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The campus coordinator's role as technical assistant to the principal/headmaster in Boston pairings, 1975-1982.

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THE CAMPUS COORDINATOR'S ROLE AS

TECHNICAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRINCIPAL/HEADMASTER

IN BOSTON PAIRINGS 1975-1982

A Dissertation Presented

By

BARD ROGERS HAMLEN

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION
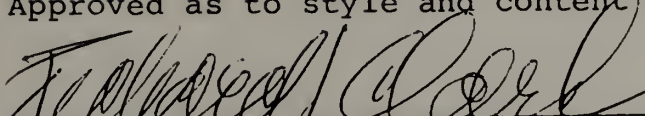
September   1983

Education

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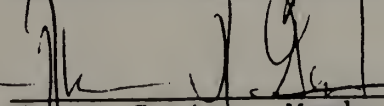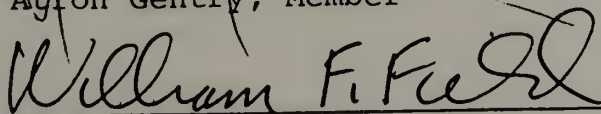
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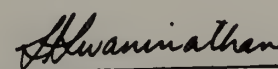BARD ROGERS HAMLEN

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Richard Clark, Chairperson of Committee

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William Field, Member

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Mario Fantini, Dean
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ABSTRACT

The Campus Coordinator's Role as

Technical Assistant to the Principal/Headmaster

in Boston Pairings 1975-82

September, 1983

Bard Rogers Hamlen, B.A., Radcliffe College

M.A.T., Harvard University, Ed.D. University of Massachusetts

This study documents, through perceptions of selected

Campus Coordinators and their Boston school department

counterparts, the role of technical assistance played by

Coordinators in support of the secondary school principal

as instructural leader in the context of the twenty-one

Boston college/university/school pairings 1975-82,

mandated by Judge Arthur W. Garrity, Jr. in the Federal

District Court, <u>Morgan vs. Kerrigan</u>. The study seeks to

research and clarify the degree to which the technical

assistance function has assisted headmasters or their

designees in their roles as instructional leaders and to

identify commonalities, modes of operation, prescriptions

and models of that technical assistance function which may
be useful to begin to define an inter-institutional
collaborative support model for principals as
instructional leaders in schools. Pertinent literature
review includes implications to the study from
situtational leadership theory, staff development theory,
organization development theory, change agent studies, and
relevant studies of the secondary school principal,
including effective schools literature and descriptive
studies of the principal in work sites.

The study details findings from in-depth interviews
with twelve Campus Coordinators and nine Boston school
department personnel. It outlines their perceptions about
the technical assistance function in the political and
social context of Boston during the period of the Court
Order desegregating the schools. Descriptive findings
detail how Coordinators and their school department
counterparts established collaboration which enabled the
technical assistance role to develop, outlines conditions
and stages of that relationship, and describes variables
of the technical assistance role. Prescriptive findings
include Coordinator and school department observations on
staff development needs, models, and supports as well as

outlining certain structural and organizational
considerations necessary to support inter-institutional
collaborations, especially such collaborations between
institutions of higher education and secondary urban
schools.

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<u>INTRODUCTION</u>

One day in the spring of 1975, the President of a
college in Boston invited the Headmaster of a Boston
district school to lunch at the Harvard Club. The Presi-
dent brought with him the Dean of the Education Depart-
ment. The Headmaster brought with him a trusted advisor.
He also brought with him, typed carefully on an old type-
writer with a weak ribbon, a list of twenty-three ways in
which he and his staff felt this particular college might
assist his High School in the great, uncertain adventure
ahead, a Court-mandated "pairing." The list impressed the
President of the college. It was a gesture of probably
unexpected receptivity and, in the strangeness of the
moment, a gracious one. So began one of twenty-one court-
mandated partnerships created by Judge Arthur W. Garrity,
Jr. in the Federal District Court, <u>Morgan vs. Kerrigan</u>.[1]

The story has its symbolism. Given the political
nature of the educational endeavor envisioned in the
<u>Morgan vs. Kerrigan</u> Masters' Plan,[2] the history of
Boston which led finally to the Court Order integrating
its schools, the varying backgrounds, assumptions, and
stereotypes of those expected now by Court Order to

cooperate, the ice was broken, in one instance, by a luncheon at the Harvard Club. The choice of place makes this a particularly Boston story. The choice of place also underlines the seriousness of intention of both sides to cooperate, and underscores the distance between the two worlds brought together by Court Order.

Since 1975, twenty-three area colleges and universities in Boston have been actively engaged in Boston public schools and school districts in a wide variety of programmatic activity originally initiated by Morgan vs. Kerrigan, a Federal District Court order integrating the Boston Public Schools. This Court Order "paired" seventeen colleges and universities with Boston schools or districts. Four additional colleges volunteered to be included in the Phase II Masters' Plan bringing the total of colleges and universities to twenty-one. Other additional institutions subsequently joined the "pairing" program to bring, by 1978, the total number of institutions to twenty-seven, according to The Jeptha Carrell Report, An Earnest Effort,[3] and the total number of "pairings" to forty-three. As Carrell notes the purpose of these pairings was "to improve the quality of education at the end of the bus ride."[4] The Masters' Plan in addition to this general instruction also provided a brief and sometimes cryptic instructional direction for each Court-mandated pairing.[5]

In almost all cases, these college/university pairings have been managed and coordinated on the campus side by a staff person attached to the university or college, the "Campus Coordinator." The Coordinators' roles differ in the amount of time committed to the Boston project, other college/university responsibilities, affiliation with the college/university, the permanence of appointment, and individual programmatic roles in particular pairings. Coordinators generally share, however, a realization that while they must implement college/university pairing policy, they do not make it. Further, they share the fairly extensive experience of working for eight years on an intensive basis with Boston public school teachers and administrators, mainly on site in schools, in activities increasingly understood by them to be of a staff development nature. In their roles as liaison from the college or university which employs them, coordinators have developed in varying degrees a working relationship with their administrative counterparts in the Boston Schools or districts with which their institutions are paired. At monthly coordinators' meetings and in written documents,[6] the term "technical assistance" has been increasingly recognized as a function of the Coordinators' liaison role, although until this study, the term has been only loosely defined.

Statement of the Problem

The Boston Court Order and the economic and political pressures of the period (1974-82) have presented Boston principals/headmasters challenging times in which to attempt to be instructional leaders in their schools. At the same time, these years have brought to many schools and districts a pairing with a college/university, and, therefore, the resources of a campus coordinator. The pairings vary in programmatic complexity, scope, and effectiveness. There has been little attempt to date to "evaluate" in any way the effectiveness of pairings or programmatic models. Some attempts have been made on the university side to document the political context in which pairings operated (Carrell, 1981), to document the pro- grammatic features of pairings (Rogers, 1981), to docu- ments organizational models of university pairing manage- ment (Winter, 1981). One NIE study (T.D.R. Associates, 1981) sought to document through a case study of three pairings the "research knowledge"[7] used by Coordinators in collaborative projects. On the Boston Public School side, some attempts have been made to document program implementation (Grant, 1981).[8] Nothing has been written on the role of Campus Coordinator nor the relationship between the Coordinator and the administrative counterpart in the schools.

At the same time, considerable attention has been
paid in recent educational literature to the principal as
instructional leader in the school, the need for a "strong
educational leader," especially in the role of the princi-
pal in the effective urban school. (Edmonds, 1979, 1982,
Tyack, 1982, Blumberg, 1980, Daedalus/St. Paul Study,
1981) Little, however, has been written to assist prin-
cipals in knowing how to be strong educational leaders nor
on staff support models which might assist the principal
to focus on being the effective instructional leader in
his/her school, especially in a time of declining re-
sources, the politicalization of education, and the multi-
ple demands placed upon him/her. (Mann, 1980) Recent
attention has focused in the literature on the necessity
for studying the role of the school leader in the school
setting, descriptively, and in the context of the daily
operation of the school and the larger political and
social context of change. (Tyack, 1982, Lightfoot, in
press, Rowan 1982)

The period in Boston 1975-1982 has been a period of
change in Boston schools, change mandated by a Court
Order. The period has also been marked by the wide pair-
ing involvement of colleges and universities, and by the
creation of the role of Campus Coordinator which has
provided a group of people whose experience in working in
Boston Schools is intensive. As "outsiders;" that is, as

outside the school system, coordinators have attempted to play a role in a changing situation, a role which can be usefully understood in the context of staff development literature, especially as it is applied to organization development and situational leadership theory involving the change agent. In addition, the wide scope of the Boston pairings has resulted in the opportunity in varying degrees for the development of an on-going, working relationship over time between the Campus Coordinator and the administrative counterpart in the schools. The development of that relationship, especially on the secondary level, is the subject of this study.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to document through perceptions of selected Campus Coordinators and their school department counterparts the role of technical assistance played by Coordinators in support of the secondary school principal as instructional leader in the context of the Boston pairings from 1975-1982. Further, this study seeks to research and clarify the degree to which the technical assistance function has assisted or obstructed headmasters or their designees in their roles as instructional leaders and to identify commonalities, modes of operation, prescriptions of that technical

assistance function which may be useful to begin to define a support model for principals as instructional leaders of their schools.

The study focuses on selected Boston school pairings 1975-1982. It focuses on technical assistance provided to school based administrators or their designees in school or district sites, primarily the secondary school site. The study focuses on the perceived relationship between the campus coordinator as technical assistant and the urban secondary school leader as detailed by selected Campus Coordinators and substantiated by interviewed school department counterparts. The methodology of the study is three-fold. A questionnaire was distributed to all Campus Coordinators eliciting their perceptions of their roles as technical assistant, defining variables of technical assistance, and gathering other demographic information on pairing level, scope, and general pro-grammatic model. Coordinators were also asked to indicate whether or not they would be willing to be interviewed for the study. Of the twenty-one questionnaires circulated, fifteen responses were received.

Secondly, the final sample of coordinators to be interviewed was chosen by the researcher on the basis of the respondents' expressed willingness to be interviewed and was also determined by variables of race and sex. Twelve campus coordinator interviews of an average

duration of forty-five minutes were completed. The format
of the interview was constructed using two sets of
technical assistance variables. One set included the list
of variables in the initial questionnaire and previously
field tested by a selected group of coordinators. The
second set of technical assistance variables was developed
by the researcher from the Van Cleve Morris[9] study of
effective principals in Chicago, an empirical study
detailing how administrators demonstrate their educational
leadership in the job setting. Interview questions were
constructed to elicit both descriptive information on how
coordinators perceived their role as technical assistant,
and also prescriptive information about how the role or
other models might support school administrators in their
roles as educational leaders.

Thirdly, interviews were held with nine school
department personnel. School administrators interviewed
were chosen in part by reputation; that is, they were
suggested by coordinators as also probably concurring that
the coordinators' role did include a technical assistance
function as well as by their general reputation as leading
school administrators in Boston. School administrator
interviewees were also chosen to represent the widest
spectrum possible of race, sex, heirarchical levels of the
school system, and length of service in administrative
position. At least one administrator from each of the

three types of high schools in Boston (examination, magnet, district) was included in the study. In all, the combined experience of the interviewed participants included direct knowledge of thirteen of the twenty-one Court-ordered pairings, including eleven of the sixteen court-ordered secondary school pairings.

The interview question format used to interview school department personnel was identical to that used to interview campus coordinators. School department personnel were asked to respond to the two sets of technical assistance variables both descriptively and prescriptively, as well as to suggest other variables and models for support for administrators. Findings of this study are, therefore, divided into two parts; descriptive findings are detailed in Chapter V of this study; prescriptive findings are detailed in Chapter VI.

Rationale and Significance of the Study

The Boston pairings represent the most extensive court-mandated school/college/university collaboration effort found in any U.S. Desegregation Court Order to date. While personnel has changed in some pairings, all but three of the original court-mandated pairings still operate, and several new ones have developed. Still others have extended their scope. As the Court

involvement in Boston draws to its anticipated end,[10] and the Chapter 636 state desegregation monies which have supported pairings decline, little study, beyond simple description of project activities, has been done around the Boston pairings. Increasingly, the role of coordinator in assisting in "indirect service" roles, such as staff development and technical assistance, is perceived by coordinators, somewhat in retrospect, looking back over eight years, to have been a major if loosely defined responsibility. This study seeks to document these perceptions of the role of coordinator as technical assistance in support of the secondary school principal as instructional leader.

Recent literature also suggests that an effective instructional leader is important to an effective school, yet little has been written about support models to assist principals in this role. Literature does suggest that the role of principal is increasingly difficult, lonely, and marked by frequent turnover (Blumberg, 1980). As economic resources decline, this situation is likely to intensify as the pressures on the principal increase (Neale, 1981). Recent literature does suggest that practitioners themselves, principals on the job, can best articulate the requirements for effectiveness and that detailed descriptions of administrators' perceptions are a fruitful avenue for further study. (Tyack 1982, Lightfoot [in press],

Rowan 1982) This study, including as it does the perceptions of practitioners, both coordinator and principal, may, it is hoped, point to some general commonalities and prescriptions for those who are interested in assisting the administrative leader of the school as leader.

Moreover, as the Court Order draws to an end and the Boston School System increasingly articulates as a priority its ability to demonstrate "system planning capacity," it may be useful to look at the role of the coordinator in assisting instructional leaders in meeting the responsibilities such a system priority demands of them. Does the technical assistant serve a transitional function in this effort? If so, do principals/headmasters and coordinators perceive the transition to be accomplished? If so, what enabled this conclusion? If not, what constraints can be identified which suggest that continued assistance is still needed? How can these constraints be removed?

Lastly, in a time of declining enrollment at the college level, increased attention to the issue of minority retention, especially of the urban college student, and declining financial support for education, the idea of collaboration among institutions of higher education and between the levels of higher education and secondary education has been given increased notice. What interinstitutional arrangements are necessary to support

collaboration? What programmatic ingredients are
necessary? What are some of the constraints which
mitigate against inter-institutional collaboration and how
can they be removed? It is hoped that this study, which
includes the perceptions of a group of people who have
directly involved themselves in inter-institutional
collaboration for the past eight years in Boston, may
provide some insights on this subject as well.

<div align="center">

Assumptions, Theoretical Positions,

Definition of Terms

</div>

Assumptions. One assumption behind this study is that the
staff development model endemic to Boston Court Pairings
places the outside change agent in a collaborative role,
on site in schools, over a long period of time, involved
in activity that is primarily of a staff development
nature, or, at least, that a sufficient number of coordi-
nators has been involved in staff development activities
so that this study can be undertaken. Staff development,
for the purposes of this study, is defined in a broad
sense. The definition of staff development used in this
study is taken from the work of E. Lawrence Dale.[11]
Staff development he writes "is the totality of educa-
tional and personal experiences that contribute toward an
individual's being more competent and satisfied in an

assigned professional role."[12] Functions of staff
development as defined by Dale include the following:
inservice education; organization development; consulta-
tion; communication and coordination; leadership; and
evaluation. The coordinator role contains, it is argued,
several of these functions. The coordinator role, it is
also argued in this study, is basically a collegial role,
especially as played vis a vis the school department
administrator in the context of the Boston pairings.
Therefore, although one of the assumptions of this study
is that the coordinator role can be usefully understood in
terms of organization development and situational leader-
ship theory, in a collegial relationship the term "staff
development," can be misconstrued. Staff development is
not a term commonly understood as indicating a collegial
relationship, unless defined in its broadest sense as
above. Therefore, the term technical assistance has been
developed and defined for the purpose of this study as
more appropriately portraying the functions of the coor-
dinator relationship vis a vis the instructional leader in
the school. However, it is also assumed that on the
programmatic level for the most part, coordinators have
operated as organizational development consultants. Thus,
the role can be usefully examined through situational
leadership and organization development theory and bears
similarities to other O.D. staff development practices and

models (i.e., RAND, IDEA, etc.). The obvious difference is, of course, that Boston Court pairings are examples of forced collaboration.

It is further assumed in this study that school based administrators acting as the instructional leader of their school either retain the responsibility for staff development and school improvement, in which case the coordinator might be expected to work directly with the principal/headmaster, or they delegate that responsibility. In the later case, the coordinator might be expected to work with the headmaster/principal's designee. Both models are found in this study.

Theoretical position. The research bias of this study is that the most useful educational research is that which studies what works, which seeks to study the actual perceptions of educational practitioners in the context of their work in schools about hopeful practices, and models and commonalities which seem to help, in a prescriptive sense. In this bias, the researcher draws on the admonition of David Tyack that it is time to study the "success not the pathology"[13] of educational practice and notes similar calls for descriptive research in real school settings from Lightfoot[14] and Rowan.[15] This study does not conclude that the technical assistance role was played universally, nor does it try to evaluate "success"

of the role. The sample was not exhaustive; within the sample the technical assistance findings vary greatly. The study does attempt to seek out those conditions for success and to document what did, in fact, seem to work as perceived by the practitioners interviewed.

Secondly, the researcher subscribes to the premise that school change/improvement can best be studied in the political and social context in which it occurs. This study details, therefore, the researcher's understanding of the political and social context of the Boston Court Order through which school change was sought. Crucial to the understanding of the role of Campus Coordinator, it is argued, is an understanding that the role was that of "outsider;" that is, someone outside the school system who also represented another institution, the college/university. The inter-institutional responsibilities thus given the coordinator role are crucial to an understanding of the role as played in Boston between 1975-1982.

Definition of terms: technical assistance. As explained above technical assistance is defined for the purposes of this study as a staff development function, in a broad definition of staff development. It is used in this study as a more appropriate term than staff development to reflect the collegial relationship between the Campus Coordinator position and the school administrator

counterpart. Specifically, technical assistance is defined in this study by two sets of activity variables. The first set of variables, developed by coordinators, is as follows: joint educational planning, identification of resources, problem solving around specific school problems, crisis intervention, and brain storming or being a sounding board. The second set of variables, developed by the researcher on the basis of the Morris study[16] includes assisting the administrator in stabilizing school organization, enhancement of school image, communication to staff, shaping community expectations, building the image of the school, and shortcutting bureaucratic labyrinth. A detailed description of each of these variables is found in chapter IV of this study. All variable activities share the characteristic that they involve a planned approach to solving school problems and build, therefore, toward "school planning capacity." The services so rendered are to be considered "indirect" rather than "direct," as defined by Chapter 636 Guidelines, which define the operational scope of pairing activity, by providing the major funds which support it.

Instructional leadership. For the purpose of this study instructional leadership is used interchangeably with the term educational leadership and is defined, as outlined in Chapter III of the study, as including those

characteristics of leadership evidenced by a school
building administrator, including but not limited to time
spent in observing classroom teachers teach. In using
this definition, the researcher draws on the
characteristics of leadership as described by
McAndres,[17] Morris,[18] and Lightfoot,[19] all of which
are discussed in Chapter III of this study.

Campus coordinator. Campus Coordinator, for the purpose
of this study, is defined as the university/college staff
person who is primarily responsible for implementation on
the programmatic level of Boston School Pairing activities
engaged upon by the college/university. Where district or
multi-school pairings exist, the on-site technical assis-
tance role may be delegated by the coordinator to staff
employed by the project. This model, also, is addressed
in this study.

Principal/Headmaster. In Boston, elementary and middle
school school-based administrators in charge of a building
are called principals; those in charge of secondary build-
ings are called headmasters. This study, where it is
restricted to the secondary school, will use the term
headmaster to identify the instructional leader of the
school. However, study participants have, in some cases,

used the terms headmaster and principal interchangeably.
Their verbatim quotations have not been changed.

Limitations of the Study

The scope of this study is limited to selected parti-
cipants in pairings between Boston public secondary
schools and their court-mandated partner college/univer-
sity from 1975-1982. As such, almost all subjects studied
are participants in forced collaborations, the particular
pairing of school and university the result of the Court
Masters' Plan. While the pairings themselves have re-
mained intact since 1974, there has been some staff turn-
over of both coordinators and headmasters. In some cases
the turnover has been more extreme than in others. There-
fore, the scope of the study is further limited by the
present availability of participants in the Boston pair-
ings (1975-1982) to be interviewed for the study. Coor-
dinators were selected for study on the basis of their
perception that technical assistance is a part of their
role and that assisting the headmaster or his designee as
instructional leader in the school is a legitimate goal
for the pairing. Headmasters, and other administrators
who also recognized the technical assistance role of the
Coordinator's function were included in the study. There-
fore, the sample of the study was not exhaustive.

An additional limitation of this study is clearly
that the researcher is, as well, a campus coordinator who
believes she has been involved in providing technical
assistance to Boston school administrators since 1975.
That bias, however one tries to control it, is never-the-
less a factor insofar as the researcher is aware of the
fact that anyone writing about what one has been doing for
eight years is invested in believing in its worth, at
least partial worth. The methodology of this study sought
to control the problem of the bias of the researcher by
firmly grounding the study in technical assistance vari-
ables predetermined before the study, including those
variables independently generated in the Morris study in
Chicago cited above. Secondly, the methodology sought to
structure the interview format so as to ask identical
questions of both Coordinators and school administrators
to check the hypothesized bias of both the researcher and
of other Coordinators as to the role they perceived they
played. Lastly, the researcher by careful transcriptions
of tape recorded comments quoted at length in the study
has attempted to minimize the role of the researcher as
editorial participant. However, the nature of bias is, in
fact, that it is difficult to recognize in oneself.
Therefore, some bias is probably one of the limitations of
this study, and to some extent, the limitation of any
study involving the practitioner directly as researcher.

Table 1: Total Range of Study Population: Court-ordered
Pairings: Community School Districts[20]

District	School		No.	College or University
I	*High:		1	*Boston University
	*Middle:		3	
	*Elementary:		10	
II	High:	Jamaica Plain		Simmons College
	*Elementary:		13	*Wheelock College
		Bowditch		Fitchburg State College
III	*High:		1	*Boston College
	*Middle:		3	
	*Elementary:		13	
IV	High:	Hyde Park		Stonehill College
	Elementary:	Chittick		Emmanuel College
V	High:	Burke		Massachusetts College of Art
	*Middle:		4	*Boston State College
	*Elementary:		16	
VI	*High:		1	University of Massachusetts - Boston
	*Middle:		3	
	*Elementary		14	
VII	High:	Charlestown		Bunker Hill Community College
		Roxbury		Harvard University
	*Middle:		3	*Northeastern University
	*Elementary:		9	

*District-wide pairings.

Table 2: Total Range of Study Population: Court-Ordered
Pairings: City-Wide Magnet School Districts[21]

District	School	College or University
IX High:	Boston Latin Academy	Regis College
	Boston Latin	Wellesley College
	Boston Technical	Tufts University
	Copley Square	Emerson College
		Suffolk University
	English	Brandeis University
		Massachusetts College of Art
		University of Massachusetts - Amherst
	Madison Park	Northeastern University
	Mario Umana Harbor School of Science and Technology	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
		Wentworth Institute
	Another Course to College	University of Massachusetts
	English Language Center	Emmanuel College
Middle:	Martin Luther King	Antioch Institute for Open Education
	Mackey	Massachusetts College of Pharmacy
	Wheatley	Salem State College
Elementary:	James Curley	Wheelock College
	Guild	Lesley College
	Hale	Wheelock College
	Haley	Wheelock College
	Hennigan	Lesley College
	Harnandez	Boston University
	Jackson-Mann	Boston University
	McKay	Wheelock College
	Ohrenberger	Emmanuel College
	Trotter	Curry College

FOOTNOTES -- CHAPTER 1

[1] Tallulah Morgan et al. Versus John Kerrigan et al, First Federal District Court, 1974, Judge Arthur W. Garrity, Jr. presiding.

[2] Report of the Master in Tallulah Morgan, et al. Versus John Kerrigan, et al. March 31, 1975.

[3] Carrell, Jeptha, An Earnest Effort, Northeastern University Publishing Group, Boston, MA 1981, p. 294.

[4] Ibid., p. 3.

[5] Ibid,. p. 274-5.

[6] cf Clasby, Miriam et al, Mobilizing Resources For Boston Schools: A 90 Day Project and Clasby, Miriam, Towards A Cooperative Agenda: The Boston Public Schools and Boston Area Colleges and Universities.

[7] T.D.R. Associates, Inc. Case Studies of Three Urban University-School Collaboratives Mandated for the Improvement of Educational Practice, National Institute of Education Study, Newton, MA, October 1981.

[8] Grant, Joyce, Docu-News, Office of Planning and Policy, Boston Public Schools, 1980.

[9] Morris, Van Cleve et al. "The Urban Principal: Middle Manager in the Educational Bureaucracy," Phi Delta Kappan; Vol. 63, Number 10, June 1982, p. 689 ff.

[10] Consent Decree hearings are presently underway. Successfully concluded, they will end the direct supervision of the Court Order by the District Court.

[11] Dale, E. Lawrence, "What is Staff Development," Educational Leadership, Vo. 40, Number 1, October 1982, p. 31.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Tyack, David and Elizabeth Hansot, Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America 1820-1980, Basic Books, Inc., NY 1982.

[14] Lightfoot, Sara Lawrence, "The Good High School," address at Harvard University, March 4, 1983.

15 Rowan, Brian et al., <u>Methodological Considerations in Studies of Effective Principals</u>, Far West Laboratory, San Francisco, CA, March, 1982.

16 Morris, Van Cleve et al., "The Urban Principal: Middle Manager in the Educational Bureaucracy." <u>Phi Delta Kappan</u>, p. 689.

17 McAndrew, Gordon, "The High-School Principal's Man in the Middle," <u>Daedalus</u>, Summer, 1981, p. 105 ff.

18 Morris, Van Cleve et al., "The Urban Principal: Middle Manager in the Educational Bureaucracy," <u>Phi Delta Kappan</u>, p. 689.

19 Lightfoot, Sara Lawrence, "Portraits of Exemplary Schools: George Washington Carver Comprehensive High School," <u>Daedalus</u>, Fall 1981, p. 20.

20 From Broadbent, Maida, et al., <u>School/Institution Collaboration: Issues and Concerns</u>, Boston: April 1980, p. 21.

21 <u>Ibid</u>.

C H A P T E R   II

THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

"Same as before," he muses, "The Yankees handle
the money. The Jews handle human services. The
Italians get their hands dirty. The Blacks and
Hispanics talk to other Blacks and Hispanics.
And the Irish have all the power."

> City Hall employee,
> Boston Globe,
> Nov., 1981 (1)

In Boston, for better or worse, all school
issues are political issues subject to the
electoral process. Everything in Boston is
visible to the extent that public decisions are
ever visible; everything is political.

> Peter Shrag,(2)
> 1967

A court is the next to the least preferred place
for making social policy. The worst place is on
the battlefield.

> Dentler and
> Scott,(3) 1981

The coordinators had every reason for being
terribly frustrated and upset with the
conditions they faced. When the Steering
Committee took the position the the coordinators
had to be good soldiers it was hard on them, but
there could be only one locus of ultimate
decision on handling college/school department
relationships. It was a very difficult time for
coordinators.

> John Driscoll,(4)
> 1979

"Coerced collaborations," notes Neale[5] in his book on school improvement strategies are the most difficult in which to maintain high commitment and high morale. In the Spring of 1975, Judge Garrity's Federal District Court issued in Boston the "Phase II" Master's Plan in Tallulah Morgan et al. versus John Kerrigan et al.,[6] integrating the public schools. Part of that order paired 21 local colleges and universities with schools in Boston. The particular pairings were selected by the court experts and made public in the Plan on March 31, 1975. This event, the wide spread pairing of so many colleges and universities with Boston schools and school districts, was probably an unique feature of the Court Order. The Order followed ten years of political and social negotiation and delay in addressing the issue of segregation in Boston Schools. It was followed by violence and open resistance which gained national news attention, while more deeply involving the Court. As a New York Times correspondent commented as recently as June, 1982, "In perhaps no other city has a Federal judge encountered such resistance to desegregation as Judge Garrity has. In perhaps no other case has a Federal Court involved itself in running schools with such a sweep and detail of authority as the judge has here since 1974, changing the character, the administration and the physical structure of the system. Only the content of the basic curriculum has escaped his

direction."[7] From 1975-1982, the period of this study,
other factors have greatly affected the schools as well.
Budget constraints, changes in leadership, enormous staff
turnovers, charges of corruption against school committee
members, to name a few, have created an uncertain environ-
ment in which to conduct school improvement.

The period 1975-1982 in Boston constitutes the
context of this study. This study seeks to document,
through perceptions of selected Campus Coordinators and
their school department counterparts the role of technical
assistance played by Coordinators in support of the
secondary school principal as instructional leader in the
context of the Boston pairings from 1975-1982. Further,
this study seeks to research and clarify the degree to
which the technical assistance function has assisted or
obstructed headmasters or their designees in their roles
as instructional leaders and to identify commonalities,
modes of operation, prescriptions of that technical
assistance function which may be useful to begin to define
a support model for principals as instructional leaders of
their schools. One of the assumptions of this study is
that its political context is particularly important.
Coordinators were charged with the responsibility of
establishing collaborations and instituting school
improvement activities in a highly charged political
context. The roles were partly determined by political

events; the way in which coordinators played these roles
was also influenced by the realities and constraints of
the context in which they found themselves.

This chapter outlines that context in three parts:
the historical and political context which resulted in the
Court Order; the historical and political context of the
pairing formation; various political events which occurred
within the Boston School system 1975-82.

