised field experiences for graduate students, experiences in trying to manage the complexities of a network and in trying to assist schools at different levels in various types of improvement efforts.

2.3. KEY PERSONS

2.3.1. Alice Loveland

Just as the original IOA may have been "the shadow of a man," the revived IOA could well be described as "the shadow of a woman." By all accounts Alice Loveland was the key person in the revival. It simply could not have happened without her, and what happened is very largely reflective of (a) her ideology and orientation, (b) her energy, and (c) her capacity to influence others at all levels.

Background, ideology and orientation. Alice Loveland had received a doctorate from the college a few years earlier and had worked subsequently on the west coast with a professor well-known for his writings and action research in the change process, particularly with rather large foundation-sponsored

projects to develop networking arrangements among schools. When she returned to the Eastern Private University to fill a tenure line in the department of curriculum and instruction, she already had a national reputation partly based on her work with this professor. She was known as something of a teacher advocate and an advocate for client-centered problem-solving as an approach to educational practice improvement. The approach was somewhat simplistically characterized by a colleague in another department as "very school-specific: teachers would do wonderful things if administrators would only get out of their way." Another suggested that she was "a teacher advocate primarily." To those who knew her better, however, she was a lot more than that. One observer noted that she was excellent at "combining practice and theory." Her course on the change process, already noted as one of the most popular in the college, was loaded with intellectual content and research-based studies of the change process with an emphasis on networking and on the culture of the school. Her own intellectual approach was actually rather eclectic and she noted in an interview that she no longer used a lot of the material she had been identified with in her work on the west coast. She was an avid reader and user of new material on the change process, and in fact had good personal relations with many if not most of the leading researchers in this field.

Personal characteristics. Loveland had a very friendly sparkling manner and a disarming outgoingness which most people found very attractive. She had the unusual capacity to be a strong activist without ever being abrasive. Added to this she was a very good group facilitator, making sure people got a chance to be heard and making people feel that they were engaged in something worthwhile which was leading to something else even more worthwhile. Her facilitating ability was very well complemented by an indepth knowledge

of educational environments, their norms, roles and role expectations, and needs. Thus, for example, while the IOA under her leadership did not engage in any extensive needs assessment process she had an excellent sense of what people wanted and what would turn them on. This sensitivity most unusually extended from teachers to staff developers to principals to superintendents and even to college faculty and administrators. One senior superintendent described her as "a breath of fresh air" and "the sort of person no one will say 'no' to." Another said she had "real energy and a knowledge of both worlds." She was universally liked and accepted, but to her students and the Fellows whom she selected she clearly was more. She provided them with a great deal of encouragement and support and she trusted them wholly. In return they gave her tremendous loyalty and many long hours of hard work to the point that they really became extensions of her own great capacity.

Capacity to influence others (clout). Although she was only a junior associate professor, Loveland probably had more informal influence than anyone else in her department, partly because of the above characteristics of friendliness, energy, and openness; but this influence also probably stemmed from her reputation as the most practice-dedicated and field-connected member of the faculty. The fact that the new president, Carlson, placed the emphasis he did on field contacts undoubtedly added to her clout. She was also known as a doer as reflected in the remark attributed to ARI director Innes--"If I can get Alice Loveland, I'll do it"--in reference to taking the IOA into the ARI.

An indication of her influence with graduate students is well summed up in the comment of one who became a Fellow and later a key Fellow: "When Alice Loveland said she was going to be involved in this thing (the IOA), I said to myself, 'It's got to be good.'"

Loveland also used her extensive national network of contacts to bring in speakers for relatively modest fees and she was able to call on practically anyone within the college for service as work group presenters and conference speakers. It was also reported that President Carlson "bragged" about her, and that the chairman of the administration department, despite ideological differences, was eager to have her come over and join his faculty.

Problematic aspects. There were also a few issues related to Loveland that were somewhat problematic and may have worked to reduce the impact of the IOA. First of all she was more a catalyst, a starter, than an implementer, and relied on others to follow through and do the detail work. With her dynamism and her many ideas and many contacts she had a tendency to start up more projects than could reasonably be followed through by her staff; thus she ran them ragged and there were always many loose ends. As one of her strongest supporters put it, "she was a great conceptualizer but management and organization were not her thing"

Another possible weakness was in the area of negotiating and bargaining with the powers that be. If something seemed like a good idea she was likely to take it on without considering the full costs involved and without negotiating the best deal or quid pro quo from those who would benefit. As an informant put it, "she was not political"--especially in dealing with the college. The result was chronic overload and chronic shoe-stringing, but the same qualities may also have led so many people to trust her as someone who was not going to manipulate them.

A third area of possible weakness was in research-based scholarship. Loveland was well-credentialed and had some widely respected writings, but her heart was more in the action than the research side. This was probably a major factor in the lack of research or documentation stemming from the revived IOA. There was much discussion of the need to document the experience but when the chips were down the priorities were elsewhere. Actually Loveland reports that there

was some pressure on her to write and publish more coming from her department; she indicated that she was more or less forced to take a long leave in order to write a book which was seen as prerequisite to promotion to full professor. Such leaves put a terrible strain on the revival effort.

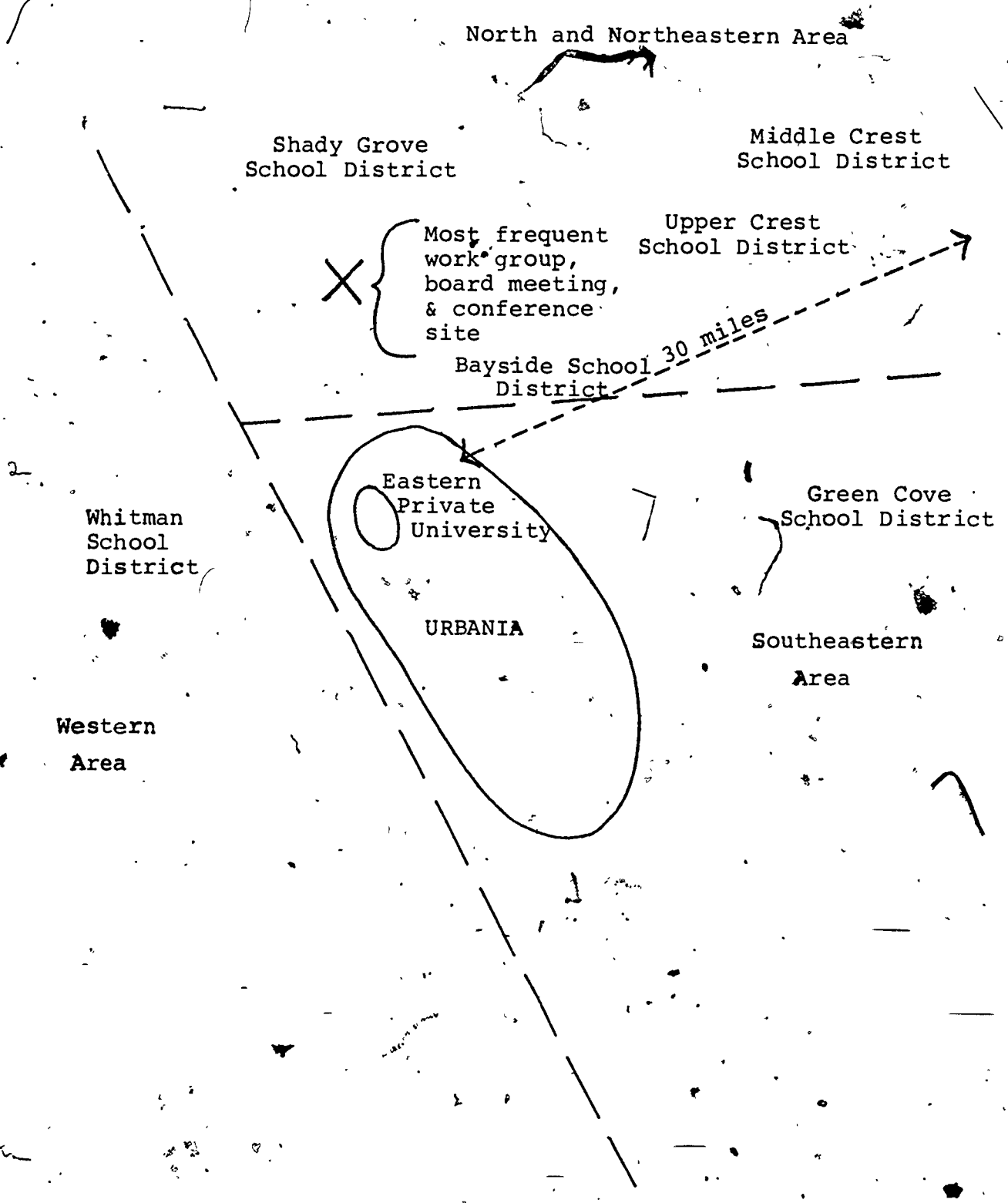
As an open and insightful person, Loveland was reasonably aware of her own shortcomings, and like her 1960s predecessor, Victor Warren, she had the ability to surround herself with other people of great talent, many of whom complemented her own efforts, filling gaps where she was weak.

2.3.2. Penny Ryder, Senior Fellow

This was especially the case with Penny Ryder, director of staff development in one of the larger districts in the area, returning for her doctorate in mid-career in the spring of 1976. By all accounts she was a forthright, outspoken, self-assured person, perhaps not suffering fools too gladly--"a perfectionist" by one report. She was well-organized and logical as well as tremendously energetic.

Her association with Loveland had begun in 1974 when Loveland and a fellow young turk in the department of curriculum and instruction had been involved as consultants to a middle school project in Ryder's district, a project which had not come to a successful end. Nevertheless, Loveland had placed graduate students as trainees in Ryder's staff development office over the intervening two years. When Ryder returned to school she immediately enrolled in Loveland's change course and became a staunch supporter. When the call came to Loveland in the early fall of 1976, she turned immediately to Ryder and another graduate student in the class, Emma Curran, for help in launching the new venture.

Figure 2-2. Map of Region Served by the IOA with Placement of Five of the More Active School Districts



Ryder was a key person in several ways. First of all, she contributed a great deal to the planning and execution of the membership recruitment drive that occupied the spring of 1977. This started with a meeting she arranged between Loveland and her superintendent, Patrick Rayburn (see below). That meeting resulted not only in his active involvement and endorsement but also in his granting her full salary for the year to pursue the IOA revival effort. Ryder also arranged many other face-to-face meetings with superintendents in the affluent suburbs which had been the backbone of the old IOA.

2.3.3. Emma Curran, Senior Fellow

Another member of the change class, Emma Curran was an enthusiastic booster of change process concepts, and when invited to collaborate with Ryder and Loveland, threw herself into the task with boundless energy and dedication. Of those involved in the early stages she may have had the most psychic ownership of the effort, a fact that would later cause some trouble for herself and others. She was also strategically important since she came from the western portion of the area served by the IOA (see Figure 2-2, p. 55) whereas Ryder came from the northeastern portion. Curran was described as the person who "managed things" over the two years of start-up. She also handled most of the clerical shores by herself, volunteering a great deal of time in addition to the rather modest stipend she received from the ARI.

2.3.4. Frank Innes, ARI Director

Previously discussed as an instigator of the revival, he played a very quiet background role once Loveland began to work. He was described by one colleague as being "very loose, political." A graduate student who did not work for him directly described him as "chaotic, hit-or-miss, hard to see, and hard to pin down." A key superintendent describes how he appeared at IOA board meetings: "It always seemed like he was dealing with us as some group he didn't have time for." To Loveland, however, he was always supportive and when she came to him with a request for $21,000 from

the endowment funds which he controlled, he gave it. One of his graduate students served the IOA as a kind of fiscal monitor and technically Innes had control of the IOA through his control of the purse but he seems to have played no substantive or guidance role otherwise. Two of Innes' students were placed as Fellows in the 1977-78 school year. They were the only males in the Fellows group and appeared to be rather isolated from the others. They also apparently felt a primary loyalty or identification to Innes rather than Loveland.

2.3.5. Leonard Carlson, The President of the College (within the University)

Carlson played a very important role through his verbal support of the IOA concept and Loveland although he was rather remote from what was really going on. He rarely consulted with and was rarely sought out for consultation by Loveland but when she asked him to appear and speak at an important relaunching conference, he did. His performance on that occasion was, by all accounts, impressive and helped to carry the day for the revival. In spite of their rivalry for the presidency, Carlson and Innes were described as being "close;" like Innes, Carlson was always "doing 100 things." Some faculty felt that he had a tendency to make decisions first and consult afterwards and one superintendent thought that he seemed to undervalue school administrators.

2.3.6. Patrick Rayburn, Superintendent, Middle Crest School District

At the time of the revival Rayburn was one of the more respected younger superintendents in the area. Unlike many of the others he was not a graduate of the college and had no personal past associations with the IOA. On the other hand he had a strong interest in networking as a strategy for educational improvement. He also headed the largest district in the northeastern area and thus commanded more resources than most other superintendents. He had a strong

staff which included Penny Ryder among others. After a private meeting with Loveland and Ryder arranged by Ryder he brought his district into the IOA and became a strong advocate with other superintendents in the northeast. He later served as IOA board president.

2.3.7. Abe Matowsky, Superintendent, Green Cove School District

Matowsky was a very long time supporter of the IOA through several stages of its evolution. He also knew Alice Loveland through a personal connection and clearly had a great deal of admiration for her. He was strategically important in at least two ways: first, as the old hand and the dean of superintendents in his area, he served as a kind of bridge between the old and the new; secondly he represented one of the wealthiest school districts in the state, one known for a long history of innovativeness from the earliest days of the IOA and a district situated in the southeast section of the region served by the IOA (see Figure 2-2). Thus he organized meetings in his sub-region and tried to get others involved, but with only marginal success. From observations of board meetings in 1979 and 1980 he appeared to be the informal leader of the group.

2.4. RESOURCES DURING START-UP AND FIRST OPERATIONAL YEAR

At the very beginning of the revival in the fall of 1976 there must have been very little in the way of financial resources to run the network. With only seven dues-paying members at $1500 each, there would have been an annual income of $10,500, just barely enough to put on a conference and get out a quarterly newsletter. There was no paid assistant to Sands, one of the factors which pushed Superintendent Sam Taylor to suggest a closedown, especially with Sands

going on sabbatical. Thus, one of the good faith actions the college had to take was to put up some new resources. Innes initially put up Loveland, meaning he would get her released from teaching duties part time. He also put up tuition waivers, each worth $1250, for the Fellows who worked with Loveland the first year. As noted above, Middle Crest School District donated the time of Penny Ryder.

Looking toward the second year, Ryder and Curran pressed Loveland to ask Innes for a much larger amount to support her salary plus tuition waivers for several Fellows. They asked Innes for $21,000 for the 1977-78 school year. At the same time Loveland and her two assistants set about a vigorous membership drive, one goal of which was to put the IOA on a much better financial footing. As one means to make membership more attractive, Loveland decided that she would cut the regular membership fee in half, making it $750, with the added wrinkle that member districts could buy the time of one Fellow for two half-days per month for an additional $750. With membership soaring to over 25 by the beginning of the next school year and with 11 districts taking on the Fellow option the cash contribution from the districts was more than $27,000.

The most noteworthy resources both then and later were human. Loveland's capacity to identify talented and energetic people and then to turn them on to the new venture created a tremendous energy resource which multiplied as Fellows reached out to the districts. Fellows did all the basic work in setting up conferences, putting out flyers, putting together materials, encouraging attendance. Even clerical work was mostly done by Fellows; the college supposedly contributed part of the time of a secretary, but, according to one Fellow who did a lot of this work, the people the college gave them were either "the dregs" or were people who owed primary loyalty to someone else and thus could not

be counted on to provide support at crucial moments. Thus, there was a great reliance on student labor which Loveland later thought might have been a mistake because such reliance tended to hide the real costs of operation.

It also turned out that the university owned a mansion in a lovely location a bit outside the city but quite convenient to many of the districts. This became the standard IOA meeting place (see Figure 2-2) until it was sold by the university three years later. The university charged a fairly stiff fee for the use of the mansion by the IOA, but access to this facility was definitely rated a plus by the conference and work group attendees, particularly in contrast to the college site itself, which was a bit harder to get to and where no parking was provided, a serious deterent for some.

It should also be noted that the college faculty as a whole was perceived by most superintendents as the major resource which the college could provide, and Loveland saw to it that the faculty was used well and often. Moreover there were three faculty members who could be relied on regularly for support, advice, and encouragement. One of these was Sands, the former head. Another was Herb Peters, a very senior colleague of Loveland's in the department of curriculum and instruction, a man of some clout and long-time familiarity with the college, the IOA, the ARI, and the various actors on the college side. He sometimes played the role of elder statesman to Loveland. A third supporter was long-time administration department member and former Fellow Tim Anderson.

Perhaps something also should be said about the perception by the superintendents of the resource universe at their disposal. As noted earlier networking and miscellaneous school support and improvement resources had expanded and grown considerably more complex over the preceding decade, due in part to an influx of federal dollars, in part to

growing intra-district capacity, and in part to the growing strength and sophistication of intermediate service centers and other local colleges and universities. Thus, while the visibility and clout of the college had remained high, it now had plenty of competition. Part of Loveland's task, therefore, was to find a market niche for the revived enterprise. That niche was not networking; there was an abundance of local, regional, and national networks--especially for superintendents--and many of these had long since eclipsed the IOA in salience and value as a means of inter-district sharing. Nor was it providing in-service opportunities; in fact, there were many such in the area for teachers and others and most, unlike the college, offered some sort of credit or certification as an added incentive.

2.5. EVENTS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE FIRST REVIVAL YEARS.

The first two revival years can be divided more or less into two sub-phases: planning and organizing, and start-up. During the planning-organizing year, Loveland worked primarily with her two initial graduate student Fellows to recruit new members, recruit Fellows for the following year, acquire resources, and conduct two major launching conferences in the spring of 1977. In the start-up year, the eleven new Fellows worked out their individual service agendas, shared their experiences with one another and supported Loveland in arranging and conducting a considerable number of work groups and conferences at which college faculty were featured. Table 2-1 gives a listing of some of the key events in approximate chronological sequence.

2.5.1. Key Events Analysis

From the introduction of Loveland onward for the next ten months the pace of activity seems to have grown markedly, reaching a kind of crescendo with the spring conference at the college. It began in the fall with what seems to have been a very productive thinking through of needs and possibilities among Loveland and her two Fellows with some input

Table 7-1 A Sampling of Key Events of Revival Planning and Start-Up

Date	Event
1976 Sept.	Alice Loveland accepts IOA leadership.
1976 Oct.	Loveland recruits Penny Ryder and Emma Curran as first Fellows.
1976 Nov.	Loveland asks Innes for $21,000 from endowed ARI funds and gets it.
1976 Dec.	Loveland meets with Ryder and Middle Crest Superintendent Rayburn. Rayburn endorses effort, signs on, and contributes Ryder's time.
1976 Dec.-Jan.	Loveland formulates "option" package and cuts dues in half.
1977 Feb.	Loveland and Ryder tour northeast sector of IOA territory, explaining new package and signing on key districts.
1977 Early Spring	Superintendent Abe Matowsky sets up southeast sector meeting of superintendents to recruit for revived IOA; less successful.
1977 Spring	Loveland and Curran attend superintendents' meeting in key western county, successfully recruit from that area.
1977 May	Conference at college, led off by Carlson, a skilled presenter; good attendance; judged very successful by all.
1977 June	Last issue of IOA newsletter (until resumed in 1981).
1977 June	Superintendents' conference at conference site with networking expert featured. Some problems with speaker but momentum continues.
1977 May-June	Eleven new Fellows recruited.
1977 June	First meeting of new Fellows.
1977 Sept.	Board reconstituted.
1977 Sept.	Second Fellows' meeting; beginning of regular weekly meetings of Fellows.
1977 Sept.-Oct.	Fellows receive first placements.
1977 Oct.	First of 25 work group sessions for teachers and other staff held throughout 1977-78 school year.
1977 Nov.	Superintendents' conference featuring world-reknowned educational scholar-reform advocate (rated very successful and memorable by superintendents).
1978 Spring	Writing consortium organized by Fellow Rhonda Robards.
1978 Late Spring	Loveland forced to give up duties temporarily on account of illness. Leave extends through 1978-79 school year.

from two key board members. This led to the formulation of the "options," the new fee structure, and a coherent recruitment strategy. The spring of 1977 was dominated by two interrelated serials, the recruitment drive and the organization of the two kick-off conferences in May and June. Both these serials had notably successful outcomes; they conveyed the message to one and all: "This is truly a new beginning."

The late spring was also the time of recruitment of a new generation of Fellows, a process that seems to have been a bit helter-skelter, involving diverse inputs from Innes, recruits from Loveland's change course, other Loveland contacts, and advice from Ryder and Curran. Each Fellow had a slightly different story of how he or she was recruited, and none was very clear about what the term "Fellow" meant, even after accepting the designation. Nevertheless most were very enthusiastic and some felt a little bit puzzled and let down when there was no Fellows' meeting between June and September, evidently a period of activity shut-down.

Partly as a result of the summer shut-down the early fall period seems to have been quite frantic with the Fellows immediately immersed in strange new school district assignments which, for the most part, lacked definition, while at the same time helping to organize a series of seminars and conferences which occurred with more than once-a-week frequency during the months of October, November, and December. After December 15th there was another long hiatus until a new series of work groups began on March 21, 1978.

By the spring of 1978 the new order had established itself in many respects: several of the Fellows had made meaningful contributions in certain districts while others had learned greatly through the fits and starts of the entry process; several of the college faculty had been involved in work groups and conferences; and several districts had responded to the new activities by filling the attendance rolls with

teachers and other school personnel. One Fellow had shaped her role and activities to form a content-centered sub-network of districts which became known as "the Writing Consortium," a modus operandi which proved to be one of the most successful in the revived IOA.

The end of the start-up phase was clearly marked by the leave of absence taken by Loveland in the spring of 1978. This leave forced a temporary leadership change and also served as a kind of test of the viability of the new arrangement. The story of that transition is told in Section 3.

The activities of the early revival period subsequent to the membership drive break down into five categories as follows: conferences, work groups, the Fellows program and sub-sets of activities, writing tasks, and management activity of which the most visible element was meetings of the executive board.

2.5.2. The Conferences

Traditionally, the IOA had put on two major conferences per year, one in the fall, one in the spring. Anyone who has organized a conference can attest to the fact that they are complex, arduous affairs involving many sub-tasks, much planning, and skillful management. These include recruitment of speakers, program planning, preparation of print materials--especially an announcement brochure--mail-out and other distribution, acquiring the appropriate conference site, arranging for meals, coffee, and other amenities, and organizing and executing some sort of evaluation effort. The conferences of the revived IOA involved the collective coordinated efforts of Loveland and the Fellows plus the contributed time of presenters. Typically a conference would have a star person from the college as an introducer or lead-off and some eminent (and paid) outsider.

The conferences were also the most visible of the IOA activities and came to represent what the IOA was in the minds of many. For the Fellows also, they were seen as

events generating great excitement--one telling us, "I would have stopped the world to be there!"--and being opportunities to get on stage, to meet and mix with well-known and powerful people from the districts, from the college, and from the world outside.

In the initial revival years the conferences assumed extraordinary importance as opportunities to create for the college a new image of activism and commitment. Thus the presence of President Carlson at the first conference in May of 1977 was most important as was the overall success of that meeting. The following meeting in June was intended to focus on the process of networking and a very well known expert on the subject was recruited for the event. As it turned out the speaker of the day had a terrible cold and was described by one observer as "cantankerous and boring." He was apparently taken to task by a number of superintendents, but Loveland recalls that the speaker was "very abrasive and very good." In other words, the meeting was dynamic, stimulating in a variety of ways for the superintendents and everyone else. The third revival conference in November of 1977 was another smash hit, featuring a very well known educational researcher and reform advocate whose talk stimulated at least one superintendent to set up a new school based on the principles espoused by the speaker.

Conferences were open to all staff levels of member districts and to selected outsiders whom Loveland wanted to get involved. The typical structure was a morning session of major speakers, followed by discussions, then an afternoon of three or four parallel seminars on different topics, about half chaired by college faculty, with the rest organized and run by Fellows and their various district contacts. Although exact statistics are not available, attendance at

conferences seems to have averaged about 100 persons with afternoon seminars having from 15 to 30 attendees each.

2.5.3. The Work Groups

. The notion of a "work group," as conceived by Loveland, was a serial activity typically involving teachers through three successive half-day sessions on a given topic. The lead-off session would involve a speaker recruited from the college, but an acknowledged expert in the field in question. The object would be to stimulate discussion, then the sharing of current practice, leading to considerations of practice improvement and action back home. The first series of these work groups was reported to be generally very successful and well-attended although some topics and some speakers were clearly more popular than others.

Work group topics were quite varied and attempted to achieve a balance of the interests and concerns of teachers on the one hand and principals and other administrators on the other. In the fall of 1977 the topics were "values and ethics in education" and "psychology and school problems," addressed to a general audience and attended heavily by teachers, and "staff development," "program evaluation," and "current problems in the secondary school," aimed more at administrators. In the spring of 1978 the values topic was repeated and work groups were added on "options for the gifted" and "the evaluation of achievement and performance."

Attendance depended heavily on active encouragement from the district administration, and attendance varied considerably by district. Thus there was a distinction among members: those superintendents who were more involved themselves tended to bring along more of their staffs and got considerably more out of the IOA as a result. The presence of a Fellow in a district was also likely to make some difference depending on how well the Fellow was integrated and accepted in the district and whether the Fellow saw his/her role as including recruitment to work groups. Work group activities could also have spin-off effects on the work

of a Fellow in a district. This was the case for the "options for the gifted" work group which helped one Fellow to develop a gifted program in her assigned district, a program which was later implemented district-wide and eventually served as a model for statewide innovation. Fellows attending work groups would often collect their notes and use them in their own field work as a kind of kit bag of potentially useful items.

Although most of the work group sessions were individually successful as appreciated events which in some cases had far-reaching programmatic impacts (e.g. the gifted program), they did not represent any clearly worked out strategy for change. They were primarily stimulators for individual participants to stockpile in their memory for possible use at some indeterminate future date when they might be applicable. Furthermore they were not tied to any course credit structure; hence the weight of impact had to be carried by the intrinsic merits of the material content.

2.5.4. The Fellows Program

The Fellows program represented several things simultaneously to the revived IOA. First of all, as noted previously, the Fellows were the person-power backbone of the effort, doing the great majority of the detail work needed to run conferences, workshops, and everything else. Secondly, they were increasingly a network which reached out to various resources and to school districts, not just member districts but districts from which the Fellows came or where they had friends and colleagues who might help out on this or that topic. Thirdly, the Fellows program was a training program for graduate students; the training provided was varied, interesting, and for most, exciting and rewarding: it gave them exposure to (a) the networking process as a whole, (b) educational processes and concerns at different levels of the school system from the classroom upwards, (c) many content and concern areas different from their training and background, and (d) the process of being a change agent or knowledge linker including the difficulties of entry, role

definition, and coping with marginality and overload. For some it was also an opportunity to form new professional liaisons and gain advancement and placement opportunities. For a few it also represented an opportunity to complete degree work through research conducted in school settings, although this was distinctly not a valued activity for the majority.

Fellows were always assigned to work in districts other than their own, if they were employed in school districts as many were. Beyond this, the assignments appeared to most Fellows to be rather arbitrary. There was little if any negotiation of site or type of role. Typically, a superintendent would assign a Fellow to work with a principal. Often when the Fellow got to the school he or she would find either misconceptions or confusions regarding what the role would be or a predefinition by the principal to fit some private agenda. Each Fellow had to find his or her way into a suitable, workable role in the district to make good use of the two half-days per month that were supposed to be spent on site. Once a month or more often they would meet at the college with Loveland presiding and share their experiences of working into a role.

Most Fellows did not have a clear idea of what they were supposed to be as Fellows going into their sites but there was much discussion of what the "model" was supposed to be and Fellow Emma Curran became a kind of champion of "the model." Roughly, it was based on the notion of process helping with teachers in which a group of teachers would come together, articulate their needs with the help of the consultant-Fellow, and gradually work toward solution ideas and actions through their own initiative. Something like three or four Fellows tried to proceed along this track but only one really succeeded, due to the varying district and school agendas and the inexperience of most of the Fellows

in dealing with the entry process. Thus, in the end, there was no one model and there were no two Fellows who developed a modus operandi very much alike. Nevertheless, most were successful in their different ways and some managed to develop activities that had lasting impact which the Fellows had not initially planned and could not have foreseen. The gifted program was one case in point, the Writing Consortium was another.

There were eleven Fellows in the 1977-78 school year with some working with one district, some with two (and hence receiving double the standard stipend of $1250). The two original Fellows, Ryder and Curran, stayed on as Fellows but without specific district assignments. Rather, they essentially ran the secretariat for the IOA, continuing their special status with Loveland as the policy triumvirate. This inside status caused some resentment among some of the other Fellows who often felt that things had been prearranged by the three prior to their involvement. Nevertheless, the others willingly pitched in on secretariat tasks and two who were most heavily involved began to move into the roles that Ryder and Curran had occupied.

For the districts and for the superintendents the Fellows program was welcomed as a sign of caring and commitment on the part of the college but it was also probably rather confusing. Few were able to articulate what it really was; few superintendents really knew what to do with "their" Fellows other than to pass the responsibility down the line to someone else who knew even less. If the role had been more clearly articulated by Loveland as that of linking agent or change agent it is quite possible that it would have reduced ambiguity but it might also have made the notion more threatening and ultimately less acceptable to many. Furthermore, the Fellows, for the most part, could not be offered as experts in anything, even in the change process itself, since this was for many their first venture in this direction.

2.5.5. Research and Written Production

At least for the start-up period the priorities of Loveland and her staff were very clearly on action in face-to-face situations rather than on research or documentation. The newsletter which had run continuously on a monthly basis for 35 years ceased publication with the June 1977 issue. The format of the last issues was publication of one paper per issue either by a professor or by a recent graduate summarizing thesis research. The back pages of the March issue announced the May conference of the IOA which would be so important a part of the revival and also oddly announced another conference scheduled for the same day. Loveland was billed as associate director of the ARI without indication of her key role as IOA rejuvenator. The June issue gives no report on the proceedings or any hint of future plans for the IOA. Instead there is an advertisement for the following year's subscription to the ARI Research Bulletin.

The 1977-78 school year which was so dynamic in terms of the revival effort left hardly a trace of written or printed documentation. Support for documentation was given by Innes in the form of a graduate student specializing in ethnographic studies who served throughout the year as observer and recorder of Fellows' meetings and other events of the revival. Although this person took extensive notes on the process of the 1977-78 year, no report of any kind on her efforts was ever issued. She was interviewed for this study but her notes were not available.

One Fellow the first year insisted on developing her thesis research as part of her Fellow activity, conducted an evaluation of an early childhood program in a particular district; nevertheless, from the point of view of the rest of the Fellows such activity was inappropriate and did not really constitute service as a Fellow.

In the winter and spring of 1978 the National Institute of Education issued a solicitation for studies of school networks of all types. Several Fellows were eager to get

involved in a proposal under this grants program and there was considerable discussion of it in Fellows' meetings in the spring of 1978. However, when Loveland was forced to go into the hospital, beginning her year-long absence, Innes was unwilling to proceed further with it, despite the fact that one of the Fellows was ready and willing to proceed with the writing task. The incident would suggest that, as far as Innes was concerned, research outcomes were not a big priority nor were resources a major issue for the IOA at that time. The potential role of NIE as a facilitator of documentation of such efforts is also illustrated by the incident. The quest for external support for research or quasi-research activities to attach to the IOA was a continuing serial over the next three years and involved three separate proposal efforts, the third of which in 1980 proved finally successful.

2.5.6. Management Activities

Serious management and planning discussion took place mostly among Loveland and her two senior Fellows, Ryder and Curran. Loveland consulted much more rarely with Innes, her boss and nominal director of the IOA, and then it was typically to seek his approval for what she had already developed as a concept. She also consulted at key moments privately with key superintendents: Rayburn in the northeast to start recruitment there; Matowsky to increase involvement in the southeast; and a third superintendent to help recruit in the west. Formal meetings with the seven-member executive board were held at the beginning of each school term in September and March. The board also met in conjunction with the fall and spring conferences which occurred toward the end of each academic term. Innes and Loveland were both generally in attendance and the sessions were orchestrated very smoothly by Loveland. She was always prepared with a clear agenda, reports on what had been going on which were generally rosy, and

proposals of what should be done in the forthcoming period. She invited suggestions for topics and speakers and always appeared to be open and flexible, but nevertheless she ran the show; approval was always forthcoming and there was rarely even the hint of dissent or conflict.

2.6. INTERPERSONAL AND INTERORGANIZATIONAL DYNAMICS OF 1976-78

There is little question that the dominating force of this time was Alice Loveland. Her energy and enthusiasm infected a dozen graduate students who became her helpers and her field staff. It also infected a handful of key superintendents in the area--some old-timers in the IOA, some new--and they happily supported her efforts. Only in the southeast area was there resistance to the revival despite the recruitment efforts of superintendent Abe Matowsky. At the college, leadership was either supportive or benignly neglectful and Loveland had no trouble using her personal contacts among the faculty to line up work group and conference presenters of the highest quality.

Within the Fellows' group the dynamics were a bit more complicated. With two exceptions the Fellows were women and were doctoral students within the department of curriculum and instruction. They were all selected by Loveland from various sources but mostly her class in the management of change. The few males were from administration and came into the Fellows program through Innes. They appear not to have been too well integrated with the women. There was also a strong sentiment for helping teachers and working at the teacher-classroom level rather than at other levels of the administration but this thrust seems to have been endorsed by the superintendents: the IOA was no longer conceived to be an old boys' club as it had been in the founder's heyday.

Among the women there was yet another distinction between the two senior Fellows who particpated more actively in management and appeared to have better access to Loveland and the outer ring of students who engaged most fully in field work. Most of the junior Fellows privately noted the distinction and resented it somewhat but it did not flare into open conflict.

Several of the Fellows described the atmosphere of the group as one of great excitement, anticipation of great possibilities which were only vaguely defined, and a continuing bustle of activities. There was a great deal of ambiguity about procedures, about roles and duties, and about objectives, but this ambiguity was of little concern to those who signed on and it probably was not perceived as such by either the board or the districts.

Although there was much talk about inter-district networking most district contacts seemed to come through attendance at IOA-sponsored events at which IOA and college staff were front-and-center.

2.7. BARRIERS

It may not be very meaningful to discuss "barriers" for a period which in so many respects was successful and barrier-free. However, there were some defects in the revival effort that caused discomfort for some, led to problems at a later time, and perhaps made the renewal something less than what it might have been. Those that stand out are in three categories; more or less in order of importance: (1) resource deficiencies, (2) inadequate structuring, and (3) dissimilarity of key groups (lack of homophily).

2.7.1. Resource Inadequacy

At the time of the Loveland takeover the IOA was practically bankrupt and it required the combined success of the membership drive and the infusion of $21,000 from the ARI for the revival to happen. Nevertheless, these funds were inadequate. By cutting membership dues in half as an added

inducement to new memberships while at the same ti e greatly expanding the range of offerings, Loveland was greatly underpricing her product. With only 60 percent of her own salary covered and no salary funds for anyone else except a scant amount for a quarter of a secretary, she was counting heavily on her own energy reserves and the goodwill and enthusiasm of the Fellows. The contribution of Ryder's time from her district was a big help the first year but after that the Fellows relied on a $1,250 tuition remission, sometimes doubled for double duty, and many admittedly relied on working husbands.

As a labor of love the IOA could manage through the exciting initial phases of renewal under dynamic leadership, but the shoestring and potentially exploitive nature of this base could prove problematic in the longer run. As it was, some activities were sacrificed at least in part because of the resource crunch. Among these were the newsletter and more serious efforts at documentation. Passing on the costs of any research effort to school districts was strictly taboo and exploitative from the point of view of Loveland and the Fellows.

2.7.2. Inadequate Structuring

The "option" formula, the plan for the work groups, the continuation of the conferencing process, and the recreation of a Fellows program all represent elements of structure for the revival effort but there was no overall plan, no specified set of objectives, no clearly indicated rules and procedures, and no clear role definitions for anyone involved. This lack of structuring definitely had its plus side: it allowed new things to be tried out and dropped if they didn't work and it allowed Loveland to generate a tremendous activity thrust without having to be fully answerable for the full range of consequences.

The down side of this lack of structuring, which like the resource inadequacy would come to roost later, was the lack of definition of limits--knowing where to stop, deciding what should or should not be done, and articulating what the priorities were. Thus there was overcommitment in

some areas (e.g. the promise of substantial service to districts) while other things lapsed (e.g. the newsletter) without due consideration of what should come first, how much was needed to pull off a certain thing, and what, in the long run, would be the most beneficial to all concerned. The notion of bargains and trade-offs and negotiated deals with clients seemed rather alien both to Loveland and most of the Fellows. There was also little perspective on the longer term or disciplined and documented reflection on what was happening so that the experience could be evaluated either formatively or summatively.

The lack of structuring was particularly evident in the field activities of the Fellows. They had little advance training for or clarification of what their roles would be, of what booby-traps were likely to be placed in the path of an outside change agent with no credentials and limited credibility. The result was learning through trial-and-error with considerable confusion, some pain, and much wasted effort for Fellows and their clients. Discussions among the Fellows of their experiences as they went along were enlightening and helpful as a training experience but some observers felt that more advanced planning and role clarification would have saved a lot of needless additional strain.

2.7.3. Inter-group Differences (Lack of Homophily)

The fact that all the persons active in the revived IOA were women was also probably both a strength and a weakness. It was a strength in that it gave them a great sense of comraderie, but it also distanced them from certain resources and certain issues. The revived IOA was never able to attain a high level of involvement from the administrative levels of the districts, the college, or the administration department within the college, in part because the IOA leader and most Fellows were women and almost all these others were men. In addition to being women they were perceived by many to be feminists and to be strongly identified with teachers and teacher-level concerns. It was an ironic turnabout considering the fact that the original IOA from 1941 through 1970 was almost exclusively male, although

the research and data feedback programs attempted to deal with all aspects of schooling, particularly classroom practice. One male observer felt that the Fellows sometimes had a tendency to be anti-principal, not adequately appreciative of the problems of schooling as seen from that level. It is also true that the one activity that had persistent difficulty was the principals' group.

Loveland herself was an excellent bridger between different groups, presenting herself as understanding and appreciative of superintendent and principal concerns while retaining the image of a committed advocate of the classroom teacher. One respondent suggested that she was appreciated by superintendents as someone who could get the teacher militants off their backs. In any case as long as she was around the homophily problem stayed underground.

2.8. FACILITATING FACTORS

2.8.1. Energy

In some ways the facilitating factors mirror the barriers but they stand out more clearly because the first two revival years were so clearly successful. The chief factor was Loveland herself, particularly her energy, ideology, and influence as discussed earlier. Yet it was really a collective energy inspired both by her and by the opportunity that made the difference. The Fellows were dedicated to the cause of educational improvement through a networking and sharing process, particularly among teachers. They were also dedicated to one another and to Alice Loveland as individuals as well as to the possibility of making a difference and being involved in something really big.

2.8.2. Openness

Several people were open to try something new, and did not require any advance guarantees of success, or even a specific blueprint. In particular the board was open, hoping that someone would come along and do something energetic that would serve some of their needs in some positive way. Key persons at the college were also open to giving Loveland a free hand. Those who had really been highly invested in the

old model of the IOA had gone from the scene. Of the other primary figures, Sands had tried his luck and was off on sabbatical; Innes was into too many other things to be heavily invested; and the president was too remote to concern himself with the details of how the thing shaped up. Loveland herself was open to ideas from various quarters and ran the operation in a rather loose, open way which allowed others to temporize. She was instinctively eclectic, letting many flowers bloom, providing something for everyone.

2.8.3. Empathy

An important theme of the revival was concern for schools and school districts, attention to their needs rather than the needs of the college. Loveland was good at conveying this concern where previous IOA directors had sometimes appeared to be aloof, disinterested, or too heavily concerned with research objectives which only marginally served school district interests.

2.8.4. Linkage

A major facilitating factor for the revival was Loveland's extensive personal network, which reached out into the districts in the area, reached across the college, and reached out across the country. As the Fellows came on board they brought with them additional contact networks which penetrated different levels of member districts and other districts in the area. Of less importance were the linkages among the old boys' network of the old IOA. There was some sense of need to keep a tradition going and of the comfort derived from working with other districts in similar circumstances but several superintendents noted in interviews that other networks were now more salient for them.

2.8.5. Homophily

Similarities of concern across districts was definitely a factor in facilitating the revival. Certain issues such as writing skills and gifted-talented programs tend to have special salience to these still affluent college-preparatory districts, and needs in these areas are relatively poorly served by state and federal programs and their service network outcroppings.

Among the Fellows, as mentioned above, similar interests, experiences and same sex led to a strong sense of solidarity which was a real energizer in the first two years.

2.8.6. Proximity

Finally, we might mention proximity as a factor of facilitation. All the districts were within 45 minutes driving distance of one another and the conference site represented a central and conveniently accessible rendezvous point. More importantly, the placement of Fellows in districts and their routine of two half-day visits per month added to the fact that most were already school- or district-based occupationally meant that there were multiple contact points. This strengthened both the formal and informal linkages and increased the likelihood of gaining not only valid input on needs but also valid and rapid feedback on the performance of the IOA in its various activities.

3. CONTINUATION, 1978-1981

3.1. CHRONOLOGY OF MAIN EVENTS

Perhaps the most impressive fact of the period from Loveland's initial departure to the spring of 1981 was that the revived IOA survived in more of less the condition in which she first left it. Nevertheless, it experienced considerable turbulence and has not achieved the kinds of institutional acceptance -- either on the district side or on the college side--which would assure its long-term continuance. Table 3-1 provides a listing of some of the more salient events through the spring of 1981 when our last data collection efforts were terminated. It was expected that Loveland would assume control once more in the fall of 1981.

The table does not show the fact that a full schedule of activities continued through these years although not quite at the high level of 1977-78. Memberships dropped only slightly from a high of 29 to 26. There continued to be two major conferences a year. The number of work group sessions dropped from a high of 15 in the fall of 1977 to ten in the spring of 1978, five in the fall of 1978 with Loveland gone, eight again in the spring of 1979, six in the fall, seven in the spring of 1980. In addition there were a number of meetings of the Writing Consortium each year and two or more meetings per year of a principals' group which had trouble finding focus and continuity. The Fellows generally met once a month in addition to attendance at various work group meetings and conferences; they continued to carry most of the operational burden of running the IOA.

A persistent theme illustrated by the table is the continued departures and returns of Loveland whose presence was felt whether she was home or away. Even when away she was in phone contact frequently and made return trips where her advice was eagerly sought and where she was called upon to settle disputes and resolve crises.

Table 3-1 A Sampling of Key Events: Spring 1978 to Spring 1981

Date	Event
1978 April	Loveland's illness followed by year's leave.
1978 April-May	Meetings of Writing Consortium organized by Rhonda Robards.
1978 September	Two principals added to board.
1978 September	Don Archer, adjunct assistant professor, added to the IOA staff.
1978 September 7	Loveland farewell meeting with Fellows; Archer and Anderson present.
1978 September 14	First Fellows' meeting with Anderson as acting IOA director; ten Fellows attend.
1978 September 19	First meeting of Professor Herb Peters' Internship Seminar; some Fellows participate.
1978 November	Meeting of old Fellows at Curran's home.
1978 December 11	Fellows meet with Loveland on return visit.
1979 May 2	Spring conference; Loveland in attendance.
1979 May 4	Fellows' meeting: attempts to define Fellow role; Loveland at blackboard.
1979 April-May	Collaborative R&D proposal written and submitted to NIE.
1979 September	Loveland returns; resumes leadership with Archer, Newell as deputies; seven Fellows, five with field placements.
1980 April	Proposal for a writing project involving the IOA fails to be funded.
1980 May	Innes resigns leadership of ARI; replaced by George Bern.
1980 May	University sells mansion which had served as prime IOA meeting site.
1980 May	Loveland announces plans for second year-long absence.
1980 May	Spring conference on teacher burn-out.
1980 June	Loveland departs; Archer assumes acting leadership of IOA; elevated to assistant professor from adjunct.

Table 3-1 continued

Date	Event
1980 Summer	Collaborative R&D Project funded by NIE.
1980 September	IOA renaming and reconfiguration proposal by Bern and Carlson blocked by Loveland.
1980 September	IOA Fellow support arrangement made with urban teachers union teacher center; Fellow option for members dropped; no field placements; three senior Fellows plus four new.
1981 January	Resumption of newsletter with Robards organizing, editing.
1981 March	Second issue of newsletter with Robards organizing, editing.
1981 March	Writing conference, very successful.
1981 March-May	Organization of Computer Consortium to be launched in fall 1981.
1981 April	Last minute cancellation of spring conference.
1981 April	College decides to drop non-tenure-tracked junior faculty including Archer as economy move.
1981 May	Reassessment meeting with special invitees substituted for spring conference; Loveland present.

3.2. INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE AND PROCEDURES

There were no structural changes during this period and the pattern of procedural informality remained. The executive board was expanded to ten members including two principals, a man and a woman (the first on the board). Presidency of the board rotated annually and was balanced regionally so that a president from the northeast would be replaced by one from the west and so on. In 1980 Loveland and senior Fellow assistant Jane Newell drafted a set of procedures to govern board member selection and functions but it was not formally adopted.

When Loveland took leave in 1978 she was replaced by Tim Anderson, a professor in the administration department who had had considerable past association with the IOA and was at one time in the 1960s a Fellow himself. He took over with an assistant, Adjunct Assistant Professor Don Archer, who had to deal with most of the operational details. On Loveland's return in 1979, Archer became her assistant with Newell, now a senior Fellow, serving in an assisting role to Archer. Upon Loveland's second departure, Archer assumed leadership while Newell took operational responsibility for the newly funded NIE grant on collaborative R&D.

Rhonda Robards, a Fellow in the 1977-78 year, had organized and developed a Writing Consortium of seven member districts which continued through this period and became one of the more visible sub-structures of the IOA. In the 1980-81 year she also took over operational responsibility for reviving the newsletter.

Much of what went on could probably more accurately be described in terms of the informal structure. Informally, Loveland continued to lead, being involved in all major decisions and some minor ones. Under her the same pyramidal arrangement of two or three senior Fellows and a handful of other Fellows managed operations. Archer's role was rather complicated and difficult; nominally he was chief assistant first to Anderson, then Loveland, then nominally in charge

when Loveland was away the second time, but his role was never secure; the senior Fellows who worked with him generally had an inside track to Loveland and were more experienced in relating to the districts. On the college side he was new and had the lowest faculty rank; as one old-hand superintendent put it, Archer was "low man on the totem pole." He nevertheless carried on with much of the necessary administrative and logistical contact work that had to be done to keep conferences and work group schedules on track and was a significant personpower resource although he, too, also had a 50 percent teaching load completely apart from the IOA.

3.3. OBJECTIVES

There were really no major changes in objectives during this period although there were different attempts to define what the objectives were and there were also pressures for change from some quarters. The winter 1979 issue of the college newsletter contained an article on the IOA and its still existing but weak sister organization of affiliated school districts nationwide. The article, entitled "School Networks Foster Communication and Innovation," ran four columns and featured brief quotes from Anderson, Archer and Innes as ARI director and thus technically head of both efforts. Each of the three took a crack at defining IOA objectives. Anderson: "Rather than start from the interests of people here at (the college), we are attempting to serve the interests and needs of the field. The college is acting as a catalyst and research center, bringing its total resources to bear on school district problems." Archer: "We assume that in these difficult financial times, it is very difficult for schools to have broad access to educational resources. Networking offers a barter system, a knowledge-based service exchange of programs and ideas that can be implemented at reasonable cost." Innes:"(The IOA and its affiliates are)networks for creative communication with and among educators in the field--teachers, principals, superintendents, and school board members."

All these definitions stress the inter-district sharing aspect of the IOA which we did not really find so salient in our analysis of actual activities over the period. The modal pattern remained the didactic session at which a college faculty member or some other expert held forth before a group of practitioners. Such activities may well have acted as "catalysts" for practice improvement but only in the case of the Writing Consortium did one begin to see significant inter-district sharing and cooperation which was not dependent on college resources as the focal point.

Likewise the need-driven aspect was there more in spirit than in operational fact: Loveland and her Fellows were truly dedicated to a practice-helping mission but activities were determined by a combination of their own interests, college resource availability, and their own sense of what was needed, gently filtered through the board's suggestions. Loveland herself may have put it best when she said she preferred to play it "kind of loose and go after various opportunities."

With the transfer of leadership of the Action Research Institute from Innes to Bern in the spring of 1980 the force field changed somewhat. When interviewed at that time, Bern suggested that there were three types of objectives that could reasonably be pursued by something like the IOA: exchange, knowledge transfer, and knowledge production. He made it clear that he thought far too much attention had been paid to the first and far too little to the last over the most recent period of IOA history. He also indicated that while he had qualms about the old Indicators of Quality effort it was directionally on target in stressing the knowledge production aspect and the involvement of schools as (junior) partners in a joint research effort which would yield valid knowledge which is worthy of transfer and is useful to researcher and practitioner alike. Although he put

Although he put the matter forcefully, Bern was not the first to articulate a concern for increased knowledge production. In fact there had been two separate research proposal efforts directed toward NIE which reified this concern. The first was the

networking proposal that was aborted by Innes after Loveland became ill in 1978. The second was the proposal for a collaborative R&D project which went to NIE in 1979 and was funded a year later. In addition there were continuing discussions among the Fellows, Archer, and Loveland about the need to document, conceptualize, and derive lasting wisdom from the experience of the revival. Thus the knowledge building objective was always there even though it was of lower priority for many--perhaps one reason it was usually not achieved.

3.4. KEY PERSONS, 1978-81

3.4.1. Alice Loveland

As already noted, Loveland remained the dominant figure in the IOA even when she was not around. The loyalty and dedication that she inspired in the first generation of Fellows in the fall of 1977 lasted and three of those Fellows were continuing to play key support roles through 1981. Loveland's long absences were also felt with some pain but in a way they tested the viability of the arrangement which she had created. Her one chief failing was her inability to find a suitable substitute person who could wield equivalent clout and command the same degree of loyalty during her absences. Thus, at least during her first absence, she was the recipient of frequent telephone calls from distressed followers. In spite of her clout and good connections among the faculty and the appreciation which the president expressed of her efforts, she was not consulted and was rather dismayed by the choice of Bern to succeed Innes and it seemed likely that there would be some continuing friction between the two in years to come. Nevertheless she could move quickly to defend her turf effectively as was shown in the consolidation dispute.

3.4.2. Don Archer

Archer was a Ph.D. graduate of the college a few years earlier and had come back ~~as an adjunct~~ to teach as a sabbatical replacement for one of Alice Loveland's colleagues. His assignment to the IOA on a 50 percent basis seems to have been arranged by Innes after Loveland started her first leave. It was not an assignment that Archer sought out although once assigned he took to his new tasks with energy and competence. In the first very rocky fall of 1978 Archer worked effectively with the new crop of Fellows but, like them, felt a bit isolated from Loveland's 1977 followers. However, with an unassuming and ingratiating manner, good organizational ability, and conscientious dedication to the myriad IOA tasks, he gradually built up their respect. Thus, by the time of the second Loveland absence he would probably have been the choice of the Fellows among the available faculty to stand in for her.

Archer's main problems were not of his own making. First of all, as a male in an almost exclusively female enterprise he could not be fully accepted into the inner circle. Secondly, as a junior faculty member of tenuous standing without significant publication credentials and few solid faculty contacts he had little clout; furthermore, dedicated service to the college through his IOA efforts was not likely to earn him any, particularly as long as the IOA gave research a low priority.

Archer expressed a desire to correct many of the shortcomings of the IOA, increasing the focus of efforts, building on the consortium model of sustained activity around a single topic, reviving the newsletter, and getting more documentation and research tied in. He was an enthusiastic supporter of the collaborative R&D proposal but was not invited to participate in writing it although he was written in for some small fraction of time.

Archer's main achievement was maintenance; he kept the operations going at nearly the levels they had been before. He was also well-liked by superintendents and seen as effective in dealings with them.

3.4.3. Penny Ryder

The original strong Loveland backup person and practitioner of realpolitik, Ryder played a much reduced role after the fall of 1978, reabsorbing herself in her district and, the following year, taking on an elementary principalship. She was helpful in keeping her own school district, Middle Crest, involved in a number of IOA activities (it was, in fact, the most involved district) and playing supervisor-older sister to another Fellow assigned to the district for the 1978-79 school year.

3.4.4. Emma Curran

Third member of the original planning-organizing triumvirate and custodian of the Loveland creed, Curran was extremely vexed by the interim leadership of Anderson in the fall of 1978. She was thus spurred to organize a separate "old Fellows" meeting at her house in November. To Archer and the new Fellows who were not invited it was seen as a devisive act which required some smoothing over by Loveland when she returned briefly in December. Curran does not appear to have played a key role after this time.

3.4.5. Jane Newell

Jane was one of the first group of Fellows in the fall of 1977 and was perceived as perhaps the most successful in carrying out the change agent role in her assigned district. She was extremely dedicated to Alice Loveland and came to be by far the closest to her. She had an appealing, non-abrasive personality a bit like Loveland and she glowed with enthusiasm for what they were doing. Jane also took the lead role in writing the collaborative R&D proposal and moved comfortably into the logistical support role, nominally

under Archer but really parallel to him in the 1979-80 school year. When the Collaborative R&D Project was finally funded in the summer of 1980, Newell took charge of its management. She had excellent relationships with other Fellows and seemed likely in the fall of 1981 to move into the role and functions served by Archer.

3.4.6. Rhonda Robards

Another member of the Fellow group of 1977 Robards had exceptional talents as an organizer of activities. Not an original Loveland student, she read avidly and diligently in the networking literature and derived procedural strategies which were probably the most sophisticated of the group. She had several admirable qualities as far as the IOA was concerned, being a true workaholic, a clear thinker who didn't get ruffled, a very pragmatic non-ideologue, and someone who got along very well with others. She worked a full time teaching load as a high school French teacher in a non-member district and managed to raise a family of small children along with an understanding husband.

After attempting to follow the Curran-Loveland model of change agent problem-solving process helper to a small circle of teachers, Robards found greater comfort, viability, and fulfillment in establishing a sub-network which was content-focussed and quickly became known as the Writing Consortium. The Writing Consortium (WC) in some ways represented the most successful activity of the revived IOA and served as a model for another effort in the area of computers which would be developed through 1981-82.

In the 1980-81 year, in addition to managing the WC, Robards put together the revived IOA newsletter and saw it through two issues from copy and composition through printing and distribution.

3.4.7. Tim Anderson

Anderson was a professor of administration in his mid-fifties. He was a rather mild-mannered professorial type, not an ideologue but with a good memory for what the IOA once was. When Loveland left for the first time he took over the role of executive secretary and chaired the monthly Fellows' meetings. He described this as a satisfactory experience, one of trying to bring a semblance of order into the Fellows group, working with them to document and analyze their experiences in a more systematic way than they had previously. What happened essentially was that he did not have the confidence of the old Fellows and they paid scant attention to him. One described him as someone who thought he was "a mother hen and we should all be behind him clucking." The analogy seemed to the case writer to be a bit ironic since this description might well fit the original Loveland brood. Perhaps it was just the wrong hen. In any case they felt he was insensitive and non-understanding of the changes that Loveland had made. They saw references to the old IOA network as irrelevent. The new Fellows of 1978 and Archer were inclined to view Anderson's efforts more sympathetically. When Loveland returned he bowed back out gracefully and remained on good terms with her.

3.4.8. Herb Peters

The senior member of the curriculum and instruction department, Peters played a respected elder statesman role to Loveland and others. He was very sympathetic to what she was doing while regreting that there was not more of a research thrust. He ran an internship seminar for about half a dozen students in the department and this course became a vehicle through which some Fellows were able to articulate their experiences in a more thorough way.

3.4.9. George Bern

Appointed to the directorship of ARI in the spring of 1980, Bern came on as a rather ominous figure to the IOA staff. Tough-minded, young, vigorous, and research-oriented, he promised to be an activist and put his stamp on the proceedings. Unlike his predecessor, he promised to open up the books so everyone would know where they stood financially. He expected or hoped that within three years all service-oriented networking activities would be self-supporting. These expectations put a great strain on Archer during the 1980-81 year when he was the responsible agent for the IOA, reporting directly to Bern. Bern felt he had some sort of mandate from the president to consolidate all field service activities under the institute and he also wanted to return all endowment monies to the research purposes for which he felt they were intended. He also expressed some interest in the old Indicators of Quality effort and organized a special committee to look into it once again. He was skeptical of the validity of the Indicators of Quality but he was intrigued by the process.

Between Bern and Loveland there appeared to be grounds for many potential conflicts. They clearly had different priorities yet they were tied together in the ARI. Bern was nominally the boss but Loveland probably had as much or greater clout. As our data collection efforts ended in the spring of 1981 it was still unclear how all this might be played out.