The Historical and Political Context
Which Resulted in the Court Order

David Tyack,[8] Alan Lupo,[9] Peter Shrag[10] and
others have written thoroughly about the conditions in the
United States which gave rise to the bureaucratic urban
school whose aim was to train the children of the city to
fill specific roles in an industrial society. All of
these books, but especially the last two, detail the
demographic and economic changes which were particular to
Boston, which resulted in the yielding of power over
schools from the Yankee Brahmin to the Irish Catholic.
Lupo emphasizes the constancy of conflict and polarization
in Boston's history from even earliest days.

> It (Boston) is, and always has been, a city torn
> apart by the extremes, a city both liberal and
> conservative, both enlightened and parochial and

> stifling. At times in history, it has been very
> hard to be an Irishman in Boston, or an Italian,
> or a Jew, or a Black, or, lately, a Yankee. It
> has <u>always</u> been difficult to be a moderate. In
> 1974, Boston began integrating its schools under
> a federal court order. It did so with a measure
> of violence. . . . Those who always had believed
> in the cliche of an enlightened Boston were
> shocked. Those who knew better were also
> shocked -- that the violence wasn't worse, for
> they knew their beloved Boston for what it was:
> quaint, historic, lovable, colorful, and
> potentially deadly. . . . The violence of busing
> was the inevitable result of the city's history,
> in which one group dumped on another, and in
> which each group left the next with less to
> fight over, less to claim. (11)

Peter Shrag describes this limiting of resources in

economic terms, in a book written in 1967.

> Boston's limited perspective has been more than
> a century in the making. In 1911, when Arnold
> Bennett visited the city, he remarked that "What
> primarily differentiates Boston from all the
> other American cities is this: It is finished.
> I mean complete. Of the other cities, one would
> say, "They will be. Boston is." (12)

Quoting William Shannon, he outlines the withdrawal

in the 1850's of the dynamic Yankee businessman into the

"Conservative Brahmin." "While members of the rentier

class occupied themselves with their sailboats and their

genealogies, the managers of the economy moved

crabwise."[13] This economic caution and the subsequent

decline of the area's property, continues Shrag,

"conditioned the outlook on life of the Irish majority in

the years from 1900 to 1940. Because the city did not

enjoy the economic expansion that invigorated other major

cities, the Irish made very slow progress into the middle

and upper classes. . . . The Irish reacted to this
economic squeeze by struggling to find a protected job in
the civil service. . . . Security and status became ruling
obsessions for the Irish at their economic level as it had
been for the Back Bay Brahmins in theirs. Instead of
sharing the more characteristic American attitude of
confidence and optimism where material matters are
concerned, the spirit that says there is 'more where that
came from' and plenty to spare for all, Boston developed
the ethos of a civil service city. . . . The lack of
necessary economic and social elbow room made everyone
hold rigid and tense as twenthieth century Boston came
gradually to resemble a giant subway car in the five
o'clock rush: no space to move and every seat occupied
even to the end of the line."[14]

A recent Boston Globe series on race relations in
Boston explains the situation in sociological terms, by
tracing the roots of racism. Quoting Paul Parks, a former
State Secretary of Education in Massachusetts, the Globe
commentators explain:

> "Harvard never catered to people who were poor,"
> said Parks . . . "Wellesley never catered to
> people who were poor. The schools were built
> for the elite. So, where in the Midwest and the
> South, everybody drove to get their kids through
> college, that couldn't happen here." So what we
> end up with are people who are fighting to be
> public servants, policemen, firemen, street
> cleaners, state workers, city workers. But that
> economic base does not allow an awful lot of
> upward mobility." (15)

The _Globe_ commentators continue:

> With that perilous perch the Irish and
> Italians could not be expected to welcome the
> new immigrants. Besides there already had been
> a gulf between Blacks and Irish in the 19th
> Century that, although on a smaller scale,
> mirrored the division between the Irish and the
> Yankees. "The whole abolitionist mentality went
> hand in hand with that crusading reformist zeal
> that the Irish really couldn't stand," said
> Harvard historian Stephan Thernstrom, author of
> _The Other Bostonians_ (16)

Whichever theory seems to provide the clearest explanation for the resultant situation in which Boston schools found themselves in the early sixties, it is clear from reading the works of those commenting on the scene that lines of division and stereotype were being increasingly drawn. Jonathan Kozol wrote an angry and powerful book, called _Death at an Early Age: The Destruction of the Hearts and Minds of Negro Children in the Boston Public Schools_,[17] which won fame for the author but coined for some school personnel a new derogatory category of reform: "Kozol liberal." In the same year, Peter Shrag took on the schools.

> It is not simply that Louise Day Hicks (18) is
> more rigid, or perhaps less suave, it is that
> she perfectly reflects the negative aspirations
> of a school system as conservative and
> hierarchical as any in the nation. . . .
> Boston's schools operate alongside a parochial
> system that enrolls 40,000 students, that has
> educated a good many of its public school
> teachers, and that in its devotion to
> discipline, hierarchy, and authority has deeply
> influenced the public system over the years. In
> such a situation Mrs. Hicks can be not only the
> defender of the neighborhood, she can be the

>enforcer of order and discipline, wise,
>courageous, and firm. Not only the head mother,
>but also the mother superior. She keeps the
>faith. (19)

Fighting words. And the battle of Boston, which
Hillson[20] describes in his powerful book about the first
year of desegregation in Boston, was on. Lupo, writing as
a supporter of the mayor, tells us some were surprised the
violence wasn't worse. Hillson reminds us vividly, lest
we forget with time, that the violence was bad enough.

>Screaming, taunting phalanxes of racists lined
>the road for several hundred yards, heaving what
>they had picked up on the beach, on the street,
>in backyards. The screams of Black students,
>some of whom were as young as eleven, filled the
>inside of the buses as window after window was
>shattered. The toll: eighteen buses damaged,
>nine Black students injured by flying glass.
>Three buses suffered a double dose of the
>terror. Confused by the frantic scene, one
>driver had made a wrong turn, and was forced to
>lead his small caravan through the rock-throwing
>gauntlet a second time. There were no arrests.
>(21)

As recently as June 1982, the New York Times reported that
Jerome Winegar, Headmaster of South Boston High School,
while emphasizing the positive accomplishments at the high
school also acknowledged "that the buses are still
frequently stoned."[22]

Peter Shrag notes that the Boston school system was
characterized in 1967 by "devotion to discipline,
hierarchy and authority,"[23] while also maintaining
largely negative aspirations for its student population.
Shrag is correct, in my opinion, in his insistence that

the Boston schools reflected negative aspirations.
Dentler and Scott only add fuel to the fire on this issue
when they note in a footnote, "Edward McCormack told us in
1975 that as a student at South Boston High he had never
set foot in the school library and that 'no red blooded
guy in my class ever did.' Raymond Flynn, who graduated
about fifteen years later and won a college basketball
scholarship, told us that while in high school, he
borrowed one book, The Life of Babe Ruth, which he
recommended to us as an unforgettable story."[24]

Jeptha Carrell in his Report to College and
University Presidents[25] reminds us forcefully of the
long desegregation struggle in Boston. Detailing the
chronology of events from 1965 to 1974, he documents
clearly what he calls "the (School) Committee's maneuvers,
but lack of movement."[26] He reminds us that as early as
1965, the NAACP was pressing for action on the segregated
schools in Boston. In response the state appointed an
Advisory Commitee on Racial Imbalance and Education. When
the School Committee rejected the findings of this
committee, the Racial Imbalance Act was passed by the
legislature. The Boston School Committee responded by
submitting its own plan for addressing racial balance.
Written by Joseph Lee, the "last Yankee" on the School
Committee, the plan was entitled, "A Plan to End the
Monopoly of Un-light-colored Pupils in Many Boston

Schools." One provision of the plan was to send notices to 11,958 "Chinese and Negro pupils not to come back to Boston schools."[27] The State, of course, rejected the Plan, and a ten year struggle to force the School Committee to face the issue of segregated schools began. This ten year struggle is outlined by Jeptha Carrell as follows:

> A chronology with brief descriptive statements shows the Committee's maneuvers, but lack of movement:
> - April 12, 1966 -- State Board voted to hold in escrow $16,500,000 of state funds for Boston until submission of an acceptable plan.
> - May 31, 1966 -- State Board proposed certain actions.
> - June 2, 1966 -- School Committee rejected all of the state's proposals.
> - June 13, 1966 -- Boston School Committee submitted a third plan, little different from the second.
> - June 28, 1966 -- State Board rejected this plan and set "minimum requirements" for a plan. The actions called for were so minimal that, had they been adopted, any results would be almost undetectable: reduction of the number of imbalanced schools from forty-six to forty-two, and transfer of 2,000 black pupils from imbalanced to balanced schools by any means possible.
> - July 6, 1966 -- Resubmission by Committee of the rejected plan without change.
> - July 26, 1966 -- Rejection of plan by State Board. School Committee filed two suits, one of which questioned the constitutionality of the Racial Imbalance Act.
> - January 31, 1967 -- After a series of suits, the State Superior Court ruled that the withheld state funds would permanently be denied if a plan were not approved within ninety days.
> - February 28, 1967 -- School Committee submitted "1966-67 Plan."
> - March 15, 1967 -- State Board of Education approved construction elements of plan but

called for more significant "short-term"
proposals for action. About $9 million in
state revenues were released to Boston
schools.

- June 9, 1967 -- Committee suit challenging
  constitutionality of Imbalance Act was
  rejected.
- October, 1967 -- By this time, fifty-two
  (instead of the forty-five cited in 1965)
  schools were reported as racially imbalanced.
- January, 1968 -- U.S. Supreme Court dismissed
  School Committee's appeal of ruling that the
  Imbalance Act was constitutional.
- June 25, 1968 -- State Board approved School
  Committee's Second-Stage Plan but regarded it
  as weak.
- November, 1968 -- Harvard-M.I.T. Joint Center
  for Urban Studies reported that the methods
  currently being employed by the School
  Committee would merely level off the expanding
  rate of racial imbalance by the year 1973.
- May 17, 1969 -- Committee's Third Stage Plan
  submitted. It proposed construction,
  mentioned the participation of Model Cities'
  representatives in planning, but proposed no
  new short-term actions.
- July 22, 1969 -- With Education Commissioner
  Sullivan and board member Richard Banks in
  opposition, the State Board approved the Third
  State Plan.
- October, 1969 -- The number of imbalanced
  schools in Boston had increased to sixty-two.
- November 25, 1969 -- State Board voted to
  request that the School Committee submit an
  updated plan, but there was apparently no
  written notification to the committee. There
  was no response from the School Committee.
- October, 1970 -- State Board again voted to
  request an updated plan from the Boston School
  Committee. Again, there appears to have been
  no written request to the Committee.
- March 4, 1971 -- First written request
  (apparently) for a new racial imbalance plan
  since the Third Stage Plan approved by board
  in July, 1969.
- Commenting on an April 8, 1971, meeting of the
  Boston School Committee, Robert Butler noted
  that "School Committee minutes are often
  indicative of the fact that the School
  Committee was aware of the segregative impact
  of their policies; aware . . . that every

regular high school in the city could
technically be balanced; even aware that
redistricting would relieve the very serious
problem of overcrowed white schools and
under-utilized black schools. The . . .
Committee was also aware of the political
implications of adopting such a policy."

- At the April 8 meeting, Committeeman John
  Kerrigan proposed that the School Committee
  request technical assistance from the State
  Board ". . . and then we can show the people
  what we are up against." This was done.
- May 25, 1971 -- State Board voted to withhold
  state funds due to the Committee's refusal to
  comply with the state's open enrollment
  policy.
- June 15, 1971 -- Committee submitted Fourth
  Stage Plan which, among other things,
  "specifically stated that the School Committee
  opposed 'assignment of students, redistricted
  transfer policy and busing.'"
- June 22, 1971 -- Board rejected Fouth Stage
  Plan.
- August 31, 1971 -- Following many meetings and
  negotiations, the State Board approved an
  amended Fourth Stage Plan. Butler notes that
  the Committee's "new" controlled transfer
  policy under this scheme had five exceptions
  which, in practice, "largely neutralized its
  avowed aims. One of these exceptions,
  hardship transfers, was openly referred to at
  School Committee meetings as the escape clause
  and a big out."
- September 2, 1971 -- After heavy pressure, the
  School Committee rescinded its approval of one
  of the vital elements in the amended version
  of the Fourth Stage Plan. Committee Chairman
  Paul Tierney (who had repeatedly warned the
  Committee against actions that subverted or
  violated the Racial Imbalance Act on the
  grounds that such action would eventually be
  reversed by the courts) called the abandonment
  of the plan "foolish and irresponsible."
- September 28, 1971 -- State Board set
  immediate freeze on $200 million of new school
  construction and withdrew millions in state
  aid.
- October 26, 1971 -- Committee filed suit
  contesting the Board's actions.

- October 28, 1971 -- The Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination (MCAD) filed suit against the Committee to force compliance with MCAD recommendations concerning open enrollment and city-wide pupil assignments. Proceedings were delayed for two years.
- November 30, 1971 -- Federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) letter notified Boston School Department that it was not in compliance with antidiscrimination guidelines and requested action to correct the problems.
- March 1972 -- NAACP filed suit in Federal District Court against the School Committee and the State Board of Education. This was the case which ultimately governed the desegregation of Boston schools beginning in the fall of 1974.
- June 2, 1972 -- H.E.W. letter notified superintendent that enforcement proceedings for compliance with federal guidelines were being initiated and that federal aid for new educational programs was being deferred.
- Between June 1972 and June 1974, there was a large number of exchanges between the State Board and the Boston School Committee concerning School Committee plans for desegregation; the Boston School Committee filed several suits and several appeals in county and state courts, and extended hearings in the Federal District Court case of Morgan v. Kerrigan. During this period, Govenor Francis Sargent vetoed a bill repealing the Racial Imbalance Act, and the State Board drafted its own plan for racial balance.
- June 21, 1974 -- Judge Garrity announced his decision (which came to be known later as the "Phase I" decision) in Morgan v. Kerrigan. The order required the Boston School Committee to comply with the state's racial imbalance plan as a temporary plan and prohibited the Committee from "beginning any new construction, granting transfers for white teachers from black schools or vice versa, and finally, from granting transfers under the exceptions to the controlled transfer policy." At the request of the School Committee for time to formulate a substitute temporary plan to the proposed plan, the court gave the Committee until July 29. At that time, the Committee reported it had been unable to

prepare a satisfactory plan, and Judge Garrity
therefore ordered the state plan into effect.
- September, 1974 -- State plan for
desegregation was put into effect, as ordered
by the Federal District Court.
- October 31, 1974 -- Court ordered submission
on December 16, 1974, by the School Committee
of a permanent plan.
- December 16, 1974 -- Committee voted 3-2 not
to approve filing of the plan developed by
School Department staff at the direction of
the School Committee. Subsequently, the court
held the three Committee members who had voted
against the plan in civil contempt, which
could be purged by voting to authorize
submission of a plan.
- January 27, 1975 -- Committee submitted what
was essentially a freedom of choice plan and
the court rejected it.
- January 31, 1975 -- Court appointed two
experts to assist in formulating a
desegregation plan.
- February 7, 1975 -- Court appointed four
Masters to review any plans submitted to the
court from whatever source, to hold hearings
and take testimony, and to recommend a plan.
- March 31, 1975 -- Report of the Masters
recommend a permanent desegregation plan. (28)

Historical and Political Context

of the Pairing Formation

In 1974 Judge Garrity issued his decision in the

case, Morgan v. Kerrigan, which had been forming in the

Federal District Court since 1972. This decision, known

as "Phase I," required the School Committee to comply with

the Racial Imbalance Act by formulating a "temporary

plan." When the School Committee failed to do so, the

Judge ordered a state plan into effect. Writes Charles

Glen, who helped draft the plan,

> In 1973 we were drawn into devising a plan for
> Boston . . . and we have never repeated that
> mistake. . . . A plan devised by school
> department staff is a plan which they have a
> stake in and which they will work to implement
> effectively. . . . What did we do instead? We
> told the school department to develop a plan and
> have it approved by the school committee.
> Predictably, what came to us was very
> inadequate. We rejected that, and developed our
> own plan, with no school department
> participation, and then complained when they
> misread our intentions or failed to make
> adjustments. . . . This happened in 1973-4 and
> resulted in what can only be called a 'flop' in
> September 1974. (29)

Dentler and Scott do not concur that the School

Committee under Court Order would have been able to find

"the determination and competence to plan a remedy"[30]

which would satisfy the Court. In any case, when the

School Committee voted 3-2 in December of 1974 not to

approve filing of a permanent plan developed by the school

department, Garrity appointed two court experts, Dentler

and Scott, to assist the Masters in formulating a

desegregation plan. The result was the Phase II

Desegregation Plan, released by the Masters in March,

1975, and ordered (with some alterations) into effect by

Judge Garrity in May, 1975. And so, adds Charles Glen,

"throughout these difficult years, school staff from top

to bottom were able to answer parent complaints about

virtually anything which went wrong by placing the blame

on the State (1973-4) or on Judge Garrity (in 1975-81)"[31] College presidents feared that their institutions would be added to the list of scapegoats.

Part of the Phase II Masters' Plan involved the pairing of seventeen[32] colleges and universities with the Boston Schools. On March 14, 1975, the Masters invited seventeen college presidents to meet in three group sessions to discuss the elements of the plan to involve colleges and universities. Presidents were asked to respond by letter no later than March 21 as to whether or not their individual institution would participate in pairing actitivity for a minimum of three years. During these sessions, the President of Northeastern University, Asa Knowles, suggested that all presidents involved meet together to discuss a response. This meeting was held on March 17. Seventeen institutions were represented. Carrell relates that, "Perhaps the most pervasive concern was that as soon as college participation became known, the expectations of school officials, parents and the general public would be unrealistically high. There was fear that the main responsibility for school improvement would be shifted from the school system to the colleges, resulting in disenchantment with the colleges."[33] There was also, of course, the issue of money. What is not generally understood is the fact that all severnteen institutions and four additional 'volunteer' colleges

committed themselves to the effort before any funds, such
as Chapter 636, were secured to support the effort.

Fr. Monan, President of Boston College, suggested at
the March 17th meeting that the presidents draft a joint
letter which would become the basis of each individual
president's response. The wording was cautious but
indicated the willingness of the colleges to serve. On
March 19 and 20, Jacob J. Spiegel, presiding Master,
received sixteen almost identical letters of cautious
intention to cooperate. The seventeenth, from John
Silber, President of Boston University, was different.
Far more enthusiastic, it referred to the "exhilarating
challenge"[34] of the pairing concept. As Carrell
explains:

> A number of presidents were incensed when they
> learned of Silber's letter. They felt that
> their legitimate, agreed-upon efforts to hold
> down excessive expectations concerning the
> impact of college involvement had been betrayed
> by Silber's reference to use of the colleges'
> "vast educational resources to build a great
> school system for Boston." Furthermore, they
> saw his letter as a rankbreaking statement which
> made their own positions look bad in comparison,
> possibly costing the program dashed
> overexpectations and cohesion among presidents.
> (35)

The tentative attempt of seventeen college presidents to
act together, which characterized the initial response of
sixteen of them, has nonetheless persisted through the
seven years of pairing activity. The Presidents' Steering
Committee, a policy setting task force of presidents, the

hiring of the Lincoln-Filene Center as secretariat in the
early days of pairing, the Presidents' Task Force,[36] and
the occasional jointly issued policy statements indicate
the attempt of college presidents to form a collaborative
and cooperative group around issues involving
partnerships. The nature of this federation, however, is
commonly misunderstood. From time to time, campus
coordinators, for instance, have expected that
college/university presidents might take a united and
higher profile on issues. The public, on the other hand,
has periodically seen the Presidents' attempts to work
together as defensive and protective, "putting the wagons
in a circle."[37] In 1975, however, group response
allowed Presidents to face somewhat together the very
difficult decision required of them by the court with one
week to respond. Carrell adds, "In the roiling days of
early 1975 when shrill rhetoric escalated emotions and
moderate voices were few and weak, it would have been a
rare college.president who was not apprehensive about
having his or her institution pulled in, even as a
secondary appendage to desegregation. Verbal attacks
alone would be dangerous to their ability to affect
enrollments and fund campaigns. Students and faculty
might be harassed (perhaps physically). Many of the
colleges were in locations permitting easy and relatively
anonymous violence, and buildings could be torched or

bombed. It had been a real, not conjectural mob, that had swept through Bunker Hill Community College, leaving behind destruction. Presidential fears had an entirely reasonable basis."[28]

Campus coordinators therefore, faced the task of implementing the Masters' Plan for joint collaboration with the Boston schools within a highly political context -- both in the schools and within their own institutions. The major factor of this political context was, it seems to me, the rapidity of change and action required. All of the parties, to some extent, felt out of control in the face of such rapid change. The literature of the times abounds in metaphors of war: coordinators were "in the trenches;"[39] Dentler is described as having the "daring of a kamikaze;"[40] and MacDonald as being "in the way of friendly fire."[41] Such metaphors in retrospect may seem somewhat hysterical. At the time they seemed appropriate enough. Tyack, in his most recent book, suggests that such reactions to rapid change were not unique to coordinators, nor indeed to educators in Boston. "My own view," he explains, "is that the conflict of the 1960's and 1970's resulted from dreams deferred, from contradictions between an ideology of equality and democracy and basic cleavages of race, sex, and class too long papered over by a consensus that ignored the powerless."[42] In such an environment, suggests Tyack

and Hansot, "School leaders have felt themselves
scapegoats in an era of conflict, exaggerated expectation,
and angry rhetoric. They have seen themselves as targets
of attacks for problems over which they have had little
control, people of good will caught in a vortex of social
change."[43]

'The Vortex of Social Change:'
Political Events within the Boston School System

The Jeptha Carrell[44] report outlines in detail the
first three years of pairing activity while also
chronicling the swirling and turbulent changes which swept
the schools. Issues he discusses for the first year
(1975-June 1976) include from the table of contents for
the chapter the following: "Violence, absenteeism and
confusion; delays in grant and contract approval; School
Committee criticism; delays in purchasing; teacher and
staff turnover; politicians and the schools; patronage
politics still in force,"[45] and finally "Superintendent
Fahey loses support."[46]

The next year (July 1976-June 1977) important issues
discussed by Carrell include, "Violence, anti-busing
agitation, enrollment drops again, teacher turnover,
delays in purchasing, delivery and payment, budget

problems, other school department problems, school department reorganization proposals."[47] In the third year (July 1977-August 1978) issues include, "Politics of the School Committee, Confusion in pupil assignments, teacher negotiations, and school closings."[48] In July 1978, a new school superintendent was unanimously chosen by the School Committee. The first superintendent from outside the system since 1912, Robert C. Wood, a university president, was welcomed by college/ university presidents and campus coordinators alike. In July 1978, things were finally looking up, after three years of rapid change.

One Boston educator[49] has written in her dissertation about the rapid changes which overtook Boston from her perspective inside the system. Citing the work of Eric Trist,[50] she explains his turbulent field theory, relating it to the context of Boston. Trist argues that in a "turbulent field" of conflicting bureaucracies and rapid social change" the current organizational model of the technocratic bureaucracy with its independent purposes, its competetive relations, its mechanistic and authoritarian control structure, and its tendency to debase human resources, cannot absorb environmental turbulence, far less reduce it."[51] O'Donnell, in citing his work, recommends a team based organization development model to replace the

"bureaucratic paradigm,"[52] and shares from her
perspective the "series of events" between 1980-81, the
context of her study, which as she puts it, "would cause
the system to lurch from one crisis to the next."[53] It
should be noted that in outlining this chronology, her
study follows chronologically that of Jeptha Carrell.
Writes O'Donnell:

> As the meeting adjourned, local news stations
> announced the firing of Superintendent Robert C.
> Wood by the Boston School Committee, just twelve
> days before the opening of schools. This shock
> was only the first wave in a series of events
> that would cause the system to lurch from one
> crisis to the next. The following is the
> historical context of that school year
> (1980-81):
> - August 22, 1980 -- Paul A. Kennedy is named
>   interim superintendent.
> - September 4 -- Mayor Kevin H. White tells the
>   School Committee he will hold the budget at
> $195 million instead of the $236 million
>   requested by the School Committee.
> - September 24 -- School Committee President
>   John McDonough warns that, in the absence of a
>   budget increase, immediate massive lay-offs or
>   the shutdown of the system by March are the
>   only alternatives.
> - September 25 -- The School Committee refuses
>   to accept White budget ceiling and decides to
>   continue spending at its current level.
> - January 31, 1981 -- Massachusetts Education
>   Commissioner Gregory Anrig says the city
>   school system will run out of money by March
>   13.
> - February 4 -- City Auditor Newell Cook
>   notifies the School Committee that the system
>   may be a week away from running out of money.
>   He warns that payrolls will be frozen after
>   February 13.
> - February 5 -- A reprieve keeps the schools
>   open until the end of February.
> - February 24 -- White announces that the School
>   Department now has enough money to stay open
>   until March 30, but then will have to close.

The School Committee votes to close 27 Boston schools this summer in an effort to save $8 million next year.
- March 3 -- White submits a proposal to release $18 million to keep the schools open.
- March 13 -- The School Committee approves $3 million in spending cuts, including 250 layoffs aimed at reducing the school system's spending for the year to $240 million.
- March 19 -- City Auditor Cook writes the School Committee that without additional revenue, funds for the schools will run out about April 17.
- March 24 -- The State Board of Education files suit in Superior Court to force the city to keep the schools open for 180 days.
- March 26 -- Acting School Superintendent Paul A. Kennedy dies of a heart attack. Deputy Superintendent Joseph M. McDonough is named to replace him.
- April 3 -- School officials tell the City Council they now need an additional $28 million, instead of $30 million previously sought, to be sure of keeping the schools open until June 19.
- April 10 -- The City Council approves a redrafted borrowing plan, with $38 million earmarked for the schools.
- April 14 -- White rejects the council's bill and submits a new draft of his own, which calls for making $18 million available to the schools while stripping the School Committee of much of its power. The State Senate votes $9.4 million in state aid for Boston that White says he will transfer to the schools if it wins final approval.

On the last day of that school year, June 21, 1981, a journalist summarized the year as follows:

One thousand of the 4500 teachers are scheduled to be laid off. The city's teachers shuffled about, threatened with layoffs and worried about their contract, are dispirited. In the past year, they had three superintendents, a school committeeman-turned extortionist, a three week bus strike, and five months of worrying whether the system would stay open for 180 days. 500 teachers were reassigned at least twice, 1000 at least once. Stability was a rumor, a memory.

From August when the School Committee fired
Superintendent Robert Wood with two years left
on his contract, the system reeled from one
crisis to the next. On the same October day
that Committee man Gerald O'Leary was charged
with attempted extortion of $650,000.00 from a
transportation company (he was later convicted),
blacks and whites hurled chairs at each other in
the worst outbreak at South Boston High School
in four years. Then the [bus] drivers walked
out for three weeks, paralyzing a system that
depends on forced busing. Though reading scores
jumped dramatically during this year, the
caprices of the system have rendered moot its
benefits.

In addition to the constant threat of payless
paydays and school closings, many teachers faced
the possibility of being laid off for the
following school year, even if they made it
through this year. In order to insure that the
next school year the School Department would
stay within is budget ceiling, the acting
superintendent directed that 1000 teachers and
administrators be sent notices that they would
not be re-hired for the next school year.(54)

The context of the final year of this study (1981-82)

has been chronicled in most detail by The Boston Globe.

In the spring of 1982, the Globe published a spotlight

report on the schools which, while commending the present

School Committee for its "responsibility," outlined

serious problems still confronting the system.[55] This

series was followed last fall by an intensive study on

race relations in the Globe (September 1982).[56] Budget

problems, compounded by Proposition 2½, a Massachusetts

tax cap, dominated the news during the past school year.

Meanwhile, Judge Garrity initiated Consent Decree hearings

to end his oversight of the schools. Black plaintiffs

were joined by the school administration in asking the
Judge for basic changes in the premises underlying the
Court Order, especially in student assignment.[57]

Nevertheless, Consent Degree hearings proceed and are
likely to result in a withdrawal of the Court's direct
oversight of the schools shortly. Funding for the schools
remains the most pressing issue at present writing with a
reorganization plan just announced which will further
reduce staffing in schools, eliminate assistant
headmasters for subject areas in high schools, and reduce
the number of administrators in schools. Future issues
include the teachers' contract, in negotiation at present
writing, a plan written by a School Committee Task Force
for school building consolidation, and the restructuring
of the School Committee from five to thirteen members. It
is in this context and with these future issues also on
their minds that Campus Coordinators and their school
department counterparts in this study shared their
perceptions of inter-institutional collaboration with the
researcher in the fall and winter of 1982.

FOOTNOTES -- CHAPTER II

[1] *Boston Sunday Globe*, November 29, 1981. A 18.

[2] Shrag, Peter, *Village School Downtown*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1967. p. 3.

[3] Dentler, Robert and Marvin Scott, *Schools on Trial: An Inside Account*, Apt Books, Cambridge 1981. p. 98.

[4] John Driscoll, in Carrell, Jeptha, *An Earnest Effort*, Northeastern Publishing Group, Boston, 1981. p. 29.

[5] Neale, Daniel C. et al, *Strategies for School Improvement: Cooperative Planning and Organization Development*, Allyn and Bacon, Inc., Boston, 1981. p. 44.

[6] March 31, 1975.