3.5. RESOURCE CHANGES

Throughout the revival period, the IOA was chronically underfunded and this problem appeared to get worse as the years rolled on. In the 1979-80 year there were 27 members, down only two from 1978. Each paid in $750 for a total of $20,250. Additionally there were now only five districts taking the Fellow option at $500 each. Another seven were members of the Writing Consortium at $200 each. Thus the total income from member districts was $24,150. Expenditures above and beyond the logistics of meetings were $5,000 for Newell,

$1,250 each for five Fellows, 60 percent of Loveland's salary, 50 percent of Archer's salary and 25 percent of a secretary for a total of perhaps $50,000, not counting the contributed time of other professors, the administrative time of Innes, and countless hours of dedicated overtime commitment by Fellows such as Robards.

At least three efforts were made between 1978 and 1980 to acquire additional funds through grant support for research and development. The first was aborted, the second unsuccessful, and the third finally successful in 1980. The resource arrangement for 1980-81 shifted somewhat again as the Fellow option was eliminated as an income source while dues remained the same. However, additional funds to help support an arrangement of eight Fellows came from the new NIE grant and from a special arrangement with a federally funded teacher center serving the urban area in which the college was situated.

This patchwork arrangement allowed the college to cut its contribution that year but the cut may have been illusory since Loveland's salary did not have to be included while she was away on sabbatical. The funding pattern would appear to be even more precarious when one considers the fact that school district commitments were on a year-to-year basis, the external funds were temporary by their very nature, and the intent of Bern was to reduce service support to zero within two years.

3.6. ACTIVITIES

Table 3-2 gives a fairly good picture of the range and intensity of activities surrounding the IOA during a typical high activity period. The tabulations are based on self-administered log forms from Archer and Newell who were sharing operational duties under Loveland for the 1979-80 school year. Archer's log covered about two months of activity and Newell's log recorded five consecutive days. With the spring conference in the offing, acts related to the conference were naturally dominant. Newell was more occupied with the planning and development of proposals for future funding while Archer worked much more heavily on management and logistics, a burden which he

Table 3-2 IOA-Related Activity Log Summary for IOA Coordinators

	March-May 1980 38 days (2 mths)		April 1980 5 days (1 wk)	
Spring conference	45 entries	30%	14 entries	45%
Work groups	27	18	5	16
Writing Consortium	12	8	2	6
New project proposals/ negotiating	7	5	8	26
Fellows' meetings and activities	9	6	1	3
Management:				
IOA planning	(9)	(6)		
Relating to upper management/college	(9)	(6)		
Role of various IOA staff-discussions	(7)	(5)		
Executive board meetings	(6)	(4)	(1)	(3)
Scheduling conference center	(10)	(7)		
Resource explorations	(2)	(1)		
Miscellaneous (clerical/ correspondence	(4)	(3)		
Membership/superintendent contacts	(2)	(1)		
Other	(1)	(1)		
Management Subtotal	50	33	1	3
TOTAL RECORDED ACTS (log entries)	150	100%	31	100%
IOA Case Study (not including log taking)	5			
	4.1 acts per day		6.2 acts per day	

would have preferred to share more with other IOA staff to allow himself more substantive involvement.

3.6.1. Conferences

The IOA maintained a schedule of two conferences per year throughout the years 1978-81. Usually these followed the established format described earlier of a one-day meeting of about 100 persons with a prominent speaker followed by a speaker from the college and discussion in the morning and sessions on more specific topics, some loosely related to the morning themes, in the afternoon. The afternoon meetings were really mini-workshops staffed by college faculty, graduate student Fellows and people from school districts at various levels usually reporting on the experience of their school with a particular program which they had developed in the area of gifted, writing, etc.

Conferences continued to be a major aspect of the IOA, the most publicized and most visible events involving the most build-up and preparation. They were the events at which the opportunities of connecting across levels and among the largest number of member districts was possible. It was generally perceived that a big-name speaker was required for a conference who would be paid a fairly good fee but that other speakers, introducers, and workshop leaders could be supplied from the ranks of the IOA, member district staff and the college. Conference speakers from the college were given a $100 honorarium. Both the "theme" concept and the format were treated rather loosely and varied from conference to conference. Conference proceedings were sometimes recorded for limited circulation as part of the semi-annual summary of activities but there was no formal evaluation and there were no specific structured follow-ups on conference material.

Occasionally there would also be special conferences related to the IOA but open to a wider audience. The most notable such effort of recent vintage was the writing conference presented in the spring of 1981. President Carlson led off

the two-day meeting and was followed by three nationally-known speakers and an expert on writing from the college. With nearly 150 persons in attendance, this conference was judged a great success and a capstone event for the three-year old Writing Consortium organized by Rhonda Robards.

The spring conference scheduled for some six weeks later was cancelled at the last minute, due in part to difficulties experienced by Archer and Newell in finding an appropriate big-name speaker. Conferring with Loveland on the problem they agreed to cancel and hold a taking-stock session with a smaller invited group to see where the IOA should be going the following year. Loveland was in attendance at that meeting. Although the cancellation represented a break in a 40-year tradition, IOA staff retrospectively thought that the review-planning meeting was very useful, allowing a frank exchange of views with key superintendents and others on what their real needs were likely to be from this time forward. The incident also illustrates the rather flexible posture Loveland and her staff could take toward IOA operations.

3.6.2. Work Groups.

As noted in Section 2, the work group was a Loveland innovation to bring about greater participation by teachers and intermediate level staff from participating districts. Work groups were intended to be mini-serial events in which a series of three consecutive half-day workshops would be scheduled around the same topic. The pattern was to begin with an expert speaker, follow up with district people offering practice models, and close with a session at which action implications, adaptations and other practice-specific follow up could be considered and planned for. As it turned out by the second year, these plans were not practical as long term modus operandi, probably for two reasons. First of all, with limited resources and a full plate of activities the IOA could not continue to handle the complex logistics of such a work group pattern. Secondly, as noted by one informant, most districts found it rather difficult to release the

same teacher for three successive half-days. As a result, by the 1978-79 school year, there were fewer work groups and each tended to focus on one topic which was covered in a single session.

In the spring of 1979, after a somewhat turbulent fall term and with Loveland still absent, the IOA managed to put on a series of eight work group sessions on eight different topics using eight different resource persons. Evaluation data were collected on each of these events which suggest a rather robust operation. Average attendance per session was 25, up from 18 in the fall. The total number participating was 146 of which nearly 50 attended more than one session. By position, 44 percent were teachers in both fall and spring while 16 percent were principals or assistant principals, 15 percent were supervisors or staff developers, 3 percent were superintendents or assistant superintendents. Thus a rather good range was represented with a predominance of teachers.

Responses to a number of evaluation items were highly favorable, with top rating given to "leader(s) appeared to be well informed and adequately addressed the topic" and "the session was informative." The lowest-rated item was "permitted sufficient time to explore the topic" but even this was rated slightly above "agree" on a five-point rating scale. Nevertheless, the ratings echo the comment from one principal who was interviewed that sessions which covered a topic in more depth over the course of a whole day would be more valuable.

The work groups that we observed during the 1979-80 school year nevertheless retained the half-day format, often with two different work groups scheduled for the morning and afternoon of the same day but usually without specific thematic connections between them. Work groups continued to follow a pattern of centering on one expert resource person, typically a college faculty member, who provided information in rather traditional didactic form followed by discussion led by and centered on the speaker. In spite of such traditional formats, the work groups continued to be well received and

well-attended because of the clearly high quality of the resource persons. Also contributing to the continued success were the relaxed beauty of the conference site and the welcoming attitudes of the IOA staff.

3.6.3. Superintendents' Conferences/Seminars

Twice per year, special sessions very similar to the half-day work groups were arranged exclusively for superintendents. Some effort was made to provide strong speakers for these meetings and they were also essentially didactic in nature. An effort was made to target topics to critical district-wide concerns such as accountability legislation.

3.6.4. Principals' Meetings

In past work on the west coast, Loveland had been known for her involvement in collaborative problem-solving groups with school principals. Thus, it was logical to develop a continuing principals' group as part of the overall revival scheme. Indeed, there were meetings especially designed for principals which were held about twice a year but in general these gatherings were not perceived to be as successful as other efforts. At various times, Loveland enlisted the help of former IOA director Sands and her 1978-79 stand-in, Anderson, to help her with the task of organizing the principals.

Unfortunately, although some individual sessions were deemed very successful, the sense of a continuing problem-solving group never really gelled. An underground reason for this may have been the lack of highly motivated support from the Fellows, who tended to identify much more readily with teachers and teacher concerns. Indeed, in the entry problems reported by Fellows as they sought to establish their roles within particular school district settings, the principal was typically the villain. On the other hand, there was some tendency for former Fellows to seek out principalships as a form of upward career mobility.

3.6.5. The Fellows Program

From its original loose conceptualization by Loveland in the spring of 1977 to its status in the spring of 1981, the Fellows program went through several transformations. As described in Section 2, the notion was generally to develop change agent expertise through a kind of mutual adaptation within the particular situation which existed in each district or school setting. There was no one model of how to do this; there were few commonalities among district-school expectations, and there was a great diversity among the Fellows themselves in background, change skills, and interests. The pattern persisted in the 1978-79 year with Anderson gently trying to force a conceptual-analytical covering to the process. He was strongly resisted by old Fellows while new Fellows were left largely in the middle to puzzle over what it was all about. But there was also only a handful of new Fellows in any case.

A new pattern which emerged was for some Fellows to move up into greater control of the operations of the IOA as a whole assuming the positions which were being relinquished by Ryder and Curran. Another pattern was the evolution of more elaborated inter-district activities out of the original single district forays. This is essentially how the Writing Consortium emerged. It is also how another Fellow developed her role in relation to a gifted program which began as a small effort within one school, moved to the district level, and subsequently became a model which was disseminated regionally and formed the basis of further work group and conference presentations within the IOA.

Another pattern which developed was for Fellows to work on proposals for external funding of special projects. We can see from the table on page 92 (Table 3-2) that Newell moved more and more into such a role, and was in fact the chief writer on the ultimately successful Collaborative R&D Project. Thus the IOA became a kind of base or jumping off point for a variety of initiatives which were not, strictly speaking, IOA projects but rather ARI projects in

which there was loosely defined and partial IOA involvement. One of the more important of these developments, which came to fruition in the summer of 1980, was an arrangement with a federally supported teacher center based in the offices of the Urbania Teachers' Union. For the 1980-81 school year, two Fellows were partially supported out of this teacher center although Urbania was not a member of the IOA and these Fellows did not work with IOA districts per se. The looseness and ambiguity of such arrangements did not appear to be in the least troubling to the IOA staff, especially Loveland, and they were tolerated by the executive board.

Through various rather complicated arrangements there thus remained a core group of seven Fellows in the 1980-81 year of whom three were senior and four new, but none of the Fellows was any longer assigned to a particular school district and districts no longer contributed to a Fellow option.

3.6.6. Documentation, Research, and Publication

By far the weakest aspect of the revival was and continued to be the level of scholarly contribution and publishable documentation which emerged. How to do research on the process was a continuing and nagging topic which never received adequate resolution. Anderson's efforts in this regard were probably undermined by a feeling among old Fellows that, as one of them put it, "Alice will be back soon." Two or three Fellows did manage to get research projects and dissertations out of their field experiences but these were rather marginal to the Fellows' group and their activities were not greatly appreciated by the others. Furthermore the very specific topics of these research studies had little to do with the revival effort as such or networking or the change process involving inter-organizational arrangements. The one elaborate documentation effort initiated by Innes with the placing of an ethnographic graduate student as an observer of Fellow activities apparently came to nothing. The lack of much research endeavor probably further isolated the IOA and the Fellows from the mainstream of the college and made the new

ARI director, Bern, more dubious about financial contributions from what was seen by him and others as an endowment to support educational research.

The one area where progress was made was in the reissuance of the newsletter in the winter and spring of 1981. The production of the three new issues was very largely due to the efforts of the indefatigable and resourceful Robards.

3.7. INTERORGANIZATIONAL DYNAMICS

3.7.1. Consensus

There was considerable consensus at all levels and between the college and the member districts that the new initiatives begun under Loveland were positive and should be continued. Primarily what was endorsed was the increased activity level which gave the college a sense that something good was being delivered and the schools a sense that they were getting more than their money's worth. This was more than just keeping a tradition alive. Both sides endorsed the idea of greater teacher involvement and involvement of all levels of the school system. There was also a recognition that what was to be done would involve networking, the extensive use of the college faculty, but would not put a major strain on either college or school district resources. In other words, the new activities would be mutually rewarding but would not represent really significant shifts in priorities or resource allocations on either part.

Within the college there was also a consensus which included Loveland and most of her associates that the IOA should be a knowledge producer of some sort and a contributor to the knowledge building and documentation activity of the college as a whole. The difference here came in the areas of (a) the priority given to research versus service, (b) the extent to which service and research goals were compatible within an applied and collaborative orientation, and (c) the nature of the research to be performed, particularly whether the IOA itself could be a proper focus of study. Because of these undercurrents and for a number of other reasons there were

very few tangible knowledge products emerging from the revival effort in the form of publications, theses, handbooks or whatever in spite of a consensus that such things were desirable. In fact, after a year's leave to work on another project, Loveland felt it necessary to take another leave of a year as a sabbatical to write a book, i.e., to create a knowledge product so as to secure her promotion to full professor. In part what she was saying was that deep involvement in the IOA was incompatible with concentrated scholarly effort.

3.7.2. Conflict

Loveland could generally be described as a harmonizer and partly for this reason when she was around there were few open conflicts and those that arose were resolved quickly through her interventions. When she was gone, however, there were some which came quickly to the surface. These are summarized in Table 3-3. The most serious conflict occurred in the fall of 1978 and involved the old Fellows and Anderson, the interim leader.

At the heart of this conflict was an ownership issue: after a year of frantic effort the Fellows from the previous year felt that the IOA was theirs, or at least theirs as the custodians of Loveland's flag. Anderson, on the other hand, had an identification with a prior version of the IOA about which they knew little; his IOA was clearly a different animal, more research-oriented, more superintendent-oriented and male. Actually, by his own report, Anderson was merely trying to bring a semblance of order into the very diverse and diffuse notions of the change process in which the Fellows were engaged. The Fellows themselves would agree that clarification was desirable but the majority rejected the notion that Anderson should take the lead or even be involved in such an effort.

The result was extreme unhappiness on the part of the old Fellows who met in secret meetings and made long and frequent calls to Loveland for support. Inadvertently through

Table 3-3 Conflicts Related to the IOA

PARTIES INVOLVED	ISSUE	HOW RESOLVED	+	- EFFECTS
Within the IOA Staff				
Old Fellows vs. interim leadership (fall, 1978)	Acceptance of new leadership during Loveland's first absence.	Expectation that Loveland would return; continuing interim contacts with Loveland; return of Loveland.		Weak Fellow connections to rest of univ. Excessive dependence on Loveland
Fellows	Definition of the role of Fellow	Remained unresolved confused for long period. Each discovered own mode.	Evolution of consortia models.	Dwindling of the field placement aspect by 1980.
IOA "old hands" and Loveland followers	~~Administrative~~ and total system vs. teacher-classroom focus	Increasing involvement of teachers and instruct staffs. Attempts to cover all levels to some degree.	Districts either pleased or unperturbed.	IOA staff overextended. Principals' group never gets going well. Fellows stumble over admin. in field efforts. Resources never adequately mobilized for vived IOA.
Between IOA and College				
IOA staff vs. other faculty and leadership of Action Research Institute	Service vs. research function	Service wins but conflict remains latent.	IOA staff morale, solidarity high.	Isolated from college. Vulnerable to academic critique. Low status of IOA in college.
College President/ ARI director vs. Loveland	Consolidation of college field efforts under revamped IOA	Loveland uses her clout and implied member superintendent clout to get president to reverse position. Conflict remains latent.	Integrity of existing IOA preserved. Possible loss of existing members averted.	Opportunity for expansion and greater involvement lost or put off. Increased tension between IOA leadership and ARI leadership.
Between IOA and School Districts	Recruitment of new members in southeast region and development of Writing Consortium activity in this region.	Failed to gain more than two or three members here.	More capacity to relate to other regions.	Wasted efforts Lost potential resources. Confused turf dispute with teacher center attached to another private university.
Among Member Districts				
None apparent which related to revived IOA				

such behavior the old Fellows made some of the new Fellows feel like outcasts; the new Fellows did not have the same identification with Loveland nor did they share the same disdain of Anderson and his clarification efforts. The situation was ameliorated by Loveland who flew in for a meeting in December (see again the event listing of Table 3-2) to listen to all sides and review the issues and to reassure and bring people together. Ultimately the conflict was resolved through her return.

The second listed "conflict" in Table 3-3 was really more a confusion than a conflict but it was a preoccupying theme of Fellows meetings over at least a two-year period. It could be summarized in the question, "What is a Fellow supposed to be and do?" The conflictful aspect arose because some Fellows had rather definite ideas about what a Fellow was and was not supposed to do, while others did not and still others took a very open and pragmatic approach which could be expressed as "do whatever you can to be useful in the situation you find yourself in." For a few Fellows, the fellowship represented an opportunity to do field-based research as part of their progress toward the doctoral dissertation. This was clearly frowned upon by several others who felt that a Fellow should be dedicated to service and be sensitive to practitioner needs in a way that precluded this type of research. Actually, there was a kind of emergent self-definition for each Fellow role as each Fellow was placed in a different setting which had its own special problems, challenges, and opportunities. Thus, the collective experience could have been viewed as a kind of experimental incubator for helping roles in school settings, and the frustration at not being able to document the experience in a sharable way is understandable.

As a learning experience for the Fellows it was a bit like being thrown into the water as a way of learning how to swim. For some that was a challenge which they could respond to by swimming, for others there was a mad scramble

to the nearest bank, i.e., falling back on familiar roles, dependency on authority figures, reliance on already established expertise; for still others it probably felt a bit like drowning. From interviews with superintendents, it appears that they never really understood what the Fellow option was all about and took it on as a kind of goodwill gesture to Loveland. As a result field placements were rather casually made and forgotten, having little impact at the district level and hence no institutional support at a later time. The end result was atrophy of the Fellows program as originally conceived by Loveland and the loss of the potential income from member districts to support Fellows activities.

A third muted conflict concerned the focus of attention of the revived IOA. Loveland and all her female Fellows were oriented toward the teacher level or staff development within the district in support of teachers. Sands and Anderson and probably Innes as members of the administration department and the students whom they managed to place in the Fellows program were more oriented to administrative roles--the principal and the superintendent. This also reflected the prime focus of the historic IOA. Loveland was able to resolve this conflict partially through her ability to relate to different levels and her understanding of schools and districts as social systems and she endeavored to maintain activities which served all levels. As a result the staff was spread extremely thinly and could not really attend very well to the principals' level in particular although efforts in that direction persisted. Probably the most serious negative consequence of this underground conflict was the limitation of involvement of members of the administration department, a limitation which also had historic roots (see again the Sands period discussion). Both Sands and Anderson remained friendly bystanders and sometime helpers of the revived IOA but they were never effectively engaged as full partners or team members.

Between the IOA and the college there was a somewhat ambivalent relationship. Particularly when Loveland was absent the second time in 1980-81, the IOA was rather isolated from the college through the lack of a spokesperson with real clout in the system. In Loveland's absence higher authorities began to plan different scenarios for the IOA including a more restricted budget and plans for reconfiguring the IOA as the umbrella for all field operations including miscellaneous field research projects. The umbrella model was anathema to Loveland who intervened quickly with the president on one of her return visits to block the move. Nevertheless it seemed likely that the administration would continue to promote plans which would reconfigure the IOA, particularly as long as the IOA continued to be a drain on the resources of the Action Research Institute.

Between the IOA and the districts there were no major visible conflicts after Loveland took over. However, there was a continuing problem in building involvement in the southeast section, where at one time the historic IOA had been very popular. One factor here may have been distance; members from this area had to travel a bit farther on average than members coming from the two other regions. As a result there was talk at various times of holding regional meetings and of holding meetings at places other than the university-owned mansion which was used up to 1980. Another factor may have been the much earlier dispute over use of the Indicators of Quality which centered on this region; superintendents in this area were reputed to be more suspicious of research efforts than in other areas. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, there were other resources of a comparable nature in the southeast, in particular a private university with a strong reputation which was developing its own teacher center to serve the area. During the 1979-80 school year, Archer made several attempts to enlist interest in a writing consortium in the southeast by forming an alliance with this teacher center, whose new director had been an IOA Fellow the previous year, but his efforts came to no result, less from conflict than from

bafflement at the complexities of two overlapping networks and a proposed subnetwork involving two universities and two centers. In any case it was really a minor problem resulting in a lost opportunity of minor concern to the IOA as a whole.

Among the districts there seemed to be few conflicts that appeared on the surface. The IOA was a low-threat, low-cost enterprise which may have been part of its appeal. Located in similar, generally suburban, affluent communities, the districts tended to be interested in the same types of issues, but conflict may arise as there is more involvement with (a) the big city and the inner city and (b) the teachers' union of the big city. These connections were new in the fall of 1980 and were not studied closely as part of our fieldwork.

3.7.3. Bargaining and Exchange Issues

One of the most puzzling aspects of this case is the near absence of bilateral or multilaterial exchanges of resources and rewards. For the districts the cost was really quite minor, involving a fee of $750 per year and small amounts of release time for a few teachers. Although all districts visited were facing budget constraints and cutbacks during the years of our fieldwork, for the largest districts or the more affluent the fee was clearly inconsequential. However, for smaller districts--which also happened to be more remote from conference sites--the fee was reported as a factor in non-participation, in some cases the determining factor. Since it was a flat fee at the time of our fieldwork (historically it was based on a certain small amount per pupil), the cost was relatively much more significant for the smallest districts.

The real bargain was at a more subtle level which did not involve finances, credits, specific services or goods. For this arrangement the basic currency was something more like "involvement" or "attention" or "caring." The college needed the schools partly as a matter of credibility and to maintain a sense of relevance. This was not an overpowering drive or a basic survival need, but it was there.

For the schools the need was perhaps for reassurance that they were indeed good schools with high intellectual standards and a continuing striving for excellence which would naturally orient them to the very best colleges and universities in the country as sources of new wisdom. Loveland said in effect, "Look I can get you the very best people; I'll get you anybody you want at my university and I'll get you world-class scholars and researchers from other places as well." The school districts in return said, "O.K., we will come back and give you the field credibility you need and some access to our schools for your graduate students if you can show us you really want to make this thing work and don't treat us in a perfunctory manner."

Bargaining behavior which reflected these assumptions was only really visible in the interregnum period when Sands nominally presided. Sam Taylor, the savvy young superintendent from Shady Grove, got restless because the old bargain was clearly dead and the institution was lingering on without any new deal being made. (The finance study had been one of the last vestiges of the old bargain, a specific service provided to the districts in exchange for their funds and their provision of access for some research purposes.)

Loveland proposed a new bargain which was rather attractive but vague. She would provide a lot of new activities; she would get teachers involved; she would give on-site service (of an undefined sort) through her fellows. The superintendents said that was fine and they were willing to leave it that way for two or three years. From 1978 through 1980 there were no moves to renegotiate this exchange deal.

At the spring reassessment meeting of May 1981, the superintendents were invited to look at the arrangement again; on the whole they were satisfied but they did express the need for a more quantitative research-oriented thrust which would provide more systematic assessment of needs and concerns. The request seemed to be in line with continuing concerns within

the college articulated by Bern, by some Fellows, and by Loveland, but in different ways. It appeared possible that these stirrings would lead in future years to a new kind of bargain which may have some of the features of the founder's original model.

For the Fellows who provided the working capacity of the revived arrangement the incentives were mostly intangible. To be a part of an important new enterprise where they would learn a lot and which would enrich their professional lives in multiple but indeterminate ways they were willing to work like hell even on tasks (like typing and getting coffee and donuts) which had few intrinsic rewards or merits. The indeterminacy itself was probably an important factor because it allowed individual Fellows to read into the situation whatever they wanted to see in it and to make of it whatever their individual capabilities and interests could make. Those who asked themselves and others "what do I get specifically out of this and what do I have to do in exchange?" were probably the least happy with the arrangement and with their own role.

For the IOA as a whole it seems that the term "bargain" is an inadequate term. It certainly does not describe the way most actors spoke about their involvement. On the other hand it could be argued that the near absence of explicit bargains or bilaterial arrangements for exchange of rewards is a major factor in the continuing instability of the arrangement, doubts about future funding, and confusion about priorities, roles, and functions.

3.7.4. Knowledge Transfer

The most obvious fact about this IOA in its revived form was that it was a very active knowledge transfer mechanism. The typical format for providing the knowledge was the workshop at which an acknowledged expert held forth before a group of between 10 and 25 persons from member districts. We have enough documentation of these events, supplemented with observations, to give a fairly complete knowledge transfer profile along a number of dimensions. These include: manifest

content, knowledge types, origins, types of providers, and implied uses. Most of these analyses are based on a sample of 25 presentations made during the spring and fall of 1979; this might be considered a "typical" period with Loveland gone one semester and back the next.

(a) Manifest contents of presentations. Table 3-4 indicates the major topic areas covered in 71 presentations made over seven semesters starting in the fall of 1977. For conferences which typically included at least three separate presentations each presentation was rated separately. Also included in this listing is an analysis of available issues of the newsletter for the spring of 1977 and the spring of 1981, there being no issues between these dates. The table suggests that there was a rich diversity of topics and that no one topic or topic area was dominant. There was a fairly clear targeting of topics of concern to teachers including topics of general interest such as testing, performance evaluation (of teachers, usually), career development (often involving teaching careers) and women's issues (usually teachers), but there was also a fairly rich menu of offerings for administrators and educators in general.

(b) Knowledge types. Turning now to Table 3-5, we see an analysis of the smaller set of 25 presentations on the dimension of "knowledge type." We note that about half of these presentati could be described as providing technical expertise of one sort or another and a third provide some sort of research knowledge. The analysis suggests the strongly didactic nature of most meetings; they were not organized as exchanges and for the most part they did not focus on craft knowledge emanating from practitioner experiences. Where craft knowledge was presented, it was usually bolstered by other types of expertise which could be described as "technical."

(c) Origins and validation basis. Tables 3-6 and 3-7 suggest a similar pattern. Research and development and academically established expertise predominated. Work by faculty members of the college was featured about a third of the time and thus

Table 3-4 Substantive Topics Covered in TOA Offerings: Analysis of 71 Presentations and 9 Newsletter Items over 7 Semesters, 1977-81

TOPIC	CONFERENCE OR WORK GROUP MTG	NEWSLETTER	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
Teachers/teaching	13	1	14	15
Evaluation/testing	13		13	14
Psychology of student/ classroom	8	2	10	11
Math and computer educ.	5	1	6	6
Writing	5	1	6	6
Values/ethics	5		5	5
Leadership/org.dev./admin.	3	2	5	5
Gifted and talented	4		4	4
Teaching and learning process	4		4	4
Secondary schools	3	1	4	4
Sex equity/ women's issues	3		3	3
Career development	3		3	3
Research and problem-solving process	2	1	3	3
Teacher centers	2		2	2
Laws/legislation	2		2	2
Cognition	2		2	2
Demographic trends; aesthetic ed.; community-parent involvement; social studies; reading; science ed.; television; all the institutions that educate	1 each		8	9
	85*	9	94	100

*14 topics were double coded.

TOPIC CLUSTERS (Based on the above)

General Interest: (evaluation, values, gifted, women-careers, problem-solving, TV, etc.)	33	35%
Teaching-teacher related: (including psychology, cognition)	32	34%
Curriculum specific: (writing, math, science, etc.)	16	17%
Administration related: (leadership, secondary schools, laws, demographics, community-parent)	13	14%

Table 3-5 Knowledge Types*

Craft knowledge	5	20%
Ideas	7	28%
General culture	5	20%
Technical expertise	12	48%
General professional exchange	0	0%
Research knowledge	9	36%
Inspiration	5	20%
Other (law)	1	4%

A majority of topics were double coded. Most prominent double codes were: "ideas, general culture and inspiration" 3 topics (triple coded)
"craft" and "technical" 3 topics
"technical" and "research" 3 topics

*based on 25 presentations, spring and fall 1979

Table 3-6 Origins of Knowledge Provided*

R&D sources outside the college	8	32%
Developed/tried out by college faculty	7	28%
Commercially developed	2	8%
School-based	2	8%
Based on presenter's experience	3	12%
Legislation	1	4%
Ideas of a great man	1	4%
Psychoanalytic theory	1	4%
Statistics	1	4%
Not clear	1	4%

*based on 25 presentations, spring and fall 1979

Table 3-7 Basis of Validation of the Knowledge Provided*

Expertise of university-based persons	15	60%
Expertise of non-university people	9	36
Craft, consensual+	3	12

+In two cases craft basis was backed up by other expertise.
*based on 25 presentations, spring and fall 1979

cannot be said to have dominated the offerings even though the great majority of presenters were connected to the college

(d). Implied uses. From the summaries of these 25 presentations it is also usually possible to infer the type of knowledge use that was expected or urged by the presenter. This analysis is presented in Table 3-8. Implied use should not be confused with actual or ultimate use for which our evidence is much more sparse. The latter is discussed in the "outcomes" section which follows. It would appear that at least 10 (40%) could be described as having clear practical applications, judging from the number of presentations coded as "problem-solving" or "adoption of new practices." However, since these two categories were frequently double-coded we should not assume that the majority of presentations were so practical. Indeed a majority focussed on improved intellectual understanding of some aspect of the work situation or in providing knowledge of general value to the receiver.

Table 3-8 Implied Uses of Knowledge Provided*

1. General knowledge	7	28%
2. General personal/professional growth	11	44%
3. Improved understanding of work situation	14	56%
4. Solving a particular problem or class of problems	8	32%
5. Reinforcing existing practices	2	8%
6. Adopting new practices	10	40%
7. Education reform in general	5	25%
8. Assessing needs	1	4%

Again it is evident that much double and triple coding was used in these ratings. Most frequent:

Categories #3,4,6 triple coded 3 times
Categories #1,2,3 triple coded 2 times
Categories #2,3,5 triple coded 2 times
Categories #4,6 double coded 6 times
Categories #2,3 double coded 7 times
Categories #3,4 double coded 4 times
Categories #1,2 double coded 4 times

*based on 25 presentations, spring and fall 1979

(e) Resource persons for presentations. An analysis of 76 IOA presentations over seven semesters indicates the types of people who were called upon as resource providers or speakers. As indicated in Table 3-9, faculty members from the college were the key resource for all types of events. On the other hand, the IOA called upon quite a range of others, predominantly from the local area. Less than one fifth were local school people and some of these were not from member districts.

Table 3-9 Resource Persons Used in 76 Formal Presentations Over 7 Semesters, 1977-81

Faculty of the college	33	43%
Staff from local school districts	12	16%
IOA staff	11	14%
Private consultants inside area	9	12%
Private consultants outside area	6	8%
Faculty of other universities, local	3	4%
Faculty of other universities, nation-wide	2	3%

Table 3-9 basically confirms the emerging pattern of a strongly university-centered operation in which faculty are used extensively to provide knowledge on a wide range of topics of interest to school people.

3.7.5. Linkage

The concept of linkage can be used simply to denote the amount of contact of any sort between two parties, whether these "parties" be individuals, groups, or organizations. The concept can also be extended to signify intensity of interaction, multiplexity, reciprocity, and degree of mutual engagement in joint problem-solving efforts. All levels of linkage are represented by the engagement in the revived IOA of different persons and member districts. At the weakest level would be membership without other involvements except passive receipt of written outputs, which were, of course, very sparse. Of the 25 districts formally enrolled as members in the spring of 1979, only 18 participated in any of the eight work group sessions. Table 3-10 displays the pattern of attendance for these sessions as tabulated by the IOA staff for their semiannual activity summary. Although conference

Table 3-10

PARTICIPATION IN SPRING 1979 IOA WORKSHOPS AND MEMBERSHIP MULTIPLEXITY

(Conference attendance data not available)

District Participation

NE-1	(Middle Crest)	24	B,F,FF,WC-5,NIE
W-1		22	
W-2		20	B
W-3		19	
W-4	(Whitman)	18	B,F
W-5	(Hawthorne)	17	B,FF,(WC),NIE
W-6		17	WC
NE-2	(Upper Crest)	16	F,WC-3,NIE
W-7		10	B,F
SE-1		10	WC-3
NE-3		9	(WC)
NE-4		4	
W-8		3	B
SE-2	(Green Cove)	3	B,F,WC-2,NIE
W-9		2	
SE-3		2	WC
NE-5	(Shady Grove)	1	B,WC-3,NIE
NE-6		1	
		198	
	Guests	3	
	Unaccounted	2	
		203	

B= Represented on Executive Board
F= Fellow 1977-78-79
FF= Former Fellow/now back in district
WC= Writing Consortium (numbers following=no. of active participants)
(WC)= Person in district active in WC although district not a member of WC
NIE= Named in NIE proposal as a project collaborator with the college

attendance data are not included the pattern is interesting, particularly when we juxtapose data on such items as representation on the executive board (B), whether the district had taken the Fellow option that year or the previous year (F,FF), whether the district had also opted to participate in the Writing Consortium (WC), and whether the district was included as a potential collaborator in the collaborative research proposal to NIE. Each of these indicates some level of involvement or linkage. The table suggests that there are four patterns of membership. The first we could call "high-multiplex" which includes Middle Crest (clearly the most active district and the most diverse in types of involvement), Hawthorne, Upper Crest, and Whitman. The participation numbers in these cases are also important in that they signify teacher as well as administrator participation. The next category might be labelled "high or moderate-simplex," represented by districts W-1, W-2, W-3, W-6, and NE-3; in these cases reasonably high workshop attendance was not coupled with other types of involvement to any extent. A third type would be "low-multiplex," represented by Green Cove and Shady Grove both of which multiple involvements but sent few participants to workshops. The implication here is that a few core people from the districts, principally administrators, were involved, but involvement of teachers and staff generally was not high. The fourth category could be labelled either "low-simplex" or merely "low" and would include the remainder of this list and the eight additional districts which may have participated in conferences but sent no representatives to the workshops.

Membership roles as such underrepresent the scope of the IOA as a network because there were additional districts tied in in informal ways. For example, two or three districts were linked in informally through the fact that members of their staffs were also Fellows working with Loveland. Some superintendents were sympathetic even when they could not spring loose the $750 for formal membership; they may have been former students from the administration or some other department

or they may have been personal acquaintances of college faculty including Loveland. A stress should also be placed on the fact that the IOA continued to have rather strong and multiplex ties to the Urbania district even though it did not appear to be politically feasible for Urbania to become a dues paying member directly. Thus a number of Fellows were former Urbania teachers and former Fellows had key jobs in the very complex Urbania district infrastructure. In the 1980-81 school year two IOA Fellows were supported through funds of a federal grant to an Urbania teacher center. The Urbania relationship suggests that "membership" does not adequately define the boundaries of this IOA very well. Indeed, the fuziness was partly deliberate -- a reflection of Loveland's loose, open, and opportunistic leadership.

Another important aspect of the linkage concept is reciprocity of participation. Table 3-11 is an interpretive effort based on analysis of the data set as a whole rather than judgments by users at the site. Even with this caveat, we think that the table fairly reflects the rather lopsided nature of the bulk of the IOA's activities. Both our observations and the activity summaries suggest, as noted before, that the great majority of workshop and conference events were didactic sessions centered on the speaker of the day. Those in attendance were almost entirely from the district members although the Fellows themselves also attended when their schedules permitted and at least two indicated how useful the workshop presentations were to them as a stockpile of ideas and tools which they could then use in their own field work with districts.

The IOA activities were useful to college faculty in two ways, first in giving them some indication of current practitioner needs and interests and second, in guardedly offering some access for field research. Generally, faculty did not make much use of the opportunities provided by the IOA either to enrich their course offerings or to make their research more field-relevant. Some expressed the view that the particular set of districts

Table 3-11 Linkage Functions of Boundary Personnel: Eastern Private IOA[1]

Functions	UNIVERSITY AS USER		SCHOOL DISTRICT/TEACHERS AS USERS	
	Investment by linker	Success	Investment by linker	Success
1. Resource transforming for potential users (packaging, synthesizing, making easily available and usable	None	N.A.	Minor[2]	++
2. Resource delivery: searching, retrieving based on user needs; passing on, informing, explaining	Minor	+	Moderate[3]	+
3. Solution giving: advising, encouraging adoption of idea, product as a solution to user problem	None	N.A.	Moderate	+
4. Implementation helping: supporting user's efforts to build knowledge into ongoing operations	Minor	0/+	Moderate[3]	+
5. Process helping: listening, encouraging, talking through problems	None	N.A.	Moderate[3]	0
6. Direct training: giving workshops, classes, courses.	None	N.A.	Heavy	++

Investment	Perceived Success
Heavy	++ very successful
Moderate	+ moderate success
Minor	0 negligible success
None	- unsuccessful

[1] Estimates for this table based on analysis of IOA data rather than judgments from users at the site.

[2] Primarily in Writing Consortium.

[3] Primarily through work of Fellows in districts.

which were most active in the IOA were too affluent to be truly representative of the cutting edge concerns of education today but they were not likely to take the trouble to find out if this were really the case (in fact, many critical issues are well represented in several if not all the member districts, e.g., declining enrollments, reduced public support for education, falling test score, minority education, compliance with PL 94-142, etc.).

For Loveland and one or two close associates on the faculty this picture was a little different, of course. The collaborative research project which was finally funded in the fall of 1980 represented an opportunity to develop much stronger reciprocal relations with a small subset of districts, some of which happened also to be members of the IOA; however, the extent to which this project was an IOA project was never exactly clear. One of the principal investigators and the prime source of many of the original ideas for the proposal did not want to be interviewed for this case study because he felt he had no connection with the IOA and could not meaningfully comment on its operations. Thus, generally the IOA was seen as Loveland's thing, and as such the rest of the faculty held back from serious involvement other than responding to her requests for presentations.

On the side of the school districts as users the major input and the most clearly successful input came from the many formal presentations which constituted a type of direct training although it was unaccompanied by any sort of certification or formal crediting. Other linkage functions--resource delivery, solution giving, help on implementation, and process helping--were all generally a part of the repertoire of the Fellows as field agents of the IOA but as noted elsewhere in this text they played out in very different ways, each Fellow shaping a unique role, and some being much more successful than others. Those who had absorbed the Loveland course at the college should have been prepared, intellectually at least,

for all four functions and particularly the last, but few were able to carry out a pure process-helping role, in part because the conditions of entry into sites did not set them up with these expectations.

Linkage functions were also performed through the Writing Consortium. The Consortium was a truly collaborative enterprise in which school people played a major contributory role. In addition, there was some effort to sift through and review a number of models for the improved teaching of writing skills; some of these were adaptations from R&D sources, commercial sources, intermediate agencies in the local area, and home-grown procedures from the districts themselves. Experts in writing from the college went off in several directions: there was some interest in packaging a new curriculum, particularly in one district; others preferred a rather eclectic approach; a resource bank was created; two districts collaborated on a joint program. It was generally considered a success although not all spin-offs were equally successful.

3.8 BARRIERS: 1978-81

There were five types of barriers which seemed salient during this period and these five were also somewhat related to one another. The largest was the reward structure of both the schools and the college but particularly of the latter. The weakness of the rewards led to weakened linkages between key elements. It also led to reduced energy by key persons. Weak linkages were also partly the result of real and perceived differences (heterophily) between key persons and groups in ideology, background, and sex. Finally, weakened linkages and reduced energy levels resulted in a lowered overall capacity of the IOA to fulfill its promise and potential. We will discuss each of these in turn.

3.8.1. Rewards

The IOA suffered in multiple ways from the persisting university norm favoring research and scholarly activity over

service to practitioners. Loveland bucked this norm but only with partial success; pressure to publish was one factor leading her to take a second leave during the 1980-81 school year. Lack of a substantial publication record also hurt Archer as the junior staff person and prevented him from gaining the kind of credibility and clout necessary to maintain full faculty involvement and concern for the IOA during Loveland's absences. The suspicions of many faculty regarding the worthiness and relevance of the venture were further reinforced by the nearly total lack of publications or documented research findings coming out of the IOA after the retirement of Victor Warren in 1972.

For the school people and the superintendents in particular, the activities of the IOA were harder and harder to justify within very stringent budgets because they appeared to be mostly intellectual exercises with few clear and concrete school benefits either in terms of on-site technical advice or materials, or credits for professional upgrading. The result was a level of support and commitment which was tentative and rather dependent on the special power or charisma of this or that particular presentation.

3.8.2. Linkages

With Loveland absent linkages between the IOA secretariat and the college weakened considerably especially when her stand-ins were either lower status or clearly temporary. Thus it was somewhat more difficult to get top-notch speakers. Furthermore, since the bulk of the work was more visibly conducted by her graduate student Fellows in her absence, the image among college faculty that it was something for her graduate students and not for the college as a whole was also reinforced. However, perhaps the most important linkage problem was a collective weakness endemic to colleges and universities, the failure of faculty members with complementary skills and common concerns to work together in a concerted fashion. Loveland, Innes, Sands, Anderson, Loveland's young turk colleague, Glen Gorman, and old hand Herb Peters all shared

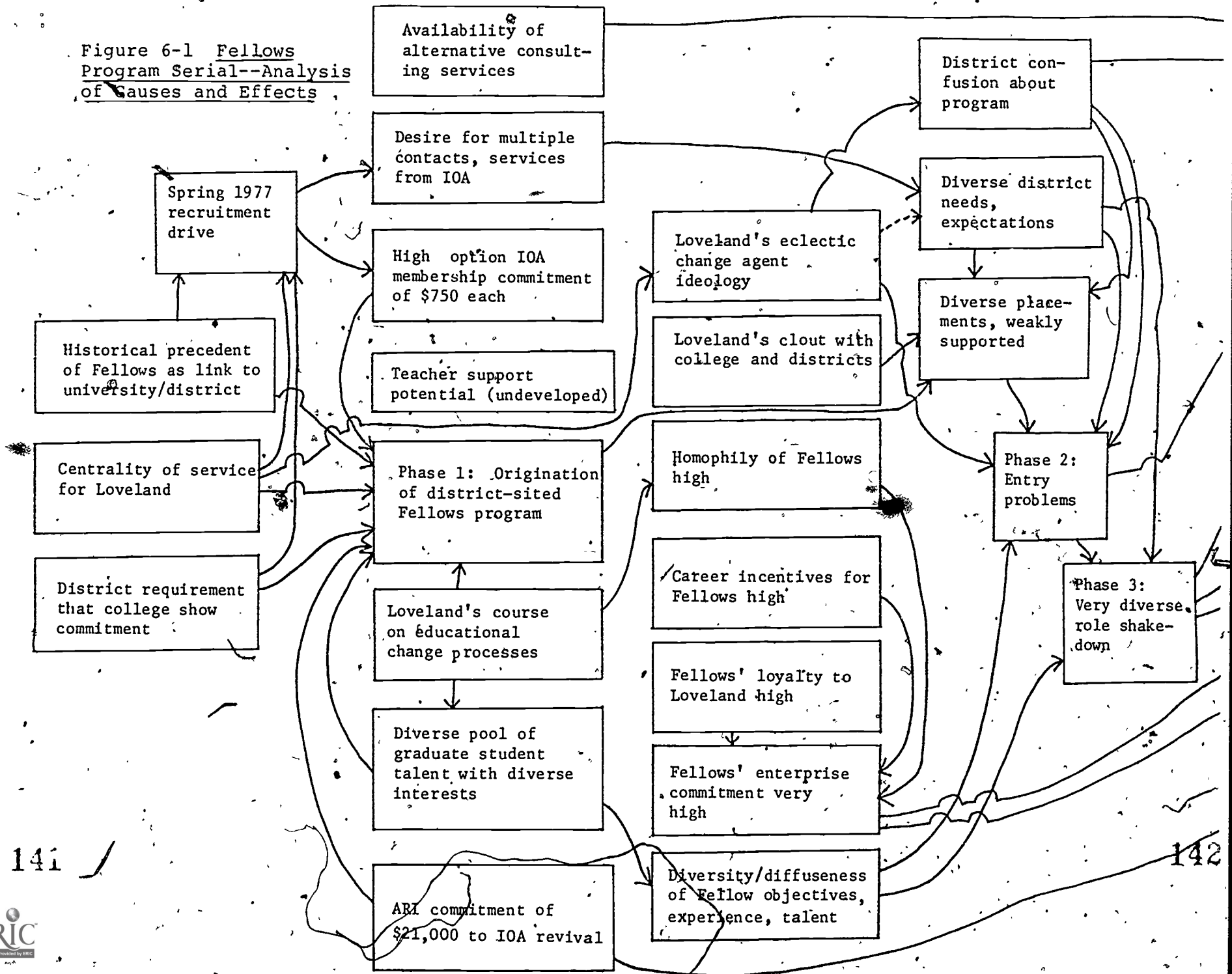
a concern for educational change process, for networking, and for having a strong field orientation, yet they never came together to work as a team in support of a reconfigured IOA. Gorman and Loveland did collaborate on the NIE proposal but Gorman kept the IOA at arm's length and subsequently left the college for another academic position far away. Peters and Anderson did serve as a kind of backup system for Loveland during her first long leave, and Peters frequently and quietly gave senior-colleague advice to Loveland. Sands and Anderson at different times tried to take on the assignment of developing a principals' group within the IOA with only mixed success. All these were bits and pieces of a collaboration which could have been and should have been much stronger and better orchestrated.

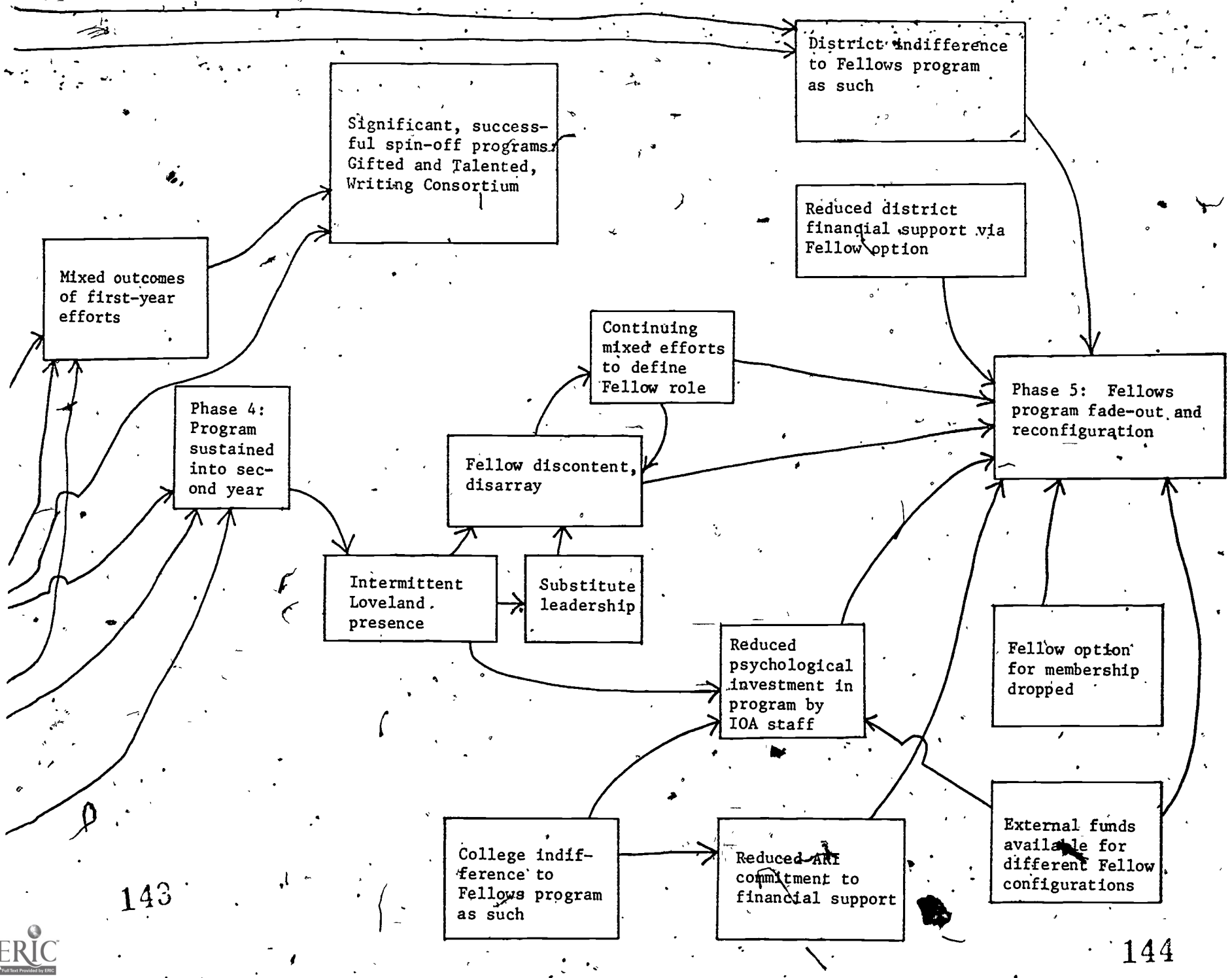
For the districts a factor of major importance was the presence in the 1970s of several rather strong networks and service arrangements which competed for the time, attention, and resources of each district. Some of these networks were local in character, involving counties and sub-regions; others were national. It was beyond the scope of our study to determine what sorts of effects these networks had on schools and school personnel. It is even arguable that they had a complementary and supportive effect on the revival of the IOA because new efforts could piggyback on existing network operations, and practitioners at all levels were now more accustomed to networking activity as a means of practice improvement. Nevertheless, particularly in interviews with school superintendents, the existence of these other networks was mentioned as a competitive rather than a complementary influence and as a reason for not really needing many of the services provided by the IOA.

3.8.3. Energy

For the most part, energy or the lack of it is probably a derivative barrier factor, dependent on rewards and incentives, linkages, capacities, etc. Nevertheless, it strikes us as an

Figure 6-1 Fellows Program Serial--Analysis of Causes and Effects




District indifference to Fellows program as such
Significant, successful spin-off programs: Gifted and Talented, Writing Consortium
Reduced district financial support via Fellow option
Mixed outcomes of first-year efforts
Continuing mixed efforts to define Fellow role
Phase 5: Fellows program fade-out and reconfiguration
Phase 4: Program sustained into second year
Fellow discontent, disarray
Intermittent Loveland presence
Substitute leadership
Reduced psychological investment in program by IOA staff
Fellow option for membership dropped
College indifference to Fellows program as such
Reduced ARI commitment to financial support
External funds available for different Fellow configurations

outstanding feature of Loveland and of the others who were infected by her zeal. When Loveland was absent some of that energy dissipated or got drained off into discontent with replacement figures. Another aspect was the inevitable falling off of enthusiasm as the venture began to lose its newness. Thus, during the second and third years it was difficult to completely recapture the exhilaration of launching a new adventure. There was also an increasing sense of exhaustion, of being on the edge of burn-out as a result of the frantic activity of running field operations, conferences, and work groups one after another on every imaginable educational subject.

3.8.4. Heterophily: Real and Perceived Differences Among Principal Actors

The Fellows continued to be perceived as a kind of in-group which was female-dominated and dedicated to the advancement of teachers; this gave it some of its internal strength and momentum but it also weakened collaborative relations, particularly with members of the administration department, who tended to be all-male and focussed in their concern either on principals and superintendents or on the system as a whole. Another dimension of difference which caused some trouble within the college was the prioritization of research and the implied denigration of service by many of the faculty and presumably their students and the reverse attitudes exhibited by many of the IOA group. Such differences tended to keep people apart who could have contributed to the joint effort.

3.8.5. Capacity

Another factor which worked against the IOA was the slight but real reduction in financial commitments both from the college (especially after the departure of Innes and the installation of Bern as Head of ARI) and from the districts through slightly slackened memberships and loss of interest in the Fellow option. These losses inevitably resulted in a somewhat reduced capacity to maintain activities at the original 1977-78 levels.

3.9. FACILITATORS

The above litany of problems and shortcomings should be tempered by an appreciation of the solid fact that the IOA did persist in spite of them and continued to have a robust and rather impressive record of achievements. To some degree these achievements were the results of facilitating factors which mirrored the barriers. Thus we find as chief facilitators the homophily of the core IOA staff, the energy of key persons, the linkages which continued and sometimes grew stronger, and the growing capacity and sophistication of the old Fellows who stuck with it.

3.9.1. Homophily

The homophily of the Loveland inner circle may have weakened linkages to other faculty but it preserved and strengthened the sense of mission which was an important energizer. This sense continued though perhaps a bit abated as the lustre of newness faded from the endeavor. It is probably this sense of mission that sustained the activity level of the IOA over four years and even caused some expansion in a few areas, e.g., the development of the consortia and the rebirth of the newsletter.

3.9.2. Energy

In the first two years, 1976 and 1977, Loveland was aided immeasurably by two trusty graduate assistants, Ryder and Curran. From the Fellows group during that time two more tremendously energetic and talented graduate students emerged who became the mainstays of the IOA through 1981. These were Newell and Robards. Newell worked with Archer and handled a good deal of the maintenance and coordination chores, moving more and more into a management role while Robards built and maintained the successful Writing Consortium and took over the task of reviving the newsletter. These two were very capable of carrying on without Loveland and they worked together very smoothly with Archer. Thus their efforts greatly lessened the impact of Loveland's absences on the IOA.

3.9.3. Empathy: Understanding and Appreciating District Needs and Concerns

Although the IOA core staff, including Loveland, Archer, Newell, and Robards did not engage in much formal assessment of needs, they were good at sensing what was wanted, needed, and desired by the districts at different levels. Thus they were able to put on a program that continued to be attractive to teachers and central office staff, and for this reason a program that maintained its credibility with the superintendents.

3.9.4. Linkages

Several linkage factors contributed to the maintenance of the IOA. One was the continued connection that Loveland maintained with her core staff even when she was physically absent. There were frequent and long telephone calls which were always morale raisers and there were many short trips back at critical times when trouble-shooting, peace-making, and situation-saving moves were made. Thus the impact of the long absences was considerably lessened. Newell's increasingly close ties to Loveland added to the strength of this long-distance link.

Loveland's links to the college remained firm and allowed the continuing flow of top-notch presenters into the conferences and workshops. She also retained her clout with the college hierarchy to block a reorganization move.

IOA linkage to the gigantic and continuously troubled educational complex of Urbania was also strengthened during this period, in part through Loveland's informal connections but in addition, through the continued energy and loyalty of a Fellow who moved into an important role in Urbania's union-run teacher center project.

3.9.5. Capacity

While the commitments of the member districts remained uncertain and the financial obligation of the ARI to support the IOA from its endowment appeared to be temporary, IOA staff were successful in tapping two new sources of funds, the NIE grant for collaborative research and supporting funds

for two new Fellows stemming from the connections to Urbania's teacher center. These successes could in turn be traced back to the resourcefulness and tenacity of the core Fellows.

3.9.6. Synergy: The Focussing of Efforts

Another important facilitating factor in the 1978-81 period and the factor with perhaps the most important long-term impact was the focussing of efforts, particularly in the form of the Writing Consortium and the growing perception among the staff that the consortium route was the way to go in the future.

Much credit for the shift in this direction must go to Robards who designed the process rather systematically, basing her planning on a careful analysis of previous studies of successful networking operations, notably the work of Sarason. Important features of the consortium model she developed were: (1) development of a plan which could lead to a formal agreement among parties involved; (2) enlistment of support from key superintendents focussed on the plan; (3) topic-centering around a particular subject of known interest to at least a handful of districts; (4) development of a variety of activities related to the topic, including expert presentations, informal discussion, sharing of craft knowledge, sharing of craft-developed, commercial and academically developed materials; (5) involvement of multiple levels in the inter-change process including teachers, curriculum developers, staff developers, and administrators; and (6) sustained work with the same group of people over a number of sessions spanning more than one school year. The process could be described as "synergistic" in that it involved the convergence and orchestration of ideas and efforts to produce effects stronger than the sum of such efforts taken separately.

4. OUTCOMES

This case study cannot be construed as an evaluation of this IOA. It is largely a chronicle based on the impressions of key persons over a three-year period. Thus an assessment of "outcomes" cannot be made fairly except in terms of these impressions which are fragmentary. The very nature of the arrangement makes an assessment doubly difficult since it was a loose confederation of a varying number of school districts, some far more involved than others but none so invested that one could really expect dramatic influences, especially at the level of classroom practice. Assessment of the influence of the prime IOA inputs, the workshop and conference presentations, would be rather like assessing the influence of undergraduate or graduate course-work in a particular university on subsequent levels of performance in this or that profession: one can speculate or even be convinced that the influence is there but there is no real way to prove it.

With such a disclaimer as preamble we would like to suggest that this IOA was quite successful in enriching the professional lives of a number of educators of diverse roles in one of the larger metropolitan areas of the country. We would also suggest that this impact was very high in proportion to the financial resources which were invested in it, but was in the recent period nowhere near as high as it had once been.