[7] Clendin, Dudley, "Boston School Superintendent Asks that City Scrap Desegregation Plan," *New York Times*, June 6, 1982. p. 22.

[8] Tyack, David B., *The One Best System*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA. 1974; see also Tyack, David B., and Elizabeth Hansot, *Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America 1820-1980*, Basic Books, Inc. NY 1982.

[9] Lupo, Alan, *Liberty's Chosen Home*, Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1967.

[10] Shrag, Peter, *Village School Downtown*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1967.

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. x.

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[14] William Shannon in *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

[15] Golden, Daniel and Donald Lowery, "Blacks and Whites in Boston: 1945-1982" *Boston Globe*, Sept. 27, 1982. p. 1ff.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

17 Kozol, Jonathan, <u>Death at an Early Age</u>, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1967.

18 School committee woman and fiery Bostonian whose statement "You know where I stand" symbolized resistance to school integration in Boston.

19 Shrag, Peter, <u>Village School Downtown</u>, p. 22.

20 Hillson, Jon, <u>The Battle of Boston</u>, Pathfinder Press, NY 1977.

21 <u>Ibid</u>., p. 27.

22 Clendinen, Dudley, "Boston School Superintendent Asks that City Scap Desegregation Plan," <u>New York Times</u>, June 6, 1982, p. 22.

23 Shrag, Peter, <u>Village School Downtown</u>, p. 22.

24 Dentler, Robert and Marvin Scott, <u>Schools on Trial</u>, p. 186. Footnote #6.

25 Carrell, Jeptha, <u>An Earnest Effort: Three Years of College Aid to Boston Schools</u>, Northeastern University Publishing Group, Boston, MA 1981. (NB. A "Capture and Record Study" funded by Ford and Carnegie Foundations and Boston Permanent Charities Fund)

26 <u>Ibid</u>., p. 11.

27 <u>Ibid</u>., (quoting Robert Butler, <u>The School Desegretation Controversy in Boston</u>, Boston: Mass Research Center, August 22, 1974)

28 Carrell, Jeptha, <u>An Earnest Effort: Three Years of College Aid to Boston Schools</u>, pp. 11-14 quoted in entirety. All material in quotations within is referenced to Butler, Robert, <u>The School Desegretation Controversy in Boston</u>, (Boston: Massachusetts Research Center, August 22, 1974)

29 Charles Glen, in Weinberg, Meyer, "School on Trial: (Three Views)" <u>Equal Education in Massachusetts: A Chronicle</u>, Vol. III, Number 3, December 1981. pp. 10-11/

30 <u>Ibid</u>., p. 11.

31 <u>Ibid</u>.

32
Seventeen Colleges/Universities were court mandated. Four additional institutions volunteered to join the effort.

33
Carrell, Jeptha, An Earnest Effort, p. 32.

34
Ibid., p. 33.

35
Ibid., p. 33-4.

36
The Presidents' Steering Committee is an executive committee of College University Presidents. The Presidents' Task Force is this group plus selected coordinators.

37
Op. cit., p. 27.

38
Ibid., pp. 35-36.

39
Ibid., p. 56.

40
Ibid., p. 72.

41
Ibid., p. 76 (N.B. Secretariat to the Presidents, Spencer MacDonald)

42
Tyack, David B. and Elizabeth Hansot, Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America 1820-1980, p. 217.

43
Ibid.

44
Carrell, Jeptha, An Earnest Effort: Three Years of College Aid to Boston Schools

45
Ibid., p. 59.

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Ibid.

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Ibid., p. 107.

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Ibid., p. 134.

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O'Donnell, Geraldine, Factors Affecting a Team Approach to Staff Development. Dissertation UMass/Amherst, 1981.

50
Trist, Eric, "Collaboration in Work Settings: A Personal Perspective," Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, Vol. 13, No. 3, July-August-September 1977, pp. 268ff.

[51] Op. cit., p. 40.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid., p. 22.

[54] Ibid., pp. 22-26. Quoted in entirety.

[55] Kurkjian, Stephen, editor et al. "Spotlight Series" The Boston Globe, July 1, 1982, p. 22.

[56] Golden, Daniel and Donald Lowery, "Blacks and Whites in Boston: 1945-1982," The Boston Globe, September 27, 1982. p. 1ff.

[57] Cooper, Kenneth and Murial Cohen, "Eight Years Later, Black Parents Reassess Boston's Desegregation Plan," The Boston Globe, March 12, 1982. p. 1 ff. and Clendinen, Dudley, "Boston School Superintendent Asks that City Scrap Desegregation Plan," New York Times, June 6, 1982, p. 22.

C H A P T E R   III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

> Coherence is not exactly the strong suit of
> contemporary public education. Public school
> leaders in the past have mostly been able to
> absorb demands for change by accretion without
> changing much the central core of instruction.
> As a result, American education has been both
> faddish in particulars and resistant to change
> in its basic mode of operation. It should be
> possible to consolidate the real gains . . . but
> to do so will require an educational leadership
> politically adept at building pro-school coali-
> tions, willing to abandon a narrow professional
> ideology, and skillful in creating coordinated
> programs in individual schools. To ask for such
> leadership is not to demand implausible heroes;
> both in past and present there have been many
> people who have demonstrated these qualities.
> David Tyack, <u>Managers of Virtue</u>(1)

The purpose of this study is to document, through per-

ceptions of selected Campus Coordinators and their school

department counterparts the role of technical assistance

played by Coordinators in support of the secondary school

principal as instructional leader in the context of the

Boston pairings from 1975 - 1982. Further, this study

seeks to research and clarify the degree to which the

technical assistance function has assisted or obstructed

headmasters or their designees in their roles as instruc-

tional leaders and to identify commonalities, modes of

operation, prescriptions of that technical assistance function which may be useful to begin to define a support model for principals as instructional leaders of their schools. One of the assumptions of this study is that the role of Coordinators acting as technical assistants in schools can usefully be understood in the context of organization development theory and practice because, it is argued, the roles and activities which Coordinators reported they developed were informed by and confirm the findings of recent staff development literature, particularly organization development literature which pertains to adult learning situations in the organizational context of the school, which is seen as the locus of change. Further, it is assumed in this study that Coordinator roles, played as they were within the context of a court order desegregating the schools, can also best be understood as "change agent" situations, in which an outsider must function inside a changing organizational setting. Hence, it is argued here that organization development literature, situational leadership theory and practice, and case studies of change agent situations, especially where conceived in an organizational context, are relevant literature to this study.

Recent attention to the importance of the principal as leader in schools has led to focus on studies of the effective school and more recently to specific

descriptions of school leaders as they actually spend
their days, a new emphasis on researching descriptively
the school leader which Sarah Lightfoot has called
"Portraiture."[2] Since this study attempts to document
how Coordinators may have assisted Boston headmasters as
leaders in their schools, this study draws on the recent
literature of the Effective School movement and the
descriptive research of Portrature. Lastly, in
preparation for this study, a review of the major
published documents pertaining to Boston Court-ordered
pairings was also undertaken. This chapter, therefore, is
divided into four parts: Staff development, situational
leadership, and organization development theory; school
improvement studies, especially change agent studies; the
effective school literature as pertaining to principals
and recent portraiture studies; and published documents
and studies pertaining to the Boston Court-ordered
pairings.

Overview of the Literature

"For several generations, Americans became accustomed
to growth in almost every aspect of life: population,
gross national product, productivity, and per capita
income" begin Neale et al. in a book titled, Strategies
for School Improvement.[3] In a nation experiencing rapid

educational expansion, efforts focused on managing a
burgeoning national endeavor in a period of almost over-
whelming growth, technological and educational optimism,
and mounting faith in schools to meet a broad and expand-
ing array of social needs. To manage this growth, educa-
tors borrowed from the theories of sociologists, business
systems managers, and behavioral scientists. Emphasis was
placed on the "big picture": theory, organizational sys-
tems, and management of the expanding endeavor. Some
people, however, kept looking at schools, and particularly
at children. Jonathan Kozol,[4] and others sometimes
called the "Romantic Critics," reminded us in Boston, for
instance, that Black children were dying at an early age
in classrooms all over the city. Sarason[5] noted, at
about the same time, that the new math was being taught
much like the old math and offered some thoughts on why.
Larger studies,[6] looking at the "big picture," also came
up with some disappointing results about what was, appar-
ently, being achieved in educational settings.

"Disillusionment with technological solutions to
human problems is a general theme in American society,"[7]
continues Neale. Increasingly, educational research
turned to the subject of human resources; and staff de-
velopment rather than teacher "training" or "retraining"
began to be explored. Literature in this area is in three
parts: theoretical works; explorations of organizational

development strategies; and very specific "how to do it" stories, case studies of successful school improvement models of a specific nature. Neale and his co-authors describe the present age as the age of Educational Slow-down. In such an age, they argue, it is doubly important to assess the learnings of the past and apply them where possible to educational improvement in the future. "Cooperative" and "collaborative" models become increasingly hopeful here, they argue, as only through such sharing of resources can educators find adequate means in a time of declining support for education.

One of the obvious human resources, recently rediscovered and reappreciated, is the school principal. An increasing body of literature suggests that his/her role in successful school change is crucial. The "strong principal" we are told is key. Blumberg et al., in a recent book titled The Effective Principal,[8] explore key characteristics of the effective education leader. Michael Rutter[9] et al. in a study of schools which work in London discuss the principal's importance. Ron Edmonds[10] focuses on the significant role of the principal in effective schools for the urban poor. The Daedalus[11] study describes three principals in detail, a "portraiture recording" to be followed by a lengthier study of principals undertaken by Sara Lightfoot.[12] David Tyack[13] reminds us in his new book that good

principals have been numerous in the past and suggests
directions for future "pro-school coalitions"[14] he feels
educational leaders will need to deliver the leadership
required. Suggesting the need for broader constituencies
for education, Tyack leads us to the literature on Boston
Court-ordered pairings, pairings which were created, in
fact, to involve a broader constituency.

Theory Staff Development; Situational Leadership; Organizational Development; Adult Learning

Elmore in "Organizational Models of Social Program
Implementation"[15] outlines four organizational models:
the Systems Management Model; the Bureaucratic Process
Model; the Organizational Development Model; and the
Conflict and Bargaining Model. The Systems Management
Model, he argues, "values managing units and values
implementation as maximizing behaviors."[16] This model
assumes that organizations should operate as rational
entities which produce "goal directed" behavior. Such
behavior is produced by the establishment of "well-defined
objectives that accurately reflect the organization's
purpose."[17] The organization functions through
hierarchical control by setting out "performance
objectives" and subsequently monitors that performance.
When such a model "fails," the explanation for failure is

usually "bad management." Elmore continues, "We generally mean by this that policies are poorly defined, responsibilities are not clearly assigned, expected outcomes are not specified, and people are not held accountable for their performance."[18] This model, assuming a business perspective, puts major responsibility for change on the "manager," in educational terms, the principal, superintendent, or administrator. Hersey and Blanchard in Management of Organizational Behavior: Utilizing Human Resources articulate this model from a behavioral science perspective. After reviewing the work on motivation of human behavior done by McGregor (Theory X and Theory Y), The Hawthorne Studies done at Western Electric Company, and Argyris (who adds attitude (A) and behavior (B) to McGregor's X and Y dichotomy), the authors turn to theories of leadership.

At the Center for Leadership Studies at Ohio University, the authors developed The Tri-Dimensional Leader Effectiveness Model. This model sets forth four "basic leader behavior quadrants" which determine the leader's behavior as perceived by others in terms of task orientation and relationship orientation. Thus, a leader might be perceived by subordinates as having a "high relationship and low task" orientation, or a "high task and low relationship" orientation, and so forth. The authors argue that the model's strength lies in its ability to

describe behavior rather than attitude. "The leadership style is the behavior pattern that a person exhibits when attempting to influence the activities of others as perceived by those others. This may be quite different from how the leader perceives his or her own behavior, which we shall define as self-perception rather than style."[19] Leader effectiveness, they argue, depends on these variables and the situation. Hence, a soldier on the front line might not seek "high relationship" skills from his commanding officer but only "high task orientation." In defending their position and their efforts to increase leadership effectiveness through Situational Leadership Theory activities, they conclude that one of the failures of Organizational Development Theory has been its inability to allow for differences in organizational situations:

> I have yet to see an organization development program that uses an intervention strategy other than an interpersonal one, and this is serious when one considers that the most pivotal strategies of change in our society are political, legal and technological. If it is true that most O.D. consultants and practitioners use collaborative or interpersonal strategies of change and, thus, almost always concentrate on the 'people variable' in helping organizations, it becomes clear why there are more O.D. intervention failures than successes."(20)

While acknowledging the clear behavior bias here, one might ask whether one could, even if one wished to, ever eliminate the "people variable" from any intervention strategy. The authors do add one intriguing concept which

might have relevance for collaborative school change in their discussion of Greiner's theory of growing organizational systems. "Greiner argues that growing organizations move through five relatively calm periods of evolution, each of which ends with a period of crisis and revolution. According to Grenier, 'each evolutionary period is characterized by the dominant management style used to achieve growth, while each revolutionary period is characterized by the dominant management problem that must be solved before growth will continue.'"[21] Period one is characterized by a growth through creativity followed by a crisis of leadership, followed by a new growth through direction and so forth. Near the end of the evolution of organizations is a period of growth through collaboration (preceded by a crisis of red tape). Grenier, we are told "is not certain what the next revolution will be, but he anticipates that it will center around the psychological saturation of employees who grow emotionally and physically exhausted by the intensity of team work and the heavy pressure for innovative solutions."[22] The authors argue that this crisis might be avoided by closer attention to the Situational Leadership Theory which they advocate. Another perspective may be found in Argyris and Schon's work.

Argyris and Schon seem to offer ideas associated with organizational development theory while also contributing

to the systems management literature. Their discussion of
"double-loop learning" in <u>Organizational Learning: A
Theory of Action Perspectives</u> seems to bridge the two
theories. Single-loop learning, they argue, attempts
change in an organization when something is perceived as
"wrong." Organizations may successfully "correct the
error" without changing the underlying policies, norms or
objectives which created the error in the first place.
"Double-loop learning" occurs when organizations are able
both to "correct the error" and also modify the organiza-
tion's underlying norms, policies and objectives in
appropriate ways. However, Argyris and Schon continue,
while "people have little difficulty in espousing and
believing in Model II (i.e. double-loop learning), they do
have enormous difficulties in making it their theory-
in-use <u>and</u> they tend to be unaware of this fact. We
emphasize the word 'and' because combining awareness of
and the desire for Model II with the unawareness of the
inability to produce it becomes a serious and unsettling
prospect for people. This is especially true of adults
who have rarely had to face the fact that they cannot
discover-invent-produce-generalize-double-loop solutions
to organizational problems even if they wish to do
so."[23] The "people variable," therefore, does seem,
Hersey and Blanchard notwithstanding, to be a factor in
the evaluation of systems management theory. Critics of

this theory add that the Systems Management Model assumes
that the definition of success (of the model) is internal
to the model, "(yet), it may or may not be shared by the
people who are actually part of the process."[24] Sarason
adds to this the fact that goals and objectives are not so
clear cut in the school culture as to be uniformly
ascribed by all.[25] Glatthorn contributes to this the
concept of the school as a loosely coupled system:

> Some curriculum specialists continue trying
> to use a change process that ignores the organ-
> izational structures and relationships of
> contemporary school systems. They act as if
> schools were tightly coupled systems in which
> orders from the top are transmitted unchanged
> through channels until they are ultimately
> carried out by the classroom teacher. . . Recent
> research suggests that school districts are
> loosely coupled systems composed of subsystems
> operating somewhat autonomously. This general
> theory is supported by specific findings in-
> dicating that teachers are jealous of their
> autonomy . . . and strongly resist attempts by
> district supervisors to control what they do day
> by day in the classroom.(26)

Weick[27] and Clark[28] both argue in a recent issue of
Phi Delta Kappan that new studies confirm Glatthorn's
perception of schools as loosely coupled systems, and
discuss implications for leadership in those systems.

Tyack and Hansot argue that situational leadership
studies have traditionally ignored the organizational
context, especially school organizations, in which the
leadership must be occur:

> We also find problems in the way most scholars
> have studied leadership in organizations. The

majority of studies focus on leadership in small
groups and have been undertaken, for the most
part, by social psychologists in military and
industrial settings typically preoccupied with
managerial concerns about productivity and
morale. Such small-group studies have typically
been 'framed', treated in isolation from his-
tory, purposes, and structure of the larger
organization and its place in American society.
[We believe], indeed, leadership is so dependent
on context that it cannot be understood apart
from time and place. Above all, we think it
useful to question the search for universal and
external generalizations and instead to pay
attention to the changing context of ideas,
interests and political and economic structures
within which educational leaders have oper-
ated.(29)

The "people variable," desire for autonomy, and

importance of the historical and organizational context

bring us to Elmore's second model, the Bureaucratic Pro-

cess Model. In this model "all important behavior in

organizations can be explained by the irreducible dis-

cretion exercised by individual workers . . . that they

develop to maintain and enhance their position in the

organization."[30] Power is, therefore, in the model,

fragmented and dispersed in small groups. In more complex

organizations, "units of power become more highly special-

ized and exercise greater control over their internal

operations."[31] The role of the leader in this model,

continues Elmore, is "decision making which consists of

controlling the discretion of workers and changing rou-

tine,"[32] gradually, as resistance to change is seen as

central in the bureaucratic model. Rosabeth Moss

Kanter[33] writes eloquently on the resultant struggle of
the powerful and powerless in such an organizational
model. The powerful, she states, are those "who have
access to tools for action."[34] She continues, "There is
a displacement of control downward paralleling displace-
ment of aggression. In other words, people respond to the
restrictiveness of their own situation by behaving re-
strictively towards others. People will 'boss' those they
can . . . if they cannot flex their muscles more construc-
tively and if, moreover, they are afraid they really are
powerless."[35]

Michael Lipsky[36] argues that street level bureau-
crats, those at the "delivery end" of the organization,
are too far from the decision or policy making end of the
organization to be invested in the success of the changes
sought. Teachers, and in complex organizations I would
add some principals, can be seen as street-level
bureaucrats. Lipsky outlines common strategies street-
level bureaucrats in various social fields (welfare,
police, schools, etc.) develop to survive in an organiza-
tion setting in which there is a discrepancy between the
calling to serve and the bureaucratic reality of the job.
This is a rather intriguing list, including such strat-
egies as "rationing services," "queing," "distancing," and
controlling the client population to guarantee success,
which he calls "creaming."[37] It is not so much, he

argues, that people get socialized into the job as that
the structure of the work situation causes the attitudes
which characterize the bureaucratic mentality. He advo-
cates both change in the structure and supports for the
people in the structure.

Elmore's third model, the Organization Development
Model, speaks to the recognized need in both corporate and
social service organizations to meet the needs of the
people working in them in order for change to be success-
fully effected. Elmore summarizes in this model[38] the
basic psychological and social needs of individuals which
must be met: automony and control, participation in de-
cisions, and commitment to the purposes of the organiza-
tion. Therefore, the Organization Development Model
attempts to minimize hierarchy and to distribute respon-
sibility for decision making. Decision making is
accomplished by the creation of effective workgroups,
where there is "mutual agreement on goal, mutual trust,
support among group members, the full utilization of
members' skills, and the effective management of con-
flict."[39] Decisions are reached, where possible, by
consensus. Implementation of decision is accomplished by
consensus building and "by accommodation between policy-
makers and implementers."[40]

In this model change occurs from the bottom up. The
role of the leader at the top is to build consensus.

"Accommodations," says Elmore, "between policy makers and those at the bottom are the only way change can happen."[41] This theory translated into educational circles is best articulated in the Rand Change Agent Study,[42] the Ford Foundation Comprehensive School Improvement Program,[43] Project LONGSTEP,[44] the League of Cooperating Schools I/D/E/A[45] studies, 1981 ASCD Study,[46] and recent projects such as RPTIM,[47] CBAM and 4MAT.[48] All of these studies concur that successful school change occurs at the school level, that local ownership of the project is crucial, that on-line planning and continued support and consensus building must occur with a critical mass of involved staff, that a strong leader is crucial but the role of the leader is partici-patory, and leadership is shared. Neale et al. outline in detail both the theory and strategies for putting into practice in schools the organization development model they call the Partnership Model in their useful book entitled Strategies for School Improvement: Cooperative Planning and Organization Development.[49] Schmuck[50] and others outline in detail how to use organization development strategies in school improvement projects. Joyce[51] adds to this literature an inquiry into the implications for teacher training in his recent book, Flexibility in Teaching. How these theories have been put into practice and the more specific findings evolving from

this practice are the subjects of the second part of this paper. Before moving to this topic, however, it is useful to look at Elmore's fourth organizational model.

Critics of Organization Development argue that organizations, in reality, treat "employees as passive executors of someone else's will."[52] Organization Development, they insist, ignores the real problem of power and the politics of change. The fourth model Elmore describes, the Conflict and Bargaining Model, faces these issues directly. This model, he explains, "treats organizations as arenas of conflict and views implementation as a bargaining process in which the participants converge on temporary solutions but no stable result is ever reached."[53] It would be unwise to forget that planned school change sometimes does, in fact, occur in an arena of conflict, such as under Court Order. Dentler and Scott[54] write rather forcefully in their book about their roles in one such arena of conflict, the Boston desegregation case. Their rather poignant comment that "A court is the next to the least preferred place for making social policy. The worst place is on the battle-field,"[55] attests to the exhaustion which living in the Conflict and Bargaining Model breeds.

Organization development strategies   The similarity of recent findings from several major studies on school

change projects based on organization development models
has focused staff development practitioners in a more
common direction and provides some optimism that, as Ann
Miller states in a 1981 issue of Leadership, "In the
recent decade, we have gained considerable knowledge about
how schools change."[56] These major studies include the
Concerns Based Adoption Model (CBAM), the Rand Change
Agent Study, the I/D/E/A study, and the SD/SC Teachers
Corps project. The findings of these studies are reviewed
in Lieberman and Miller's book on staff development.[57]
A summary of these findings includes the following general
axioms:

1. School change occurs simultaneously on two levels:
   the individual teacher level, and the level of the
   school as an organization.

2. "Any improvement efforts in schools must begin
   with the concerns and needs of teachers; small
   steps toward improved practice are more important
   than any grand design."[58]

3. Steps of change include identifiable developmental
   stages. One such description of these stages[59]
   includes "Dialogue, Decision Making, Action,
   Evaluation." Another [60] such description in-
   cludes "meeting individual concerns, individual
   action, dialogue about the action, collaborative
   action, change, and support for change."

4. Schools, like the individual teachers in them, adapt to improvements developmentally. Change takes time.

5. Schools in which programmatic or school-wide concern are linked to individual teacher concerns have the greatest possibility for positive change. The conditions for change are motivated primarily by the principal.[61]

Lieberman outlines in her article in _Leadership_ three responses to these findings: staff development models; networking models; and problem centered strategies. In the staff development model outlined by Miller and Wolf[62] and cited above, teachers began by working on individual needs but were provided opportunities for sharing discoveries and so collaborative action developed.

"Discussion circles were instituted in which teachers talked about issues of mutual concern and planned possible joint actions. As collaborative actions were tested, the school began to change, creating an environment that supported individual change and incorporated organizational change. The process was cyclical, with staff development entering at any point."[63]

The League of Cooperating Schools (I/D/E/A) Project, described in detail by Mary Bentzen,[64] is an example of a network approach to the findings. Here a network of participating schools worked with outside agents in

developing school improvement projects. The network was informal, the participants volunteered, and the outside agent functioned as facilitator. One strength of the network model was that participants felt they shared in a structure alternative to the established school structure.

The Interactive Research and Development on Teaching (IR + DT) project from Far West Laboratory is cited by Lieberman[65] as an example of the problem-centered strategy. Here participant practitioners work with a researcher to focus on a problem, test its validity, gather evidence, and plan intervention strategies. Teachers who have participated can then offer professional development to their peers.

Lieberman identifies four commonalities in these models: linkage; developmentalism; systematic ad hocism; and local adaption. Linkage refers to "linking two organizations or bringing information from one place to another."[66] The linking agent serves as a facilitator, assists in the delivery of resources, must be visible, and invested in the process of change. Developmentalism refers to the perception that change is gradual, begins from the bottom up, takes time, and assumes that people can grow and change. Systematic ad hocism refers to the concept expressed by Lieberman, "It is more important to have a map than an itinerary."[67] Long range planning and goals must be combined with flexibility, and

responsiveness. She adds "a strong value base in the 'system' that guides the seemingly 'ad hoc' activities of change."[68] Local adaption refers to the notion that each setting approaches school improvement differently and that "it often is necessary to reinvent the wheel."[69]

In 1981, ASCD (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development) undertook a national survey to collect opinions from both university personnel and school practitioners concerning inservice practices and assumptions. The results[70] reported in 1982 indicated strong agreement among participants, including agreement with the ten following "underlying assumptions" of the study:

1. All school personnel need professional growth opportunities throughout their careers.

2. Significant improvement in education takes considerable time and long-term programs.

3. Staff development should focus on improving the quality of the school program.

4. Educators are motivated to learn new things where they have some control over their learning and are free from threat.

5. Educators vary widely in their competencies and readiness to learn.

6. Professional growth requires commitment to new performance norms.

7. School climate influences the success of pro-
    fessional development.

8. The school is the most appropriate unit or
    target of change in education.

9. School districts have the primary responsibility
    for providing the resources for staff develop-
    ment and inservice education.

10. The principal is the key element for adoption
    and continued use of new practices and programs
    in a school.[71]

Adult learning stages Recent attention to staff develop-
ment needs has focused educators on the relevant research
available on adult learning. Wilsey[72] in a recent
article in Leadership summarizes these findings. Citing
Hunt (1966), Harvey and others (1961), Joyce (1980), Bents
and Howey (1981), and Santmire (1979), she concludes that
adult learning is "an interaction of personality develop-
ment and environmental conditions."[73] Adult learning is
developmental and occurs in recognizable stages.[74]
Wilsey suggests a staff development model which combines
organization development findings with adult learning
research. It was this article, and a related one in the
same issue of Leadership by Bruce Joyce[75] on the Coach-
ing component in adult learning situations, which several
coordinators cited in this study as informing and

confirming their perceptions about the role of technical
assistant to headmasters. Joyce explains that "coaching"
is the forth component in a staff development model he
outlines. "Coaching" is defined as providing
"companionship, technical feedback, analysis of
applications which extends executive control, adaption of
the model, and personal facilitation."[76] Wirth,[77] in
a recent issue of Kappan reports that in the industrial
world as well, new "socio-technical theories" create new
demands on managers to treat their "employees as adults."
Features of the adult work environment include "adequate
elbow room, opportunities for learning on the job,
variety, help and respect from co-workers, value of work,
and a desirable future."[78] Wirth explains that this
requires "managers with enough self-confidence to engage
in give and take with workers and to admit mistakes.
Managers now need training to see themselves as
information gatherers, as aides to workers, as teachers
and consultants, instead of bosses."[79]

"Change Agent" Situations: Case Studies

Representative "how to do it" stories which are
relevant to this study because they relate specifically to
the role of outsider or change agent/interventionist in
staff development and school change activity, include four

examples found in Lieberman's book on staff development,
Mary Bentzen's "magic feather principle," the New Jersey
Mainstream In-Service Project, and two Stanford Center for
Research projects. Each of these outlines particular
strategies for the change agent and also the constraints
of the position.

"In addition to being present to 'witness' and
facilitate the change in teachers," write Miller and Wolf
in Lieberman's Staff Development,[80] "we are present as a
staff of people, willing to extend ourselves in the
process of school change and to commit ourselves to a
journey whose end is unpredictable. . . Whether we planned
to or not, we risked ourselves and served as change models
to other professionals in the project."[81] The staff
development models cited above all share this sense of
commitment on the part of the change agent; Miller and
Wolf say it best. The four case studies in Lieberman's
book are as follows: The Miller/Wolf Teachers Corps
project; Amory and Patricia Zigarmis' account of a Teacher
Center Experiment in South Dakota; The Helping Teacher
Project developed in the Stanford, Connecticut Public
Schools; and another teacher center project developed by
Gene Hall and Susan Loucks in Austin, Texas.[82] Each of
these change agents lists common characteristics of the
successful change agent: commitment, involvement, being
visible, sharing common goals, being "client" centered,

adaptive, responsive while also being "systematic, in close touch, and aware of the ripple effect."[83] This close association on the part of the change agent to the "client" is, perhaps, suggests Lieberman, one of the constraints of the role. Lynne Miller and Tom Wolf, she finds, invest "total concentration on teacher resocialization and (there is) the absence of development activities on the leadership level."[84] The major limitation of Zigarmis' teacher center concept, she finds, is the change agent's complete focus on the teacher outside his/her school site. Pauline Rauh's model, she notes, depends totally on the strength and character of the helping teacher, and she concludes by wondering whether the teachers in the Austin, Texas Teacher's Center shouldn't be assisted to take political advantage of their situation to effect a more lasting change.[85] In other words, one of the weaknesses in the change agent's role is that successful identification with the client may rob the agent of the ability to see the larger picture.