In terms of sheer numbers, those directly affected by IOA programs over a four year period totaled perhaps as many as 1,000 persons. Of these the great majority were classroom teachers but there were also significant numbers of persons from all levels of the educational infrastructure from school superintendent on down. As a proportion of persons who could be seen as potential target audiences for IOA activity, these numbers are extremely small. We are talking about a metropolitan area of several million persons of whom

a million are in school. For such a "catchment area," a college-based networking effort could only hope to have effects through its influence on key-persons and groups and through its capacity to project ideas, knowledge, and images of good practice through the media. The founder of the IOA 40 years earlier had set about such a task in a deliberate way. He had a theory not only of what constituted educational practice improvement but of how to spread that theory through the metropolitan area and beyond to the state and the nation. The revivalists of the late 1970s had no such ambitions and thus should not be judged by the same standards. It is also likely that the kinds of strategies of educational knowledge development and diffusion which worked in the 1940s and 1950s simply could not have worked in the 1970s. Thus I think the signal achievement of the Loveland period was the revival of the IOA as a viable entity for exchange of knowledge, and the numbers of persons, even the depth of penetration into practice, are not at this point the relevant dimensions of judgment.

We will discuss outcomes along a number of dimensions: power, linkage, capacity building, practice improvement, the stockpiling of knowledge inputs, and the institutionalization of the arrangement as such. One could argue that, among these, practice improvement is the only one which matters ultimately, that all the others are "processes" which may or may not ultimately lead to that desired end. Unfortunately for this case at least, our evidence is by far the weakest on this dimension. Yet, it can also be said that it is not the purpose of this case study to show that university-connected school networks improve practice but to show (a) how they come into being, (b) how they function as entities, and (c) what effects they seem to have on individuals and institutions, regardless of the practice-specific relevance of these effects. Thus we present the following analysis without prejudgement of the relative importance of the different dimensions.

It should also be evident that the different dimensions relate to each other causally, i.e., that status changes lead to changes in linkages and to changes in capacity; changes in linkages lead to changes in status, capacity, specific improvements, and institutional viability, and so forth. We will leave the analysis of these interconnections to the concluding section of the case.

4.1. STATUS AND POWER OUTCOMES

From its earliest days, "status" was a salient aspect of this IOA. It represented what could be described as the elite of public education in its region and even nationally and the university and its education school were generally considered as national leaders. Thus association with both the university and the IOA was typically considered as status-enhancing and maintaining for all concerned. Indeed, the logic of the founder was that these were to be "light-house" schools, the avant-garde which could show the way for the other districts across the country on what was innovative, high-quality educational practice. By the mid-1970s some of this luster had tarnished but not all, and the university connection remained an important drawing card for some. It was generally considered to be the best local college of education and perhaps the best in the country. This perception was critical to continued membership and it was an aspect that Loveland exploited to the fullest in drawing on the college faculty.

It is hard to tell how much of this was merely status-enhancement and how much was a genuine perception of the superiority of the college and its intellectual resources to those of others. The superintendent of the most active district in the revival period told us that the district had been heavily involved with a smaller and more proximate university in the preceding years but found that the college had far higher quality as a source of expertise and in-service training. Another superintendent noted with appreciation that Loveland brought in "people of worth."

On the other hand, the revived IOA did not really function very much as a club for an elite group of superintendents who were the supposed "lighthouses" of American education. Most superintendents indicated to us that the club function had long since been taken over by other membership networks.

Within the college, the IOA continued to be perceived as a rather low-status enterprise but for the graduate students who became Fellows it was probably a status enhancer; it was certainly a way to get to meet all kinds of professors at the college, to visit and meet with people holding various roles in the schools, in many cases higher roles, and to meet various experts from around the country. In short they were given an opportunity to rub shoulders with the educational elite of the country, and for many of these graduate students--in contrast to the professors and superintendents--this was a unique opportunity to do so.

For Loveland herself it was also status-enhancing to be seen as the person most active and effective at linking the college to the practice community, but somehow this status-enhancing effect was not passed on to Archer. It would also be misleading to say that the IOA revival was a status-conscious enterprise for Loveland and her chief associates. It was the mission they cared about, not the status-enhancing effects of success in fulfilling the mission.

4.2. LINKAGE OUTCOMES

A major outcome of the IOA was increased and improved linkage among a number of persons and institutions involved in education in the metropolitan area. Analysis of the degree to which linkage was a substantial outcome is made difficult, however, because of the fact that many of these same linkages would have existed and continued to exist regardless of the IOA. Thus it can be argued that to some degree the IOA

itself reflected pre-existing links, to some extent it was defined by its links, and to some extent its existence led to links which in turn led to sundry other outcomes, mostly positive.

4.2.1. Inter-individual linkages

At the individual level we can divide linkage outcomes into intra-institutional and inter-institutional categories. First of all, among the core staff of the IOA, strong ties developed especially among the Fellows and between the Fellows and Loveland which would clearly be lasting and beneficial to all concerned. It was really the strength of this inter-connected core that made everything work and led to the establishment of strong linkages with and among the districts. Also within the college we see Loveland and, to an extent, her staff building stronger connections with various faculty members. There were about ten faculty members who could be counted on to provide regular or at least annual inputs into IOA events. There is no evidence that this group ever really came together as a group or worked as an interconnected network but their connections to Loveland and their concern for the continuance of the IOA certainly added to the IOA's clout within the college.

For those school districts which were most intensely involved in the IOA, particularly for Middle Crest and perhaps two or three others, the IOA was also a stimulus for increased internal linkage, among teachers particularly in the Writing Consortium and between teachers and central office staff, again particularly in the Writing Consortium but also notably for three or four other intra-district projects stimulated or catalyzed by Fellows. In one instance a conference presentation stimulated a superintendent (again Middle Crest) to develop a magnet school for his district based on the principles suggested. In this case obviously there followed a considerable degree of intra-district activity among various actors to get the school on its feet.

Work groups and conferences obviously represented an opportunity for sharing and multiple forms of linking by individuals between districts. However, the structuring of most such sessions around one or two expert informants tended to block such interaction. Again with the sustained activities represented by the Writing Consortium there was a much greater opportunity for such connections. The strongest inter-district sharing was clearly between Middle Crest and Upper Crest where there was frequent inter-district visiting, joint work on projects and extensive sharing of experience and practice at all levels. The IOA undoubtedly facilitated this but there were many other influences also, e.g., they were adjoining districts, the two superintendents were old friends, and they belonged together to several other networking arrangements including a very active county office.

The most impressive linkages were probably between school persons and college-connected persons and again the Fellows were the primary linkers. Teachers would keep coming back to workshop sessions because they liked what they were getting and central office staff felt the same. The availability and approachability of the Fellows who were, after all, transitional role holders--partly school people themselves and partly junior academics--allowed some of the connections to become stronger and more bilateral. On the other hand, direct strong bilaterial connections between senior faculty of the college and school personnel, even superintendents, were a rare outcome.

4.2.2. Inter-institutional linkages

For the most part the revival effort revived inter-institutional linkages between the college and the school districts of four suburban and mostly affluent counties. The membership which peaked at 29 after the recruitment drive probably represented about 20 percent of the districts in the area and excluded the one very large urban district of Urbania. The connections under the new arrangement were

certainly substantially weaker in many respects than they had been during the first 30 years of the historic IOA. They were also less defined in terms of the types of things exchanged and the number of substantive exchanges which were essentially built into the process (as in annual or periodic data collection efforts in each district). The smaller fees also represented a lesser commitment to the common enterprise even though this was deliberately arranged by Loveland to induce new memberships. The consortia arrangements represented yet another form of inter-institutional linkage but again on an extremely limited low-budgeted level.

Informally, inter-institutional linkage might be seen as the sum of individual linkages or the sum of IOA-sponsored or originated activity involving two institutions. A review of Table 3-10 on page 113 suggests the extent and magnitude of such linkage as well as its multiplexity. It implies that there were basically about 10 districts that were seriously involved in the IOA, enough to send someone to each workshop given. Yet such involvement could hardly be described as intense or deep since even the most involved district averaged only about three persons. In terms of the different types of involvements (multiplexity) there were again about five which were involved in three or more ways in addition to workshop or conference attendance.

Finally, it should be noted that the large Urbania district, while never formally having membership in the IOA did become connected through the efforts of Loveland, her friends in that district and Fellow Sandra Ellsberg who set up new Fellow arrangements with the union-run teacher center. The formal arrangement here was new in the 1980-81 school year and was not a focus of our investigation.

4.3. MAINTENANCE, GROWTH AND CAPACITY AS OUTCOMES

This IOA, in spite of the outpouring of activity generated in the revival, can not be viewed as having a very great effect on either the maintenance or the growth of any of

its member districts. Most of the resources it provided were also offered by other network-like arrangements and service agencies which abounded in the region. Thus it was generally regarded by superintendents as pleasant, worthwhile, but rather inconsequential among the rather rich and varied assortment of in-service and linking opportunities available to them. There was no district for which it could be said to have provided a service which was either essential or one which could not be provided from some other source.

Likewise, few university informants other than the IOA staff itself were likely to rate the IOA in its present configuration as an essential aspect of the university, certainly not in a survival sense. It was not seen as serving an essential linking role since most faculty had access to schools through diverse channels. No department relied to a large degree on these districts for recruitment, pre-service training sites, research sites, or graduate placement sites, partly because the university saw itself as connected to a national rather than a local constituency.

For the individual graduate students who were involved as Fellows, however, it was quite a different story. Involvement in the IOA gave them diverse opportunities to grow in a number of different directions; to understand other educational settings; to learn the role of linker or change agent through experiencing it; to compare experiences of challenge, frustration, and growth with each other. In many cases, the initial Fellow experience led to other opportunities which included creating spin-off networks such as the Writing Consortium, taking on linking roles in other settings, establishing very solid ties with one another as a peer network, and developing extended ties to educators in the region at all levels as well as to nationally-known experts recruited for various workshops and conferences.

When comparing the revived IOA with its historic version, we see a clear shift in goals toward an active service orientation and an attempt to move down into the ranks of the

district to get more involvement from teachers. The revived IOA also represented a muting of the research role. For the districts and their involved staffs, however, this IOA was rarely likely to have the kind of impact that would result in goal shifts, nor do we see goal changes reflected in the over-all stance of the university.

Once again, goal changes as an outcome were most clearly observed among the Fellows, many of whom came out of their experience with a strong desire to continue work as change agents and network builders.

For the school districts which were most involved, this IOA provided a varied and continuing input of high quality expertise available to all staff levels through the many conferences and workshops that were put on. The high attendance levels and enthusiastic testimonials provided for most of these events suggest that they represented a significantly increased knowledge acquisition capacity. Intercollegial contacts across districts and personal contacts with university professors can greatly expand the potential resource network that districts and individuals can draw upon.

It is less clear that the IOA built capacity from the university's point of view. Academics outside the IOA group tended to view the activities as an unreciprocated gift of knowledge or service and thus as something that depleted resources. Even the IOA staff themselves sometimes spoke of a kind of depletion or exhaustion from what seemed like a continuing whirlwind of meetings, arrangements, recruitments, conferences, and visits.

The Fellows program may represent the clearest effort to improve district problem-solving capacity through providing process expertise on-site. There is evidence that this was the result at some sites. For the most part, however, Fellows were not able to gain acceptance as general capacity-builders; often they had to subordinate or adapt their process goals to

the rather different agendas and expectations of their clients. Sometimes this worked beautifully such as the case in which examination of a gifted program desired by a local principal turned into a collaborative development and demonstration project for the whole district.

4.4. PRACTICE IMPROVEMENT

This IOA generated few specific examples of practice improvements which had either dramatic or long term impact. This is not so much because such outcomes were not there but because the saliency of IOA impact was low compared to the influences of other sources. Probably the strongest impact was the establishment of a magnet school in one district which attempted to follow Bloom's "Mastery Learning" model. In this case the superintendent had attended an IOA-sponsored conference at which Bloom spoke and was duly impressed. The superintendent was already under pressure to establish another magnet school, having previously started one following a model and with consultant help from a competing college of education. However, in proceeding along this tack he made minimal use of the IOA's resources. Thus, the IOA's contribution was a "catalytic pinprick."

4.5. STOCKPILING

This IOA probably best represents the stockpiling type of outcome. In other words, what we have described here, represented particularly in the many workshops and conferences, was a continuous outpouring of knowledge from sources external to the school districts and perhaps more expert than what they could provide for themselves. In the scheduling of content for these inputs there was a loosely structured effort to first sense "needs" or concerns that were current generally in member districts. But such need/resource matching was rather general and ad hoc. Hence, for any one conference attendee, the use opportunity was not likely to be immediate.

4.6. INSTITUTIONALIZATION

Major credit must be given to any interorganizational arrangement which has been able to survive intact with continuing visible impact for over 40 years. Much of the credit goes to the founder and his immediate successor, through whose efforts "routinization" took place. It began with the promotion of a concept of educational practice improvement through collaborative research, development, and sharing, with the university playing critical coordinative, control, knowledge input, and synthesis roles. The IOA became reified through a standard fee structure for membership, biannual conferences and numerous task forces and data collection, write-up, and feed-back exercises which involved the coordinated efforts of school district personnel, graduate students and faculty of the university. The historic growth, diffusion, and stabilization of this IOA is an important case study for the students of educational practice improvement. However, it was not the focal interest of this project. We began to study this arrangement after it had atrophied and then been revived in a somewhat different form in response to contemporary educational needs and environments.

Institutionalization appeared to be somewhat tenuous for the IOA in its present form. Funding remained but was continuously threatened by intermittent disinterest and competing priorities both within the districts and within the university. For the current IOA, there appeared to be less codification of procedures and less clarity regarding the scope and limits of activity. Although within the university there was a commitment to continuation of field services in something like the present form, the level and consistency of that commitment were not clear. On the school district side, the commitment went on from year to year with no assurance that any particular district was seriously committed in the long term. Table 4-1 presents these assessments in more detail, building on Yin's (1978)

Table 4-1 Degree of Institutionalization: Eastern Private University IOA

Supporting Conditions	Eastern Private University IOA
Considered a core function	
• within local schools	Weak
• within the college/university department or faculty	Partly Present
Used on a regular or daily basis	Present
Provides benefits/payoffs to:	
• school administrators	Present
• teachers	Present
• university staff	Weak
• IOA staff	Present
Outperforms or eliminates competing practices	Partly Present
Receives support from:	
• district administrators	Present
• school building admins.	d.k.
• college/university admins. and deans	Weak
• state-level administrators	N.A.
Passage Completion	
Achieves stable funding source	Partly Present
Functions performed are certified by:	
• school authorities	Absent
• college/university auths.	Absent
Supply and maintenance provided for	
Organizational status is formally established in regulations	
• within school district	Weak
• within university	Partly Present
Cycle Survival	
Survives annual budget cycles	Present
Survives departure or introduction of new staff	Weak
Achieves widespread use	
• in school district	Weak
• in department, faculty of university/college	Weak
• in State	Weak

d.k. = don't know

analysis of the routinization process.

Supporting conditions. We did not find any high-ranking school persons attesting to the indispensibility of the IOA. The very small numbers of attendees from any one school district tend to support this judgment (Table 3-10). It was used by some members of some districts (probably no more than ten) on a regular weekly or more typically monthly basis, certainly not daily. Benefits provided were mostly in the form of stockpiled intellectual enlightenment and academically-certified concepts of good practice but such inputs were highly valued by those who attended because they were seen as of superior quality to inputs available from competing sources even though competing sources may have provided more in terms of materials, hand-on assistance, and formal credits and certification.

Support for the arrangement was present and sometimes strong from superintendents but few building principals were involved and the attitudes of others at the building level were not known.

Regarding passage completion, stable funding had not been fully achieved. Although an annual dues structure and contributions from a college endowment were good indications, neither source was assured from year to year. Likewise, funding from external grants had been achieved, suggesting a more diversified resource acquisition base, but these funds were of a time-limited nature. The functions and activities of the IOA were approved of by both the college and the districts but such approval had never been formalized into credits toward degrees or certificates or as constituting the fulfillment of in-service requirements or supervised field experiences for graduate studnets. In some cases, however, graduate students had on their own initiative used their experience in course work and built on their experience to develop doctoral dissertations.

Status of the IOA was only recognized in school districts on a year-to-year basis and many teachers still had difficulty getting released to attend sessions. Within the college there was continued sanction for a field service unit from the president but commitment to the IOA in its present configuration and under its present title was unclear.

Cycle survival. The IOA had survived many many budget cycles over a 40-year-period through a somewhat fluctuating membership. It had also survived at least four budget cycles as a substantial beneficiary of a coveted college endowment fund. It had not yet had to survive the departure of its revival leader, Loveland, although it had managed with some creaks and groans through two long absences. It had definitely survived turnover among key staff under Loveland. Finally, we cannot say that it had achieved widespread use in depth in any school district. Among the faculty it was still seen as a fringe enterprise which most treated with benign neglect. Unlike its historic predecessor it was as yet unlinked at the state level.

5. THE FUTURE

It should be evident from the analysis in the previous section that the future status of the IOA is rather cloudy in the medium and long range. Yet the prospects for 1981-82 are quite bright as this case study is written. Thus, it might be clarifying to separate our analysis into two sections, the near future and the longer term.

5.1. THE PROSPECTS FOR 1981-82

There is every reason to believe that the coming school year will be a good one for the IOA. Loveland will have returned again and her key associates, Newell and Robards, will still be very much in the picture. Thanks to the continuing NIE grant, the connection to the Urbania teacher center through Sandra Ellsberg, and some continued support from the ARI endowment, the program will be able to continue pretty much at the scale of the previous year with about the same membership and perhaps six or seven Fellows, again identified as Senior Fellows Newell, Robards, and Ellsberg and perhaps one other and a like number of new Fellows.

An important stage-setting event for the 1981-82 school year was the special IOA reassessment meeting held in May, 1981. That meeting served several functions. First of all, it was a crucial "save" for the cancelled spring conference, serving to reaffirm the robustness of the IOA instead of sending out a message of shakiness. Second, it reasserted the leadership of Loveland. Third, it gave an opportunity for superintendents to air their concerns and to reaffirm their confidence in the revival effort. Finally, it allowed the core group of persons affiliated with the IOA on both the college and the district sides to do some forward planning.

One thing that emerged was the desirability of developing some sort of quantitative research focus around district needs. It was not clear at this writing what shape this would take but it seemed to represent a convergence of concerns from the new ARI director Bern for "more research"

and from the districts for "more need-focussed assistance."

Another conference outcome was strong endorsement for the consortium concept and for the launching of a new consortium arrangement involving the role of computers in education. Such a consortium also involved building a linkage between the IOA and some members of the mathematics education department of the college. In fact, the following month the third issue of the revived newsletter appeared and included a long article on computers in education written by the professor who would become the key resource person for the new consortium.

The one sour note for the 1981-82 year was the forced departure of Archer who had served steadfastly and well as the administrative leader of the IOA through three rather turbulent years. Evidently the college, suffering from budget squeeze, decided to drop faculty who were not in tenure lines. At the same time the move has to be seen as a silent statement by the college of where it puts the IOA on its priority list. It seems clear that with the dedication of Newell and Robards supporting Loveland, the IOA will continue for this coming year with most of its activities intact, but what will happen thereafter seems more problematic.

5.2. THE LONGER TERM

It would be presumptuous to predict what will happen to the IOA two or three or more years down the track, and it would be especially hazardous as well. For example, although there are a number of factors militating against its survival, there is also a great resilience based largely on the talents, concerns, and near-boundless energy of a few dedicated individuals.

5.2.1. Future Socio-educational Context

With the dramatic fiscal moves of the Reagan administration in Washington, a national trend toward deemphasis of the public sector generally, and public support for public education near an all-time low, the outlook for educational

innovation efforts appears rather bleak. It is a fiscal environment so austere that even the modest fees charged by the IOA may become more than a superintendent can easily justify, especially when the rewards of membership are so intangible. At the same time, with the continuing baby bust we can expect more school closings, more teachers "RIFed," more non-essential functions curtailed.

For the college, curtailment of the federal student loan program is likely to have negative results as will the cut-back in the federal budget for educational R&D.

5.2.2. Institutional Patterns

It seems likely that the IOA will continue as a ward of the endowed ARI but the question of serving as the focus of a consolidated college-wide school services bureau remains essentially unresolved with Loveland resisting and Carlson and Bern supporting. Such a move might provide more integration with other faculty and departments but it might also undermine the strong sense of mission (related to sense of ownership) of the core staff of today.

If there were a change within the college, it would likely call for a modification of some sort in relationships to the districts. Conceivably, Bern's committee to study the Indicators of Quality instrumentation and the press from the spring 1981 meeting for some sort of research effort might converge to bring about a new arrangement involving systematic data collection efforts with some or all members with presumably a revised fee arrangement.

The move toward consortia arrangements, if it continues, might lead to a kind of institutional reconfiguration with the consortium memberships becoming the mainstay of district participation. Such a move would probably strengthen the IOA by providing mechanisms for diverse types of in-depth participation including small-scale research, curriculum development, and extended inter-district sharing of practice-generated knowledge and ideas.

Two other institutional developments which have been much discussed over the last three years seem to have less promise and less likelihood of future elaboration. One is the principals' group, a special subset of activities shaped for a special subset of actors involved at the building level. Each year there have been attempts to organize this group and usually at least two meetings have been held. Sometimes they appear to be successful as one-shot affairs, sometimes not (at a recent meeting only one principal showed up). In any case single meetings have not led to stable and enduring collaborative exercises on the order of the Writing Consortium.

The other much-discussed potential trend is toward regionalism, i.e., the development of different sub-networks with conferences and workgroups decentralized to serve the east, northwest, and southwest. A problem here is the fact that resources are already stretched thinly. Another is that many members value the inter-regional connections. A third problem is that regionalization would bring the IOA into even more direct competition with existing networks. Nevertheless, the number of potential members in the area is so great that if the IOA became very popular and, at the same time, expanded its resource base and its offering of services, some form of regionalization would be not only desirable but essential. Such a scenario does not seem probable at this time.

5.2.3. Objectives and Needs

The May 1981 reassessment meeting suggests that the districts are willing and desirous of some new types of activity within the IOA which might look more like research to some members of the college faculty. The presence of George Bern as the head of ARI and the titular leader of the IOA suggests that a move toward more structured forms of disciplined inquiry is possible. The NIE grant for collaborative research may also generate some models of interaction with districts which can set the pattern of

future memberships. If there is a move in this direction it would be an add-on to existing objectives of networking and knowledge transfer. It might also be a structured way of moving toward the process goal of developing more satisfactory modes of school problem-solving which has been an espoused but mostly unfulfilled goal of the revived IOA since the beginning of Loveland's stewardship.

Changes in the social context as briefly summarized in Section 5.2.1. also suggest possibly greater emphasis on the problems of an educational establishment under siege, e.g., how to improve practice without increased spending, how to make the best use of a small staff, how to generate public support for educational innovation, etc. It is ironic that the area of educational finance which seems so central in this climate is the one area where the IOA has long since ceased to provide any services. It would seem to be salutary for the IOA to attempt to rebuild some of its capacity in this area where it was once known to be outstanding.

The IOA may also be changing in some of its objectives as it moves into closer alignment with the large and troubled school system of Urbania. Over the years there have often been connections between the IOA and Urbania but they have been shaky and ambivalent partly because of the private and elite nature of the college and because of the rather different complex of problems and needs represented by ~~an~~ urban and largely impoverished school environment. There is a strong feeling on both college and district sides (though not completely shared by Loveland) that Urbania is a very special animal that must always be treated in a special way and certainly not as one of many supposed equals in a network. With her high tolerance for ambiguity and her generally open stance these perceptions are not likely to bother Loveland, but it is rather difficult to imagine how the relationship with Urbania can be developed very far within the IOA context.

5.2.4. Staffing and Personnel Capacity

The present staffing model--Loveland plus graduate assistants--is satisfactory under the present configuration assuming (a) Loveland stays (b) financial resources do not dwindle further, and (c) the college does not force any consolidations or redefinitions of functions and services. Since none of these assumptions can be guaranteed, it is fair to ask what might happen if any or all are invalidated. First of all, there is no clear evidence yet that the IOA can survive without Loveland. As we have noted previously, although she has been absent for long periods of time, she has always stayed in close contact and has intervened from afar at critical junctures. Additionally, although she has been very successful in selecting and developing assistants she has failed to groom a successor who would have status and clout within the college, an absolutely necessary ingredient for successful leadership transition. Archer never made it; he only achieved marginal faculty status, had a tough time getting the full support and respect of the Fellows, and never became a commanding presence to the superintendents although he was liked and appreciated by them for his efforts.

Robards and Newell are both very capable people who could do a fine job of running the IOA operationally but they are paid next to nothing for their monumental efforts and will surely gravitate to other positions as they complete their degree work just as Ryder has done, unless, somehow one or both can gain the image of an up-and-coming practitioner-oriented academic the likes of Loveland. There is a chance that Newell, with her heavy involvement in the NIE project may pull this off but at this writing she herself would not expect this to happen.

5.2.5. Resources

It seems imperative that the IOA find ways to secure and enhance its resource base (see again Section 4.6) but

social context and internal institutional pressures appear to militate against this. It seems unlikely that districts will contribute more or commit funds over a longer period than in the past unless there is a substantial increase in the quid pro quo, never mind the fact that the services they get now are already grossly underfunded.

When interviewed in the spring of 1980, Bern proposed a schedule for progressively reduced funding for the IOA from endowment sources over a three-year period, making it eventually entirely self-supporting. His calculations did not include the necessary fraction of Loveland's salary, of course, but such a scenario seems totally incompatible with any expansion or even continuance of the current level of services.

External funding from two different federal sources (NIE and Teacher Centers) has helped a good deal in 1980-81 and will continue in 1981-82. After that possibilities from these sources seem very bleak.

In sum, the resource picture for the middle future looks very problematic unless there is some major new initiative, new configuration of services and fees, and/or reorientation by the college.

5.2.6. The Activity Mix

Both the Fellows concept and the work group concept that Loveland started with in 1977 have been transformed considerably over the last four years. One might also say that the key feature of each was also gutted: for the Fellows, the specific district assignment with an on-site process objective, and for the work groups, the idea of continuity with a specific subgroup over a number of meetings. The latter has been replaced by the content-focussed consortium which seems to be an idea which is growing. For the Fellows the picture is much more diverse and confused. The future with Loveland firmly back in the saddle could bring a revival of both concepts in more-or-less their original forms, but this was not discussed as a possibility in interviews.

Another large area for potential future development is research and documentation. There is clearly some pressure for this from Bern and it is something that Loveland would like to see happen if it can be done without undermining relationships with districts and especially with teachers. Loveland has no identification with the old Indicators of Quality approach; research efforts are thus likely to be far more diverse, practitioner-centered, and perhaps concerned with analysis and understanding of the processes of networking, problem-solving, and innovating.

The newsletter also seems to have a shaky future if it depends as much as it does today on Robards' singular efforts. She is clearly hoping that her work will be pump-priming, that once it gets going again others will see the value and pitch in with copy, legwork, and financial support. If they don't it is hard to see how it can go another year.

5.2.7. Interorganizational Dynamics

The May 1981 reassessment meeting may have set the tone for the interorganizational dynamics of the coming years. There is a consensus that the IOA should keep going and that it should not curtail its current services even though new ones are added. This consensus encompasses Loveland, her IOA staff, the key superintendents and, to some extent at least, Bern. There is also a new consensus on the need for a research thrust which again encompasses all these parties when it is expressed at a rather high level of abstraction. However, as it becomes more concretized (if it does) we would expect this consensus to fall apart. Loveland and her staff who really do all the work and have set policy to date have neither the backgrounds nor the inclinations to develop a new research machine along the lines of the Growing Edge or the Indicators of Quality. Bern may have the inclination but he does not really have the ground troops for such a venture. What is likely to result is a series of minor and inconclusive joustings out of which will emerge a compromise research posture largely designed

and controlled by Loveland. The crucial question will be whether the new research efforts will be seen as valuable enough by the districts that they will be willing to pay the bulk of their cost.

Knowledge transfer using a variety of college and outside experts will continue to be the stock-and-trade of the IOA and the quality of these presentations the chief drawing card for the districts.

There are, of course, many alternative scenarios and the future of this IOA remains fluid. The resources of the college in human if not financial terms are truly impressive. Even apart from Loveland there are many people on the faculty with the experience, energy, clout, creativity, and even the will to make the IOA into the kind of thriving enterprise it once was. This could happen if through the efforts of Loveland and/or some other catalytic personality these resources could be merged.