Mary Bentzen discusses at length in Changing Schools: The Magic Feather Principle how the I/D/E/A project faced this problem directly. The magic feather, you may recall, was given, Mary Bentzen explains, to Dumbo the elephant by a mouse who wished to convince him he could fly. When Dumbo dropped the feather one day after several years of successful flying, the mouse assured him that he no longer

needed the magic symbol to fly and it was so. The change
agents become the mice in this analogy, of course.
Realizing that the staff in network schools were becoming
increasingly dependent on the outside agents, the project
directors initiated the "magic feather principle" midway
in their study. The agents would no longer intervene;
they would simply record and study. Mary Bentzen
describes what happened:

> "Many teachers . . . were not willing to
> lose consultants from our staff. First, there
> always existed a contingent of teachers who
> demanded the security of getting approval from
> outside experts who knew the answers. Second,
> there were teachers who relied continually upon
> recognized experts for initial stimulation to
> seek new paths in familiar roles. . . The
> principals were almost unanimous in objecting to
> the curtailment of visits by our staff to their
> teachers. Teachers, they maintained, needed
> this prestigious inspiration along with
> increased contact with other teachers. On the
> other hand, principals welcomed the prospect of
> our withdrawal from complete control over their
> own League activities . . . For part of our
> staff the effort to change our role was, at
> best, halfhearted. There had been no objection
> to the notion of strengthening the peer group
> bonds of the League, but different understand-
> ings of just what this notion meant surfaced
> quickly. . . One split occurred around the
> belief that the judgement of the intervention
> staff should ultimately prevail. . . When the
> chips were down our entire staff could not agree
> to restrict themselves to a strategy which would
> have interventionists forego the practice and
> pleasures of a superordinate position. . ."(86)

If letting go is not so easy for the interventionist
invested on a personal level, perhaps focusing on the
mutual goals of the client site and the interventionist's

institution (college, university, usually) might correct
such individual personal professional involvement in
school change projects. Barbara Nadler and Myrna
Merron[87] write thoughtfully about these mutual goals in
describing an on-site teacher in-service project in New
Jersey, jointly sponsored by schools, universities and the
state Department of Education around mainstream issues
(Public Law 94-142) in that state. Citing increasing
evidence that successful inservice education should occur
on site, the historic but mounting criticism of schools of
education to address perceived teacher needs, and the
isolation of university professors from the reality of the
public school classroom, the authors proceed to describe a
successful, on-site program which was built on many of the
collaborative concepts outlined above, one gathers from
reading about the project. What is unusual here is the
thoroughness with which the authors discuss the changes
needed at the university level in order to allow for
sustained collaborative activity, which is more than the
activity of a "consultant" rather peripherally attached to
the university. "The participation of colleges and uni-
versities in this project requires that faculty examine
traditional professional assignments and define or rede-
fine roles that use that expertise in new ways."[88] As
participating university staff had to act as "facilitator,
linker, supporter" in this project rather than simply

"purveyors of information," inservice education was
offered to them as well to develop the new role. The
authors note the need for a "sustained relationship" in
collaboration and that "a considerable amount of time is
demanded by collaborating arrangements."[89] They con-
tinue by noting that teaching, serving on committees,
keeping office hours, researching and writing for publica-
tion are the usual activities required for advancement in
universities, and end by noting "No change in the reward
system at the university could thwart all efforts at
collaborative working relationships. It requires more
than lip service to correct the imbalance that favors
research and scholarly achievement. . . If the university
is to contribute meaningfully to the resolution of complex
educational issues, then there must be some recognition on
its part for those faculty members who possess the skill
and temerity to pursue a rocky road" (i.e., do collabora-
tive interventions).[90] Their structural suggestions
include differentiated staffing patterns, altered pro-
motion practices, rotating assignments, and institutional
commitment to long-term collaborative relationship. They
further argue that the very survival of schools of educa-
tion may depend on their ability to act. "Unfortunately,"
they conclude, "this is not a characteristic mode of
behavior of educational institutions."[91]

The Stanford Center for Research projects offers two very specific "how to do it" papers which also touch on the role of the institution for higher learning. The first, entitled Down from the Ivory Tower: A Model for In-Service Education,[92] describes the success of its project in terms of altering stereotypes usually assoc- iated with college/university interventionists. Both sides must change perceptions, they argue. "This will not happen," they note, "unless university personnel come down from the ivory tower and treat the practitioner as a colleague rather than a client or a subject for re- search."[93] This observation, rather obvious as it is, reminds us that structural changes at the university level alone will not insure that university personnel will be able to deal effectively in the collaborative setting. In fact, the second Stanford report rather underlines this fact. The Work-Study Team: A Model for Collaboration Between School and University[94] describes a staff development project collaborative in nature. At the end of the document in a section entitled, "Limitations of the Work-Study Team as a Model for Collaborative Problem Solving," the authors note, rather testily one feels, "A way has not yet been found to prevent easy disruption of team agenda by visitors or emergency administrative paper work, both of which can quickly turn team sessions into departmental meetings."[95] Even those successfully

involved in collaboration, apparently, are sometimes
unaware of the "ivory tower notions" they carry with them.

The change agent/interventionist, therefore, must
deal on two levels: in the role of individual, profes-
sional relating to the challenges and constraints of the
collaborative project at hand; and in the role as member
of an institution relating to the challenges and con-
straints of that institution.

In Strategies for School Improvement, Neale et al.,
argue that future collaboration in education must involve
closer attention to the dynamics of collaboration at the
institutional level. Using E.T. Ladd's concept of life
space of an organization (adapted from Kurt Lewin's con-
cept of individual life space), the authors argue that
future collaboration between schools and universities must
involve the "inner rings" of both institutions.

> Most of the school system-university
> collaboration, in which we have been engaging up
> to now, invades only the outer rings of respec-
> tive institutions. I should like to suggest,
> though, that the kind we are going to be working
> on in the next years will get us involved in
> each other's inner rings. We shall be getting
> more and more involved with each other's policy-
> making, each other's personnel selection, each
> other's basic style of operation and the
> like."(96)

While such involvement may, the authors suggest,
result in more conflict, it will also result in increased
involvement and commitment. It may also result, they
suggest, in exploration of such issues as institutional

territoriality, partner parity, and time issues endemic to
collaboration. This seems to be a hopeful line of in-
quiry. Without some attention to the institutional level
of collaboration, the change agent/interventionist's role
is likely, however well played, to remain bound by the
constraints described above: identification with the
"client," isolation from the institution, and the frus-
tration which, in Boston, has become known, informally, as
"coordinator's angst."

Effective Schools, "Portraiture":
The Principal as Leader

At the same time that research has assisted staff
development practitioners to focus their efforts toward
collaborative staff development models, another series of
findings has helped urban education advocates focus on the
principal. This body of research supports what is
increasingly known as the Effective School Movement.
Rutter et al.,[97], Ron Edwards,[98] and others have
identified a clarifyingly short list of factors which seem
to determine the instructional effectiveness of a school,
particularly the urban secondary school for poor children.
Characteristics of the effective school include:

1. strong principal leadership

2. high expectations of student achievement by teachers

3. a school climate conducive to learning

4. an instructional emphasis that concentrates on basic skills learning

5. pupil testing that is closely linked to instruction

6. flexible allocation of resources to meet instructional priorities.[99]

Emphasis on a "strong principal" has led recently to arguments in the literature about the characteristics of "strong,"[100] arguments about the definitions of "instructional leadership,"[101], arguments about the reality of effectiveness,[102] arguments about the cause and effect relationship between "effectiveness" and "strong principals."[103] Nevertheless, in the midst of all this controversy, principals have had little assistance from the research in knowing _how_ to be stronger leaders.

Literature pertaining to the school leader as "manager," has dominated the "how to do it" information for principals until recently. "Actually," said Dale Mann in a speech in Boston in 1980,[104] "we (that is academic analysts) know little about situational context of leadership in urban schools. Practitioners know a lot more at least about their own idiosyncratic works stations, and

they are not impressed with 919 grid management, contingent approaches, LBDO's, OCDO's, and the other pop-guns with which we have armed them. First EPDA and now ESAA have been heavily invested with staff development technologies, and thousands of urban school principals have charged out of their Tavistock training sessions or their A.K. Rice Institutes or NTL Labs or whatever, only to have teachers wave the contract at them like garlic before a witch."[105]

Recent literature of the Effective School movement has reminded us of the crucial role of the principal. The principal must be "strong" for effective schools, we are told. To be "the kind of creative yet pragmatic leader who is a good principal," Roland Barth adds in a N.Y. Times article,[106] "a person must keep his head in the clouds and his feet on the ground, 'hoping like hell that it all works.'"[107] How does one become such a leader? The literature until most recently has been scant.

Blumberg's The Effective Principal[108] was probably the most extensive discussion of this subject in published form until 1981. Blumberg and Greenfield selected and studied eight school principals judged by peers and subordinates "to make a difference in a school." The book outlines in case study form and with extensive quoted material the characters of these eight people who become very real to the reader. Characteristics of their

leadership style become very clear as well, and distinct categories of leadership style emerge. The authors add several chapters of inquiry of their own. The useful chapter on elements of effectiveness suggests that "vision, initiative, resourcefulness" are common ingredients across leadership styles.[109] A subsequent chapter discusses the emotional toxicity of the principal's work place and identifies three major problems for principals which all study participants judged as contributing to the toxicity: dealing with the incompetent teacher; prerogatives and powerlessness; and emotional isolation demanded by role. Characteristics of the effective principal, the authors continue, seem to be the following: goal clarity; ontological security; a high tolerance for ambiguity; sensitivity to the dynamics of power; an analyical perspective; and the ability that "enables them to be in charge of the job and not let the job be in charge of them."[110] One of the most poignant notes in the book appears in the introduction. "The first draft of the manuscript was finished in September, 1977. In the interim, four of the people whom we interviewed left their positions. Three of those remaining indicated that they wanted to leave, and one seems satisfied enough at present to stay on. We don't know precisely how to interpret these facts. It may be that there is a certain restlessness or a certain weariness that accompanies being

the sort of principal who makes a difference in a
school."[111]

Blumberg's book was followed by increased attention
in the literature to definitions of the leadership role of
principals, especially definitions of instructional lead-
ership, which in its most narrow interpretation is
measured by the time headmasters spend in classrooms
observing teachers. The Daedalus Magazine, Daedalus/St.
Paul's study in the theoretical aspect of its findings
discussed specifically the secondary school leader.
Gordon McAndrew, in an article entitled "The High-School
Principal: Man in the Middle,"[112] argues that "the right
principal will not guarantee the academic integrity of a
high school." While citing Rutter's research about school
climate and acknowledging the principal's role in creating
an "orderly" learning environment, the author concludes
that to ask the principal to be sole instructional leader
as well is unrealistic.

> Our conventional concept of the high-school
> principal as instructional leader should be
> discarded. It is, in most cases, unrealistic.
> Principals are expected, largely on the basis of
> a few classroom visits, to assess the quality of
> instruction. They are responsible for doing
> this in all subjects. As a practical matter,
> the principal's judgements deal more with
> management than substance."(113)

Arguing for evaluation of the instruction by department
heads in the high school, McAndrew continues, "(by this
arrangement) the principal's job as an instructional

leader will be more realistically defined. What I have
termed the climate of the school is the measure of that
leadership. The principal's role in creating the environ-
ment where learning takes place is a vital one."[114]
Citing NASSP statistics about the relatively small amount
of time principals actually spend on issues of instruction
despite their perception of instruction as the number one
priority, the writer notes, "Although principals know they
are expected to be instructional leaders, many are not
very clear about that role or comfortable in it. Most are
not very much interested in matters of teaching and
learning . . . Perhaps principals would be more effective
if we were satisfied with their being good managers and
setting the overall tone in the school."[115]

Van Cleve Morris reports in a June 1982 edition of
Kappan[116] a detailed study of how twenty-four Chicago
principals spend their days, and concludes that "the
principalship we found is a peripatetic occupation"[117]
with the principal spending most time devoted to school
monitoring activities, school spokesperson activities,
information dissemination activities, and as "disturbance
handler and resource allocator."[118] The authors of this
study identify seven characteristics of principal
leadership in what they define as the middle management
position principals occupy. These are discussed in detail

in Chapter four of this study and were used in the
methodology formulation as explained in Chapter four.

Portraiture   Another hopeful line of study providing
descriptions of principals as leaders is what Sara
Lightfoot calls "portraiture." The Daedalus/St. Paul's
Study (1981)[119] undertaken by Robert Coles, Sara
Lawrence Lightfoot, and Philip Jackson reports on three
exemplary schools, a public, urban high school; a suburban
public high school; and a private secondary school. The
"principal factor" in each setting is described in detail.
In a school with a "tradition," such as St. Paul's, the
author notes, the administrator is viewed with awe, is
seen as connecting the past with the present, operates
with aloofness, "certainty and style,"[120] and rules the
staff with an iron hand.

In a suburban high school with strong commonalities
of client population values and backgrounds, the principal
acts to create an environment where those values are
articulated as the community desires while also attempting
to stretch student imaginations. As some of the minority
populations in this setting, notes Sara Lightfoot,[121]
somehow fall through the cracks, staff and administrators
express a lingering sense of regret that the school does
not seem able to ameliorate the sorts of conflicts which
the society outside it contains.

It is in Atlanta, where the team studied an inner city school for poor children, that the most detailed discussion of the educational leadership occurs. In the description of George Washington Carver High School written by Sara Lightfoot, the principal comes alive. "Norris Hogans . . . has been the catalyst of change. A former football player, Hogans is powerful in stature and character. He dominates the school. He is a man of great energy. He moves about the campus in perpetual motion, looking severe and determined, always carrying his walkie-talkie. Hogans does not want to be out of touch with any part of his sphere."[122] Lightfoot analyzes the leadership style here as authoritarian and notes the combination of clear goals for the school and personal ambition in the principal. She discusses the support systems he has put together for himself: an administrative assistant he brought with him; the female registrar; and department head who form the inner circle, "privy to his mistakes and occasional poor judgement."[123] Also crucial is the superintendent whose support to the effort of revitalizing Carver High School is crucial and whose eloquent article, "A Community of Believers," discusses the climate in Atlanta in the same issue of Daedalus.[124]

Hogans' agenda for Carver comes across clearly. It involves school climate, high expectation of students, a galvanized faculty and requires enormous energy from the

principal. Hogans has clearly read the Effective School literature. Hogans also has a vision for Carver which includes using a wide variety of outside resources. He has developed partnerships with the business and religious communities. "He has," notes Lightfoot, "an ambitious vision, and he expects that the resources for executing his plan will be found in the connections he creates with sources of power and influence far beyond the poor black community."[125] Hogans spends much of his time seeking out these sources of power, selling his vision of the school, making a "community of believers." Such activity takes him away from his school, and some faculty express feelings of neglect. "But most," says Lightfoot, "recognize the inevitable trade-offs of having a principal who is willing to track down resources and broaden horizons."[126]

At Carver, as yet, the authors report, the activities of this dynamic principal seem not to have affected the quality of the instruction in every classroom.

> A sense of order and structure and an atmosphere of caring and concern would seem to be prerequisites for a successful and productive education, but not the full and necessary ingredients. These prerequisites do not easily or inevitably lead to academic excellence, or to inspired teaching and learning. In many of the classrooms I visited, very little of substance was happening educationally. . . This most difficult challenge is connected, I think, to the perceptions the faculty holds of students' futures and the place and station that students

are expected to take as adults in the world
beyond school. (127)

Sara Lightfoot points out through this vignette what
she considers the crucial importance of studying school
leadership in its context, in this case a school "turning
itself around." In a recent address at Harvard
University,[128] Sara Lightfoot described the premise of
portraiture. "The actors (i.e. principals) are the
primary knowledge bearers;" research should create "thick
description" of what she calls "goodness" in a school;
that is, documenting "the health, not the pathology at
work." Such descriptions include "cultural maps,
organizational stories, textual complexities,"
descriptions which "look backwards and forward" in the
school's history rather than relying on "a snapshot in
time."[129] Portraiture, she explained, is her attempt to
integrate aesthetics and empiricism in documenting what
does work and why in schools. We greatly look forward to
her new book, The Good High School,[130] portraiture
descriptions of six exemplary principals.

David Tyack and Elizabeth Hansot[131] in their new
book use a similar descriptive technique to study the
history of principalship in America and call our attention
to the need to view the leader in context and to build
through pro-school coalitions a stronger constituency for
public education. They conclude:

It is often difficult to see, under the
padding of presuppositions, how administrators
went about their ordinary business, how normal
problems got solved, conflicting claims ad-
justed, procedures made more effective, or the
reverse. The administrator is portrayed either
as a routinized bureaucrat or as an institu-
tional Moses who parts the Red Sea. We believe
that the everyday work of creating and running
schools is important and undervalued. (132)

Literature Pertaining to Boston Court Pairings

The one major research study[133] of Court-ordered
pairings completed to date reported that its findings were
complicated by the 'everyday work of creating and running
schools.' T.D.R. Associates in studying three Boston
Court-ordered pairings attempt to document three sorts of
"knowledge flow/use: situational knowledge, craft know-
ledge, and research knowledge."[134] The study concludes
that little use was made of "available federal/state
private R&D products for school improvement,"[135] but
also concludes that it was difficult to measure how
internalized research knowledge on the part of coor-
dinators might have been used situationally. Two coor-
dinators interviewed in this study concurred, given their
experience in working relationships in pairings, that the
study's distinctions were artificial.

Little else has yet been written about the role of
the university coordinator in the collaborative school

improvement projects which have occurred in Boston since
1975 as part of the Court Order desegregating the school
system.[136]   Two documents which do address the role of
coordinators are descriptive rather than prescriptive.
The Rick Rogers Report,[137] written for coordinators,
describes model programs on the basis of interviews with
coordinators but does not attempt to describe characteris-
tics of coordinator behavior, program components, or staff
development practices which might have contributed to the
success of these model programs. In the concluding sec-
tion of recommendations, the author turns his attention to
the necessity for joint action by the college/university
presidents of participating institutions.

> It is particularly alarming that many of the
> problems with the university/school collabora-
> tion in 1977 continue to be problems in 1981.
> Previous recommendations for action have gone
> unheeded, largely due to an inability of the
> universities to act as one force or, in the
> words of the 1977 coordinator's report, to
> 'assert themselves' in a planning process. This
> inability to act collectively can be dismissed
> as university politics or attributed to a lack
> of formal or informal leaders with both the
> power and the time to act effectively; but,
> whatever the reasons, the time has come for
> decisive action.(138)

The Jeptha Carrell Report,[139] was commissioned in
1979 by the college/university presidents and is a
descriptive "capture and record" study of the political
context and programmatic reality of Boston school pairing
projects for 1975 - 1978. While sympathetic to the plight

or coordinators in such a political context and supportive
of collaborative successes, this document does not attempt
to document conditions or practices responsible for
success nor does it offer any recommendations for institu-
tional change.

Other writings on the Boston Court pairings are
summarized as follows:

1.   Broadbent, Maida et al. School/Institution Collabora-
     tion: Issues and Concerns. Boston: April, 1980.

        This document, published in booklet form, begins
     with a rather technical article about the proposal
     development/contract negotiating requirements which
     govern the pairing process and argues for a longer
     term proposal timeline. It advocates simplifying the
     contracting process. It includes a useful table
     listing all the Boston pairings in existence in 1980:
     university/college; cultural; and business.

2.   Clasby, Miriam et al, Mobilizing Resources for Boston
     Schools: A 90-Day Project, Boston: August, 1981.
     (Update, June, 1982) and Towards a Cooperative
     Agenda: The Boston Public Schools and Boston Area
     Colleges and Universities, Boston: April 21, 1982.

        These working papers discuss the various
     structural arrangements necessary to increase the use
     of college/university resources in the Boston
     schools. These papers became the basis of the Boston

Compact, a business/schools collaborative initiative
begun in the summer of 1982. The papers also first
raised the issue of the undocumented role of "techni-
cal assistant" which some coordinators indicated they
felt they played in pairings.

3.   Fisher, C.W., Case Study of the Boston Public
     Schools: Development of University-School Pairings to
     Support Court-ordered Desegregation, 1975-77.
     Master's thesis, Trinity College, School of Educa-
     tion, University of Dublin, Ireland, 1977.

          A description of the organization of court-
     ordered pairings by one of the early actors in the
     scene, this document also calls for a simplification
     of the process.

4.   Dentler, Robert A. and Marvin B. Scott, Schools on
     Trial: An Inside Account of the Boston Desegregation
     Case, Apt Books, Cambridge, MA, 1981.

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In conclusion, then, it appears from review of the literature on Court-ordered pairings, that little has been written documenting the role of Campus Coordinators, and no study has attempted to document the role played by Coordinators acting as technical assistants to headmasters and other secondary school leaders.

FOOTNOTES -- CHAPTER III

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C H A P T E R IV

DESIGN AND PROCEDURES/METHODOLOGIES

Design and Procedures

The assumption upon which this study is based was
that at least some Campus Coordinators in the context of
the Boston schools pairings 1975-1982 have served a tech-
nical assistance role in support of the secondary school
principal as instructional leader. The purpose of this
study is to obtain, through perceptions of selected
Coordinators and headmasters, documentation of that role,
to research and clarify the degree to which the technical
assistance function has assisted or obstructed headmasters
or their designees in the roles as instructional leaders,
and to identify, where possible, commonalities, modes of
operation, prescriptions of that technical assistance
function which may be useful to begin to define a support
model for principals, as instructional leaders of their
schools. Lastly, the study attempts to determine whether
such a role was perceived as aiding or potentially aiding
headmasters to build "school planning capacity" in their
schools.

Methodology

The methodology undertaken in this study included a
three stage process. In stage one a questionnaire was
designed to elicit perceptions from all Campus Coordi-
nators about the technical assistance role which they may
or may not have felt they played in their pairing assign-
ments regardless of whether their project was a staff
development or service delivery model and regardless of
the level or breadth of their pairing. (i.e. single
school, district, multi-district, elementary, middle or
secondary or a combination of each). The questionnaire
also sought basic demographic information regarding pair-
ing activity, staffing patterns, and coordinator time on
projects. Coordinators were also asked to indicate on the
questionnaire their willingness or lack of willingness to
be interviewed further in the study. The second stage of
the research methodology involved in-depth interviews of
forty-five minute average duration in which coordinators
were asked to respond to a set of questions designed to
elicit their perceptions about a set of technical assist-
ance variables and to respond to questions regarding both
descriptive analysis of how the technical assistance role
was or was not played as well as prescriptive observations
about the role. The interview format also assisted in
eliciting the sample of school based personnel

interviewed. The third stage of the research methodology
involved in-depth interviews with school based personnel,
interviews of thirty-five minute average duration, in
which school personnel were asked to respond to the ident-
ical list of technical assistance variables and the same
set of questions given coordinators designed to elicit
responses on the descriptive role campus coordinators may
or may not have played, used this time to elicit school
personnel perceptions of that role. Identical questions
eliciting prescriptive comments on the role were also
used.

Stage One. An initial questionnaire (see end of chapter)
was distributed to all Campus Coordinators in the spring
of 1982 to screen coordinators perceptions about the tech-
nical assistance role and to gather basic demographic data
on pairings, such as breadth of pairing activity (i.e.
single school, multi-school, district, multi-district) and
levels of pairing activity (i.e. elementary, middle, high
school or combinations). The questionnaire sought inform-
ation on programmatic models (i.e. staff development,
service delivery), staffing patterns; and the time coordi-
nators spent on projects. The questionnaire also asked
coordinators to indicate their willingness to be inter-
viewed further on the subject of the technical assistance
role.

Perceptions about technical assistance were screened by direct question (i.e. do you feel that technical assistance is an important part of your role?) as well as by a list of "technical assistance variables" developed by the researcher with assistance from a small group of coordinators interested in the issue. The questionnaire asked all coordinators to indicate the frequency with which they "spent time" engaged in "doing" these variables. Subsequently in the study other variables were added. None were deleted, however.

Twenty-one questionnaires were circulated to Coordinators. Fifteen responses were received. Although the questionnaire did not require identification of respondent, all but one came back signed. Therefore, it was possible within an error of one to determine which Coordinators did, in fact, respond. Of the six not returned, two Coordinators left their projects in June of 1982 which might explain their lack of participation in the project. Three other Coordinators who did not respond also did not regularly attend coordinators' meetings in which forum the project was explained and cooperation sought. It is also possible that, since the questionnaire explicitly asked Coordinators to assist in providing information on the technical assistance role, that those Coordinators who did not respond did so because they perceived no such role, although one such respondent did in fact return the

questionnaire. Of those not responding, it appears that four were paired with secondary schools, and one with an elementary school. The sixth Coordinator probably worked in a pairing in transition from a school pairing to a broader assignment in staff development for the entire school department. Of the fifteen responses received, fourteen answered "yes" to the question "Do you feel that technical assistance is an important part of your role, regardless of the time you spend on it?" Of those responding "yes" to that question, half also considered their project "primarily a 'service delivery or program delivery model' as opposed to a 'staff development' model." This suggested that in both program models Coordinators viewed technical assistance as part of the Coordinator's role. Of those responding "yes" to the question regarding technical assistance, thirteen also expressed willingness to be interviewed on the subject. The fourteenth was reassigned to other responsibilities in her institution in the late spring or early summer of 1982.

Stage Two. The final sample for interview was chosen by the researcher on the basis of respondents' expressed willingness in the questionnaire to be interviewed and was also determined by variables of race and sex. Since the study focused on secondary schools and the technical

assistance role, only one Coordinator who worked at the
intermediate level and two who worked at the elementary
level were included. The researcher chose those partici-
pants, all of whom had responded to the questionnaire, on
the basis of their long involvement and demonstrated
expertise in the Boston pairing project. Of the thirteen
respondents willing to be interviewed, one also indicated
that technical assistance was not a role recognized by the
respondent at all. Since the second stage of this study
sought to document Coordinators' perceptions of the tech-
nical assistance role, this respondent was not inter-
viewed. One other respondent willing to be interviewed
was reassigned within her institution after the pairing
this institution participated in was terminated in June
1982. One additional Coordinator was added to the final
sample to assist in balancing the sample racially. Of the
twelve Campus Coordinators interviewed, seven were white
women, three white men, and two Black men. There are
presently no black female Coordinators employed in proj-
ects. The least experienced coordinator had been on the
job only two months when interviewed. Seven had been
employed in projects since the Court Order. Two had been
employed as Coordinators for six years, one for three and
one for two years. One Coordinator, who had been employed
since the Court Order, was on leave of absence during the

year in which the study was conducted. One Coordinator
had recently been hired by the School Department.

Of the twelve Coordinators interviewed two were deans
at their institutions. Six coordinated projects and also
taught at the college level. Both the deans interviewed
also taught at their institutions. Six Coordinators had
no other duties in their institution except coordination.
Six were hired specifically as Coordinators by their
institutions; six had held other positions in their
institutions previous to the Court Order. The Coordinator
of one pairing had also recently experienced the "merger"
of his institution into another institution of higher
education and was, therefore, working for a different
university. One Coordinator had once been a school
superintendent. Two had been principals. Of those inter-
viewed, four coordinated single school pairings; two
managed multi-school pairings; four managed district
pairings with many schools on different levels (i.e.
elementary, middle, high); and one managed a multi-
district pairing of four districts. Two Coordinators
managed pairings involving two high schools.

The interview format was developed using the techni-
cal assistance variables field tested on the questionnaire
and a second set of variables developed from recent
literature on the subject of definitions of "instruc-
tional" or "educational" leadership in principals. Van

Cleve Morris et al in a recent article in Phi Delta Kappan,[1] discussed in Chapter III of this study, review the literature concerning definitions of "instructional leadership in building administrators and conclude that past research has emphasized theoretical rather than empirical study. "In view of its importance, the principalship," they note, "should be the most thoroughly researched and best-understood administrative position in education. Although the literature on the school principal is voluminous it tends to be prescriptive and hortatory rather than descriptive and empirical. Much of our knowledge about the school principalship has developed out of various investigators' interests in either role theory or leadership behavior."[2] Citing their recent study of how principals spend their actual day, they conclude "our observations indicate that the principal's workday is very busy and highly unpredictable" They continue:

> In one instance, a principal was wrestling with
> a critical problem in the school's curricular
> program - the freshman history sequence. And
> yet the entire matter was elbowed aside, denied
> a position of deserved prominence, by a cascade
> of other concerns - vandalized auditorium seats,
> a foul-mouthed girl intimidating her teacher,
> bomb threats by anonymous phone callers, and
> cockroaches in the locker room.[3]

In this context, their study concludes that instructional leadership if defined "in terms of time spent in classroom

observation"[4] is not the central focus of administrator's time. Rather, they argue, educational leadership is demonstrated by the building administrator through communication, coordination, and control of school climate. They argue on the basis of their empirical study and others[5] that the principal "inside the building is the key exchange point, the information switchboard through which all important messages pass."[6] The principal must also serve a role for the community in "client socialization and image building."[7] Lastly, their study sought to determine principal's "discretionary behavior" in what they recognized as the "loosely-coupled" nature of the urban school organization.[8] From their empirical study of twenty-four principals on the job in Chicago's schools, Morris et al. developed seven variables which determined the principal's educational leadership role as played, in an urban setting. This set of variables was used in this study to elicit additional Coordinator perceptions of the technical assistance role as played in support of the principal/headmaster in these areas. Additional variables suggested by those interviewed are discussed in the findings chapter of this study.

The structure of the interview format was further influenced by organizational development literature and situational leadership theory. Interviews lasted an

average of forty-five minutes. All Coordinators inter-
viewed allowed the use of a tape recorder. Interview and
field notes were organized on the model developed by
Schatzman and Strauss (1973) and characterized as follows:
observation notes; methodological notes; theoretical
notes. This organizational pattern was also used to
summarize the findings. Summary interview sheets and
partial tape transcriptions were also kept.

Stage Three. School administrators who were interviewed
were chosen in part by reputation; that is, they were
suggested by Coordinators as also probably concurring that
the Coordinators' role does include a technical assistance
function as well as by their general reputation as leading
school administrators. School administrator interviewees
were also determined by race and sex to gain the widest
spectrum possible. Interviewees were chosen to represent
the various hierarchical levels of the school department
from "central office" to school based personnel. Inter-
viewees were also selected to represent each of the three
kinds of high schools in Boston; i.e. examination, magnet,
and district high schools. Efforts were made to include
administrators who had been in the system for a long time
as well as those recently appointed to administrative
roles, and to include administrators who had worked with a
variety of pairings, either in different schools or one

school, as well as administrators who had worked consistently with one pairing for the duration of the period studied. Ten interviewees were selected and a letter sent to them outlining the study and requesting their cooperation. Nine agreed to be interviewed. The tenth declined until written permission were obtained from the school committee and written questions mailed to be responded to in writing. Since the format of this portion of the study involved interview rather than written response, the tenth administrator was not included in the study.

Of the nine school department personnel interviewed, two were Black males, five white males, and two Black female. Two administrators were newly appointed in the fall of 1982. One was in the third year of an administrative position. Two others had assumed administrative positions around the time of the Court Order; although one of these had been twice promoted into other administrative positions during the period of the study. Four had been administrators in the system before the Court Order. Of those interviewed, one was a central office administrator, two were community district superintendents, five were secondary school headmasters, one was an elementary school principal. Of the secondary school headmasters interviewed, two were administrators of examination schools, one a magnet school, and two district schools. Two of

these administrators had been headmasters of their schools for the duration of the period of the study: one had been headmaster for two years; two had been appointed in the fall of 1982.

All district and central administrators had previously been principals, headmasters or assistant headmasters before their present assignment. One had also been a university administrator previously. Of the headmasters and principal interviewed, four had been assistant headmasters previously. Two had changed schools during the period of the study. Both had been in three schools and worked with five pairings (though not the same five) since 1975. One school administrator interviewed had worked with three pairings since 1975. One had worked with two pairings; five had worked with one pairing. The combined experience of all interviewed participants included direct knowledge of thirteen of the twenty-one Court-ordered pairings including eleven of the sixteen Court-ordered secondary school pairings.

The interview format used for school personnel interviews was identical to that used for Coordinators, with school administrators being asked to comment on their perceptions of the technical assistance role Coordinators may or may not have played in assisting them as administrative leaders of their schools or districts. School personnel were asked to provide both descriptive and

prescriptive observations about the coordinator role, as played or as a potential role. Interviews averaged thirty-five minutes. Of the nine interviewed, seven allowed the use of a tape recorder. Interview outline notes and partial tape transcriptions, where possible, were kept.

Bias and Limitations of the Research Methodology

One of the limitations of this study is clearly that the researcher is, as well, a Campus Coordinator who believes she has been involved in providing technical assistance to Boston school administrators since 1975. The bias, however one tries to control it, is never-the-less a factor in so far as the researcher is aware of the fact that anyone writing about what one has been doing for eight years is invested in believing in its success, at least partial success. However, it was not until other Campus Coordinators began to document their perceptions (both in Coordinators' meetings and in writing) of their technical assistance roles that the role was recognized as anything but ideosyncratic to individuals inside some pairings. The methodology of this study sought to control the bias of the researcher by firmly grounding the study in technical assistance variables predetermined before the

study, including those variables independently generated in the Morris study in Chicago. Secondly, the methodology sought to structure the interview format so as to ask identical questions of Coordinators and school administrators. While it was hypothesized that at least some Coordinators would recognize the technical assistance role, it was not assumed that school administrators would. Therefore, the mirror image question format was designed to check the hypothesized bias of the researcher and of Coordinators as to the role they played.

In addition, however, there is an acknowledged research bias in this study. That is to say, the researcher believes that the most useful educational research is that which studies what works, which seeks to study the actual perceptions of educational practitioners in the context of their work in schools about hopeful practices, about models that help or even might help, in a prescriptive sense. The study was therefore built on the general philosophical premise of, as one Coordinator stated, "the importance of finding out what's going on that's good, and you may have to look far and wide to find good things." The sample of this study is not exhaustive, but the study does attempt to seek out those conditions for success and to document what did, in fact, seem to work, as perceived by practitioners interviewed. Recently, educational researchers have called our

attention through an emphasis on what David Tyack in his recent book[10.] calls "studies of success" to the complexity of studying schools. He says:

> In recent years scholars have discovered some home truths forgotten by eager reformers who wished to impose curricular changes, new teaching strategies, and modes of accountability from the top down. They have found that schools are not computer consoles replete with buttons for top administrators to push. Increasingly, researchers like Michael Rutter, John Goodlad and Ronald Edmonds have gone beyond asking why programs fail. They have investigated why some schools, even in tough neighborhoods, work well....studies of success, not pathology."

This study is further based on the premise that school change can best be studied in the political context in which it occurs. Those interviewed played their roles in a political context, a context which influenced and in some cases largely determined their participation. In detailing the findings, therefore, the context is also described where relevant. In detailing the findings of this study, largely the perceptions of those interviewed, every care has been taken to protect individual identity, and the identity of particular pairings, since this is not a case study of specific relationships. Names, and where necessary, the sex of those interviewed have been changed. Further, this study assumes that it will not be interpreted as evaluative of any of particular individuals, but rather will be read as intended, an attempt to capture

representative roles as they were played in the most difficult of social change situations.

The next chapter, Findings: Chapter V, seeks to document the descriptive components of the technical assistance role between Coordinators and their school department administrative counterparts, particularly in the high school setting, which developed in Boston college/university pairings. The following chapter, Findings: Chapter VI, details the prescriptive findings.

To: Campus Coordinators
From: Bard Hamlen
Re: "Technical Assistance Role"

This questionnaire attempts to capture some basic information about the elusive "technical assistance" aspect of the role of coordinator, an aspect of our role which some of us feel increasingly has been a significant piece of what we do yet has been largely unarticulated and therefore not generally understood. I am hoping to do some research on this aspect of the coordinator's role and would appreciate your help. Hopefully some patterns will emerge which will be useful to all of us in documenting our role. Thank you for your assistance. Please return this questionnaire to Bard Hamlen, Dept. of Education, Simmons College, 300 The Fenway, Boston MA 02115 by June 1, 1982.

Part 1: With whom you work, where and when

1. What percentage of your time do you spend as campus coordinator of your project?

   less than 30% __   30-60% __   60-85% __   full-time __

2. Of that time, what percentage of time do you spend on site at paired schools/district headquarters

   less than 30% __   30-60% __   60-85% __   full-time __

3. On site, what percentage of time do you spend with teachers, staff, students (as opposed to administrators)?

   less than 30% __   30-60% __   60-85% __   full-time __

4. What percentage of time do you spend with administrators?

   less than 30% __   30-60% __   60-85% __   full-time __

5. Generally speaking, do you consider that you work directly with the headmaster, principal or district superintendent?

   rarely if ever __   sometimes __   usually __

6. On the average, do you meet with the headmaster/ principal or district superintendent?

less than monthly __   monthly __   weekly __ daily __

7. Generally speaking, do you consider that although you do not work with the principal/headmaster of district superintendent, you do in fact work with his/her designee? (This assumes the designee perceives some authority to work from the administrator etc.)

rarely if ever __ ·   sometimes __   usually __

8. Do you employ others in your project who spend time on site in schools/districts working directly with teachers and administrators?

no __   yes __   If yes, how many?_____

9. What percentage of time do those employed in such fashion spend directly with administrators on site?

less than 30% __   30-60% __   60-85% __   full-time __

PART II: What you do

1. When working directly with administrators (or their designee) how often do you spend time doing the following:

Joint educational planning

never __ seldom __ sometimes __   often __ usually __

Identification of resources to solve school problems or improve planning or school programs

never __ seldom __   sometimes __   often __ usually __

Problem solving around specific school problems

never __ seldom __   sometimes __   often __ usually __

Crisis intervention (e.g. assisting in solutions to crisis situations in schools/districts)

never __ seldom __   sometimes __   often __ usually __

Brain storming, or being a "sounding board" for the administrator

never __ seldom __ sometimes __ often __ usually __

2. Do you feel that technical assistance is an important part of your role, regardless of the time you spend on it?

yes __

no __

3. Do you consider that your project is primarily a 'service or program delivery' model, as opposed to a staff development model?

yes __

no __

4. Do you feel that the school or district based administrator with who you work welcomes your role as technical assistant?

no __   sometimes __   yes __

5. Do you feel that you could offer significant 'technical assistance' to paired school and district administrators, but are prevented from doing so?

no __   somewhat __   yes __

6. Would you be willing to serve in an increased technical assistance role to the Boston School dept. in system projects if asked?

yes __   probably __   no __

Please fill in the appropriate Blocks:

I am paired with:

district __   several schools __   one school __

elementary __   middle __   high __

magnet __   district school __

If you would be interested in being interviewed on the subject of your perceptions of your role as coordinator and the issue of technical assistance, please sign below

and indicate the school/district with which you are paired.

Name_____

University/college_____

Paired School or district_____

<div align="right">Thank you.</div>

I am a campus coordinator for a college/university - Boston school pairing, and am presently also doing some research on aspects of the Boston pairings from 1975 to the present. The focus of my research is the role of the 636 coordinators vis a vis the educational leaders of the site school. This is not an evaluation study, nor is it a case study of particular pairings. It is an attempt to document what models of collaboration were, in fact, developed in the Boston setting from 1975 to 1982.

Your name has been suggested to me as one of the educational leaders in Boston during that period with whom I ought to talk. I am writing to ask if you might be willing to be interviewed on this subject for about 45 minutes at a time and place of your choosing. I would be most grateful for your time as I believe your contribution to this research would be significant.

I will call you in a few days to see if we might be able to arrange such an interview. Thank you so much for your cooperation in this study, which I hope may be of some benefit to all of us.

Sincerely yours,

Bard R. Hamlen
Coordinator

BRH/sa

Interview Question Format

This interview seeks your perceptions of the coordinator's role as a technical assistant to the headmaster, as defined by the attached "technical assistance" variables:

1. Could you describe the context of your involvement with the university/college collaboratives in Boston?

2. Which of these technical assistances variables do you consider that you do or are available (to you) through the pairing?

3. What should be added to the list?

4. What are the most important aspects of the technical assistance you consider you provide to headmasters (or other administrators) or are available to you?

5. Can you give me an example of how you work on some aspect of technical assistance you consider worked?

6. Can you give me an example of something which didn't work? Why not, do you think?

7. Would you care to comment specifically on the last two variables on the list?

8. What constraints do you see in (for) the role of technical assistance?

9. What training, support systems do you think might be helpful to headmasters in their role?

10. Is there anything else you would like to add?

Technical Assistant Variables

(Titled for the interview as Aspects of Technical Assistance)

Technical Assistance (directly) in:
* Joint educational planning

* Identification of resources to solve school problems or improve planning or the school

* Problem solving around specific school problems

* Crisis intervention

* Brain storming, or being a 'sounding board'

Assisting (indirectly) the headmaster in his role in:

* Stabilizing school organization (anticipating problems, staff conflict)

* Enhancement of school image, using community to enhance school image

* Communication to staff which changes attitudes, new ideas to staff

* Shaping community expectations of the school

* Building the image of the school as the principal interfaces with the community

* Creative insubordination: civilized disobedience

* Shortcutting the Labyrinth: loop hole management

FOOTNOTES -- CHAPTER IV

[1] Morris, Van Cleve et al., "The Urban Principal:
Middle Manager in the Educational Bureaucracy," Phi
Delta Kappan; Vol. 63, number 10, June 1982, p.689
ff.

[2] Ibid. p. 689.

[3] Ibid. p. 689.

[4] Ibid. p. 689.

[5] Lortie, Wolcott, Mintzberg, Blumberg, Jacobson.

[6] Morris, Van Cleve et al., "The Urban Principal. . ."
p. 690.

[7] Ibid. p. 691.

[8] Ibid. p. 691.

[9] cf. in particular Clasby, Miriam et al., "Mobilizing
Resources for Boston Schools: A 90-Day Project"
unpublished paper, Boston, August, 1981; including
draft update June 1982; and Clasby, Miriam et al.,
"Towards a Cooperative Relationship: The Boston
Public Schools and Boston Area Colleges and Univer-
sities," (unpublished paper), Boston, April 21, 1982.

[10] Tyack, David and Elizabeth Hansot, Managers of
Virtue: Public School Leadership in America, 1820-
1980, Basic Books, NY 1982.

[11] Ibid. p. 255.

C H A P T E R V

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY: PART I

CONDITIONS, MODELS AND STAGES IN

THE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE COLLABORATION

Personally, I think we were all a little skepti-
cal at the beginning because we were not con-
vinced that the commitment was there and we were
not convinced that we were going to get out of
the pairing what was being verbalized at the
time.

Headmaster

I've heard too many people say "the university
doesn't do anything." You know, you have to be
willing to accept some of that responsibility.
If you don't know what you need, why would you
expect someone to come in and just tell you
"this is best for you"?

District Superintendent

It boils down to who's going to have the final
say in what happens, who has the final
veto . . ."

Headmaster

The purpose of this study is to document, through

perceptions of selected Coordinators and headmasters, the

role of technical assistance played by Coordinators in

support of the secondary school principal as instructional leader in the context of the Boston pairings from 1975- 1982. Further, this study seeks to research and clarify the degree to which the technical assistance function has assisted or obstructed head masters or their designees in their roles as instructional leaders and to identify commonalities, modes of operation, prescriptions of that technical assistance function which may be useful to begin to define a support model for principals as instructional leaders of their schools. Finally the study seeks to determine whether such a role is perceived as aiding or potentially aiding headmasters to build "school planning capacity" in their schools. This chapter seeks to document the descriptive components of the technical assistance role between Coordinators and their school department administrative counterparts, particularly in the high school setting, through information obtained by questionnaire and in-depth interview. The second aspect of the study, prescriptive findings, will be the subject of the following chapter.

Organization of This Chapter

This chapter is organized into five main parts. The first part outlines the findings of the questionnaire circulated to Campus Coordinators in the spring of 1982.

The other four parts of this chapter deal with the
descriptive findings from interviews with thirteen Coordi-
nators and their nine school department administrative
counterparts. Part two of this chapter, therefore, out-
lines the antecedents of the Court Order as described by
participants of the study which sets the context for the
findings. Part three of this chapter outlines the con-
ditions found necessary to establish the technical assis-
tance role. These include <u>expectations</u>, <u>control</u>, and the
administrative <u>leadership</u> <u>style</u> in the school. Part four
of this chapter outlines the <u>stages</u> of collaboration as
described by interview participants. Part five, finally,
deals with the descriptive <u>variables</u> which defined the
technical assistance role. Three sets of variables are
described, as discussed in the previous chapter:
variables developed by Coordinators through the
questionnaire; those generated by the Morris study and
used in this study; additional variables added by
interview participants.

Part I: Findings of the Questionnaire

Of the fifteen responses obtained, ten Coordinators
considered that they worked directly with headmaster,
principal, or district superintendent "usually." Three

responded to this question "often." One worked "usually" with an assistant headmaster. One worked "rarely, if ever" with the headmaster, principal, or district superintendent. Three who did not work directly with the headmaster, principal or district superintendent answered "usually" to the question:

> Generally speaking, do you consider that although you do not work with the principal/-headmaster or district superintendent, you do, in fact, work with his/her designee? (This assumes the designee perceives some authority to work from the administrator, etc.)

The percentage of time Coordinators had to spend on their projects varied considerably from less than 30% to full time. The majority of all those surveyed spent less than 60% of their total time on site in schools, but of time on the project, the majority spent between 30-85% of their time with administrators. Nine met with that person "weekly"; one "daily"; two "semi-weekly"; the remainder "monthly or less". All employed others in the project who spent time "on site in schools/districts working directly with teachers and administrators". Most of those so employed, however, spent less than 30% of their time working with administrators.

When asked to respond to a set of technical assistance variables, Coordinators responded as follows to the question, "When working directly with administrators (or

their designees) how often do you spend time doing the
following:

QUESTION	NEVER	SELDOM	SOME-TIMES	OFTEN	USUALLY
I. Joint educational planning:	1	0	4	4	4
II. Identification of resources to solve problems or improve planning or school:	0	4	3	5	2
III. Problem Solving around specific school problems:	2	2	6	3	1
IV. Crisis intervention	4	5	3	2	1

In summary, Coordinators participated in joint planning,
and resource identification more frequently than they did
in problem solving around specific school problems or
crisis. Nine out of fourteen also participated in brain-
storming and acted as sounding boards for their admin-
istrators "frequently". All fourteen felt that "technical
assistance is an important part of (their) role, regard-
less of the time spent on it." To the question, "Do you
feel that the school or district based administrator with
whom you work welcomes your role as technical assistant?",
eleven answered "yes"; four answered "sometimes"; one
answered "no".

Part II: Antecedents to the Court Order

As described in Chapter Three, major planning activ-
ities between institutions of higher education and paired
schools began in the summer of 1975. However, interview
participants have described pairing arrangements already
in existence prior to 1975 which suggest antecedents of
the Court Order and provided those participants with early
experience in inter-institutional cooperative activity.
"Lucky in geography", one urban high school in the city
found itself surrounded by colleges, universities and
other opportunities for cooperative arrangements. In 1969
when this high school was in a period described by one
headmaster as "riot city", proximous universities, coll-
eges, and businesses joined school department officials in
planning alternative courses and activities to meet the
needs of a rapidly changing student population. These
programs, taught on college campus or at other alternative
sites, became known as the "Flexible Campus Program". The
early experience thus gained by college/university per-
sonnel and school based "flexible campus Coordinators" set
the stage for the more formalized pairings of the Court
Order. In addition, the Secondary School Commission, a
committee of parents, teachers, and community representa-
tives, provided Court expert Robert Dentler, who was a
member, the opportunity to gain first-hand knowledge of

these cooperative arrangements, according to one head-master who felt that Dentler had been most instrumental in the final inclusion of pairings into the Court Order.

Some of the original flexible campus pairings were not included in the first version of the Masters Report, but at the urging of school administrators were included in the final draft. Others were included by what can only be described as fortuitous circumstance, which brought together university and school people who ordinarily would not have met. Participants recount such stories, describing a meeting between "the Judge and the President (of a university) at some tennis club they were members of" or the chance that allowed a university dean "to sit next to the school superintendent at a breakfast they both attended." Such details suggest that there were very few formal structures available to bring school and college/-university planners together, especially those responsible for decision making, "the top brass," as one headmaster put it. Lack of formal structure may help to explain the initial distrust or wariness experienced by representa-tives of both sides when they did, in fact, have to sit down to plan together in the summer of 1975.

Part III: Conditions for Technical Assistance

A. Expectations and control. All study participants
identified two conditions influencing initial collabora-
tion: expectations and control. Coordinators and their
school based counterparts were largely responsible, by
design or by chance, for working through these issues when
Chapter 636 planning grants were obtained and planning
began in the summer of 1975. Coordinators were probably
unprepared for the strong expectations about working with
colleges and universities held by their school department
counterparts. Willingly, for the most part, embarked on
what they welcomed as "joint planning", they were unpre-
pared as well for the strong hierarchical cultural
patterns of the schools, patterns which indirectly and
subtly affected the "collegial" relationship Coordinators
sought. Working through the issues of expectation and
control seem a prerequisite for moving the relationship
on. ·

All school based participants spoke at length about
the expectations they held or perceived were held by
others about working with colleges/universities, expecta-
tions which one headmaster described as resulting from
"the historical division between school and college."
"How can you teach me anything when you're up at that end
and I'm down here" indicates the hierarchical perceptions

at work here as well as expectations about what a university could or ought to be offering. As one headmaster described this "initial skepticism":

> It seemed at one point that maybe the colleges were getting more than we were getting, and I think the major gap that had to be bridged was that initial skepticism. They were a little afraid of us; we were a little afraid of them. We all wanted to make sure that we protected our own turf. And trust was a factor.

This participant outlined the formal steps his school took to clarify expectations. They included a "round table" involving all parties, and finally a "high level meeting" involving "the President right on down: to clarify agreements." And, he added:

> I think the bottom line and overall   we were still not convinced after taking those steps. But after the years, looking back, I don't think there was a solution to what we were asking for. They couldn't commit themselves other than verbalizing it. It was just a matter of building that trust factor.

One of the initial expectations of what a college or university ought to offer was scholarships; and some relationships, unlike the one described above, never grew past that demand. Explained one Coordinator:

> At the high school there's always been that problem and we get it every single year. It came up again this year. 'We want scholarships'. It's something they feel we should be giving free because we're paired. That's still an issue, and from the headmaster himself. I can't help but thinking that because we haven't opened that door that they think is a door, they're reluctant to call on us for any other reason. And I'm not sure why that is.

School department personnel interviewed spoke of
their need not to "feel condescended to" nor "dictated
to". One described the situation as follows:

> They felt they knew how to do it better. They
> wanted to be the experts for us rather than to
> be resources with us.

During this initial period one sort of expertise which was
appreciated by school personnel was "knowing how a school
works", and several expressed early confidence in
Coordinators who had demonstrated by their experience or
attitude that "they knew what it was like to run an urban
high school". One administrator described a single
incident in which his prior expectations were both
confirmed and changed:

> We had a meeting out at the college with Dr.
> Something or other. I was very, very dissat-
> isfied and I said I don't want that program. I
> needed real help, not the help the Court wanted
> you to have. ----was there. She followed me
> out of the meeting into the hall. She said I
> looked a little disappointed. So she came in
> (to the school) and we sat down. I gave a
> little; she gave a little, and we worked it out
> together.

One pairing which in other ways had "limitations" for the
headmaster, nevertheless, served to dispel for him some of
the hierarchical sense of division between school and
college:

> We both entered the pairing with great expecta-
> tions, expectations which over time tended to
> change as a result of the practical problems of
> implementation. But the personal relationships
> which were developed are on-going and the mutual

respect for the two institutions which developed
as an offshoot (of the pairing) is still there.

Coordinators too, of course, had their own initial expect-
ations.

> Our whole operation was based (on the assumption
> that) school improvement would come about by
> building the capacity of the people inside the
> system and that any lasting change needed to
> deal with the system as a system and not as
> individual or ad hoc interventions. That's a
> clear indication of the difference between my
> expectation of what our role should have been
> and what the headmasters' in the schools was.
> They had no intention of letting us mess with
> the operation of the school and the more that
> they could do to keep us busy (filling requests)
> the better.

Coordinators probably underestimated the "historical

division" which school department people initially felt,

and which was often in interview expressed even by the

strongest advocates of collaboration in confrontational

terms. That Coordinators were also "outsiders" and "came

with the judge" produced negative expectations according

to some Coordinators interviewed. However, no school

personnel confirmed that perception. They more clearly

saw the issue as one of school vs. college/university.

Related to resistance to "the experts coming in" is

the matter of control. Coordinators tended to see lack of

power as one of the central constraints to headmasters.

While headmasters interviewed confirmed their desire for

increased power, the major impression one gets from

recountings about initial pairing activity is that school

department personnel were united in their perception that
they must have the final control in pairings. Where
Coordinators allowed this to happen, pairings moved on to
the next stage. Pairings which floundered early did so on
the issue of control, in my opinion. One Boston admin-
istrator described how control ought to work:

> I've always looked at 636 as Boston's
> responsibility. It's the responsibility of the
> school, the headmaster, the district super-
> intendent, whomever, to articulate to the
> university what it wanted to do and once agreed
> upon to make sure that those agreements are
> kept; to demand, cajole the resources to meet
> the goals of the overall pairing and of the
> school. If you're real lucky you find that the
> person hired by or given to you by the univer-
> sity will begin to identify with the high school
> as well as the university and cooperate with the
> Coordinator at the school in defining the
> program, explaining it to the headmaster,
> getting the headmaster and the faculty to buy
> into it and to beat up the university, if you
> will, to make sure it happens.

Other school department officials described
situations which broke down, as they saw it, over the
issue of control.

> If you're like me and fully believe in the
> fact that if I'm the administrative head of this
> building I have control over whether this school
> sinks or swims, then I want to have that kind of
> control . . . It boils down to who's going to
> have the final say in what happens, who has the
> final veto.

In another pairing which is now described by both sides as
beginning again with a "fresh slate," the original rela-
tionship suffered damage over an issue which can be partly
explained as involving expectations but probably most

clearly involved control. When vouchers[1] were withheld from teachers in the schools, according to a school administrator, "the war began. No person on the university side was able to come in here and satisfactorily resolve the issue." The faculty also perceived the university siding with parents against the school and its headmaster, which furthered "the severe strain."

Coordinators too, acknowledged the necessity of allowing the administrator to feel in control of the pairing. As one stated, "He is the headmaster. Whatever he says is it." Where the subject of control came to a direct confrontation over an issue considered fundamental by the headmaster, the pairing terminated, either formally or informally, an occurrence which happened at least in three cases according to interview participants. In several other such cases some intervention was required to get the pairing back on the track. One example included Court intervention. In three other cases cited the Coordinators were, in fact, replaced. Two other Coordinators spoke of "rocky starts" their institutions had had in forming the initial collaborative relationship and felt that their assignment as new Coordinators in the projects had been instrumental in "turning the situation around."

B. Conditions: leadership styles in the schools. While control was an initial issue for headmasters, not all

headmasters or principals were perceived as having, nor by their own admission had, equal power over the situation in schools in which they found themselves in 1975. Their leadership styles differed. The stability of their schools differed. Their goals for pairings differed. The relationship which the Coordinator developed with his "opposite number" in the school; and, in fact, who that opposite number turned out to be was determined largely by the leadership style of the headmaster. Coordinators adapted their response to the style of that leader while, in all pairings which progressed, acknowledging the authority of that leader over his/her school.

The "Patronage" style. The words "Patronage style" were used by three Coordinators to describe the administrative style at work in schools in which they collaborated. The administrator here saw his role as negotiating with the factions of his staff and held control through the dispensing of power and responsibility to those trusted staff members, rather than by a more open allocation involving all staff. In this situation Coordinators developed working relationships with assistant headmasters in subject areas, especially in those areas of programmatic activity, and offered technical assistance at that level. In the beginning of one pairing, a Coordinator related, "the curriculum leadership at the school was diffuse. The

principal maintained the routines of the institution
through a mini patronage system and 636 was part of that
system. He doled out goodies to faculty who were loyal to
him and performed for him some of these maintenance func-
tions." In this pairing, the relationship between the
Coordinator and the headmaster was described as "affable."
He continued.

> Well, we chatted with each other. I
> occasionally made suggestions to him which then
> immediately were pushed over to the department
> head in question.

Technical assistance offered in this project was delivered
through the working relationship between the Campus Coor-
dinator and the school based Coordinator appointed by the
headmaster and described as a "mediator" between head-
master and the factions of the faculty. Although initial
planning was begun at a meeting in which school based
personnel said to the college, "tell us what you want us
to do," the Coordinator took the position throughout that
the school must take responsibility for planning. His
message in turn to them was "you tell us what you should
do, and we'll try to generate a response," but, he added,
this message was increasingly delivered "with hints" as he
began to understand their needs better. He continued:

> We are consultants to the school system.
> The more clearly the task is defined the better
> we can do it. None of these things can be
> implemented until they decide they want them to
> be. The consultant does not move in and take
> over some of the functions of the school.

The principal as manager. Two Coordinators described
headmasters with whom they worked as seeing their role as
"manager," by which they meant management of the daily
operation of the school plant, rather than the more
broadly defined role of manager of an organization. These
managers spent much of their time dealing with the immed-
iate, ongoing needs of the school and therefore delegated
educational planning to their subordinates. In the second
model in which the headmaster was too busy to do direct
educational planning, technical assistance was also
offered to the school through the relationship of the
Coordinator and the assistant headmaster in the school.
The headmaster, related the Coordinator, "did not think
very hard about or work very hard at educational programs
and how they were working or not working. He saw himself
as a manager concerned with day to day peace and quiet in
the school, and he dealt with that -- on a day to day
basis, preventing student interruptions and various kinds
of disfunctions that would go on. He had very little time
for calling meetings, following things through and sitting
down and planning things out." Nevertheless, this
Coordinator believed the pairing played "a very, very key
and strong role in programmatic planning" at the school.

This Coordinator also concluded that school based
planning is a prerequisite for the most effective uses of
collaborative resources:

> The headmaster, assistant headmaster, and
> the staff hadn't really done a very careful
> needs assessment vis a vis (the resources of the
> institution), of its own program weaknesses,
> where it had to strengthen its program in the
> context of getting help from (the university).
> It seemed to me that it was very difficult for
> the university to be effective if indeed the
> school didn't reach out and ask for certain
> things and say this is where we want to go.

In this context, the collaborative directly faced the need

by obtaining funds for planning. The Coordinator con-

sidered this planning and identification of resources to

be the major areas of technical assistance success.

The school in crisis vs. "joint educational baby". Given

the political context of the pairings, rapid turnover in

staff and administrators, it is not surprising that some

Coordinators described the initial planning as occurring

in conditions bordering on the chaotic, and in situations

in which it was not at all clear if the headmaster had

control of his building nor staff support.