6. SERIALS

In the foregoing pages we have tried to give a picture of the arrangement as a whole through describing the main events in historical sequence, through listing the objectives and their changes over time and through giving some sketches of the main characters and their interrelationships. But we also recognize that this kind of descriptive effort is disjointed and abstract, probably much more so than it was experienced by the main actors themselves. For this reason, we have tried to select a few examples of event sequences that involved a smaller number of actors over a shorter period of time.

We believe that in many respects these sequences or serials represent the real life of the arrangement as it is experienced at the time by those most deeply involved. It can thus be said that the arrangement over time is the sum of its serials. It can also be said that the arrangement is the institutional mechanism which allows the serials to happen. Serials can be of any length and involve any number of persons. They are defined by objectives or themes which emerge at recognizable points in time and have the power to mobilize energy and resources.

In the historical IOA there were two dominant serials over a 30-year period. The Growing Edge was the first although it did not come to be known as that until a few years after the essential concept was developed. That concept was to develop an index of innovativeness that could be applied to a great number of schools and then used by each district as a tool for self-improvement. It was a major preoccupying thrust of the IOA from roughly 1941 to 1958 although it was by no means the sole thrust. It was the major topic of many seminar sessions with superintendents, many training sessions with graduate students and school personnel; it formed the basic content of many workshops and conferences; and it was the basis of at least three major data collection and analysis

efforts within the IOA and several others outside at the state and national levels. The Growing Edge was born in the thinking and experience of the founder during his school survey work of the 1930s and reached its fullest development in the late 1940s. The instrument enjoyed widespread popularity and use during the 1950s, decaying and falling into disuse in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Thus it had a kind of life cycle from birth to early development to maturity and widespread use to decline and eventual cessation of use. The details of this history are mostly lost to us now, but we can still see the broad outlines of the serial pattern.

The same can be said of the Indicators of Quality. It was essentially the brain child of Victor Warren and it was in many ways identified most closely with him through its life cycle. It grew out of the decaying remains of the Growing Edge, but it was also clearly different, a more rigorously quantitative measure which sought to measure school quality in a much more comprehensive and sophisticated way than merely counting up the number of innovations. During the mid-1960s the Indicators of Quality was the dominant preoccupation of Warren and his associates who were almost all his graduate students. In its development phase it appeared first as a conceptualization, then as a pilot set of instruments, and finally as a full set of instruments which were extensively field tested and normed among the member districts of the IOA. Then as Warren was approaching retirement and after there had been some controversy with a former student over use rights, the instruments and the entire set of observation procedures and protocols were neatly packaged, copyrighted, and published, but ironically at the same time, with Warren's retirement, they fell into disuse because the connection with the institutional mechanism of the IOA had been severed.

Turning to the more immediate past, revival of the IOA under Alice Loveland is itself a kind of macroserial. We have described rather completely the origins of this renaissance and we have indicated how it grew and was transformed over the

first three years, but this is a serial still in the making, a serial which will certainly not be played out until Loveland herself retires from the scene or until the college makes some dramatic move to substantially alter the course of events. Even so, within this larger serial we have seen many smaller sequences play out, sequences which we believe tell us a great deal about the arrangement as a whole and its long-term viability.

Among these perhaps the most noteworthy is the Fellows program which began as a cornerstone of the revival. Yet by 1980 it was so transformed that some of its key features disappeared. Thus we have selected the Fellows program of the revival period, or more strictly speaking the field service component of the Fellows program as a candidate for a more thorough serial analysis. Moreover, within the Fellows program, each Fellow experienced a unique event sequence each year which had its birth with the assignment to a district in the field and terminated with the end of the school year in the spring. A second serial which was an obvious, almost imperative candidate for analysis is the Writing Consortium, a phenomenon which emerged out of the Fellows program but which took a course which was neither planned nor predicted in the first revival year. The Writing Consortium by the end of the third year had become the big success story of the revival and in many respects the model for how the IOA might evolve in the future.

6.1. THE FELLOWS PROGRAM, 1976-80

6.1.1. Roots/Context

There had been "Fellows" attached to the IOA from its earliest days, graduate students who did much of the basic work of training, observing, data collection, and analysis. When funds had gradually disappeared during the early 1970s, the Fellows disappeared also. In addition, it should be noted that with the transfer out of the administration department the continuity of the Fellow model as a form of student development

within an academic program was broken. Thus, while the form was there, the Loveland model was really a different conception and the graduate students whom she selected had no role models to follow from prior years. Her conception of the role was rooted in her own experience as a change agent working with teachers and principals and as a consultant to school districts. As noted earlier she taught a very popular course which dealt heavily with approaches to school improvement consultation and she had previously been associated with one of the most well-known writers on the subject of change processes in the schools. Although she generally supported a process approach which derives from the human relations tradition of consultation, she was not an advocate for a specific strategy and did not have a fully articulated plan for how change agents should be deployed and used in school settings. Rather she emphasized certain broad principles such as listening to school concerns and allowing needs and solution ideas to emerge out of teacher-to-teacher interactions.

The conception of what the Fellow should be emerged out of discussions among Loveland and her first two graduate assistants, Ryder and Curran, beginning in the fall of 1976. Ryder and Curran themselves represented role models for important aspects of a Fellow's activity, namely the planning, development, and execution of conferencing and workshops and the maintenance of the IOA generally. As it turned out, the maintenance function--handled as a collective Fellows' responsibility--was the one which survived intact through the time of study.

6.1.2. Objectives

The notion of a Fellow as an individual assigned to a specific district as a continuing consultant was formulated by Loveland prior to the recruitment drive of the spring of 1977 and was offered as an option for membership. It was presented rather loosely as a skilled person who would be made available on a site to a school district for two half-days per month.

Just how the Fellow would operate and where the Fellow was to be assigned were left unspecified, although the emphasis was laid on service and the Fellow was not presented either as a researcher or a trainee. When Fellows were selected in the spring of 1977 they were given almost no indication of what they would be doing other than that they would be working with Loveland on some new networking venture. By September, however, Loveland and Curran had developed a list of objectives based loosely on the Concerns-Based Adoption Model (CBAM) which had been developed by Gene Hall and Susan Loucks at the University of Texas R&D Center on Teacher Education. It was never quite clear, however, whether this was "the model" or simply a set of suggestions about how someone might work in a school setting. Operationally, in fact, all Fellows developed their own models, some forced by their placement into situations where the CBAM approach was completely unfeasible. Roughly speaking, the CBAM approach as formulated by Curran called for bringing together a group of teachers from a particular school and meeting with them at frequent intervals to encourage them to articulate needs, share them, and engage in collaborative problem-solving around them with the Fellow acting primarily as process facilitator.

6.1.3. Resources

The resources available to support the Fellows program as such were minimal. All financial support for Fellows was in the form of tuition rebates. For some this had little meaning since they were mostly through their coursework. Service to one school site was rewarded with a rebate of $1,250.00 Some Fellows, however, chose to work simultaneously with two districts (representing, in effect, an average of one school site visit per week) and received $2,500 in rebates. "Senior" Fellows might also receive direct financial compensation for the various maintenance and management tasks they performed for the IOA.

Income from the Fellows program the first year, 1977-78, must have been about $9,000--$750 from each district taking the Fellow option--but these funds did not go directly to the Fellows.

The real resource of the Fellows program was the Fellows themselves, their strong dedication to Loveland and their strong motivation to perform useful service to the districts. They were also mostly mature individuals with extensive school experience usually as classroom teachers, although their experience as well as their understanding of what their roles should be was extremely diverse.

6.1.4. Narrative Event Sequence

Table 6-1 lists a number of the events that seemed to be significant in the evolution of the Fellows program especially over the 1977-78 and 1978-79 school years which appear to be the most dynamic period. What is missing from this list, of course, are the individual happenings within field placement sites over this time period. Each of these Fellow experiences is itself a self-contained serial apart from what was happening to the program as a whole. Additionally, as the Fellows began to share their experiences in monthly get-togethers they began to shape and model their individual efforts on one another to some degree as well.

The story begins with the collaboration of Ryder, Curran, and Loveland and the formulation of a new set of offerings to encourage district membership and involvement in the revived IOA. The award of $21,000 from ARI endowment funds for the following year enabled Loveland to begin hiring Fellows even prior to district commitments. The successful recruitment drive assured that there would be a Fellows program with at least 10 field placements.

The recruitment of Fellows in the spring of 1977 was conducted extremely informally with Loveland reaching out for students who had appeared to be both effective and highly motivated. She used a variety of channels to recruit such students: her classes, advising experience, consulting connections,

Table 6-1 The Fellows Program Serial: Key Events

Date	Event	Significance
10/76	Ryder and Curran hired by Loveland.	Fellow concept/recruitment strategy emerges out of their discussions.
10-11/76	Innes agrees to ARI support of $21,000 for next year IOA program.	Financial capacity to hire a number of Fellows is established.
2-5/77	Fellow membership option nets 10 initial placements for 1977-78.	Fellows will have specific school district assignments.
4-6/77	Recruitment of Fellows.	Loveland popularity plus extensive contact network assures strong, diverse core. Fellow group is mostly women.
6/77	First meeting of Fellows with Loveland.	Excitement of anticipation, vague conception of duties, small financial support, only one non-taker.
6/77	Fellows introduced at conference featuring networking expert.	First realization for some that they are designated as "Fellows."
8-9/77	Fellows assigned to specific districts.	Most Fellows don't participate in assignment process.
9/77	Second Fellows' meeting.	Objectives list presented by Curran; assignments handed out.
10/77-5/78	Fellows work through their first year assignments.	Diversity of assignments and roles; entry difficulties especially with principals.
2-4/78	Robards formulates Writing Consortium plan; gets endorsements of two key superintendents.	Model of working inter-district rather than intra-district emerges.
4/78	Loveland illness/leave.	Fellows must finish year without her guidance/take over the IOA.
4/78	Innes aborts proposal to NIE on networking because of Loveland's leave.	Chance for developing a research aspect to IOA is postponed.
9/7/78	First fall and farewell meeting of Loveland with Fellows.	Archer, Anderson introduced as new IOA staff; 7 old Fellows, 2 new.

Table 6-1 continued

Date	Event	Significance
9/14/78	Second fall meeting; Anderson assumes leadership role.	Old Fellows resentful, resistive of Anderson role and his efforts to bring clarity, documentation to Fellow role. These themes persist through year.
9/19/79	Herb Peters begins fall seminar on internships.	Assists some Fellows in role documentation and clarification.
11/2/78	Loveland colleague Glenn Gorman gives work group on collaborative research model from west coast.	Several Fellows turn on to Gorman's model as way of rationalizing what they do and putting in researchable frame. It later becomes basis of proposal to NIE.
11/78	Old fellows meet privately at Curran's home.	Hostility, rejection of Anderson vocalized, in-group status of old Fellows reinforced.
12/11/78	Loveland appears for brief visit.	Gathering at which Loveland reintegrates old and new Fellows, Archer; relieves tension.
1-3/79	Collaborative research proposal developed over several meetings.	Opportunity for new support and a reformulated Fellow role emerges.
5/2/79	Loveland returns for spring conference/makes presentation.	Continuing presence even on leave is demonstrated.
5/4/79	Fellows meeting with Loveland posting ideas.	Attempt to articulate, summarize what Fellow role is all about.
9/79	Loveland returns.	Only one new Fellow; five old vs. 10 the previous year. District payments set at $500 for option instead of $750.
Spring 1980	Fellow option for membership quietly dropped.	Specific school district assignments will disappear.
8/80	Collaborative research proposal funded by NIE.	New source of funding and reconfigured activity, assumed but unclear tie to IOA.

Table 6-1 continued

Date	Event	Significance
8/80	Cooperative arrangement with Urbania Teacher Center established.	New source of support for two Fellows but Urbania remains outside IOA.
9/80	Set-up of 3 Senior Fellows and 4 Junior Fellows.	Junior Fellows are paid either from Urbania Teacher Center funds or NIE funds.
Fall/ 1980	One new Fellow added to work with Writing Consortium.	Specific school district assignments disappear entirely.
Spring/ 1981	Development of Computer Consortium.	Consortium sub-network is established as the dominant mode of direct sustained contact with districts.

and the recommendations of Innes and Gorman. There were no detailed explanations given about what the role was to be except that it was a networking activity that Loveland was taking over. That was enough explanation for most. At an initial meeting where the rudimentary aspects of service to school districts and arrangements for payment were described by Loveland only one of about 12 persons assembled elected not to participate. This person was expecting much more financial support and needed a fulltime job. The others either had school district jobs or supporting husbands. (Most informants recalled that there were no men present at this first meeting of June, 1977).

In the fall, the addition of two men recommended by Innes, brought the full complement to 12, with one, Ryder, serving in a kind of administrative-coordinative capacity. Assignments to districts were made primarily by Loveland through telephone consultation with the participating district superintendents. According to one informant this process was somewhat arbitrary with geographic proximity of the Fellow to the site a major consideration along with district need if this was specified and suggested a particular set of skills.

The Fellows met once a month through each school term with Loveland assuming the primary role of group discussion leader, although she also provided numerous intellectual inputs described by one as "the latest, hottest stuff on linking, etc." There was some indication in early sessions that the CBAM model was an appropriate way to go and this point was pressed by Curran. It was also observed by several of the newly selected Fellows that Ryder and Curran formed an inner circle with Loveland and there was a sense in the early stages that these three had pre-planned everything together. Nevertheless, this did not diminish their sense of enthusiasm and adventure.

At the meetings, Fellows described their individual experiences to the group in some detail, revealing the extent of trouble they were having with the entry process and receiving sympathetic attention and advice from Loveland and the group. One described it as "a real group" and "the most exciting experience of my life." One participant, however, was

critical of the continuing stream of "war stories." She said: "I couldn't believe what they were talking about. It was irrelevant." This view was not reflected in most other memories of these meetings. In general, it appears that they were important in allowing Fellows to articulate their concerns and frustrations and to begin to define consultancy roles that were compatible both with the situation they found themselves in and their individual skills.

It appears that Loveland was content to leave the role definition of the Fellow as something that evolved differently for each person but there was a continuing theme of concern to find out what it really was or at least to document and/or formulate the experience in a sharable way. Innes had actually assigned a graduate student in anthropology to look at the process of the Fellows' meetings over that first year but the extensive notes that were taken were never written up or made available subsequently and they were not available for the writing of this case study although the anthropologist was interviewed.

A solicitation from the National Institute for Education which was issued in 1977 called for studies of various kinds of networking activities in education. The IOA Fellows saw this as a golden opportunity to put what they were trying to do in a researchable mold and to provide some more backing for the admittedly shoe-string operation. Discussions around the proposal took place in the spring of 1978 but when Loveland was hospitalized in April, Innes decided that there was not enough remaining capacity to put forward a strong proposal even though Robards volunteered to do the writing.

The real crisis for the Fellows program came in the following fall when Loveland departed for the west coast to be gone for the entire academic year. Most participating districts had made a two-year commitment to the program and the majority of the Fellows elected to stay with the IOA. Thus, continuation and continuity were assured. Loveland met with the group once in early September, introducing two new Fellows; an adjunct assistant professor, Don Archer, who

would act as a general IOA support person; and Tim Anderson, Professor of Administration, who was a friend and a one-time Fellow himself in the early days of Victor Warren's tenure.

Anderson was a mild-mannered somewhat professorial type of person in his early fifties. He hoped that under his interim leadership the Fellows would learn to structure and document their experiences more systematically, a theme which was already present the previous year. But the returning Fellows were not receptive to Anderson in such a role. Anderson with his background in the old IOA probably misunderstood the type of effort that Loveland had tried to create; at least this was the perception of some observers. But the reaction to his efforts was negative in the extreme. There were long telephone calls to Loveland and there were private meetings of the old Fellows at Curran's home during November. The effect was to create a division between the old Fellows who felt they were preserving their loyalty to Loveland and the new Fellows and Archer who had not been a part of the previous year's exciting beginnings.

Loveland reappeared for the fall conference and a reunion meeting with all the Fellows and Archer in early December. At this meeting much of the distress of the old Fellows and the sense of isolation of the new Fellows were ventilated. Loveland cast her warm spell over all, and the year ended on a note of harmony.

The spring meetings were again punctuated by efforts; often described as frustrating, to define and document the role of Fellow and the field experience in an adequate way. For a few Fellows, Herb Peters may have played a positive role through his internship seminar which supported formal articulation of field experiences in a teaching context removed from the IOA itself.

At the spring conference in May, Loveland made a triumphant reentry, reporting on her experience in the west and acting as facilitator-recorder at a special Fellows' meeting where

different Fellow role models were once again listed and compared. The spring also saw the development of a new proposal to NIE, this time unsolicited, to form collaborative research arrangements with four types of school district settings in the Urbania area. The core of the idea came from Glen Gorman, Loveland's close ally in the department of curriculum and instruction. Gorman had spent the previous year at a regional educational laboratory on the west coast and had become an advocate for their approach to school problem-solving through participative jointly managed research and research utilization. With Loveland participating along with Gorman, second year Fellow Jane Newell wrote up the proposal. Although it was not funded for more than a year the proposal represented the research thrust of the IOA and in some ways was derivative of the Fellows' experience.

Technically, at least, the Fellows program in school districts continued into the school year of 1979-80 but plans for continuation were not fully executed in the spring of 1979. The number of takers for the Fellow membership option fell off, despite a reduced price tag of $500 and when the fall term began there was only one new Fellow; most of the old Fellows who remained were no longer centering their efforts on a particular district. By the spring of 1980 the Fellow option was no longer being offered. In the summer of 1980 with new NIE funding for the collaborative project and funding through the new arrangement with the Urbania Teacher Center there was support for four new Fellows and continuing support from various sources for the Senior Fellows who were now really running the day-to-day operations of the IOA including the revived newsletter and the Writing Consortium. The new configuration of 1980-81 bore little resemblance to the school district change agent concept of 1977 and the serial representing that concept effectively disappeared in the spring of 1980.

6.1.5. Outcomes of the Fellows Serial

In spite of entry difficulties all the Fellows interviewed reported more-or-less positive results for the schools in which they were assigned. Usually, because superintendents tended to assign them to work with principals, they left their impact on individual schools.

A case in point was a Fellow who began field experience by organizing a needs assessment brainstorming session for the entire faculty of a school. The topic, "increasing children's sensitivity to their environment," emerged as the clear leader in a list of concerns, reflecting the shared impressions that there had been an upsurge of serious disruptive problems in the school in recent times. After some false starts a subgroup of first grade teachers began problem-solving discussions on this topic with facilitation from the Fellow. These meetings were also opportunities for her to share research findings with the teachers. Ultimately it appeared to be a real growth experience for them and they began to work on a much wider range of problems, suggesting that the Fellow had transferred a model of problem-solving rather than a specific solution.

While the first grade was taken out of this school the following year, removing the opportunity to spread the change to the school as a whole, one of the transferred teachers set up a similar support group in her new school. Roughly four of the 1977-78 Fellows followed a similar process of intervention with teachers in their assigned schools, generally with the same modest successes. It is to be noted that the approach does roughly reflect the CBAM model as translated by Loveland and Curran into the IOA context.

In two other cases, Fellows achieved results which had impact extending over a longer period of time and affecting larger numbers of persons. In one case the Fellow was initially assigned by the school principal to develop a gifted and talented program with a specified group of teachers. Although she recognized her entry situation as far

from ideal and very divergent from the CBAM model she nevertheless proceeded as best she could with a participative approach to the dictated problem. By the second year, thanks partly to the imposition of a state mandate regarding the development of gifted and talented programs, this particular project was further developed with central staff personnel of the district and subsequently became a model program diffused beyond the district and receiving special development funding.

The other special case of an extended outcome was Robards' activities in developing the Writing Consortium out of her first year's Fellow experience. This is a story we will cover in greater detail in another serial analysis. Suffice it to say here that as an outcome it represented an extended interdistrict collaborative effort and sharing of knowledge among curriculum developers and teachers.

With the exception of the last two mentioned activities outcomes were neither system-wide nor dramatic enough to make much of an impression on the superintendents which may explain why the field visitation aspect of the program withered. When interviewed, superintendents would barely recall only that "someone" was in the district working on something. Workshops and conferences clearly loomed larger in their thinking.

The anthropology student who observed the Fellows the first year thought that their major impact was that they brought the teachers to the newly organized workshop series "in droves," that their stimulative effect at this level was dramatic. Most IOA staff, especially the Fellows, thought that the Fellows program was especially important because it showed that the college <u>really cared</u> about the schools enough to send people out to them and provide hands-on help. It is a bit difficult to make this impression jibe with the superintendents' apparent indifference.

Another possible impact, mentioned by a few Fellows and some professors was, that these activist women change agents helped take the heat off the male administrators. Here were people who were skilled in consultation who could really empathize with and work with militantly dissatisfied teaching staffs. We had no way to verify this as an important or valued outcome. It would appear on logical grounds that such an impact would be perceived as much as a threat than as a benefit by the average male administrators. It was generally the case that female Fellows had difficulty developing good relations with principals but they usually reported that they eventually succeeded in doing so, commenting often that they had learned to appreciate the point of view of the male principals more in the process.

The most impressive gains from the Fellows program in its field service aspect were clearly enjoyed by the Fellows themselves. Most viewed it as an often painful, sometimes pleasing but always rich learning experience. Most had been in school settings for many years, but what was new was the experience of the role of the change agent in all its complexities. It was also important for many to experience school settings from the perspective of different levels including the system as a whole. The experience of being a Fellow also led to career shifts for many. At least two became fulltime networking change agents in other institutions; two others became principals. Three continued to play very active central roles in the IOA itself.

6.1.6. Barriers

There were four barriers to the district-sited Fellows program worth noting. The most outstanding was the poor articulation of the role. Neither the Fellows nor the districts began with a clear idea of what they were supposed to be doing, and while many individual Fellows developed satisfactory ways of operating there was no formula developed which could provide the role with institutional justification and long-term support.

A second barrier was the inconsistency of institutional support from the college. Loveland was away too often and too busy with many other matters to give detailed consideration to the Fellows program and to the process of explaining and then appropriately placing the Fellows in school district settings. Neither Anderson nor Archer had the full confidence of the Fellows and Anderson's vision of the program may have been inappropriately colored by his own past association with the very different IOA of the 1960s.

A third factor militating against the program was the minimal nature of the financial support provided. Fellows were asked to provide expert consulting services to school districts for almost nothing. This was not an important problem at the beginning when the Fellows were full of enthusiasm for the new venture but they were bothered even early on by the lack of real financial commitment from the college. With the elimination of the nearly token district contributions in the third year and the more stringent fiscal policy of the new ARI director, Bern, the situation became untenable.

The fourth barrier to the program lay in the basic concept itself, that of a boundary person between two systems, the college on the one hand and the district on the other. Fellows were marginal to both systems, students at the college and intruders without portfolio in the schools. Indeed their status in the schools was made more difficult by the confused

placement and entry arrangements and by the fact that they were trainees in the arts of change agentry and at the same time somehow experts.

6.1.7. Facilitators

The program also had a few things going for it. The most important was the strong motivation of the Fellows themselves. They were dedicated to the notion of serving teachers and they were inspired by Loveland and by one another to keep going in spite of the many difficulties they encountered especially during entry.

Another factor was homophily, that is similarity to their clients in sex, background (nearly all the Fellows were teachers or former teachers), and concerns. In addition their similarity to one another in these respects reinforced feelings of solidarity.

A third facilitating factor was the career relevance of the activity: they were getting a chance to engage school environments in new roles and from new perspectives which were likely to help them move to future positions as administrators, specialists, and consultants of various sorts with careers more varied, challenging and remunerative than their old teaching jobs.

6.1.8. Analysis of Fellows Program Dynamics

In its school-site linkage form the Fellows program had a life of roughly two and a half years which we might look at in terms of five phases: (1) origination, (2) site entry, (3) role shake-down, (4) turbulent continuation, and (5) fade-out. In a sense each of these phases is itself a serial with its own cycle of development leading to the next phase. They are also strung together as primary causes and effects of one another. In Figure 6-1 we try to show the phases together with the more salient elements of the serial which seem to have relevance as explanations of what led to what and what ultimately happened.

Reading the figure from left to right we begin with the fact that there was an historical precedent for the program in the old IOA. This made the term "Fellow" meaningful to some of the old hands at the college and to the superintendents, but it was also a bit misleading since the new Fellows were quite a different conception from the old. A more important antecedent condition was probably Loveland's strong commitment to the notion that the college should provide some sort of direct hands-on assistance to school teachers within districts. A third antecedent was the strong sentiment among the handful of remaining districts in the spring of 1976 that the college show some new sort of commitment and initiative or else fold the IOA altogether.

Moving to the right we see at the top of the diagram school district support factors that affected the origination and early history of the program. An important fact was that for these districts there was a great variety of available alternative resources, many coming from manifestly more expert and experienced persons than the Fellows. Thus it often appeared from interviews with superintendents that they accepted the Fellows program more as a way to help Loveland get going than a way of helping themselves and their districts with pressing educational needs. There was, however, a desire for multiple contacts with the college through the IOA and there was certainly a potential for strong support among teachers who would benefit directly. This support never really materialized on behalf of the Fellows program as such but it did reveal itself in teacher attendance at workshops and cooperation with some of the projects Fellows took up along the way. In any case, the election of the Fellow option by about a dozen superintendents for the school year 1977-78 undoubtedly helped give the program a good start fiscally although the program was and remained chronically underfunded.

At the bottom of Figure 6-1 are listed some of the factors on the college side which contributed to the origination of the program. Loveland's very popular course on the change process was probably an important impetus in at least two ways. First of all the content of the course focussed on various ways in which consultation could take place to improve school practice, and second, it brought her into contact with a fairly large number of graduate students, many of whom were eager to work for her under any arrangement whatever.

The availability of the student pool was also a constant factor at the college which allowed things to happen. There was, in effect, a fairly large person-power resource of very bright, many-talented, and sometimes very experienced graduate students, many of them in fact mature professionals who were engaged in career changes and advancement. A good number of these (but not all) were eager to undertake field work assignments which advanced or complemented their school experiences regardless of financial support. This was more likely to be the case among married women.

Moving further to the right of the figure we come into Phase 2 of the serial, the process of Fellow placement and initial entry into field sites. This was a rather stressful phase for many Fellows although all managed their way through it, thanks to very high enterprise commitment, mutual support, and support from Loveland. Entry problems appeared to have resulted from five causes, three district-related. First of all, the districts never had a clear idea of what the Fellows were supposed to be or do. Additionally, each district had its own needs and priorities. These two factors led to specific field assignments of Fellows which were not well prepared or thought out in advance by anyone. As a result when Fellows arrived at a school building site to which they had been sent by the superintendent they tended to be viewed with doubt and suspicion by the principal. Sometimes there was a period of feeling out or jostling for control as the principal sought to assert his leadership and the Fellow sought access to the

teachers. Entry problems may also have resulted from Loveland's rather eclectic change ideology. She did not propose a specific way of doing things and she did not build a very clear expectation of what would happen either for the district people or for the Fellows. A fifth factor was the diversity of expectations, skills, and needs on the part of the Fellows themselves. They were not matched to field situations for the most part on any other basis than convenience and geography.

Nevertheless the Fellows all survived the entry process of the first few months and settled into roles which represented some sort of compromise between their needs and concerns and those of the particular school site and its administrative leadership. Out of this shake-down there came some solid achievements of which the most notable were the gifted and talented program which ultimately became a model for a whole region of the state and the Writing Consortium which involved teachers and central staff from a handful of districts in an ongoing collaborative activity stretching over three years.

The program was sustained into the second year, thanks to the continued funding, the fact that continuing placements had been established in some school sites, and the slightly battered but continuing strong enterprise commitment of the Fellows. The two new Fellows beginning in the Fall of 1978 continued the process but did not add substantially to the momentum of the program. A critical factor the second year was the departure of Loveland and the intrusion on the Fellows' world of the unaccepted substitute leader. The tensions which resulted damaged enterprise commitment and divided the ICA staff. It was also fairly clear that beyond Loveland herself there was no strong support for the program either at the college or among the districts. Reduced support from the endowed ARI funds and failure of districts to renew their option memberships led to a reconfiguration and redefinition of what a "Fellow" was. The situation was not helped by the fact that no clear image

of what a Fellow was supposed to be ever emerged from meetings among Fellows and staff members of the IOA in spite of many discussions with and without Loveland present. Reconfiguration was also abetted by the fact that new funds from an NIE grant and from the Urbana teacher center could be used to support graduate students but not for the same activities.

It would be wrong to conclude that the program was a failure from this analysis, however. Rather it might be looked at as a first exploratory effort to involve graduate students and to build a core staff for the IOA which had field experience in change agent roles. The experiences, even when they did not lead to impressive outcomes at particular sites, gave the Fellows some degree of self-confidence and appreciation of the complexities of change at the institutional level.

6.2. THE WRITING CONSORTIUM, 1978-81

6.2.1. Roots/Context.

It will be recalled that most of the member districts of the IOA represented prosperous middle and upper-middle class neighborhoods with a high proportion of professionals who had high expectations that their children would advance to university and beyond. Such expectations undoubtedly colored the approaches to educational innovation taken by the school districts in a number of ways and certainly focussed attention on areas of curriculum which are most relevant to the college-bound student. Writing is certainly one of those areas; the districts which became involved in the Writing Consortium had had an ongoing concern about this subject and would have continued diverse improvement efforts regardless of the existence of the IOA. However, a more specific stimulus for reform mentioned by a few informants was a cover story in Newsweek in 1976 entitled, "Why Johnny Can't Write." Evidently the article stirred up considerable interest and some pressure from parents in these districts for improved writing programs.

It is not surprising then that writing surfaced very early as a high priority topic within the revived IOA. At

the very successful revival conference of May, 1977, writing was one of the well-attended afternoon workshop sessions. In the fall of the same year it was the subject of a three-session work group. One of these sessions was remembered for a surprisingly large attendance which required shifting to a larger conference room. The topic appeared to spark special interest among principals. From these pieces of evidence one could have surmised that a focussed and sustained activity having to do with writing would attract a lot of interest.

6.2.2. Objectives

The essential objective of the Writing Consortium from its inception was the sharing of knowledge and innovative practice ideas concerning writing. However, in the early stages there appeared to be some confusion and a difference of opinion regarding what the Writing Consortium was supposed to accomplish. Much of the early activity focussed on the work of one resource person, Dick Milazzo, a recent doctorate from the college who had worked with Loveland and who was acquainted with a number of the Fellows.

Milazzo was employed as a central staff person in a very affluent district that had been a long-standing member of the IOA through the 1960s but had not returned to the fold with the revival. There he had developed an innovative and rather comprehensive program to evaluate and improve writing skills through all twelve grades. A key aspect of his program was the systematic collection and rating of student writing samples. It was generally acknowledged that, thanks to Milazzo's efforts, his district was well ahead of others in the area in its writing program. In fact, following the May 1977 afternoon session, the district was visited by a delegation from Middle Crest and Upper Crest; thus some of the early activity suggested that the consortium's focal concern was the diffusion of the Milazzo approach to IOA member districts through formal and informal means.

When the consortium was formally launched, however, there were at least two other strands of action. One was a general exchange of ideas and good practice among members which started from the premise that each district might be involved in some exemplary activities, perhaps initiated in many cases by individual teachers. The other strand, promoted vigorously by a member superintendent who showed up at all the early Writing Consortium meetings, was that it should be a kind of collective curriculum or materials development project, perhaps taking off from the work that Milazzo had already done.

As time went on the notion of a collective development effort faded and the superintendent who had advocated that perspective dropped out of the IOA, taking his entire district with him.

By the third year an additional goal became dominant, that of dissemination of knowledge on writing programs and practices generally to a much wider local and regional audience. Throughout the period studied each of the districts most centrally involved in the Writing Consortium (primarily Upper Crest and Middle Crest) had their own very active program development in writing, efforts which drew on various resources but not primarily mediated by the IOA or the consortium. The Writing Consortium was one of a number of mechanisms through which they learned of one another's activities and through which they shared resources.

6.2.3. Resources

The Writing Consortium was begun with minimal resources. Essentially this consisted of time donated by Milazzo and contributed by Rhonda Robards as part of her fellowship. By the fall of 1978 a fee schedule of $250 per district had been set up for those wishing to participate in the Writing Consortium--clearly an inadequate sum for any sort of elaborate materials development or other intensive sustained activity. The other major resource, of course, was the

contributed time of the teachers and district staff members. It was not always easy to get release time for work outside the district and for some members this was apparently an insurmountable barrier because they "participated" in the Writing Consortium without sending any representatives to meetings.

Intellectual resources were provided by several persons: Robards provided group process and networking expertise while Milazzo and later Al Norris supplied large quantities of expertise on writing. Robards also invested heavily of her own time in making phone calls, preparing agendas and writing up minutes. As time went on other IOA staff, in particular Don Archer and Jane Newell, pitched in as needed to support Robards, filling in when she was unable to attend, and performing some of the logistics of contacting participants, mailing, and arranging for conference space.

6.2.4. Narrative Event Sequence

Table 6-2 lists most of the key events of the Writing Consortium's evolution over a three-year period. In many ways it is the story of the efforts of one person, Rhonda Robards. As one of the first generation Fellows in the fall of 1977, Robards had many of the entry problems that confronted other Fellows. She had been assigned to Shady Grove and Bayside School Districts, two of the most prosperous in the area. At Shady Grove she received a rather typical welcome for a new Fellow: assignment without consultation to a rather suspicious principal who had his own agenda and who promptly shunted her off to the side to work with a teacher who was doing some planning work regarding an "alternative school." However, the relationship fizzled and Robards admitted that she never really achieved entry to the Shady Grove District.

Meanwhile at the Bayside District she did start right out working with the superintendent, who happened to have a special interest in writing, particularly at the secondary level. With the frustration of her Shady Grove experience

Table 6-2 The Writing Consortium Serial: Key Events

5/77	Dick Milazzo presentation at revival lead-off conference.
5/77	Representatives from Middle Crest and Upper Crest visit Milazzo's district to see writing program in action at superintendents' instigation.
6/77	Rhonda Robards recruited as a Fellow.
6-8/77	Robards turned on to networking concept.
9/77	Robards assigned to Shady Grove and Bayside Districts. Bayside superintendent proposes writing project.
11/77	Milazzo work group on writing; very popular.
10-12/77	Shady Grove entry process awkward, role unsatisfactory.
2-4/78	Robards discusses general concept of a writing consortium with Fellows; meets resistance from Curran, Ryder.
3/78	Sam Taylor, Shady Grove superintendent, endorses Robard's concept at "yellow pad" meeting.
3-4/78	Robards puts writing consortium model in writing as "agenda."
4/6/78	Writing consortium founding meeting at Upper Crest: 4 districts (Upper Crest, Shady Grove, Bayside, Green Cove) represented, 3 superintendents attend. Alice Loveland instrumental.
3/2/78	First coordinated meeting of Writing Consortium at Shady Grove.
9/26/78	"Writing Symposium" at Upper Crest, Robards orchestrating; 6 districts involved.
11/78	"Focus on Substance" meeting; presentations by teachers from each district: "dynamite."
12/78	Robards makes half-page summary of each presentation in hospital bed.
3/79	Middle Crest and Upper Crest Districts get involved with another outside writing consultant on their own.
Summer 79	Bayside district with involved superintendent drops Writing Consortium and IOA.

9/24/79	Robards reports on Writing Consortium to Fellows; 6 member districts; asks for a "process observer," but no such role develops.
Fall '79	Begin development of Writing Consortium "resource bank" of materials, people, places.
Spring 80	Struggles with resource forms.
1/80	Betty Snyder holds meeting of 3 districts to set up a southeast writing consortium along same lines.
Spring 80	In spite of Snyder's efforts, southeast writing consortium idea fizzles in confusion over IOA role and involvement of another university.
3/6/80	All-day "writing conference" for IOA members, first appearance by Al Norris as presenter; focus on secondary teachers.
5/15/80	Observed meeting led by Milazzo, 7 persons from 3 districts: 3 from Upper Crest, 3 from Middle Crest, 1 from Shady Grove.
9/80	Robards recruits Al Norris to recharge Writing Consortium batteries.
9/10/80	Robards proposes special spring conference as an energy focussing device.
12/80	Norris brainstorms conference content and speakers at Shady Grove meeting.
2-3/81	Norris runs "regional" (north and south) half-day workshops which were very popular.
3/20-21/81	Climactic two-day Writing Conference led off by Carlson; over 100 attend including many from Urbania and the metropolitan area generally.
5/81	IOA reassessment meeting establishes "consortium" approach as a continuing IOA strategy.
3-5/81	Computer Consortium arrangements developed.

behind her Robards began to think through what it might take to build a networking activity, using a subject matter focus as a base, but following the principles laid down in Seymour Sarason's book, Human Services and Resource Networks.* Very early in 1978 she resolved to approach the superintendent at Shady Grove, the very busy and dynamic Sam Taylor, with the idea of a sub-network on writing that might involve both Shady Grove and Bayside (which were adjoining districts) and a few others. To get on Taylor's calendar one had to wait up to six weeks but she resolved that this time it was the worth the effort because (a) she had a viable and reasonably well articulated concept and (b) Taylor was a key influential among the superintendents as a whole whose approval could help make something go.

While planning her approach to Taylor, Robards discussed her writing sub-network idea at the regular Fellos meetings and recalls that the concept was met with considerable scepticism, particulary by the two original Fellows, Curran and Ryder. Alice Loveland was reported to have played a neutral role. In spite of a sensed lack of support or perhaps because of it, Robards further elaborated her plan and entered Taylor's office fully prepared. The private meeting with Taylor went very smoothly and he agreed to speak up in support of the concept at a subsequent superintendents meeting. With the Bayside superintendent already supportive, Robards arranged a special meeting around Taylor's calendar and formulated a written plan for the consortium.

The official founding meeting was held on April 6, 1978 at the offices of the Upper Crest District (also physically adjacent to both Shady Grove and Bayside). Four districts were each represented by a team of two or more people including an administrator (superintendents in three cases), a senior central staff person and a teacher. Loveland attended the meeting and played the key role of summarizer. Robards

*San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977

reflected subsequently that Loveland's presence at that time, her group facilitation, and implied support were probably crucial to getting the thing going.

As consortium activities got underway, resistance from Curran and Ryder persisted and Robards had some concern that Ryder, in her role as a go-between to the Middle Crest District--which had joined the consortium--might be undermining support from the superintendent and from the district staff which was the largest and one of the most influential in the IOA. However, Middle Crest subsequently became the leading and most active consortium voice.

At a subsequent meeting in May of 1978 the working procedures of the consortium were ratified more or less as Robards had originally conceived them. The working process of the Writing Consortium henceforth had at least seven procedural features which were followed from meeting to meeting with considerable fidelity. They included:

(1) An advance phone call to representatives at each participating district as a reminder and personal reinforcement for attendance;

(2) A sign-in sheet passed at each meeting to record those present (but never to note absences);

(3) An emphasis on the process of networking including repeated reminders of how the process works (e.g., using quotes from Sarason) with the implicit assumption that networking represents a desired means to multiple desired ends;

(4) Continuing group process facilitation, usually by Robards, sometimes by Newell, and by Loveland at some critical junctures;

(5) Written summaries of each meeting, rather carefully crafted to translate conflicts and controversies into "issues" and circulating to all members as a rolling history;

(6) Insured continuity by setting aside a part of each meeting to discuss the agenda, the time, and the place of the next meeting; and

(7) Rotation of meeting places among all the participating member districts.

It is especially noteworthy that all these features were carefully thought through by Robards in the early stages of consortium development. To a great extent she made explicit use of networking research, Sarason in particular, in setting up the process.

In the fall of 1978, a time when the Fellows as a group were in turmoil over the absence of Loveland and her interim replacement by Anderson, the Writing Consortium hit full stride with a series of successful meetings, first the "writing symposium" at Upper Crest and most especially the session in November entitled "Focus on Substance." At the latter event teachers from several districts made presentations on innovative approaches they had taken in the classroom. Robards was actually hospitalized when the meeting took place but prepared summaries of each presentation from tapes of the session while recuperating in her hospital bed. She describes the session as "dynamite" and the innovativeness of the teachers as truly outstanding. Of all the activities involving the IOA which came to our attention this one event seems to have come closest to an ideal of sharing innovative practices among teachers.

The spring of 1979 seems to have been a period of struggle within the Writing Consortium to clarify its functions and objectives. At various meetings the Bayside superintendent showed up to press the group toward a more structured collective curriculum development project on writing, preferably at the secondary level which was where his primary interest lay. Others appeared to be more comfortable to continue with an information sharing approach, each proceeding with their own more intensive projects internally. Indeed Upper and Middle Crest both had very active writing programs going on in which they employed a number of resources, many developed or acquired virtually

without reference to their IOA and Writing Consortium contacts.

During that summer Bayside withdrew both from the Writing Consortium and the IOA but another district joined up leaving the nominal district membership at six. With the fall of 1979 Robards tried to focus the group on some more structured forms of sharing including the development of a shared resource bank on programs and people within the sub-network. A questionaire form was developed and discussed at some length over several sessions but difficulty was experienced in getting adequate responses from a large enough pool of participants to make the resource bank idea really work very well.

While the concept of a consortium on writing seemed to work quite well it proved impossible to develop active memberships which spanned the wide distances represented in the metropolitan area. Thus in January of 1980 Archer began to work with Betty Snyder, who had been a first year Fellow the previous year, to develop a second regionalized writing consortium in the southern area. Green Cove, a leading district in that area, was a nominal member of the existing consortium but had had persistent difficulties in sending representatives to meetings. The effort was made more complex institutionally by the fact that Snyder was now working for another private university in that area; thus superintendents and their representatives who came to founding meetings were rather confused about the structure of the proposed arrangement. With Snyder's commitments and institutional ties very much divided and no other driving force to put it all together, the effort fizzled.

We witnessed a session of the Writing Consortium held on the afternnon of May 15, 1980. The session was chiefly taken up by a presentation by Milazzo of a framework for developing writing programs. The session was introduced by Robards who then took her leave, passing the chair to

Harry Draper, coordinator of language arts at Middle Crest and an informal leader in the group. There were seven persons in attendance: three regulars from Upper Crest and three from Middle Crest including Draper, and one teacher from Shady Grove who was new to the group. This attendance pattern was apparently rather typical at this stage of the evolution of the Writing Consortium. Participants were attentive and clearly had great respect for Milazzo and interest in his work. On the other hand they were mostly familiar with his work and the purpose of the meeting other than a kind of reunion and mutual reinforcement was not clear.

Subsequent interviews suggested that this was a time when the Writing Consortium seemed to be winding down, losing much of the animation which characterized the early meetings of the previous year. There was considerable concern in both Middle Crest and Upper Crest about tightening budgets which would affect in-service activities in the summer rather severely but there were no evident solutions. It also seemed evident that the consortium at this point had only two really active members, Upper and Middle Crest, the Shady Grove representation being token and lacking any continuity.

Robards sensed the slackening of interest in the Writing Consortium and began searching for ways to bring it back to life. As the next school year began in the fall of 1980 she proceeded with two moves which would lead to another successful year and a real resurgence of interest. First of all she sought out a new lead resource person. Milazzo had been very popular and a key expert in the first year but he was beginning to be seen as a bit stale. After some arm twisting she succeeded in involving Al Norris, another graduate student at the college who had developed considerable expertise in the writing field. Norris had been a fellow teacher with Robards before they had returned to graduate school and he had since worked in a prestigious private

school while pursuing his graduate studies. He was experienced and dynamic as a teacher and he was authoritative and creative in the field of writing. Further, Norris had made a big hit with the Writing Consortium with an all-day "writing conference" in March of 1980 which focussed on the secondary teacher.

The second Robards move was to propose to the remaining Writing Consortium group that they plan together for a major conference on writing in the spring which would introduce a potpourri of writing resources and ideas to educators in the entire area. Norris, with his considerable knowledge of the field, was very helpful to the group in this planning effort. In addition, early in 1981 Norris conducted two "regional" (north and south) workshops on writing for IOA member districts. Both were well attended (approximately 30 at each) and well received.

On March 20 and 21, 1981, the Writing Conference was finally held at facilities at the college. It had been well publicized in advance through flyers and through the first issue of the revived IOA newsletter (also put together very largely through Robards' efforts). It was open to all with a sliding fee scale of $20.00 for Writing Consortium members, $40.00 for IOA members, and $70.00 for non-IOA members. More than 100 people registered. The conference featured President Carlson, again as the introducer, plus four major speakers, one an expert on writing programs at the college, two well known experts from other universities, and one the executive of a publishing company. There were also concurrent workshop sessions, panel discussions and an informal wine and cheese event. Thus it was a well-balanced; varied program and was generally regarded as a great success. It was truly the capstone event of the Writing Consortium and it is also the point at which our analysis concludes.

It is not clear where the Writing Consortium will be going as we enter the 1981-82 school year. The Writing Conference of the previous spring will be a tough act to follow. There is still no clear evidence that Robards can pass on her baton to another orchestra leader although she professed a desire to do so. Certainly interest in writing will continue to be high on the agendas of many of these districts but with the rich and varied resources available from so many sources it seems somewhat doubtful that the Writing Consortium, if it survives, will play a salient role.

On the other hand, the signal success of the Writing Consortium was in establishing a sustained networking activity among a circle of actors around a particular topic. Thanks largely to Robards' advance planning and shepherding, the "consortium model" became the most obvious evidence of the success of the IOA revival effort. Thus by the spring, Archer in particular was seeking ways to replicate the model with other topic areas. After the enlistment of appropriate in-house experts, the conduct of preliminary work group sessions, and the issuance of a long article in the revived newsletter, a new consortium dealing with computers in education was set up for a start in the 1981-82 school year.

6.2.5. Outcomes of the Writing Consortium Serial

The Writing Consortium undoubtedly allowed a number of people in the Upper Crest and Middle Crest School Districts and scattered others to become much more informed on the possibilities for writing programs. With the success of the conference events in the spring of 1981 we can also assume that awareness and some specific knowledge of writing research, curriculum development, frameworks for understanding and some specific innovative practices spread throughout the Urbania metropolitan area including Urbania, thanks to some representation from the big city at the March conference.

Whether or not Writing Consortium activities led to specific practice changes or even influenced them in a major way is much harder to judge. Clearly Upper Crest and Middle Crest were the primary participants in the consortium yet there is clear and substantial evidence that they were both pursuing very active and elaborate writing programs which had quite different roots both before and during the time of the consortium's maximum influence. It seems most likely that the Writing Consortium influence blended with other influences to make these two districts and their relevant staffs somewhat more sophisticated about writing programs than they otherwise would have been.

The same cannot be said of Shady Grove. Even though the superintendent's endorsement was an important element at the beginning, Shady Grove staff consistently felt that they had not much to learn from the other districts, having their own long tradition of academic excellence and extensive internal support for teacher self-development. In any case the pattern of sending only one representative to meetings, usually a different person every time, precluded serious involvement or benefit to Shady Grove from the Writing Consortium. For Bayside there also seemed to be few gains, despite the fact that the superintendent was so involved from the beginning; the fact was that he withdrew after a year, dissappointed that the group could not move into a "product" orientation which would yield what he saw as concrete benefits for his district.

The major outcome of the Writing Consortium as it related to the IOA as a whole is that it was a generally successful approach to both networking and sustained and shared intellectual activity around a particular topic. It allowed some focussing of energies in contrast to the scatter which characterized most other IOA efforts. It thus became a favored pattern for future activites in contrast to the

field placement of Fellows discussed in the previous serial analysis.

We still have very little evidence on the institutionalization of either the Writing Consortium or the "consortium model." No district has a continuing budgetary commitment to the concept or the specific entity. It has not yet survived the turnover of leadership. It has not yet become a part of the routine of either the college, the IOA, or the districts.

6.2.6. Barriers

The Writing Consortium succeeded in part because there were very few barriers in its way. Robards did encounter some resistance among the Fellows, perhaps because she was suggesting a rather different modus operandi from the original Fellow model yet it was an approach which was generally quite compatible with Loveland's goals for the IOA, which emphasized centering on teacher needs, sensitivity to process, sharing among practitioners, and networking. The chief barrier operationally was probably geographic. The Writing Consortium never succeeded in extending itself across the suburban landscape or to Urbania but remained restricted principally to four, later two adjacent districts. Part of this problem was endemic to IOA activities in general: it is hard enough to get teachers released for travel outside their districts, but especially hard to induce them to travel way across town on a regular basis.

Another barrier of a sort was the continued presence of abundant alternative sources of knowledge and resources of various kinds concerning writing. The college could provide very high quality inputs but it had no exclusives. Furthermore, the somewhat intellectualized college offerings may have been perceived as stimulating but somewhat less immediately useful than more thoroughly packaged or tailor-made resources internal to the districts.

6.2.7. Facilitators

There is no question that the chief facilitating factor in the success of the Writing Consortium was the tremendous energy, thoughtful planning and structuring of the enterpise by Rhonda Robards. In spite of a nearly complete lack of knowledge or experience with the substance (writing) she doggedly applied networking principles which she had derived from a careful reading of Sarason's research and she made the consortium work. She also made good use of her own personal network, particularly in bringing in Norris. She was also aided by the fact that there were some good exemplars available, particularly in Milazzo, and she was not afraid to draw on them.

Another facilitating factor was the currency of the topic and the need felt for improvement at all levels by all levels of school staff.

Finally, we would also have to say that the presence of multiple alternative resources was probably a facilitator as much as it was a barrier because the wealth of resources meant that there was always something to talk about. Indeed the presence of all these resources helped to shape the direction of the Writing Consortium toward sharing and resource banking rather than toward the development or installation of particular programs.

6.2.8. Analysis of the Dynamics of the Writing Consortium

Although this serial may not have run its full course we can yet discern some clear stages of its evolution. The first was a kind of prehistory when the need and the readiness for a sustained effort were being aroused. We might call this "arousal." It includes the very first session by Milazzo, the subsequent work group series in the fall of 1977, climaxed by the overflow session, and then the suggestion by the Bayside superintendent that Robards might help him somehow with a vaguely envisaged writing project.

The second phase was "planning and start-up" and this was clearly all Robards' effort, starting with her preliminary meeting with Sam Taylor, the influential Shady Grove superintendent, and leading up to the set-aside of member dues and the first fall "writing symposium" at Upper Crest. The third phase might be called "the flowering," a series of sessions which had good attendance, high involvement, a variety of rich inputs, and some high expectations of what might be accomplished.

The fourth phase, which might be called "the doldrums," began with the dissaffection and withdrawal of the Bayside superintendent in the summer of 1979. It continued through a somewhat rambling and aimless second year when the two most active districts were building their own programs and reaching outside the Writing Consortium for resources. The fifth phase might be called "dissemination," the period when the successful two-day conference was planned and executed, when Norris came on board to lead "regional" workshops, and when Robards got out a special issue of the revived IOA newsletter devoted specifically to writing.

As in the IOA as a whole and the Fellows serial we see here the central role of an energetic prime mover with an ideology and in this case a rather clear process structure. We also see the ambivalent role played by alternative resources and by the general paucity of financial resources. What is striking is the fact that Loveland played a rather minor role in this enterprise overall and that it flourished at a time (fall of 1978) when the IOA as a whole was rather troubled. Like other efforts of the revived IOA, the Writing Consortium leaves no trail of memorable products in terms of either research or development or substantial documentation save the newsletter issue. Nor did it lead to any doctoral dissertations or to significant changes in coursework at the college, but none of these were intended

objectives so they could hardly be rated as failings. The Writing Consortium really succeeded in doing what Robards hoped initially it would do. It was a network for sharing and for stimulating practice improvement.

7. CAUSAL NETWORK*

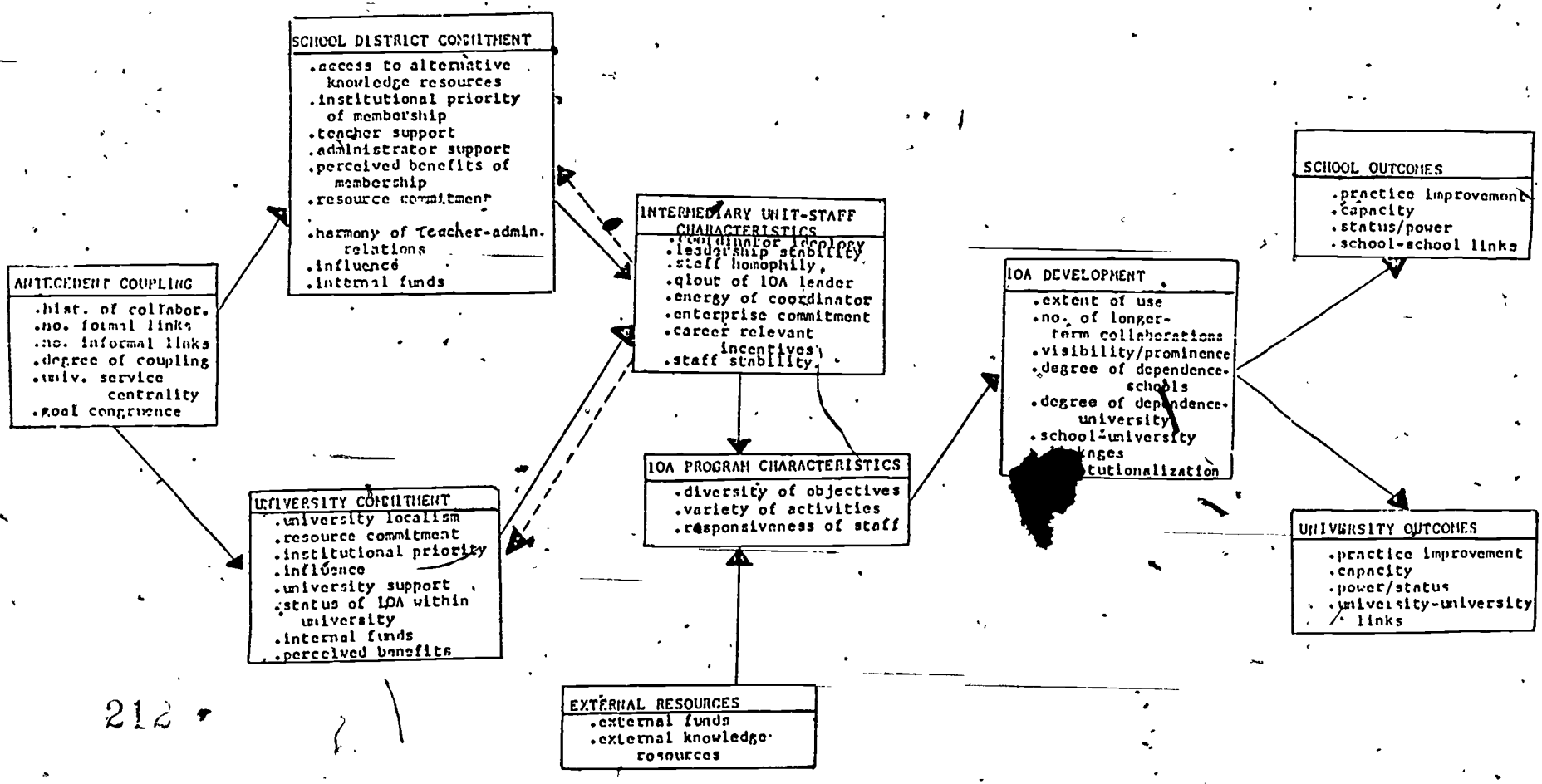
7.1. GENERAL MODEL

In order to map and analyze the properties of the interorganizational arrangements being studied, we attempted to isolate the factors that appeared to account for the outcomes obtained in each of the cases studied in detail. Two types of factors were extracted: those which were common to all cases--some 52 core variables--and those which were case-specific. For the most part, the core variables were empirically driven, i.e., they emerged as important determinants or mediators across the three cases. We then grouped these factors into empirical clusters and laid them out in the time-linked model shown in Figure 7-1. Variable definitions are given in the discussion of the causal network (section 7.2.3).

To review the diagram briefly and in a highly simplified way, we can view it as depicting the life cycle of the inter-organizational arrangement, beginning with the relationships between the college/university and the school district(s) prior to the creation of the arrangement. We hypothesize that the closeness and positive nature of antecedent coupling determines to a great extent the commitments made to this enterprise by the school district(s) and by the participating college of education. The strength of these commitments then reinforces--or in the case of low commitment, weakens--the efforts of staff members of the arrangement. In some cases, the characteristic of the leader or coordinator of the arrangement can influence the level of commitment in the participating colleges and schools--thus the broken line leading from staff characteristics back to the boxes for school and university commitment.

* The procedures and products outlined in this section were developed by M.B. Miles and A.M. Huberman in a national study of educational innovation, Crandall, D., et al, A Study of Dissemination Efforts Supporting School Improvement. Andover, Mass., The Network, 1981. Any use of the procedures and tools should be credited appropriately.

Figure 7-1 General Model for the IOA



Staff efforts lead to the design and implementation of the IOA program. Successful arrangements are characterized by diversity of objectives, variety of activities and responsiveness to requests or needs of participating units by IOA staff. The program can also be strengthened by external inputs, in the form of funds and/or external information and expertise.