> At the school, the principal was in a very
> shaky position there. He set it up where we'd
> have to negotiate pretty much with the indi-
> vidual department chairs themselves.

Another situation described the "total uproar" of the

staff, expressed as fear of change and of the student

body:

> There'd always be the type of thing where
> they'd be talking about the fear. The teachers
> would be beating the kids out of the school.
> For a kid to see his teacher running to beat him

out the door - the whole mentality of fear - it
breeds a disrespect.

Inconsistency on the part of the administrative leader
also mitigated against the possibility of offering techni-
cal assistance:

You'd never know where he was coming from
day to day. One day he'd back you to the wall;
the next minute, the support just wasn't there.

In yet another situation, the Coordinator developed a
technical assistance relationship, but only after long
negotiations with department heads and staff. The build-
ing administrator, he explained:

. . . gave off a feeling of not wanting to be
there and more or less biding time until he
could get out of there. That shows very much to
your staff too. We had to spend a lot of time
in negotiating that could have been better spent
elsewhere.

Some headmasters, however, used the opportunity of
the collaborative to assist them in achieving stability
and staff support. A Coordinator related:

He came in with some very strong educa-
tional ideas which were different from those
which had been, and he sat down and talked with
us, and with me, about how to implement those
ideas. And we agreed with him, so jointly we
planned (a program). It was our joint educa-
tional baby, the thing we feel best about.

If the headmaster saw the collaborative as useful in
achieving such stabilization or educational change, then
technical assistance could be offered directly to the
headmaster as well as to those he delegated to work with
the program. Sometimes, a district superintendent was

instrumental in assisting the headmaster develop a tech-
nical assistance relationship even when the headmaster
might not have initiated such a role alone. As one admin-
istrator commented:

> Sometimes you can do it even when the
> headmaster doesn't have (any particular goals
> for the pairing). It was a whole lot easier to
> hook any efforts to try to define school goals
> to the pairing than to do it ad hoc. But unless
> you have someone who takes responsibility (on
> the school side), it isn't going to happen.

"Someone on the school side who takes responsibility".
Conditions necessary for the successful establishment of a
technical assistance role vis a vis the headmaster or his
designee seem to include the satisfactory initial resolu-
tion of the issues of expectations and control and
required that "someone on the school side take responsi-
bility" for initial planning and negotiation. In many
cases, headmasters did take responsibility directly.
However, if the headmaster's expectations were set in
advance of planning, a strong leadership role from the
headmaster could also impede the development of a tech-
nical assistance function. Two Coordinators described
situations in which the headmasters with whom they ini-
tially worked took a direct role in initial planning with
the collaborating institution, but progress was impeded by
set expectations of what the university ought to provide
or what the headmaster wanted. One such example involved

scholarship aid. Another involved a headmaster's desire "to tap into the brain trust of the university," by which was meant access to courses, expertise, and perhaps, academic programs and people of influence. The thrust of the collaborative activity, determined on a district basis, was meanwhile elsewhere, and also perceived as meeting the university's own agenda.

> Initially we got involved with the high school, and it was a relationship which was perceived on both sides as being unsuccessful. There was a perception that the (university) wanted to deal with multicultural issues and not provide aides and some of the more traditional approaches. The faculty was extremely re-sistant. Because (the headmaster) was the new kid on the block brought in to be the person at the school, even though he supported some of the activities, he wasn't willing to alienate his faculty by insisting that the relationship continue.

In this latter case, the headmaster made a conscious decision based on his priorities and confirmed by his own expectations of what would be useful resources of the institution. This relationship is now in the process of "re-establishment," and will, it is hypothesized, have to work through the issue of expectations again.

In another pairing still working with the strong demands of the headmaster, the Coordinator described the planning process as follows:

> It's more a matter of someone saying now this is what we want; you give it to us, rather than thinking about planning something together.

Summary of conditions. In the majority of pairings
described by Coordinators and school department personnel,
the headmaster or administrative leader took an active
role in establishing the relationship, which allowed a
direct Coordinator/headmaster technical assistance role to
be formed as a by-product of the programmatic planning
process. These relationships, of course, varied as did
the leadership styles of the participants. One common
leadership style was described as "the tight ship." Here
the administrator took an active initial role in the
pairing out of a sense of responsibility for whatever
"comes into the building." As one administrator
explained:

> Anything that comes into the school is
> under the direct jurisdiction of the headmaster.
> Therefore, with any college or business pairings
> you have to make it clear that they are there,
> not at the whim and desire of the headmaster
> necessarily, but as part of the total function
> of the school. They're there to supplement the
> total program and not (to be) a school within a
> school.

Another common leadership style was described as "the
aggressive seeker of resources." Here the administrative
leader involved him/herself directly in order to pursue
the resources available, especially but not exclusively
grant monies, and developed a relationship with the colla-
borative in obtaining them which also evolved into a wider
technical assistance relationship. In this relationship,
there was considerable openness to try new things, seek

all programs offered so that, as one administrator put it,
"you have enough resources left to run the school when the
circus moves on by." Others clearly accepted the
collaborative matter of factly and began negotiations to
establish its success in their schools or districts.
Still another leadership style involved a philosophical
understanding of school change as explained to me by a
school administrator:

> Running a high school is very difficult.
> It takes certain skills. I don't think very
> many people can do it. I think that if people
> knew how hard it was, they'd approach working
> with the headmaster differently. Why is the guy
> defensive? Well, you know, he's sitting on 55
> grievances. As a headmaster you don't smile all
> the time. I can understand how some headmasters
> would think, God, I don't have time to sit
> around here and decide when the Theatre Company
> is going to come. I just don't have that kind
> of time. I've got my lunch-rooms to watch, and
> I have to make sure my teachers teach. You, go
> do that. But when it boils down to 'you, go do
> that' then it's (the program) always an appen-
> dage. It's difficult enough to institutionalize
> improvements without killing them, but then when
> you do that it's still hard to keep them.

In summary then, the technical assistant role vis a
vis the headmaster was determined by the satisfactory
initial resolution of the issues of expectation, and
control and was further determined by the leadership style
of the headmaster or district administrator. Those colla-
borative relationships described as "starting over" at
present writing seem also to be going through the initial
stages involving expectation and control. The majority of

all those interviewed did satisfactorily resolve those
issues, if not with all, at least with some administrators
with whom they worked. The relationships which resulted
seem to have occurred in stages which, despite the
particulars of each relationship, were developmental in
nature and occurred over time.

Part IV: Stages of Collaboration

The working collaborative -- commitment, and trust build-
ing: developing the relationship for technical assistance.
The majority of those Coordinators interviewed felt that
they had, in fact, developed a technical assistance role
with some of the administrators or their designees with
whom they worked. Interviews with school department
personnel confirmed that finding. Both sides were in
agreement as to the several stages building the technical
assistance relationship involved. For some it was clearly
easier than for others. The variables of situation, the
nature of the paired institutions, and in some cases,
chance account for these differences. Several
Coordinators referred to "logistics" as the term to
describe the difficulties. Nevertheless, they agreed that
the first step was "demonstrating commitment" and
described both formal and informal ways in which this was
gained. Especially important for school personnel was

providing for them direct access to the top of the
collaborating institution as a demonstration of
commitment, and Coordinators who facilitated that access
were able to move onto the next stage sooner. Explained
one administrator whose project moved "aggressively" to
secure funding and develop programs early on,

> I had constant contact from the President
> on down. I met with him both formally and
> informally, with the Coordinator both formally
> and informally to convey my perceptions of the
> needs of the district and then to ask how they
> could respond.

Formal methods of demonstrating commitment involved
meetings, negotiating through policy boards, appearing at
open houses and school functions, and even, as outlined
earlier, responding in writing to requests for clarifica-
tion. These formal structures helped "to develop a rela-
tionship with the institution," gave people a formal
"access to the college Coordinator," and provided head-
masters with a kind of testing ground in which to deter-
mine if Coordinators "could understand the school
atmosphere." Sometimes these formal testing grounds could
be rough, and commitment reaching "a long, tough process."

Coordinators and headmasters described a process of
"beating things out" which suggests the typical model for
planning on the school level in which the headmaster took
an active role in developing the collaborative direction.
A Coordinator related:

> We'd go in and sit down with _____ (the
> headmaster). After okaying the process (at the
> district) we'd sit in the office with _____
> and go though the process and beat things out.
> He would invite certain staff people to his
> office to talk about the particular areas of the
> proposal. Those department chairs would sit
> with us in his office.

The proposal process, which necessitated some plan-

ning, assisted headmasters and Coordinators by offering a

vehicle around which planning could occur; but it was not

an uncomplicated process, explained a headmaster who had

several pairings in his school.

> The problem with the whole 636 project is
> the problem with magnet schools in the city,
> which is: we were faced with deseg, here's some
> money, develop these programs around whatever
> your magnet theme is supposed to be.

I believe a similar problem faced district, non

magnet schools which were not even provided a "theme"

around which to plan. The lack of what some described as

a "clear direction" of 636 guidelines provided for the

participants a certain ambiguity in which to plan and

negotiate the trust relationship. Institutional access

through the Coordinator, on-site visibility, and time were

the conditions which built, finally, trust and provided

the on-going headmaster/Coordinator relationship in which

technical assistance could be offered, according to many

of those interviewed. The models which evolved as

described by interviewees share those three character-

istics: <u>access</u>; <u>visibility</u>; <u>time</u>, all of which eventually

demonstrated that "commitment" which school administrators
frequently mentioned, a term which suggests establishing a
credibility which assisted in the development of mutual
respect and trust. A headmaster relates:

> --- and I meet every Wednesday afternoon.
> We sit down and talk. He comes here and some-
> times I go there. It's usually easier for him
> to come here because he's involved in several
> departments here. It's one of the things that
> is key to the pairing. He's over here every
> week; he knows the building; he knows what we
> are trying to do.

A Coordinator shared the model which developed the
technical assistance role with the administrators in the
project:

> My staff is in buildings on a regular
> basis, on site, all year long; there's no short
> term involvement. They are on-site advisors in
> whatever area the program demands. That's a
> fundamental premise of this whole advisory
> process, that it's over time and heavily indivi-
> dualized. It's an advisory system for prin-
> cipals (as well as staff) that they can call
> upon as they need to.

She also traced the evolution of the hierarchical
perception, she found in the culture of Boston schools
which she had to work through initially.

> The early years required more presence on
> my part than I have right now. In the initial
> stages of interacting with principals there's a
> very strong role consciousness. My staff is
> seen more as the principal sees teachers, and I
> am seen more on a level. So the Coordinator, or
> the person coming with the administrative hat
> on, is the person who interacts with the princi-
> pal and is the counter-point to the staff people
> with teachers, the outsider who can be talked to
> and be open with.

Close contact, and the personal presence of the Coor-
dinator at regular times was necessary in this trust
building stage. Another Coordinator related:

> The principal sees me as the project, and
> if there's anything dealing with the project,
> whether it's technical assistance, whether it's
> in-service, whether its salary, he will call on
> me.

Those interviewed suggested that in this stage of
developing relationship the Coordinator is also being
tested on his or her position inside his/her institution,
if only indirectly, as determined by the Coordinator's
ability to "deliver" or provide "access" to the institu-
tion. As one headmaster put it. "I don't want to have to
wait for phone calls to be returned." Since Coordinators,
in fact, differ greatly in their own role within their
institutions and therefore, one assumes, their ability to
provide quick access, this unarticulated condition must
have complicated relationships for some. The giving of
time on-site by the Coordinator him/herself apparently
persuaded administrators eventually of the "commitment" of
the Coordinator and, indirectly, the institution.
Therefore, the relationship not only developed over time,
but required large amounts of Coordinator's time.
Headmasters expressed appreciation for Coordinators who
"were available", who, as one put it, "gave me the block
of time I needed". One headmaster particularly commended

a Coordinator who invited the school staff to her house
after the school day to "hammer out proposals".

As one Coordinator summarized, the ingredients for
trust building were visibility, time, and demonstration of
willingness to help.

> Physical visibility is important. My
> weekly meeting there is sacred. I may just sit
> there, but the fact that I am physically there
> is important. You can't do this job from an
> office. The focus of activity has to be in the
> schools, for convenience and for ownership. By
> making myself available, (by doing) whatever I
> can do for any of them, that builds the rela-
> tionship.

In summary, then, the first stage of developing
relationship involved working through the "issue of com-
mitment", and building trust through planning and dis-
cussion, both formal and informal. Coordinators seem to
have been able to establish "commitment" and build trust
by providing access to their institutions, being visible
on-site, and by giving their own time generously over a
period of time.

The Technical Assistance Relationship at Work:
Negotiation, Failure and Conflict, Growth and Change.
Once the "commitment" and trust building stage was com-
pleted, the working relationship between Coordinator and
administrator as described by both sides was direct,
honest, open, and could tolerate some conflict and absorb
considerable failure. The shared goal of "making the

school work" seems the ingredient of this relationship
which broke down the we/they "division historically tradi-
tional" between secondary schools and the college/univer-
sities. "Making the school work" is not simply making the
collaborative program work. It implies that the college/-
university Coordinator actively shared with the school
administrator a goal for the school, and "identified" to
some extent with the school while still, of course, also
representing the collaborating institution. Discussions
and, as one Coordinator put it, "lots of good arguments
over time" are other ingredients which built the trust
relationship. Open communication, listening skills, and a
mutual "respect of institutions" were cited as other
conditions of the on-going relationship.

"Unloading The Truck" vs. Planning. One of the myths
commonly held about pairings has been their potential to
"unleash the vast resources" of universities. Not all
institutions do, in fact, have vast resources adaptable to
school goals. Unfocused requests appear to have somewhat
exhausted Coordinators in the early negotiation process.
As one Coordinator put it, "The people at _____High School
saw the college as a kind of catalog. 'You put everything
on the truck and just back it up to _____High School and
unload it for us.'" It was easier to provide technical
assistance when the administrative leader had "a central

concern" which could focus the requests. In this context,
headmasters and other administrators could not always
obtain from the institution the resources they sought.
One headmaster described this process as "learning to
respect the limitations of the cooperating institution."
Coordinators seem to have responded to their perception of
overwhelming requests in these early stages of negotiation
by emphasizing the necessity for planning.

Four Coordinators expressed concern that at the
school level teachers and others (though not necessarily
the administrative leaders) lacked a compatable under-
standing of the planning process. Said one:

> The prior step is to convey to people the
> importance of planning, what planning is, and
> how you plan. An enormous amount of time was
> spent in trying to legitimate the notion of
> planning and prepare the ground work. It's the
> planning and the program functioning that then
> unlocks the resources. Resources plugged in
> without that design are bandaids.

Technical assistance to administrators in joint
planning will be discussed elsewhere in this study. In
its context in this stage of the relationship, it is here
discussed as an ingredient in the negotiation process
which Coordinators and their school counterparts undertook
to match the "resources of the institution" with the needs
of the school. Negotiating such matches was complicated
by the organizational considerations endemic to both
institutions in the partnerships. As a school

administrator noted, there was considerable leeway in the

Boston situation for school by school or district by

district interpretation:

> It's very, very difficult to work to define
> the thrust of a particular pairing. It's left
> to the thrust of the headmaster, if he or she
> has one, and the ingenuity of the faculty and
> the Coordinators.

A Coordinator added that the negotiating process

involved "breaking down barriers" which included "institu-

tional barriers":

> The interrelationship we're talking about;
> it's not just technical assistance. What we are
> talking about is inter-institutional arrange-
> ments. We're talking about a set of people with
> different skills in totally different organiza-
> tional frameworks. Those different organiza-
> tional frameworks are going to impact on the
> delivery of services. To be aware of what we
> primarily think of as constraints - but there
> must be some advantages - is absolutely
> essential.

Sometimes the negotiation process produced failures.

"A Few Turkey Programs." The positive working partnership

included, as related by interviewees, open and frequent

communication which allowed the relationship to deal

constructively with failure. As one headmaster related:

> We've had some turkey programs, but not too
> many. When _____(the Coordinator) thinks we're
> screwing up, he lets us know and vice versa.
> Sometimes we make commitments we don't follow
> through on like we should, and it's happened
> that the university, different departments,
> haven't followed through on certain things.
> We've had a couple of people we've hired, not
> many, from the university that didn't work out

here, things like that. They'll always be
problems. But if you're open and honest and
frank---our (joint) basic goal is to make
_____High School a better place to work and
study at.

Said another headmaster about respect in communica-

tion, "if your Coordinator keeps the lines of communica-

tion clear, that helps. In areas where there's a need for

discussion, it's up to the Coordinators to talk to one

another---. The respect should remain there. You have to

respect the limitations on both sides. Ability and open-

ness on both sides is key."

"Nipping Things in the Bud": Conflicts. Some of the

conflicts which were related by interviewees were dealt

with quickly and directly. Both sides seemed to under-

stand the advisability of "not letting things build up".

As one school side administrator explained:

    I've not experienced the kind of conflict I
    haven't been able to resolve because I don't
    leave things to build and develop and then it
    becomes confrontational for me. I become part
    of all the planning.

The headmaster of another school explained that there

had been very few conflicts on "the programmatic level" in

his experience in pairings, that only "questions of con-

trol" presented conflicts which were not easily resolved.

Sometimes Coordinators played a mediating role in con-

flicts which involved their pairings. By acknowledging

the authority of the headmaster over the school even in

the midst of a disagreement, one Coordinator explained how conflict "was nipped in the bud."

> I've been able to explain to them (those in disagreement) that our common goal is to bring programs to the students. He's very important to them; he's the administrator and we must work together. There are things we can change, and things that we can't. And we'll work to change the things we can.

Some conflicts were avoided in the working relationship by open discussion about things that, as one Coordinator put it, "we couldn't do". Coordinators for the most part took this approach based on their assessment of the resources of their institutions, the proposal guidelines, or "their own educational sense of what ought to be going on." As one Coordinator explained:

> What we do is sit down and discuss how the pairing can be helpful. The principal has many ideas; and we have some ideas. We see which of those things can be meshed. He has asked us to do some things we can't do, that we don't feel would come out of pairing ideas. Many of the things he wants are things any principal might legitimately want, but they are not appropriate for our relationship with him. It probably works ultimately for the good of the school because it provides him with advice and assistance which has been determined to some extent from outside the school.

At issue here are tensions for the most part endemic in the proposal guidelines, tensions which have been discussed at length in other literature about the Boston Pairings: issues involving direct vs. indirect services; and definitions of supplemental vs. supplantive services. One Coordinator described this as "the 636 guidelines and

all that they stand for", which clearly includes the issues of remediating a segregated school system, thus including issues of attitude remediation and equal access to educational programs for all students.

It is clear from interviews with Coordinators that perseverance in trying to provide what was sought or asked for marked the relationship of active technical assistance, despite occasional "non-matches." Said one Coordinator:

> Usually, we do whatever we have to do to make it work. And sometimes it gets very, very arduous. If I don't see that the raw material is there to make something work, I don't even try it. There's enough stuff we can do to move ahead. So we just leave the stuff that can't be done.

Some conflicts, it appears were simply avoided. When school personnel were unwilling to share their real school problems or needs, the relationship tended to remain on a formal level which did not involve the conflict over control which was described earlier as a characteristic of the initial interface between collaborating institutions. Explained one Coordinator, "If anything, they try to avoid letting us know (about problems). Everything's fine, they say."

Growth and Change. Like any on-going relationship, this technical assistance relationship was described by several

Coordinators as one which allowed for change and growth
over time.

> Many of these things are on-going. The
> specifics are in the thousands. It is something
> which happened over time. Through a variety of
> on-going interactions, he (the administrator)
> has learned a whole lot of new stuff, and acted
> on it. I would say that it was a three to four
> year process.

Another talked about a continuing issue in the rela-
tionship, "it's a question of longevity." A third related
the following about the technical assistance role
developed in a pairing:

> It's really been a long struggle, and many
> times I get very frustrated because I see so
> many things I'd like to see happen at that
> school; but, again, I have to patient.

While Coordinators described the technical assistance
role within the context of change and growth, often men-
tioning the swiftly changing political and social context
in which the pairings operated, headmasters and school
personnel seemed to convey a sense, for the most part,
that pairings are part of the permanent fabric of their
school life. Said one with obvious pride, "It's just been
an outstanding pairing. There hasn't been a better pair-
ing on the secondary level. The pairing speaks for it-
self." Another commented:

> I think it's the best thing that ever
> happened to the schools. If the system is ever
> going to turn itself around, it's going to be
> through the pairings, and I think we've had
> enough time over the past years to justify that
> statement.

While such comments can be regarded partly as "positive P.R." and perhaps even an attempt to say what the interviewer was assumed to want to hear, they do none-the-less suggest that the notion of pairings has gained ownership from school personnel, and that the relationship is, in many instances, real. It is somewhat ironic that this should finally be so in a time when Coordinators see such uncertainty for funding these relationships in the future. Never-the-less, the technical assistance role which is part of these relationships was recognized by representatives of both sides.

Part V: Technical Assistance Variables

Looking at the list of technical variables used in this study the first Coordinator I interviewed neatly drew the distinction between "process" and "result" by characterizing the first set of variables as "process" and the second set as "results." Whether or not the activities so described can be quite so clearly divided in an ongoing project of this breadth where various parties are at different stages is uncertain, but the majority of Coordinators did recognize these variables as part of the technical assistance role. School personnel confirmed these findings in varying degrees. Both groups added other variables.

Joint Educational Planning. As discussed above planning
is a complicated issue. Some planning was required in all
collaboratives by virtue of the annual proposal process
which in later years also dictated the constituencies to
be involved in the planning. However, two Coordinators
described planning as the "locker room mentality" in which
people from the college/university would sit down with
people from the school "to perpetuate the same old pro-
grams from year to year." Three Coordinators felt
planning involved negotiating resources; at least four
Coordinators were involved in what they considered real
educational planning. Three described being involved, as
described earlier in the chapter, in active negotiation
over the meaning of the guidelines and appropriate collab-
orative responses within the Court Order context.

In one model, school administrators consciously took
the opportunity of the pairings to focus the entire school
goals "under one umbrella - the pairing." They were
assisted by Coordinators in achieving a planning process
which drew together a wide constituency including those in
the school who were "threatened by change" or "overtaxed
by desegregation." One administrator explained:

> The magnet programs became part of the
> overall offerings of this large, comprehensive
> high school. My premise was that if the aca-
> demic program were strong, the violent aspect of
> desegregation would be diminished because kids
> would want to come to school.

Another administrator noted the role the Coordinators took in drawing parents into the planning and "kept plugging away at it." He added, "It wouldn't have been good for me to do it. It was not part of my understanding of getting things done."

Although some Coordinators expressed some frustration about their technical assistance success in helping people learn to do planning, school administrators' comments suggested that the appreciation for planning grew with time. Said one administrator about a Coordinator, "She even anticipated down to the detail what the forms would look like." He added:

> Their (the pairing) existence is an occasion for us to look ahead, to see where we are going all together. Sometimes they point out the questions and concerns to us.

The planning process, felt this administrator, had over time created a sense of community, made people more sensitive to "new needs", and brought people together.

Identification of Resources. All Coordinators interviewed felt that they had served in this role. Some of the resources cited were their own institutions, of course, but many had been instrumental in obtaining resources from other sources: community agencies; cultural groups; and, in several cases, from other colleges. One noted that some administrators actively sought these resources when

they encountered a need, while others waited for the suggestion of particular resources from the Coordinator. Some administrators were looking for "expertise" while others enlisted the resources to assist in planning or problem solving with staff. Explained one Coordinator of an administrator with whom she worked, "He has the perception that there are people (from the university) who can do that with him." This, she considered, was a support to him in regular school problem needs as well as issues directly involving the pairing.

All Coordinators participated in obtaining funds, most 636 funds, but also other funds, both private foundation and public state and federal monies. Thus the resources sought and obtained varied enormously, from a morning visit from a particular theatre group to a Teacher Corps Grant. More important to some Coordinators was the "linkage" role they played in identifying and delivering these resources. As one explained,

> When I started I used the rule of thumb,
> how can we get the university to do what it does
> anyway except to do it in special relationship
> to Boston. Now, some of the things it does
> anyway are class projects, dissertations,
> admissions, public relations. But it takes an
> enormous amount of work to make the linkages.
> It's important to understand that the Coor-
> dinator is not just somebody like a hired
> consultant coming in. The Coordinator is
> attached to another institution.

School personnel confirmed the finding that Coordinators have provided technical assistance in obtaining

resources, both money and personnel, citing the role the institutions have played as "purchasing agents" for the schools as well as directly providing programs and personnel. All but one mentioned the 636 funds which came to their schools or districts through the technical assistance offered by Coordinators. Another of the resources often mentioned was the writing skill of Coordinators. One administrator commented, "Whenever I have anything tricky to write, I call _____" (the Coordinator). Two did discuss the tension between the resources identified by Coordinators and the direct service needs of the schools. Said one, "direct services is what I really need." Seven mentioned the flexibility which the additional resources provided, including financial flexibility that enabled headmasters and others "to get more bang for the buck" by bypassing the union bureaucracy through the collaboratives or hiring consultants or graduate students, etc. This flexibility was obtained because Chapter 636 funds could be lodged with the college or university on a reimbursement basis as well as come directly to the school system. Thus, many collaboratives used the college or university as a purchasing agent for services and materials.

Problem Solving Around Specific School Problems Several Coordinators felt that they had participated as technical assistants to school problems. Examples ranged from

training of school based security personnel to delivery of
used furniture. Computer education for staff in schools
was mentioned frequently. One project involved the repair
of school microscopes. Other specific school problems
were more general. These included "staff morale" and
"stabilizing the school", which was the first priority in
several relationships described. In these situations
Coordinators described themselves as acting as "buffers"
or "mediators, though not in any legal sense" between the
administration and the staff, and as one put it, "assisted
the headmaster deal with the situation constructively."
Sometimes this problem solving involved direct assistance
to get the issue resolved, a direct role not always
appreciated by those in the school. Explained one
Coordinator:

> While the assistant headmaster was suppor-
> tive (of the particular project in question) and
> though the individual did a good job, he was a
> little concerned because he felt (another
> individual at the school) should've been doing
> more of the work than he was, but I wasn't going
> to sit around and wait for him to start doing
> the work.

Three school administrators specifically mentioned
the technical assistance role played by Coordinators in
solving specific school problems. Said one, "they did not
restrict themselves to the guidelines but were able to
tackle anything. And they were capable and delivered."
Said another of a project which focused on the solution of

school problems by establishing school based teams to solve school problems, (they were) "enabling the head-master to bring the entire school along; that's the beauty of a pairing."

Crisis Intervention. Fewer Coordinators participated in technical assistance roles in this area, though three reported that they did. In many pairings, the crisis situation itself seems to have prevented the establishment of the coordinator/administrator role which would have enabled technical assistance to be offered broadly enough to intervene in crisis. In one other situation, assistance in this area was deemed inappropriate by the Coordinator. Several Coordinators did discuss their efforts to assist the headmaster or administrator "stabilize the school" and mentioned staff turnover, administrative changes, teacher reductions, and an "arbi-trary assignments process" as the conditions which bred the crisis. In such a situation the very presence of the collaborative in the school became, as one Coordinator put it, "a focus of stability." She added, "Despite my having said that we are force for stability, it's bizarre that we are a force for stability."

Some pairings have outlasted staff turnovers of more than 50%, several headmasters, and, in some cases, moves to new or different buildings. Presence and "being able

to acquaint the administrator with the history of the
school" became stabilizing factors. In at least two
situations where school crisis was formally recognized by
the Court and the school system, Coordinators played
formal roles by serving on planning boards established to
remediate the crisis in a systematic way.

The school administrators interviewed did not, with
two exceptions, discuss crisis intervention with me.
Those who did felt that the Coordinators, as well as the
collaboratives themselves, were instrumental in "turning
the school around."

Brain Storming, or Being a Sounding Board. Eight
Coordinators interviewed believed they served in this
role, almost always informally and some on an almost daily
basis. "Psychological support" was a phrase used to
define this activity. One Coordinator shared the comment
made to him by a headmaster, "When you come down here, I
know that someone outside the system cares enough to come
down here for a couple of hours."

Several Coordinators have used this brain storming,
sounding board relationship to encourage the headmaster or
other administrator to move in directions they felt appro-
priate educationally. Various models were described in
this area, models which will be dealt with in detail in
the next chapter. One such model described the

relationship as "nurturing" change behavior. Another was
described as a kind of mentorship. Another described the
"coaching" role; several discussed "modeling" change.
Clearly in this area we get into the more hidden agendas
of Coordinators and found that, depending on the educa-
tional views of Coordinator and administrator, the
relationship was used by Coordinators to try to change
attitudes and/or behaviors over the long run. One school
administrator talked at some length of his efforts and
those of his staff to change a Coordinator's attitude,
efforts he considered unsuccessful.

School administrators were reticent about the role
Coordinators may have played for them as being sounding
boards. Several acknowledged that their close relation-
ship with Coordinators allowed them to "talk things over".
All but two took ownership for the ideas thus generated.
But as one Coordinator commented,

> The most effective coaching is letting the
> people think that they have come to that
> response themselves.

This relationship is particularly hard to document on the
school side, perhaps for this reason and also because of
the constraints of the administrative role, (especially
during an interview with a Campus Coordinator). One
administrator admitted "sure, it helps; it helps you run
the school, but it's not a big factor." Another, however,

spoke at length of the support the Coordinators he had worked with over the years had provided him.