The success of program efforts can be judged by the indicators of IOA development, including the degree of use by members, the number and closeness of ties and the degree to which the arrangement becomes durably institutionalized. Differing degrees of development should then result in differing outcomes at the school and college levels.

7.2. CAUSAL NETWORK FOR THE EASTERN PRIVATE IOA

Practically all the core variables applied to the Eastern Private IOA and are laid out in Figure 7-2. For ease of understanding and use, we take readers through the same introductory comments and instructions as were given to individuals from the three arrangments who were asked to give feedback on the accuracy and exhaustiveness of the causal networks.

7.2.1. Introduction

In trying to find an economical way of summarizing our understanding of the site, we have constructed a "causal network" for each of the IOAs.

The causal network tried to put on one fold-out sheet the main factors and the ways in which they influenced one another during the life of the IOA, up to the point at which we stopped collecting data (for the Eastern Private Case, May 1981). There are two kinds of factors in the network: general factors, ones which seemed important at all the sites to explain the pattern of events and outcomes; and site-specific factors. For example, on the causal network for the Eastern Private IOA, level of cosmopolitanism of school personnel and of university personnel (#2,4) are unique to that site.

At first glance, the figure with its 50-odd boxes and thicket of arrows probably looks more like a maze or Rube Goldberg machine than a coherent flow chart. As it turns out, we think that you should be able to decipher it without much trouble by using the explanatory text which accompanies the flow chart. At this state of our work, we

do not think that a more simplified figure would do justice to the real complexities in these IOAs; nor would it allow us to compare them and to assess whether the current theories about knowledge utilization and interorganizational linkage can account for what we found.

7.2.2. How the Network is Organized

The Eastern Private IOA network flows as follows: the beginning or antecedent variables are at the left of the page (nos. 1-9). They give way to intermediate or intervening variables, which usually come later in the history of the IOA; they cover variables nos. 10-32. The outcome variables are arrayed in the far right column, from nos. 33-45.

Each box has a rating, high or low. For instance, box #5, "history of collaboration," is high, denoting a school-university collaboration which was fairly active before the current IOA was revived. The arrow goes to box #7, "no. school-university formal links," indicating that the history of collaboration contributed to a moderate number of formal ties between the two partners prior to the formal reconstitution of the present IOA.

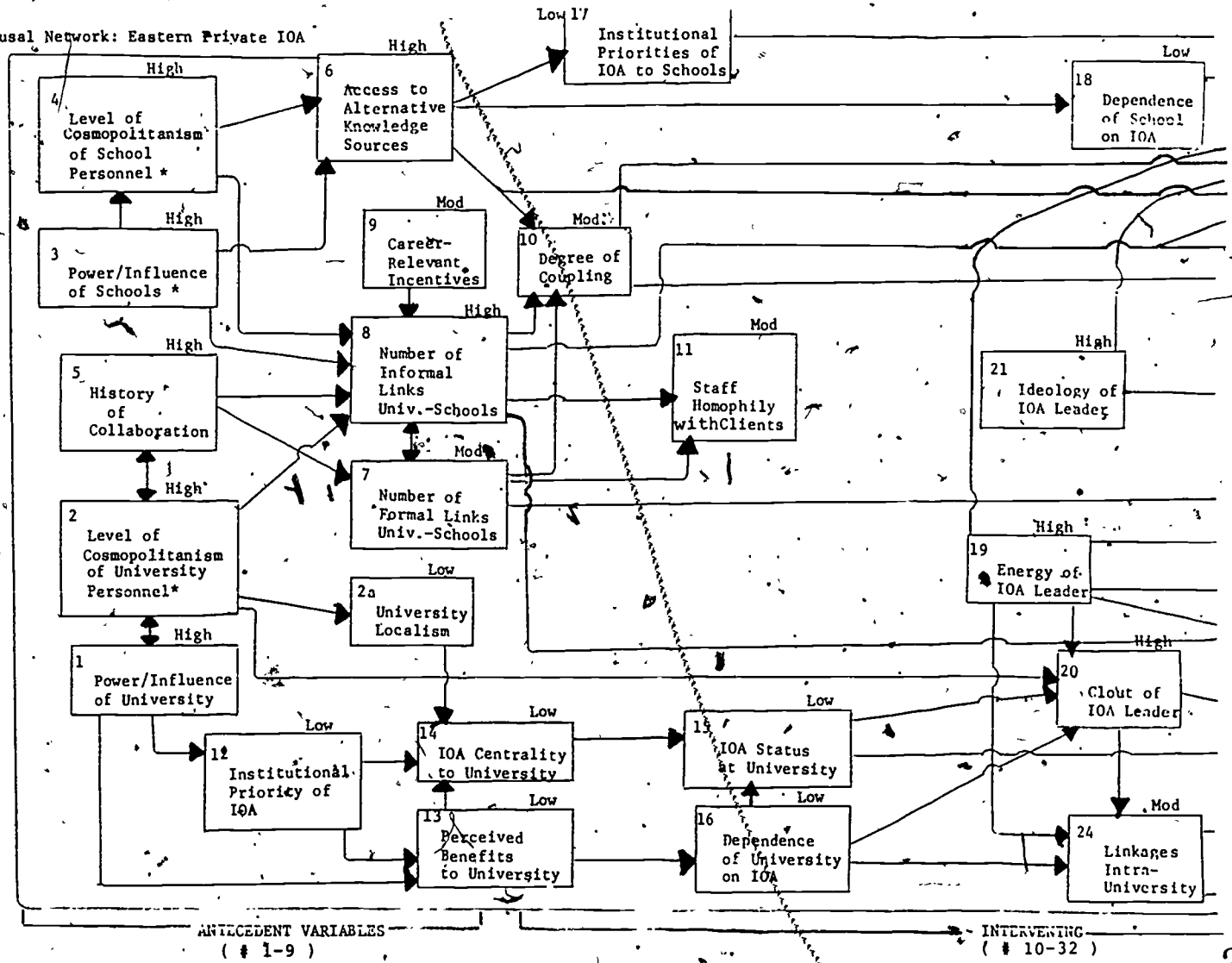
Some boxes have "low" ratings, such as #2a," university localism": low does not mean negative or inadequate.

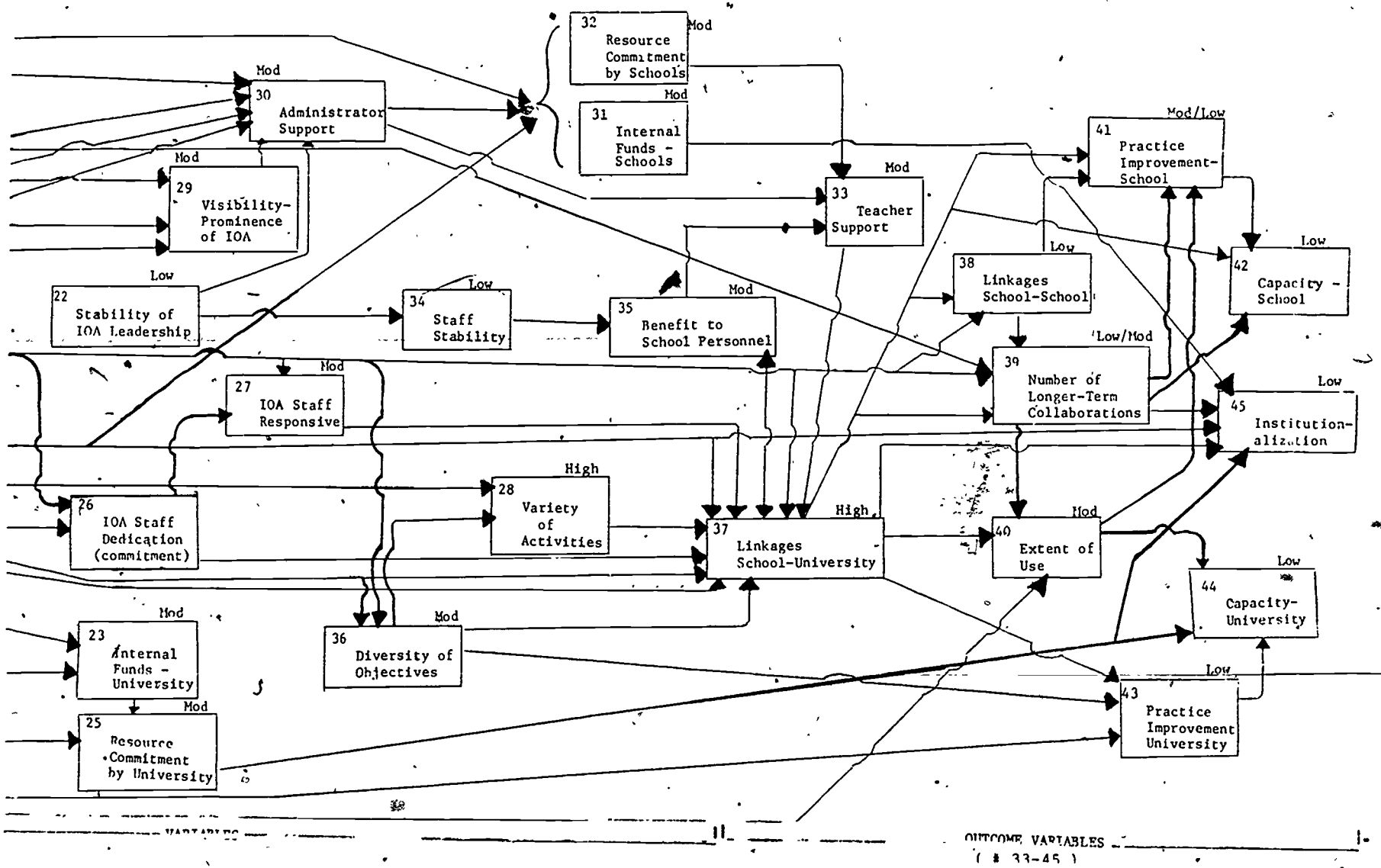
One final detail: There are three global streams in the flow chart. The stream along the top of the figure has most of the school district variables. The stream along the bottom has most of the college/university variables. The center stream contains the variables for the IOA as a whole.

7.2.3. Reading the Network for the Eastern Private IOA

We belive that two antecedent conditions both at the university and among the school districts represented in the Eastern Private IOA were significant determinants of what happened, what outcomes resulted, and what benefits did or did not accrue to the organizations involved.. These were the relative influence/power (#1,3) and level of cosmopolitanism (#2,4) that existed on both sides. The majority of school districts which continued to be active within the arrangement had long been recognized leaders in public education, and they represented cosmopolitan and established communities high in proportions of professions and old wealth. This led to strong support for education and to an expectation that the schools

Figure 7-2 Causal Network: Eastern Private IOA




32 Resource Commitment by Schools
Mod
31 Internal Funds - Schools
Mod
30 Administrator Support
Mod
29 Visibility-Prominence of IOA
Mod
33 Teacher Support
Mod
22 Stability of IOA Leadership
Low
34 Staff Stability
Low
35 Benefit to School Personnel
Mod
27 IOA Staff Responsive
Mod
26 IOA Staff Dedication (commitment)
28 Variety of Activities
High
37 Linkages School-University
High
36 Diversity of Objectives
Mod
23 Internal Funds - University
Mod
25 Resource Commitment by University
Mod
41 Practice Improvement-School
Mod/Low
38 Linkages School-School
Low
42 Capacity - School
Low
39 Number of Longer-Term Collaborations
Low/Mod
45 Institution-alization
Low
40 Extent of Use
Mod
44 Capacity-University
Low
43 Practice Improvement University
Low
OUTCOME VARIABLES
(# 33-45)

would prepare children to enter the upper levels of society and professional life via strong academically oriented programs. The resulting school environment was thus highly "cosmopolite," i.e., habitually in contact with other educational resource centers and systems, seeking whatever practices and knowledge were needed to remain up with and ahead of the competition.

Indeed it was the perception of this cosmopolite aspect of this particular region which led an enterprising professor of educational finance and administration to found the IOA some 40 years ago. The school districts in the network were seen by him as "lighthouses" for U.S. public education in general, showing the way to reforms and practice improvements at all levels: instructional, administrative, and curricular. His efforts were directed toward the articulation and codification of these leading-edge innovations so that they could be shared not only within the IOA itself, but among educational practitioners across the nation.

The university, of which the college of education was a unit, was widely recognized as one of the great American universities, drawing professors and students from the highest intellectual levels around the world. It followed that the university did not see its target clientele or public as particularly local, even though it was situated in a large metropolitan region, an area with serious problems of social inequity, inter-racial and cultural conflict, poverty, crime, pollution, urban decay, etc. This contradiction of situation and orientation boiled over into serious conflict and disruption in the 1960s as more radical students and faculty pressed for greater university responsibility for coping with the immediate social issues. Today, this concern for local relevance and responsibility seems to be considerably muted and rarely emerged in interviews with professors or students.

The college of education itself partook of many of the attributes of cosmopolite intellectual power of its parent

unit, but had its own peculiar history. At its founding it was seen as a "teachers college," i.e., a place where students would came to learn how to be teachers from master teachers in the schools. It was from many of the school districts which now formed the IOA that these original teachers were drawn, for the same reason that the IOA's founder sought out these schools as leaders of American education. Over the years, however, the college moved further and further away from being an institution staffed by master teachers as it increasingly aspired to and achieved status for research and scholarship. Thus, the present orientation of the college was national and international, not local, and its main concerns were academics and research rather than dissemination and service.

The power and cosmopolitanism of both types of institutions involved in this IOA tended to pull in directions which were contradictory for the arrangement. On the positive side there was clearly a convergence of interest in high quality education, in being national leaders and the first with new ideas and practices. This was the basis for the original collaboration and the continued promise of learning from others who are on the cutting edge was still an important objective. On the negative side was the fact that many alternative opportunities existed for both the university and the school districts. In the intervening 40 years, a vastly more complex infrastructure of other resource institutions (#6) had sprung up, many with much clearer service orientations and mandates and backed by far more substantial and reliable financial resources. For the university, the service orientation had become weaker and increasingly channeled toward educational problems which were of less relevance to this particular set of affluent districts, e.g., national educational policy, basic education, urban education, etc.

With such ambivalence on both sides, one might ask why the arrangement had continued for so long. We see two overriding factors causing this longevity. The first was the history of collaboration itself (#5). In its heyday, this arrangement was a particularly vibrant, powerful, and enriching mechanism for education reform, and the memory still lingered among the older school administrators and some of the college faculty. Because of its onetime popularity and success, the arrangement got firmly lodged, even as the power and pertinence of the original arrangement faded and its leaders disappeared.

The other factor, somewhat related to the first, was the constant flow of students pursuing advanced degrees and advanced positions within their district hierarchies. These students constituted formal links between the school and the university (#7). Because these districts were reputed to be strong educationally, they were able to attract graduates from the best universities. The university, in turn was likely to draw its students from the talent pools of education practitioners in districts such as these.

Added to this was the fact of proximity. Large proportions of graduates from this particular college of education filled powerful positions in this set of school districts. According to some informants, the arrangement thus became an "old boys' club" with informal links between people sharing graduate training and practical experiences (#8). The arrangement thus gave the opportunity for continued association with others in similar positions within the region. However, the sharing did not seem to extend to the faculty of the college of education, who were still seen primarily as former professors rather than as colleagues.

Pre-existing formal linkages occurred at instructional and curricular levels within these districts as well as among the top administrators. Teachers and other school district staff commonly sought career advancement through

further education (#9). The college of education involved in this arrangement was perceived as a valued and prestigious option for advanced training. Thus, the pre-existing linkages were "multiplex" in two senses: (1) first, they involved more than one level and one type of professional, and second, they involved more than one type of function (e.g., professional advancement, collegial association and friendship, contact with new knowledge and innovative practice, status enhancement).

The linkage multiplexity acted as a counterforce to the growing presence of alternative resource opportunities for member districts, leading to a moderate degree of interinstitutional coupling (#10), as compared to the much stronger coupling of a generation earlier. We also perceived this multiplexity (#7,8) as an important conditioning factor of the visibility of the arrangement (#29), administrator support (#30), sense of cohesion between the arrangement staff and school people (#11) and ultimately the extent of use (#40) and the number of linkages (#37) which survived as "outcomes" from the period under study.

Institutional support for the arrangement had been tepid, however, on both the university and school sides since the mid-1960s and remained so despite the rejuvenation efforts to be described below. On the university side, institutional priorities remain focussed on a national stage and on concerns for research and scholarship. The institutional priority of the arrangement to the university (#12) was further weakened by the perception among some of the faculty that these were <u>not</u> needy schools and hence not appropriate targets for the limited service efforts that the university was obliged to make. Further, because of its capacity to recruit students, retain outstanding faculty and maintain its reputation without resort to local service activities, the university saw only marginal benefits from the arrangement (#13). Lack of significant perceived benefits and low priority tended to push the arrangement into the periphery of university concern and attention (#14), which in turn detracted from the status of persons who were involved with it (#15).

Lack of perceived benefits also limited university dependence on the arrangement (#16), although the administration of the college of education and a handful of faculty (probably for different reasons) continued to support linkage to the public schools of the region through field service arrangements. For these people the existing arrangement was something of an enigma. It was a going concern which brought in some portion of the funds needed to support it; it appeared to do things deemed worthwhile by a number of people; it maintained the image of the college as a publicly virtuous enterpise; and it doggedly retained its "potential" to be what it once was, an activity which catalyzed and synergized research, training, and innovation in ways that benefited the university, the participating districts, and the educational community as a whole.

The same enigmatic appeal worked on the handful of district superintendents who carried the arrangement through its feeblest hours. Because of the rich array of alternatives now available, it had been at least 15 years since the arrangement enjoyed a high institutional priority (#17) within any of the participating districts, including the most loyal. Likewise, and for the same reason, none of the participating districts felt dependent on the arrangement (#18) for significant resources.

These preconditions led in 1976 to a near-decision on the part of the executive board (composed then of the seven superintendents representing the only dues-paying districts) to terminate the arrangement after 35 years. Indecision on both sides led to a "one more try" solution in the form of a new director. The subsequent history of the arrangement unfolded largely in terms of the interplay of this new leader's role and the pre-existing historical and support factors described above on the district and university sides.

Four attributes of the leader were important to the story. Probably the most notable was the leader's energy (#19); the new assignment was taken on with gusto and dedication which infected other actors, particularly the staff of graduate students which she quickly built up around herself. As an associate professor in a tenure line and as one of the most popular teachers in the college, the new leader also had considerable clout (#20) and was able to lay down conditions, including the temporary commitment of some endowment monies in dedication to the new task (#23). Such clout was probably diminished by the relatively low status of the enterprise (#15) in the eyes of many faculty. Nevertheless, a combination of clout and energy enabled her to enlist senior faculty (#24) to provide inputs and make presentations at the various conferences and workshops which ensued. Such contributions were made without remuneration and constituted a substantial addition to the university's resource commitment (#25) beyond endowment monies.

A third important attribute of the leader was her dedication to a particular approach to change (#21). Heavy emphasis was put on client participation--especially by teachers--sharing of experiences, networking, and the use of change agents, not as experts in particular content areas, but as process helpers and linkers to others with resources to share. Not coincidentally, she also taught a very popular course on the change process, where she recruited some of the dedicated and talented graduate students who formed her core staff (#26). Ideology and commitment combined to make the rejuvenated arrangement responsive to a variety of district needs and concerns (#27) and also led to a bewildering array of activities (#28), including frequent workshops on a great variety of topics, conferences, separate sub-group meetings of principals and superintendents, assistance to particular schools and districts on staff development, curriculum development, resource linking, evaluation, etc.

Ideology and energy also combined to greatly increase the visibility of the arrangement among school districts in the region. The new leader and her first two graduate assistants launched a vigorous recruiting drive, displaying the array of planned activities and optional arrangements which would be made available at minimal cost. Increased visibility and recruitment effort led in turn to increased support by district superintendents (#30), with membership quadrupling over a six-month period. Support also meant a limited (one year or year-by-year) commitment to financial support for the arrangement on a fee schedule which was actually reduced from what it had been previously. For the larger and more affluent districts the amount of funding (#31) was small enough ($750.00) to be handled by a superintendent as part of his discretionary budget or easily explained to his board. Other resource commitments (#32) in terms of staff release and travel were also present, as reflected in the high attendance levels at most of the reconstituted workshop and conference activities. On the other hand, the actual level of teacher support (#33) was hard to gauge; high attendance at workshops did not represent widespread use or even awareness of the arrangement and its offerings by the majority of thousands of teachers in participating districts.

The fourth leadership factor was instability (#27). For a combination of reasons, including illness, a sabbatical leave, and professional needs which competed with her involvement with the arrangement, the leader was required to be absent for long stretches of time including the second and fourth years of the revival. Her stand-ins during these absences were not able to command the same clout from the university or the same devotion from the graduate students. Thus, while activity continued on at a fast pace, there was possibly an underlying diminution of confidence and an increased sense of fragility to the whole enterprise. Some key staff departed while others were recruited who were less

clearly identified with the ideology and sense of mission of the inspirational leader (#34). The lack of staff continuity also tended to diminish the perception by school personnel that they would derive significant benefits from the arrangement. The fact that most outreach efforts were not tied to degree or course credit at the university also decreased the perception by school personnel that benefits accrued to them from participation.

Perception of benefits, either potential or accrued, was also indirectly conditioned by the diversity of objectives (#36) of the arrangement as a whole. The historic arrangement represented a complex but clear bargain struck between the original founding leader and the district superintendents. They were to get a great deal of qualitative and quanitative information on innovations, presented in comparative form as collective feedback on what they, as a group of innovating districts, were doing. The founder in turn got a massive field data collection apparatus which was used for over 100 doctoral dissertations over a 25-year period as well as for numerous monographs and articles. The school districts also provided a steady income to the university for the support of core administrative staff and graduate students.

The revived arrangement of the late 1970s was based on no such reciprocal bargain. There was no data collection or research component. Thus, what the university got out of the arrangement was not well articulated but appeared to involve a combination of goodwill, practice experience opportunities for a few graduate students, and a general outlet for the diverse expertise of its faculty. What the schools got out of it was also somewhat ill-defined: a great variety of inputs from university-based experts, some with national and world-wide reputations; the promise of small amounts of consultation from a pool of diversely talented graduate students; and the opportunity to develop

practice and resource sharing networks of either a general (e.g., meetings of principals) or a topic-specific (e.g., Writing Consortium) nature.

Up to this point in the narrative of causal connections, we have been focussing on what could be called "antecedent" or "intervening" variables and their interrelationships. All these could be crudely lumped together under the heading "causes" because they largely explain what happened and what was continuing to happen in this setting as we concluded the investigation. We now turn to the "effects," i.e., the outcomes that appear to have resulted from this array of causes. Here we would also like to make some further distinctions between "intermediate" and "ultimate" outcomes.

"Intermediate outcomes" refers to the sets of activities and linkages which were the most visible result of the efforts of the leadership and staff over the last four years. Considering the size of the core staff, all of whom were part time, the actual number of university-school contacts generated by the revived arrangement was impressive (#37). This is particularly so if we count as a "link" each time that a school-based person had direct exposure to a university-based person or vice versa, whether individually, in a group or a large gathering. Thus, there were 50 workshops and 10 conferences during the first three years of the revival in addition to about 10 meetings of an executive board, expanded to include two principals; sporadic meetings of a principals' group; and bi-monthly visits by about 10 graduate students designated as "Fellows" to those districts which had paid an extra fee for their services.

While the old arrangement had long been known as an "old boys' network" among suburban superintendents, the revived network, following the new ideology, succeeded in establishing linkages at the teacher and principal levels,

as well as among the central office staff who were most similar to the graduate student staff of the arrangement, and from whom many of those graduate students were recruited.

To such personal linkages could be added print materials in the form of brochures, announcements, and newsletters. At the beginning of the revival a quarterly newsletter was dropped from the activities list, but was republished during the fourth revival year. Apart from these items, print output from the arrangement during this period was small, confined to semiannual reports with minimal circulation.

It is very important to note that the linkages, while many and individually usually of high quality (i.e., individuals reported them to be useful, enjoyable, etc.), were scattered across a wide range of people and topics and did not focus on any one target group or target purpose. For example, no specific on-going arrangements were established for school-to-school sharing of ideas and knowledge resources (#38) with the exception of the Writing Consortium which primarily involved the intermittent collaboration of three or four districts and about a dozen staff from various school system levels. This was in spite of the ideology of "networking" as an important road to school improvement. It appears that although at least moderate teacher support (#33) had been generated through workshop activities, it was not mobilized in the direction of sustained exchanges.

One significant type of outcome which we were looking for was the presence of sustained collaborative linkage activities, focussed on particular problems or content areas so as to have substantial impact. We did find a few of these (#39), but their number was diminished by the scattering of efforts noted earlier. One aspect of the revival was the institution of what were called "work groups,"--a string of up to three small workshops on the same topic which were intended to build on one another with the same

participant group. Participants were first stimulated by some sort of expert resource person, followed by sharing of existing practices and discussions of the implications of what the resource person had offered, and then perhaps moving on to more "hands-on" types of activity such as materials development, adaptation, and review, try-out with pupils and report-back, etc. Work groups were well-attended and well-appreciated but few turned into sustained collaborative efforts, the Writing Consortium being an exception.

Another potential source of such sustained activity was the field work of the Fellows. In this case, the university-based resource person appeared on site in the school district as many as two dozen times in a school year. Usually these visits centered on a particular problem or project in a particular school, but the majority turned out to be rather marginal and low-impact activities, reflecting the caution of the school administrators regarding the "Fellow" idea as well as some lack of clarity about the underlying change agent concept which they embodied.

From the available evidence, it is difficult to make a clear-cut assessment of the "extent of use" (#40) of the arrangement. There were pockets of fairly extensive use of some of the arrangement's resources by individuals, but system-wide use could only be cited in one area (writing) for two school districts. Even in these cases, it seemed likely that changes would have taken place in any case and that the changes observed were equally influenced by other resource agencies in the area.

What has been said of extent of use applies doubly when we try to assess the numbers of specific practice improvements (#41) observed within the school districts. We note here the phenomonom called "stock-piling," whereby school personnel absorb high quality workshop and conference inputs, usually from acknowledged scholars and researchers, but find no immediate use. As they continue about their work back home, they may find ways to interweave the new ideas or understandings into existing practices. In

many cases, this may be merely a change in attitude or a heightened awareness of a particular problem, e.g., the special needs of youngsters from broken homes. There is no easy way to document these kinds of changes, let alone quantify them. It was our impression that teachers and administrators who attended many workshops did indeed improve their practice in sundry and subtle ways. This was particularly the case where superiors (e.g., principals vis-a-vis teachers) gave encouragement for attendance and indicated approval of improvement efforts.

Even more difficult is the assessment of what we call "capacity" for practice improvement (#42), a longer term ability and tendency to seek and secure positive changes in the schooling environment. Historically and by reason of their social, economic, and intellectual ecology, most of these school districts already possessed a high capacity for self-generated practice improvement. Further contact with this prestigious university and its various offerings undoubtedly added something to that capacity, but how much? Again, the growth over three decades of a rich array of alternative resource centers of high quality and typically moderate cost made it unlikely that this particular arrangement in its revived form would represent a very significant additional component. When school superintendents were asked if they could get along without the arrangement, all indicated that they could. Whatever was added was not deemed essential.

On the university side the ultimate impacts appeared to be even more tenuous. The revived arrangement did not provide a welcome harbor for research projects, although two or three students derived dissertations from their field experiences. Enrichment of the college curriculum also appeared to be slight, limited to no more than 10 students per year who could gain experience through short-term field placement not provided otherwise. Many of the faculty were

called upon for presentations and workshops; usually these activities did not seem to affect their teaching, research or other service activities but there were notable exceptions, e.g., the case where faculty members became involved in the development of an ongoing consortium on computers as an outgrowth of workshops on that topic. Contacts with school districts developed through the arrangement may have led to subsequent consultations, placement or research opportunities; but because these people were who they are, similar contacts might have resulted without the arrangement in many cases. Overall, improvement in university practice appeared to have been minimal as a result of the arrangement (#43), as was improvement in the university's general capacity (#44), apart from the potential through the arrangement of a closer meshing of university and school activities at some time in the future.

Finally, we come to the question of the long-term survival of the arrangement itself (#45). This may seem an odd question for a collaborative arrangement which had survived for 40 years, but, in its present configuration, the future of this arrangement appeared to be precarious. Even though resource commitments on both the university and school sides were internal ("hard money") sources, commitment of these resources was only on a yearly basis; there were pressures on both sides to reinvest these funds in other activities. Even if the present support levels could be guaranteed into the future, they were clearly inadequate to mount a continuing effort, relying as they did on extraordinary amounts of volunteered effort and full-time commitment for part-time remuneration.