> The money isn't worth it. The human con-
> tact and the type of support (of Coordinators)
> is. Each of them has been very cooperative,
> very supportive, did anything they could above
> and beyond what was written in the proposal,
> above and beyond what they were supposed to do;
> they tried to be flexible, and they tried to be
> responsive, and I can't think of one who wasn't
> responsive, who didn't go beyond the hours they
> were paid for, or the energy or resources they
> were supposed to expend. But all the
> bureaucracy has done is frustrate those people
> too, and I'm amazed that some of them keep
> coming back for more. I guess they're as silly
> as I am when I feel I'm banging my head against
> the wall too. It's their humanistic, positive
> attitude that has made some of the things
> tolerable.

Another saw the relationship in a broader frame and explained that the more people who "understand what it's like to run a high school" the broader the school constituency will be. He added, "It's nice to have those advocates out there for you."

Stabilizing the School Organization (Anticipating Problems, Staff Conflict). What is meant here is something different than problem solving around specific problems. This variable assumes the administrator's ability to anticipate and plan. Eight Coordinators considered that they did assist headmasters in this area by responding to requests made by administrators who were able to antici- pate and plan in this fashion and by participating in the

brainstorming which the headmaster engaged in to antici-
pate and plan. Sometimes a district superintendent
engaged the Coordinator's assistance for a school in this
process. Constraints which were mentioned here involved
the lack of time headmasters and others had to engage in
this sort of planning. Frequent staff turnover, and staff
reduction which demoralized the faculty were also men-
tioned as constraints to administrators in achieving
stable school organization. Lack of control over staff-
ing, budgeting, scheduling (especially over-time for
teachers) were cited by Coordinators as well. Said one:

> The principals have so little power. An
> outsider can't give them power, and in some
> instances that is what they need; power and
> control. That limits our role as much as it
> limits theirs. There's no real use in coming up
> with a grandiose solution to a problem with a
> principal when everybody knows he doesn't have
> the power to enact it. There's the reality of
> that. There's also the psychological aspect of
> that. There are also some areas which prin-
> cipals could control but don't.

Three Coordinators felt that they assisted head- .
masters or other administrators deal with staff conflict
through the technical assistance role as well as directly
mediating with staff or playing the role of buffer. One
key ingredient to being able to play that role effectively
involved the ability to demonstrate support for the admin-
istrator's position as leader of the school with staff,
parents and the community. When this acknowledgement was
not present, trust was broken between the administrator

and the Coordinator. However, open discussion between a
headmaster and a Coordinator on issues of staff requires a
particularly high level of trust and was therefore a
somewhat rarer occurence than other aspects of technical
assistance. Explained one Coordinator:

> The moment you deal with staff and staff
> interaction, I think you need obviously a level
> of trust that says "these things don't go out of
> the office." And the real issues can (then be)
> raised. So that (aspect of technical assis-
> tance) is true in some schools in which I work
> and not in others.

School administrators tended to discuss this aspect
of technical assistance in stabilizing school organization
by citing the formal roles which Coordinators played on
planning boards, at staff meetings, and policy setting
groups. Several also, as discussed above, acknowledged
the role Coordinators played in talking things out with
them, though they did not, obviously, discuss the content
of those conversations around staffing issues.

Enhancement of School Image. Eleven Coordinators dis-
cussed ways in which they worked with school or district
administrators to develop more positive community per-
ceptions about schools. Activities ranged from pro-
grammatic components such as newsletters, student
publications, art shows or slide tapes to participation in
"636 fairs", and increasing parent and community

involvement and interest in the schools through programs specifically designed for that purpose.

Four school administrators interviewed especially appreciated this role which Coordinators played. They each noted a Coordinator's role in engaging parent participation in ways additional to the one established by the Court, i.e., a monitoring role. Said one administrator:

> We've collaborated on (ways) of assisting parents in assuming some role other than an adversary one, to realize that they play a very important role in the education of their kids. There are things that they could do to assist their kids in achieving. Oh, I know we need the monitors to watch things, but that's not the only role parents can play.

Another noted that the collaborative had assisted the school in "selling the good things that we're doing to people", and added, "We cannot live forever with a negative image." Another talked about the role the collaborative staff, including the Coordinator, had played in assisting him raise expectations in the school and community about and for the student body:

> The pairing really served as the major P.R. block for us to start to get rid of the image that the school had out there in the public. One of the major hurdles out there that we had to overcome was image and student expectations. That (role of the collaborative) was very important to me.

Communication to Staff Which Changes Attitudes, Ideas.

All twelve Coordinators discussed ways in which they
assisted headmasters and other administrators in changing
staff ideas and attitudes. Nine also discussed at length
the variety of program models their collaboratives
developed over the years in areas of staff development.
Since staff development has been a major thrust of activ-
ity in many pairings, Coordinators have assisted adminis-
trators directly by providing staff development oppor-
tunities. Activities range from on-site advisory
teachers, to workshops, conferences, curriculum develop-
ment, in-service presentations, formal courses, and degree
granting programs designed to solve school problems. In
some cases administrators have been actively involved in
designing these programs. In other cases by even "allow-
ing them in the building", they indicated to their staff
their support of the change implied or explicit in the
content of the program. Coordinators have responded to
direct requests of in-service education for staff from
administrators who have, in fact, delegated some of that
responsibility directly to them. Explained one
Coordinator:

> If he's having difficulty with a mandate at
> Court Street, he'll call me and say that this is
> an issue that they want me to deal with and
> would you come in and review it and give a
> little presentation (to the staff).

Others, of course, were active participants in the design of and participated themselves in staff development opportunities, such as computer education or as leaders of school based problem solving teams.

Four Coordinators interviewed on this issue also discussed ways in which they assisted headmasters and other administrators change their own attitudes and accept new ideas as a preface to communicating them to staff effectively. This process, as noted earlier in the chapter, was perceived as developmental and occurred over time in situations of relatively high trust. As one Coordinator noted the process seemed to be as follows:

> I'm still working on him, and he's someone who if he likes you and feels as though you're a friend and not a foe, not someone coming in to try to take over, not trying to play the one-up-manship game, then he's going to cooperate.

Other Coordinators noted that the ability to communicate change to staff was a specific skill and commented that it was not a skill headmasters and other administrators seemed to have been given any particular systematic training in, a situation encouraged by the culture and structure of the system. As one Coordinator noted:

> Both by their training, their nature, and by the structure and culture of the school, they don't interact very well with their staff. There can be lots of discussion about that with a principal, but it takes more than talk. It takes real training. They have not had it and are not getting it, so in situations where the solution might really be to develop staff leadership, to seek out staff, to use staff in

different ways, those solutions really don't
seem to be solutions that are available to some
principals. The best of them, of course, do
that and their rewards are clear.

Eight school administrators mentioned staff develop-
ment activities which assisted staff in adjusting atti-
tudes to "new needs" of the school system as important
aspects of their pairing program. One commented that the
pairings had "bridged a very important gap in staff
development", a gap created by disruption of the school
system's staff support program during the period of the
Court Order. Five headmasters and administrators
expressed appreciation to Coordinators who planned activi-
ties to assist staff meet the "new demands" placed on
schools, teachers and administrators. School based
management as a direct administrator concern was mentioned
in this context. One administrator expressed some pessi-
mism as to the possibility of changing staff attitude
through any program, citing the high age of his faculty,
great staff turnover (80% in his school), and the riffing
of "many younger teachers" as causes. He concluded that
although he probably had now "a better trained staff",
they were "less flexible" and therefore less likely to
accept new ideas or attitudes.

Another commented that people inside the school
system sometimes seemed "to lean over backwards to keep
teachers happy because they come back every year (while)

the students and parents move on." He added that teachers' "objectives sometimes contradict what's best for students and parents" and concluded that the schools needed to become more "client oriented." Three administrators who described the value of working with pairings around "common goals" implied that partnerships did increase that attention to client-oriented education.

Instructional Leadership by Indirection: Climate.
Coordinators interviewed discussed school climate most often in terms of "stabilizing the school." Most extreme examples were described as "turning the school around" situations, a term used by both Coordinators and administrators. As discussed earlier in the chapter, the very situation of chaos in a school sometimes prevented the basic relationship between Coordinator and headmaster from developing in a way which allowed for technical assistance. In other cases the administrator, according to Coordinators, chose to use the collaborative to assist him/her directly. What seems clear is that the initiative had to come from the administrator in this situation. One Coordinator listed his perception of the steps a headmaster had to accomplish to stabilize a school. These included clear expectations to students and teachers, accountability, visibility, elimination of fear in the school climate, mobilizing staff support, putting systems

into place. Of a new headmaster who had recently gained
control of a school, he commented:

> I'd really have to give it to him. The
> place is 100% better. Now it presents an air
> of - I hate to use the word accountability - but
> discipline on the staff level and on the level
> of the students. The staff and the students are
> to be there until 2 o'clock. He stands out
> front. You know, he sees the kids out and he
> knows what's going on.

Several Coordinators and some administrators dis-
cussed school climate in a less extreme situation more in
terms of public image, inside the school and out. Coor-
dinators, as discussed earlier, have actively helped in
communications, public relations, and community involve-
ment activities which have assisted the administrator
strengthen positive school image. Several projects
directly addressed school climate. One such program dealt
directly with the issue of teacher morale at the request
of the headmaster. Another involved team solutions to
improving school climate.

Five administrators cited these and other similar
projects and also expressed the perception that "the wider
constituency" which all collaborative programs brought to
the system enhanced school climate and supported head-
masters and other school administrators in their efforts
to be instructional leaders, at least by advocating for
the needs of the schools as articulated by headmasters.

<u>Shaping Community Expectations of the Schools/Building</u>
<u>School Image</u>. Three Coordinators discussed here their
role in providing opportunities for headmasters to get out
into the broader community of their own and other institu-
tions. Luncheons, meetings, guest lecturing and present-
ing opportunities provided headmasters with a podium from
which to promote their schools and in some cases, change
the expectations of the larger community about the talents
and competencies of, as one put it, "Boston school per-
sonnel." Some Coordinators also assisted their paired
headmasters through technical assistance in writing, in
contacts for positive press and media coverage, and creat-
ing access to a wider (and more powerful) constituency.

Administrators had more to say about this area of
technical assistance than did Coordinators, which suggests
that one of the strengths of collaboratives, as head-
masters and other administrators see it, is that they
provide additional advocates once the image building
occurs. Said one headmaster:

> And in that regard all of the external
> agencies provide that kind of support. It's
> nice to have those advocates out for you. It's
> nice to have the Chairman of the _____ Bank say,
> "maybe we'd better take a look at this", to be
> able to tell parents, "Look, the bank is willing
> to take a chance and hire forty of our kids a
> year; they're willing to help and are just
> waiting for us to tell them how to."

Such perceptions, concluded one Coordinator, are
essential to positive change in individual schools.

Citing recent external initiatives (such as the Boston Compact[2.]) coalescing around school improvement, she explained:

> The eyes of the world are now upon the Boston Public Schools. That hadn't happened before for five or six years. The eyes of the world have been shut. The perception was, "nothing works, nothing helps." That's changing now, and that may help him (the headmaster) more than anything.

Creative Insubordination/Short Cutting the Labyrinth/Loophole Management. These variables were of particular interest to the interviewer in this study because, obviously, in the context of a Court Order creative insubordination and loop hole management could be used to subvert the intentions of the Order as well as assist in getting things done through the bureaucratic labyrinths which school administrators face, especially in Boston. In addition, the study assumed that loop hole management had been used in at least some instances in Boston in the past to perpetrate the status quo and prevent change. The pairings and Chapter 636 were created in part, some believe, to bypass the entrenched system in place in Boston schools in 1974. One headmaster, who subscribed to this view, explained that the bureaucratic "logjam" was "why we are looking externally in the first place." He added:

The pairings were created to assist schools to circumvent some of the logjams that were part of the system. After the first year it created a whole new branch at Court Street. With that branch came people. With the people came rules to make sure that the people had something to do. That translates into more restriction for me.

Given the importance of this issue, a specific question was asked to each interviewee regarding these two variables. The variables were defined as and the question framed to pertain only to creative but certainly not illegal activities which manipulated the bureaucracy, except in the case of subverting the Court Order, which could be construed as contempt of court. Eleven Coordinators and eight administrators reported that "getting things done" through manipulation of the bureaucracy was a crucial ingredient of the technical assistance function of Coordinators. No Coordinator reported that anyone with whom he/she had worked in a technical assistance role had attempted to use "loophole management" directly to subvert the Court Order in the context of a pairing.

Coordinators gained considerable experience quickly in assisting headmasters to get things through the bureau-cracy. Proposal writing skills, knowledge of the "people downtown", budgeting strategies, were frequently cited as technical assistance functions. Some headmasters encour-aged Coordinators to "test the waters" to see how far the

bureaucracy could be stretched to allow programs to pro-
gress or else delegated most of the 636 "loop-hole manage-
ment" directly to Coordinators. As one Coordinator
explained:

> There's a lot of reluctance on the part of
> the administrators to get caught in the loop-
> holes so they'll let you manage that.

When a union issue arose, one Coordinator reported an
administrator told her "you should fight that, but I can't
go against the union."

Four Coordinators also reported that they used the
guidelines to put some pressure on project administrators
to move in educational directions they felt were appro-
priate to the nature of pairings and intentions of the
funding source. In doing so they, as one Coordinator put
it, "created a labyrinth" to deter the use of funds in
ways deemed inappropriate. Typical issues in this tension
were direct vs. system capacity building services, teacher
over-time, personnel selection. Explained one Coordinator
in relating one such incident:

> We've always believed that the resources
> were better placed in building system capacity,
> developing staff and resources rather than
> direct services. But we've been under pressure
> the other way (i.e., for direct services) so
> it's a compromise. When they said, 'We don't
> want any more of that multicultural stuff', we
> backed off and called it something else.

Two Coordinators expressed the belief that as the pairings
became institutionalized through time and the procedures

more uniform, administrators were better able to navigate the 636 bureaucracy on their own. Commented one, "Now, they can look it up in the manual." Another Coordinator commented:

> That sort of loop hole management gets more difficult as Downtown closes the loopholes. And if you knew how to manage the loopholes that can be a loss as well as a gain.

One Coordinator made a distinction between the loophole management activities of the pairings and Chapter 636 and any other sort of loophole management administrators may have engaged in to staff their buildings or provide resources. In these matters the Coordinator perceived that headmasters kept their cards pretty close to the chest until after the fact. Explained this Coordinator:

> I doubt that I've had very many conversations about the struggles of principals to get things done and the varieties of ways they do it, positive usually. The people who talk about it tend to be people who know what they're doing. So in a sense they're only seeking someone to tell it to, not assistance in doing it. They know how to do it. And they are just looking in one sense for a little approval. They can't tell anyone else so they tell us, the outside person.

This sharing required, of course, a high level of trust. It was also an important issue to headmasters for it involved their power and control. All headmasters interviewed spoke powerfully of the need for more control over the bureaucracy, more school autonomy, and less restriction from the system in getting things moving.

Issues most often mentioned involved union constraints,
unmanageable budgeting formulas at the secondary level,
lack of control over staff assignments, and purchasing and
payroll delays. All but one of those school department
administrators interviewed acknowledged the role the
pairing and Coordinators had played in assisting more
things through the bureaucratic labyrinth and the added
flexibility pairings gave them. Many of the headmasters
were clearly able at gaining the resources they needed but
considered that the structure for allocating resources was
not uniform. As one headmaster explained:

> You see, in Boston there's no set organiza-
> tional structure about how to run a high school.
> Every year it changes. If you're adept enough
> to get housemasters one year you get them, or an
> assistant headmaster, or clerical staff.
> There's just no set structure (for staffing).
> The School Committee needs to sit down and do a
> needs assessment of its high schools as to what
> would be an appropriate structure.

Citing staffing cuts and shortages of people who can do
the job, he concluded that as headmaster he was
increasingly drawn into the daily operation of the school,
"bus passes, letters home, suspension hearings" and lacked
the time to focus on those areas he considered more appro-
priate to his role: "staff development, staff evaluations
and meeting with the other instructional leaders here at
school."

<u>Other Findings: Additional Variables</u>. Those interviewed
added three additional variables to the list of ways in
which Coordinators acted as technical assistants to head-
masters and other administrators. They are identified as
follows: Common Reflections; Professional Growth; Talent
Search.

<u>"Periods of Common Reflection"</u>. One Coordinator suggested
that "common reflection" upon the learnings gained through
"cooperative arrangements between institutions" enriched
both Coordinators and administrators and provided them
with a perspective in which to view change, their
particular institutions, and the "findings of the
research." "Common reflection", she added, "legitimates
the mutual learning process" which cooperative, inter-
institutional collaborations require. The technical
assistant role gives, she concluded:

> the notion of the giver and the taker, and I
> challenge that because ---. I have to say I was
> the one learning all the time. Paulo Freive (3)
> says in his book that in the true educational
> situation no one knows who is the learner and
> who is the teacher. I'm more and more convinced
> that is true even though it's difficult to have
> that actually happen.

Two school personnel also mentioned the positive

benefit the UMASS/Amherst Collaborative Program had been

to them in providing time and a focus to talk things over

with their staff teams, including school planning in relation to the educational literature they were studying.

Professional Growth. One administrator suggested that the opportunity to work with people "outside the system" through pairings had contributed to his own professional growth. The administrator cited the opportunities to meet "various people", to speak in public, and negotiate with and manage pairings as examples:

> I thought the pairings personally broadened my horizons just by the exposure and by being placed in charge of dealing with the pairings. I had a chance to deal in a lot of areas. It gave me the outreach I needed to meet people, to speak, to grow.

Talent Search. Another school administrator suggested that one of the roles the Coordinator played was to assist in identifying talented teachers and others through the "testing ground" of collaborative activities. He explained:

> (The Coordinator) identified the personnel to district leadership. It's natural that the most energetic, forward thinking teachers get involved with school help programs, then get the opportunity to operate outside of the classroom, providing us (the opportunity) to use the collaborative as a sort of recruiting program for positions, jobs, that require that sort of ability.

FOOTNOTES -- CHAPTER V

[1] A voucher to enroll without charge in a college or University course was the traditional payment a teacher received for taking a student teacher.

[2] A recent Boston business/School Department initiative.

[3] Freive, Paulo, The Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Herder and Herder, N.Y. 1972.

C H A P T E R   VI

FINDINGS: PART II: COMMONALITIES, MODES, PRESCRIPTIONS:

TOWARDS A MODEL OF SUPPORT

> It's really been a long struggle and many
> times I get very frustrated because I see so
> many things I'd like to see happen at that
> school; but, again, I have to be patient.
> Coordinator

> We must convince the State Department that
> this must continue. In how much time would you
> expect the ills of a segregated system to be
> corrected? Six years? Clearly not.
> Administrator

> I don't see how you can divorce the col-
> leges and universities from the school system.
> They're the only hope of our ever being able to
> accomplish what we want to accomplish.
> Headmaster

The purpose of this study is to document, through

perceptions of selected Coordinators and headmasters the

role of technical assistance played by Coordinators in

support of the secondary school principal as instructional

leader in the context of the Boston pairings from

1975-1982. Further, this study seeks to research and

clarify the degree to which the technical assistance

function has assisted headmasters or their designees in

their roles as instructional leaders and to identify
commonalities, modes of operation, prescriptions of that
technical assistance function which may be useful to begin
to define a support model for principals as instructional
leaders of their schools. Finally, the study seeks to
determine whether such a role is perceived as aiding or
potentially aiding headmasters to build "school planning
capacity" in their schools. The previous chapter docu-
mented by description the Coordinator technical assistance
role as reported by those interviewed in Boston pairings
from 1975-1982. This chapter details the prescriptive
findings of the study; that is commonalities, modes, and
prescriptions of that technical assistance function which
may begin to define a support model for principals as
instructional leaders of their schools.

Coordinators and the school personnel interviewed
agreed that the technical assistance role of the
Coordinator vis a vis the school administrator or
designee, was, in fact, documented in Boston pairings
between 1975-1982 in varying degrees as defined by the
technical assistance variables described in the previous
chapter. They concurred that the relationship depended on
certain conditions and developed in stages. The
Coordinators interviewed also suggested several modes of
operation and described analogies or models which informed

their relationship. These are Facilitator, Mentor, Coach
and Nurturer.

In addition, both Coordinators and administrators had
suggestions for other support systems for school based
administrators and structural changes within the school
system which would assist headmasters as instructional
leaders in their schools. The importance of the political
context of change, the nature of the inter-institutional
relationships required, and the cultures of both insti-
tutions must be taken into account, those interviewed
concluded, in prescriptions about the technical assistance
role.

Models of Technical Assistance

As seen in the previous chapter, Coordinators and
school personnel interviewed agreed substantially on the
initial conditions necessary for the successful establish-
ment of a technical assistance relationship. These
conditions included the initial satisfactory resolution of
the issues of <u>expectations</u> and <u>control</u>. The relationship
required, in addition, that "someone in the school" take
responsibility for initial planning and establishment of a
collaborative relationship. The collaborative relation-
ship which might include a technical assistance role
passed through observable <u>stages</u>. The first of these

involved commitment and trust building, which required
time, occurred over time and necessitated the onsite
visibility of the Coordinator as well as direct access for
school department personnel to the larger collaborating
institution. The second stage of collaboration during
which the technical assistance role might further develop
was marked by negotiation, which included establishing
mutual respect of collaborating institutions and the
matching of resources and needs through the development of
appropriate expectations of what could be sought and
provided. Once these stages were completed, collaborative
relationships which developed a technical assistance role
were marked by high commitment to the common goal of
making the school and/or program work, open and frank
communication, on site presence of the Coordinator, and a
collegial relationship. Once established, such relation-
ships could handle constructively some conflict and absorb
some failure.

The "facilitator" model. The model of technical
assistance documented in the preceding chapter was defined
by variables recognized by Coordinators and their school
department counterparts as descriptions of the functions
performed by the technical assistant. These included
technical assistance in planning, identification of
resources, problem solving around school problems, crisis

intervention, brain storming, stabilizing school
organization, communicating to staff, shaping community
expectations, enhancing school image, and getting "things
accomplished" (loop hole management). The last variable,
enabling administrators with some additional flexibility
to obtain resources and solve problems through the struc-
ture of the collaborative, seemed most important to school
administrators. The model of technical assistance thus
defined in the previous chapter might be called the
Facilitator Model. In fact, the word was suggested by
several Coordinators interviewed. As described above, it
is marked by, where actively played, resourcefulness,
commitment to the common goal of making the school and/or
program work, on-site presence of the Coordinator, open
and frank communication over time, provision for perceived
access to the larger collaborating institution for school
counterparts, and a collegial relationship of mutual
respect.

Additional models, which included the Facilitator
role marked by the above characteristics, were also
suggested by Coordinators. Those Coordinators who
suggested the following additional models saw the role of
technical assistance as best understood in the context of
organizational development[1] literature and, speci-
fically, tied their perceptions to the literature on adult
learning.[2]

The mentorship model   One Coordinator who found the
mentorship analogy useful in describing the technical
assistance role he thought Coordinators might play listed
the ingredients of the role. These ingredients support
organizational development characteristics of school
change activity.[3] Physical visibility on site, setting
the locus of change activity in the school, the active
collegial involvement of the Coordinator create, explained
the Coordinator, an "interlocking network" which "facili-
tates the delivery of resources." He added "we do things
together. We're in constant communication. The whole
basis of our operation is the collegial relationship.
It's participation on both sides." However, this model
goes beyond typical organizational development models of
change. The change agent, in addition to observing the
characteristics of organizational development change
theory, also participates with school personnel in the
"interlocking network" of two collaborating institutions,
a network actively adapted by the Coordinator to fit the
needs of the school partner.

Expressing some doubts about the ability of this
model to be easily reproduced, the Coordinator noted:

> I don't know how far it's replicable. A
> mentor has to be like a coach on a football
> team. He has to have been there. You can't be
> a coach in something you haven't done. It might
> be hard for someone who hasn't been a high
> school principal to be a mentor. And how many

of the Coordinators have been high school
principals?

It can be argued, I think, that one can coach a position

one has not actually played. One can play tackle and

coach quarterback, to follow the analogy; and all Coordi-

nators, in fact, have been involved in education and

school change. Despite his doubt, the Coordinator in his

analogy suggested another model, the "coaching role,"

which several Coordinators suggested best described the

role of technical assistant.

Coaching: adult learning. The technical assistance role,

three Coordinators specifically noted, can best be under-

stood in the context of adult learning theory. As one

Coordinator mused:

> The principal is still an adult human being
> going through all the adult learning processes
> we are now, that the world(4) is now, suggesting
> staff development needs to take into consid-
> eration. It's change. And I think that change
> issues take time. In some ways one might
> suggest that they take more time because the
> responsibilities are greater: changing the
> school.

Coordinators understood as the literature suggests

that adult learning models include that collegial respect

between learner and provider of learning. As one

Coordinator commented in defining conditions of success:

> I'm a big believer now in transferring the
> notion of teacher expectations for children to
> adult expectations of other adults. And I find

sometimes very demeaning and belittling our expectations of what we think others to be.

Components of adult learning strategies, as described by Joyce in a recent article reviewed in Chapter Three of this study and cited by one Coordinator,[5] are as follows: learning the theory; learning the content; learning to apply both to a new situation; and coaching. Bruce in this article defines coaching as "assisting one another as they work the new model into their repertoire, providing companionship, helping each other learn to teach the appropriate responses to their students, (i.e. for administrators, their staff) figuring out the optimal uses of the model . . . and providing one another with ideas and feedback."[6]

The Coordinator who referred to this article suggested that the technical assistance role contained those elements of coaching described by Bruce. The Coordinator added:

> As Coordinators, given our position, we can be the coaches. We cannot provide the other stuff. Without the other stuff, it can't go as far as it should. And yet it is an absolutely necessary part of staff development.

The most important use of the coaching role, according to this Coordinator, was assisting administrators "bring resources into their school." That role included "coordinating resources, bringing people, groups in." The Coordinator added:

Those things which fall outside the bare
school program often fall to us: coordinating
existing resources; writing proposals for new
resources; taking advantage of new resources;
helping to alter those resources to fit school
needs. It is a role which eventually principals
need to do. In a sense, we model for them a
thinking process, at least, about how to access
resources to the school beyond the basic program
that they may have very little familiarity with
or time or both.

Another commented that the coaching role involved

"stages of moving the responsibility over," but that

because the role was an informal, "unacknowledged one,

"there's always the balance between wanting to get those

resources into the buildings and thinking that if you move

those responsibilities over those things might not be

taken up."

Since the coaching role also included modeling

behaviors, "you're always doing both," as one Coordinator

commented. "As in the coaching role those who are ready

to do it will pick up on it; those who aren't are happy

simply to turn it over."

Because the role of technical assistant to

headmasters and principals was an informal one, and there-

fore assumed by both sides as on-going inside the project,

the process of turning responsibility over was not a

conscious objective of the relationship. As one

Coordinator noted:

It's an interesting place where the fact
that we are not acknowledged or considered a
technical assistant may decrease the likelihood

of that transition happening. On the other
hand, some of the very positive, informal
relationships that go on do so because we're not
acknowledged technical assistants, nor staff
developers. It would be less of a trade off if
the system took more of the responsibility for
defining what the role of the principal was.

Another commented on the difficult tension of the role of

coach.

It's a very interesting question in the
area of coaching how you balance that trusting
relationship on the one hand and the need to
push people on the other and take some risks in
the relationship.

In another model suggested, this process, in fact,

was described as "nurturing change."

<u>"Nurturing change"/Adult learning stages</u> As recent liter-

ature on adult change discussed in Chapter Three of this

study suggests, certain adult learning stages can be

identified.[7] One stage involves the adults' perception

that his/her orientation to the situation is the correct

one. The writers cited above suggest that this stage is

passed only when "learners perceive that what they are

doing is not working." Coordinators have suggested

another model, somewhat different from this one, in my

opinion. They have discussed ways in which demonstrating

something else that <u>does</u> work which is recognized as

beneficial can move adult learners to another stage in

which a variety of alternatives are recognized. Four

Coordinators outlined the process this demonstration

involved and explained issues in the discussions around the process which occurred. The word which two used to describe this model was "nurturing change."

Apparently, this model of technical assistance was adopted when there was a difference in educational philosophy between the leader of the school and the Coordinator bringing in the resources. It is important to note that many school administrators in Boston were trained to be leaders in a hierarchical, academically rigid school culture which focused on basic skills and rote learning. The "old guard" administrator in the context of the Boston Court Order, thus faced with rapidly changing student needs, new parental demands, and differing educational philosophies on the part of the college with whom they were required to collaborate, had to adapt to many challenges simultaneously. Three Coordinators detailed the successful ingredients they discovered while working with such administrators, ingredients which seemed to have assisted such administrators adapt and grow.

"A quiet building is a good building" was the axiom of one administrator who wanted the collaborative to focus on basic skills exclusively "so the reading scores would go up," and who was described as being rather relieved to see a boisterous theatre program leave his school. Yet the collaborative was able to bring a wide variety of programs to the school, including basic skills, but also

arts and music providing what the Coordinator described as a more "well rounded program." "Nurturing change" made it possible for the administrator to accept these programs.

Like other relationships, the first step in this one was a unilateral recognition that the administrator was the authority in the school. "He is the headmaster. Whatever he says is it," related the Coordinator who has conveyed the same message over the years to staff, parents and teachers. Trust was developed by keeping the administrator very well informed:

> He is aware of everything that is happening so that there are no surprises. He taps into those things which he finds very interesting or that he wants to be part of, but at least he knows everything that is going on. That's what he said to me at the very beginning: "I want to know exactly what's going on. I don't want any surprises; and when people call, I want to be knowledgeable."

Programs which demonstrated alternatives to basic skills approaches were brought in one at a time, in "one shot deals which he could tolerate" only after clear permission was granted by the administrator. When those programs succeeded, which they did, additional programs were allowed. The administrator was invited to attend and participate in the programs and increasingly did so. The Coordinator considered these programs well supported by the administrator:

> He has let me bring in programs, to bring in students, to have our festivals, to do anything we wanted. Of course he appreciates

that fact that it makes the school look good. I
can't remember the last time he has refused me.

Basic skills programs were also developed success-
fully, although an extended arts program has not yet been
implemented at the school. Through mutual respect,
through honest and frequent discussions about educational
issues, by openly acknowledging the administrator as the
authority in the school, and by demonstrating other alter-
natives which did work, changing perceptions have been
nurtured. The Coordinator notes:

> He will be right up front with me as to what he
> believes should be happening. To move him in
> too many directions at once is a mistake. I try
> to move slowly and get him on my side for each
> issue. I work with the positive things. I want
> him as an ally.

Indicative of the sense of on-going relationship in
all these models, the Coordinator concluded good
naturedly, "I'm still working on him."

Other Models of Support: Administrative Perceptions

The one question that simply stumped some school
personnel was the question "what training, support systems
do you think might be helpful to headmasters?" After I
had rephrased the question several times, one admin-
istrator frankly acknowledged, "I think I'm missing some-
thing here." Three others interviewed felt that they had
the training and support they needed. As one said, "help

is only a phone call away." District staff were cited in
this context as being particularly helpful
to school based administrators. Others interviewed
limited their responses to external collaborations,
listing the helpfulness of the following programs in this
order: individual pairings; The Harvard Principal Center;
U-Mass/Amherst On-Site Degree Program. School based
management was listed by four headmasters as a support
system for them. Next frequently mentioned was the
headmasters' meeting within the school system structure,
but all who mentioned this forum had suggestions for its
improvement.

Several headmasters took the opportunity to suggest
system changes which they considered would be supportive
to them, and were in remarkable agreement as to what those
changes should be. All related to increasing the control
and accountability at the building level. One admin-
istrator discussed the need for increasing the planning
ability of headmasters and principals. In general one
received the impression that school administrators felt
confident about their training and ability to do the job
but were able to come up with specific and thoughtful
prescriptions of how they might be assisted in doing so.

"The whole bevy of things we do": collaboratives. All
school administrators interviewed seemed to consider

pairings with external agencies (i.e., businesses, colleges/universities, cultural and community agencies) to be a support to their schools. Three of the headmasters were particularly enthusiastic about individual activities or the potential for activities in their schools. Four cited the need for a full time staff person on their own staff to assist them in coordinating all of the external resources available to them. The more the resources, they felt, the more vital the position, given the time con- straints of the headmaster's role. They were not, however, suggesting delegating the pairings entirely to another staff person. They were defining an additional staff role for within the school system, one that would be a mirror image to the external Coordinator from the collaborating institution. Describing the role, they provided a job description which seemed based on the campus or external Coordinator's position. This person would be responsible directly to the headmaster. "I must," said one headmaster, "be able to hire my own person." Characteristics sought included trust, loyalty, "competence in representing the school," the ability to "flag any potential areas of problems coming down the road," interpersonal skills, and the ability "to screen" issues and people for the headmaster. Skills required included planning experience, proposal and development skills, coordination and organizational skills. The

person should also, as one headmaster noted, "be know-
ledgeable about what the philosophy of the school is, what
the course of study is, and what the pet peeves are from
the staff." Another added that he sought someone "who
gets along well with the students and who is an advocate
of the students." Those headmasters who outlined the need
for this position agreed that the characteristics and
skills needed made that person "hard to find" inside the
school system. One added, "If I have to go outside the
school system to find this person, I have to be given the
flexibility to do so."

It seems probable that having watched Campus
Coordinators at work over a period of time, headmasters
are now able to formulate a role description for a person
on their staff to help them coordinate external resources
and enhance the school image in the broader community.
However, in suggesting this role, headmasters assumed that
Campus Coordinators representing collaborating insti-
tutions would also remain in place. At present writing,
the school system has in its recent Administrative Reorg-
anization Plan created a new position, that of Development
Officer, although not all secondary schools will be able
to fund such a position, given budget constraints. The
future of the Campus Coordinator's role is less certain,
dependent as it is presently primarily on external fund-
ing. Headmasters' emphasis on hiring a person with the

ability to "represent the school" in the larger community
and the insistence on the possible necessity of having to
go outside the system to find such talent suggest the new
school department role is more than the old "636 Coor-
dinator" or flexible campus role already in place in many
schools. I would suggest one other ingredient in this new
role. Just as school administrators realize the impor-
tance of having Campus Coordinators on site to "get a
handle on what's happening in the schools," so the school
Coordinator will have to be given a similar opportunity to
partake in the life of the external agencies, or the
necessary melding of perceptions about the various cooper-
ating institutions will be incomplete.

Other Staff Support Models for Headmasters

Opportunities for headmasters to meet together for
mutual support were cited by administrators interviewed as
useful. The Harvard Principal Center and the
UMass/Amherst Program were mentioned as examples of this
model. Both are external programs. Time was the major
constraint to this sort of collegial relationship accord-
ing to administrators. Of the UMass Program one said:

> We need a vehicle for getting headmasters
> together to share problems so that they begin to
> get the perception that they are not working in
> isolation. It's tough to keep them going
> because, quite frankly, headmasters and

principals don't wind up having enough time to
finish their doctorates and they lose interest.

One headmaster who considered the Principal Center "an
excellent resource" regretted that he had only had time to
attend two events there this year.

The headmasters' group is constrained by a similar
problem of time. So much business must be conducted in
these meetings that little time is left for collegial,
professional growth. As one headmaster expressed the
problem:

It's go, go, go! We're barraged with things
that have to be done. There's very little
chance to just kick around ideas.

Another commented, "we deal with serious issues, but we
don't deal with them in a way that allows people to say,
'Jesus, I don't know what to do; how about x, y, and z?
What have you done?"

Coordinators concurred that the headmasters' group
forum could be used more effectively. Commented one:

You've got 17 headmasters; that's a small
group. Those headmasters should have a strong
organization whose direction is strengthening
the role of the headmaster as instructional
leader in the schools. They deal with union
problems. They don't deal with instructional
problems. (Deputy Superintendent for Instruc-
tion) Lancaster should be meeting with
headmasters for a half a day every week. If I
were (Superintendent of Schools) Spillane I'd
meet regularly with headmasters and principals.

Building staff planning capacity at the school level
was also suggested as a support system possibility for

headmasters. It is, of course, the model of the
UMass/Amherst program. As one Coordinator put it:

> Every school has a cadre of people who
> would be willing to do the work. In fact, if
> the headmaster played his or her cards right the
> role wouldn't be nearly as exhaustive as it is.
> It would just be gathering together those people
> whom you know want to make a move and do some-
> thing; convince them they have your unqualified
> support; move ahead, eating the failures, the
> mistakes, as well as the successes; letting
> folks help you establish some directions. There
> are so many headmasters who are not able to do
> that; who take care of every little detail; who
> still do every little thing to the exclusion of
> their faculty.

Some Coordinators might add that the above list
assumes a good many interpersonal and organizational
skills which headmasters and principals have not received
direct training in while on the job in Boston. In addi-
tion, the headmasters whom I interviewed seemed to feel
that staff cuts, lack of time, union and budget
restrictions acted as constraints to this model of leader-
ship. As one headmaster commented, the additional sup-
ports he needed could come from restructuring the system,
a political problem, he acknowledged:

> It's safe to assume we're still admin-
> istering schools as if it were 1920. We need to
> look at that, and find time to let building
> administrators get out and effectively do what
> their primary responsibility is: monitoring what
> goes on in classrooms. We have to look at the
> way buildings of this size are managed from the
> perspective of developing an administrative
> team; different ways of managing buildings;
> different ways of staffing them; finding some
> people with a little more expertise in areas of

curriculum, maybe some others in organizational skills.

At the heart of this issue is the power and control of the headmaster, and of the locus of decision making at the school level. As a headmaster noted:

> In Boston, particularly, headmasters don't really have any control. We need to look at ways to improve that. Decisions on staffing, budget, programs all should be made at the local level. They should be made with as much input as possible from the constituency the school represents and not from the top down, trickle down approach.

Training in planning. One administrator described how district and central leadership could assist headmasters, principals and their schools in planning. Noting a central office initiative in which he was actively involved, he suggested the necessary steps. Policy to encourage planning (especially with external resources available) must come from the top. The Central Administration must indicate that "an open role" with collaborating institutions is expected, with onus for planning placed on the school level. School staff could, he felt, receive some formal "training on how to use pairings". Using a key result planning format in one project described, schools were asked to generate goals and an implementation plan; the plans were critiqued; up-dates were sought; feed back was provided on a regular schedule. One interesting ingredient of this project was the use of a consultant as

"trouble shooter," on-site, in schools as needed to assist with the key result process after the skills were taught. This role appears to be another variation on the coaching model.

Other planning models suggested by school personnel included instituting a needs assessment throughout the administration, beginning with the School Committee's setting forth goals and priorities. The planning might be undertaken in a "retreat setting" with university/college resource people available on-site in schools "half a day for a whole year" to assist the school in planning and implementation in an advisory fashion.

Some Coordinators also felt that the primary need for further training lay in the area of planning, although two issues are involved here. One is the clear need perceived by some Coordinators for planning skills for teachers and other administrators. As one noted, "The teachers would say, 'what does this mean, curriculum planning? We have our curriculum.'" The other involves the skills needed by administrators to engage people around the planning process. These are a different set of skills and include interpersonal skills, knowledge of group dynamics, individual change, and some of the research literature.

As one Coordinator explained this body of knowledge from her perspective, she noted of administrators:

They seem angered by the lack of commitment
or lack of ability of their staff to change and
act professionally, but they don't know where to
put that anger and don't understand the pro-
cesses that might help explain the anger and
might help deal with the anger. They are really
not confronting, because of a lack of knowledge,
what change is all about.

Another Coordinator suggested an alternative to the

needs assessment as a focus around which planning might be

undertaken at the school level. In suggesting that a

traditional needs assessment is "dysfunctional because it

focuses on the gaps", she suggested:

I never want to do a needs assessment
without concurrently, if not prior to it, a
resource inventory because I think an inventory
of what is already available and a recognition
and reevaluation of what is positive and good is
absolutely critical in terms of energizing
people and making them feel that they have
something to contribute to newer problems.

"They Should've Learned it in College. One Coordinator

explained what she perceived to be the cultural assump-

tions inside the school system with regard to on-the-job

training and support, cultural assumptions which were

constraints to on-going professional development:

In a general sense teachers aren't treated
professionally in the schools and neither are
administrators. There is an assumption somehow
that there is a set body of knowledge, and they
ought to have learned it in college: and if they
did, they know what they're doing; and if they
didn't, they oughtn't to be there. There's not
a real acknowledgement that there are things
that are constantly changing and things that
they constantly need to be learning in order to
meet the instructional leadership tasks.

Given this cultural assumption and the long and deep
suspicion of school personnel toward higher education
practitioners, it is not surprising that Coordinators had
more to say about needs for continuing education than did
administrators. Of those Coordinators interviewed seven
were also currently teaching in their institutions and,
therefore, lived, one presumes, the sort of life of con-
tinuing professional growth which they advocated for
school personnel. One explained that "counseling aspiring
school administrators was one of the joys of my life."
Another commented during the interview that it was the
dual responsibility of working both in the schools and at
the university level that made the job of coordination
possible to endure. Three Coordinators interviewed worked
directly with continuing or adult education departments.
Five had backgrounds in teacher education and/or pre-
service training of teachers. Three Coordinators seemed
to have served a role in encouraging the particular admin-
istrators with whom they worked to engage in professional
learning situations, and several administrators inter-
viewed were so engaged. The cultural bias, and time
constraints which mitigate against professional develop-
ment are not restricted to Boston. As one Coordinator
noted, "There should be an expectation that any profes-
sional should be involved in an on-going professional

development. By and large, I don't see that as a norm for school systems."

"It's All Going to Change, Depending on Who's on Board."
Some Coordinators cited the constant political turmoil of the system as preventing headmasters and principals from actively seeking professional development opportunities. One Coordinator described an administrator with whom she worked as "embattled" by "sweeping changes" and pressures outside of the school. Such pressures, she concluded, make it difficult for administrators to focus beyond their own schools. The pressures were, she felt, "bigger than any one pairing. All we can do is help him only within the school to make it as much as possible a haven of good education and sensibility."

Some administrators, explained another Coordinator, feel that constant change would make new professional learnings useless. "He's probably thinking too (i.e., like his staff) I'm not going to make a commitment to anything because it's going to change depending on who's on board." She added, "He will not do anything above or beyond a mandate. He will not volunteer." In this con-text, one Coordinator suggested that training in develop-ing "political instincts" and decision making skills would be usefully taught to administrators.

Professional Development for Instructional Leadership

Seven Coordinators stated that they felt headmasters and principals needed continued professional development. Skills mentioned included planning skills, instructional leadership skills, interpersonal skills, time management, and priority setting. Instructional leadership demands, explained one Coordinator, time and knowledge:

> They're overwhelmed at times by just the administrative activities that they do. They just don't have much time and, in some cases, the knowledge to examine the curriculum from a content point of view; they become afraid to be educational leaders or they can't deal with the variations (in content and method) they come upon among their staff. They should, as we all should, have on-going learning and professional development that keeps them abreast of curriculum.

Two Coordinators suggested that administrators needed to develop the ability to learn how to delegate the management function of their role before they could increasingly take on the instructional leadership functions. This involved time management skills, delegation and organizational skills, and planning and priority setting. One suggested the "gestault of being principal" included setting priorities "for their own professional growth, given multiple tasks and choices."

Four Coordinators suggested headmasters and principals needed professional development in interpersonal skills, group dynamics, as one put it, "help in how to get the most out of the people they've got." Another

suggested specific learnings about "understanding people,
management styles, learning preferences" would be useful.

Models (in addition to those already discussed)
included a buddy system, support groups for new adminis-
trators or administrators moving into new roles, and a
shadowing program for aspiring administrators. Of the
buddy system, one Coordinator explained, "the administra-
tors (i.e., headmasters or principals) should identify
what they're good at and be available to their peers in
those areas. That's a very cost effective way to build on
strengths and reduce weaknesses because any administrator
is going to have some areas of strengths and some areas of
weaknesses."

School and System Planning Capacity: The Future. One
question in the study designed to elicit responses about
the future focused people on the issue of the possible end
of the collaborative relationship and, therefore, of the
technical assistance role. This issue has been endemic to
the structure of the pairings from the beginning, a
structure dependent among other things on a yearly
appropriation of State desegregation funding known as
Chapter 636. The guidelines encourage activities which
promote "system capacity building" and thus can institu-
tionalize change activities. While Coordinators and
administrators acknowledged the uncertainty of the future,

both groups concluded that little has been done to plan
for it. Almost everyone interviewed concluded that the
future of collaboratives is dependent on money. All
administrators interviewed expressed the realization that
collaborating institutions could not be expected to absorb
the costs. While several believed "some of it" was not
dependent on money, only one interviewed believed their
pairing could continue "beyond 636" without other funding.
As one administrator commented, "When you seek assistance
and hire people to help you, they have to be compensated."
Several explicitly stated that they had, in fact, received
more services than were compensated. Said one, "no one
can be in it for the money. The money isn't worth it."
Another commented of a particular pairing, "They're cer-
tainly given more services than we've ever paid for."

Administrators interviewed also agreed that little
has been done to insure the necessary funding for the
future. Of these only one was optimistic that a way could
be found to fund pairings indefinitely. Another
commented:

> We're now facing a situation where there
> may not be any 636 funding anymore and we have
> no way, we haven't explored possible ways, of
> continuing these pairings. That'll impact on
> the schools and districts, and we really haven't
> made any long range plans about how to deal with
> it.

One believed that even with funding, the cumbersome
bureaucracy generated by the "636 process" made

administering grants so difficult as to be counter-
productive, given the other demands on the headmaster's
time:

> And despite the promises year in and year
> out that the bureaucracy will be less cumber-
> some, the bureaucracy is worse now that I've
> ever seen it. All that bureaucracy does is
> impede the other things you want to do. I don't
> understand why it has to be so cumbersome and
> complex. I really don't. Nobody has been able
> to explain to me satisfactorily why it has to be
> so cumbersome. But as a headmaster, you end up
> prioritizing and when it's so hard to get things
> done, it just isn't worth it.

Headmasters and others, at the same time, expressed

optimism about the accomplishments and future potential of

collaboratives in assisting them to move their schools

forward. In other words, they seemed to accept the col-

laboratives as part of their school's permanent resources

while also acknowledging the difficult prospects of

funding. It was almost as if they had not really faced

the possibility of doing without collaborative programs.

Since problem recognition is the first step to problem

solving, this finding confirms their perception that

little planning for the future of pairings has been done

in the school department. One administrator did have

specific suggestions which included convincing the State

to continue funds, encouraging the school department to

seek supplemental funds through the city to support col-

laboratives and added that "colleges and universities are

going to have to work together to go to the foundations to

get some money to keep things going", a funding source
which could be expected to "get us away from the (present)
bureaucracy."

School administrators, then, seemed to acknowledge
that planning for the future of pairings had not been
undertaken while also expressing expectations that
pairings would continue. As one said:

> Pairings are needed. Colleges and univer-
> sities are here to stay. I don't see how you
> can divorce the colleges/universities from the
> school system. They're the only hope of our
> ever being able to accomplish what we want to
> accomplish.

"What we want to accomplish" included for this admin-
istrator flexibility to circumvent some of the bureau-
cratic restraints of the existing school bureaucracy. As
another headmaster commented, "the pairings were created
to circumvent some of the log jams that were bottlenecks
of the system." Another commented that the greatest
assistance he felt inter-institutional arrangements
provided headmasters was "shaping the collaborative to
meet the individual need of the institution" (i.e., the
individual school) which he considered "an important
thing, an extremely important asset" of pairings. If as
Grenier[8]. states in his theory of growing organizational
systems, the period of growth through collaboration is
preceded by a crisis of red tape, headmasters may be
expressing here the possibility that collaboration may

provide that relief which they seek from the red tape. At
issue here is power at the building level, control over
staff, program and resources, and the ability to mold
programs to the individual needs of each school. There-
fore to the question of whether the technical assistance
role provided through collaborations has increased the
planning capacity of the system or school, the answer may
be that it has provided a new model of problem solving,
namely that inter-institutional arrangements assist school
administrators gain flexibility to solve problems on the
school level.

"The Amoeba": Coordinators Perceptions of
Bureaucracy and the Future

One Coordinator discussing the difficulties of
institutionalizing change exclaimed, "It's an amoeba.
Wherever you push it, it goes somewhere else, but it never
really moves. I'm there because occasionally I get a
glimpse of reward." Another commented of the constant
staff turnover, changes in student enrollment, and other
bureaucratic difficulties, that it was "a capricious
system." She continued, "It's like the magic pumpkin seed
or something - those things are so overwhelming. If we
could just have somehow or other the right student/faculty
ratio, a staff who had some reason to believe that they

might be in the school for a number of years, not to
mention in the same subject area for a number of years,
we'd be able to move forward so much faster."

In the difficult process of institutionalizing
change, especially in a political context, Coordinators
have over the years expressed in the literature[9] the
difficulties and frustrations of the role, and certainly
shared some of that difficulty in interviews. But the
over all impression received was one of accomplishment.
It seemed clear that as a group Coordinators felt they had
seen some results of their labors. Never-the-less they
too as a group were not optimistic about the future of
pairings. Part of their perceptions had to do with their
awareness of the position of collaboratives and
Coordinators in the organizational framework of their own
institutions.

"Paying the Social Rent"/Out on the Limb. Coordinators
agreed that while the role of technical assistant could be
documented, it did not necessarily fit well into the
mission of the institution of higher learning to which
they were attached. One felt that the role was perceived
by others on the staff as useful in "paying the insti-
tution's social rent" but organizationally was not central
to the institution. Another commented that "as pairings
became institutionalized" within the college/university,

the Coordinator's role "on the flow chart of the college becomes a funny little limb out on which people are hanging."

As one Coordinator noted about the organizational nature of higher educational institutions:

> What is very clear to me is Coordinators are very marginal people. They function in a role which is marginal to the priority interests of the institution of higher education. We're engaged in an activity which is marginal to the institution. It's almost double jeopardy. Those who are in clinical roles are absolutely essential, but also they have a degree of marginality. Coordinators have not only that degree of marginality but the additional one that we've not related to the production of students.

However, this Coordinator also commented that given a changing world for institutions of higher learning, the role of Coordinator could become something more than "ideosyncratic":

> The type of interaction, inventiveness, and relationship building, and connecting of the research to the practicum which is represented by Coordinators ought to be seen not as a fluke but as the possibility of an alternative model for universities.

However to realize that model, the Coordinator concluded, would require overcoming the "resistance to change" she perceived in institutions of higher education. And so she brought us back full circle to where we began: the difficult process of institutionalizing change.

Other Findings/Changing Times:

White and Black; Female and Male

No discussion of the Boston situation for 1975-82
should ignore the reality of the reason for our initial
involvement: a Court Order desegregating the schools.
One probable limitation in this study was the degree to
which racial issues did not surface in this study.
Coordinators did not discuss, with four exceptions, ways
in which racial issues affected their roles as technical
assistants vis a vis headmasters and other administrators.
Both Black male and two white female Coordinators
discussed these issues at some length. One Coordinator
noted that she felt administrators with whom she worked
showed bias "less by action than by attitude" and
suggested that "confronting principals with their
incipient racism" was something she chose not to do:

> I do not think it productive, because it
> will cut off other avenues, to confront a
> principal about incipient racism. I don't
> support it either. A discerning principal
> obviously knows where I stand. It's sometimes
> interesting to me that, despite that, since most
> of them are discerning, they will make these
> comments, some of them, in front of me. But
> they're generally not in terms of actions, only
> of attitude. We all know that there are benefi-
> cial things out of the relationship and there
> are certain things there's not much point in
> bringing into the relationship. One can say
> therefore that it's not a total relationship in
> terms of every issue, but it's a realistic one.

Another discussed the isolation the Coordinator felt Black administrators faced in the system because of their small number, especially Black female administrators, one of whom he had worked with closely and noted that "she must have to be constantly looking over her shoulder." This Coordinator also noted that "while the faces had changed over the years, the numbers hadn't" (i.e. increased numbers of minorities) in his opinion.

The issue of male/female relationships in administrative roles, however, did surface in this study even though no question directly sought a response on this issue. One explanation for this finding may possibly be that the majority of Campus Coordinators are female while the majority of school system administrators are male. Therefore, the issue is one both for women Coordinators working in a predominantly male dominated school system and for the few women administrators in that system as well. Three Coordinators were quick to point out that their own institutions of higher education were also, for the most part, male dominated; as one said, institutions "where women are supposed to be wives, except for the librarians." One female Coordinator commented on the inequity of salaries paid to female Coordinators and noted of the "gender distribution" of Coordinators that "it was interesting to note who's there, who does what, and who goes where afterwards."

Of working in the Boston Public Schools one female Coordinator commented that "it took about three years before he (a school administrator with whom she worked) wasn't interested in talking to the man I report to even though he is only nominally the head." Another explained that in her pairing she was excluded from certain meetings in which only the male administrators from her institution met with their school department counterparts. A third told a little story. Waiting one day for a male assistant to arrive for a meeting, this Coordinator was accosted by the male administrator of the school. "What are we all doing," he asked, "waiting for the boss?" Recounting the story, the Coordinator related, "I said, 'I only want to say this to you once. I am the boss.'"

One female administrator in the school department shared her solution to a similar problem. Called by a senior administrator one afternoon who indicated "he might be dropping by in the morning" to lend support to some-thing she had to do, she answered, "Well, if you'd come over here tomorrow if there were a male administrator here, then come, and you're welcome. If not, then, please don't." She related, "He laughed, and I said, 'See, that's what I thought.'"

In Summary In summary then, Coordinators identified certain condition, stages, and models which informed the

technical assistance role. They and their school depart-
ment counterparts suggested various support systems for
headmasters, identified various changes in the school
system which would assist them in their role as instruc-
tional leader, outlined areas for further professional
growth, and indicated by inference at least the possi-
bility of a collaborative model of management which would
facilitate headmasters in avoiding the bureaucratic con-
straints that presently so hamper their efforts to be
instructional leaders in their schools. Coordinators,
while suggesting that their role is peripheral to the
agenda of their own institutions of higher education, also
suggested that inter-institutional collaborations, and the
role of Coordinator in those collaborations, could provide
a model for institutions of higher education, a model
which would require changing the present structure of the
institution.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER VI

[1] cf. studies of school improvement such as Neale et al., Sarason, Bentzen, Goodlad, Schmuck, Miller and such national studies as Rand Change Agent Study, I/D/E/A study; SD/SC Teacher Corps Project. Three coordinators when interviewed referred to the October 1982 Educational Leadership, an issue devoted to staff development, which had recently arrived in their offices. Relevant articles are cited in the bibliography of this document and below.

[2] cf. especially Joyce, Bruce and Beverly Showers, "The Coaching of Teaching" and McCarthy, Bernice "Improving Staff Development Through CBAM and 4MAY" both in Educational Leadership, October 1982, Vol. 40, Number 1, pp. 4 ff and 20 ff respectively.

[3] See especially Lieberman, Ann and Lynne Miller, Staff Development: New Demands, New Realities, New Perspectives, Teachers College Press, Columbia University, N.Y., 1979 and Wood, Fred et al. "Practitioners and Professors Agree on Effective Staff Development Practices", Educational Leadership, October 1982 Vol 40, Number 1, p. 28 ff.

[4] The coordinator was referring specifically to Wilsey, Cathy and Joellen Killion, "Making Staff Development Programs Work" in Educational Leadership, October 1982, p. 36 ff.

[5] Joyce, Bruce, and Beverly Showers, "The Coaching of Teaching", Educational Leadership, Volume 40, Number 1, p. 4 ff.

[6] Ibid., p. 5

[7] Wilsey, Cathy and Joellen Killion, "Making Staff Development Programs Work", Educational Leadership, October, 1982, Volume 40, Number 1 p. 37

[8] Hersey, Paul and Kenneth H. Blanchard, Management of Organizational Behavior, Prentice Hall, Inc., 1977 p. 299

[9] cf. Carrell, Rogers, TDR Associates studies of Boston pairings, as well as Universities, Colleges and The Boston Public Schools: A Report to the Presidents, April, 1977.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study is to document, through the
perception of selected Campus Coordinators and their
school department counterparts the role of technical
assistance played by Coordinators in support of the secon-
dary school principal as instructional leader in the
context of the Boston Court-mandated pairings from 1975-
1982. Further, this study seeks to research and clarify
the degree to which the technical assistance function has
assisted headmasters or their designees in their roles as
instructional leaders and to identify commonalities, modes
of operation, prescriptions of that technical assistance
function which may be useful to begin to define a support
model for principals as instructional leaders of their
schools. Lastly, the study attempts to determine whether
such a role is perceived as aiding or potentially aiding
headmasters to build "school planning capacity" in their
schools.

The study argues that the political context in which
school change is attempted is important, particularly in
this study. Coordinators were charged with the respon-
sibility of establishing collaborations and instituting

school improvement activities in a highly charged political context. The roles were partly determined by political events, and the ways in which Coordinators played these roles were also influenced by the realities and constraints of the context in which they found themselves. The school department participants in this study also acted within the realities of the political context of a school system in transition and change. Their own positions, responsibilities, and careers were directly influenced by the political and social context of the study, a context often turbulent and, inside the school department organization, marked by frequent staff changes, administrative reorganizations, layoffs, budget shortages, turnover of administrators, and School Committee politics. The context of this study is, therefore, detailed at some length in this document.

Another theme in this study is that the role of Campus Coordinator as technical assistant can be usefully understood in the context of organization development theory and practice because, it is argued, the roles and activities which Coordinators reported that they developed were informed by and confirm the findings of recent staff development literature, particularly organization development literature which pertains to adult learning situations in the organizational context of the individual school, which is seen as the locus of change. Further, it

is argued the Coordinator roles, played as they were in the context of a Court Order desegregating the schools, can usefully be understood as "change-agent" situations, in which an outside agent must function inside a changing organizational setting. Hence, the study includes a survey of the literature involving staff development, organization development, situational leadership theory, and change agent case studies. Moreover, the study seeks to link this literature to studies of the effective school principal, especially recent qualitative studies of the principal on the job in school settings, including recent "portraiture" descriptions of exemplary leaders.

The theoretical position in this study is that the most useful educational research is that which studies what works, which seeks to study the actual perceptions of educational practitioners in the context of their work in schools about hopeful practices, and models and common-alities which seem to help, in a prescriptive sense. As this study was undertaken by a researcher who is also a Campus Coordinator, one limitation of the study is the probable bias of the researcher. That bias, however one tries to control it, is never-the-less a factor insofar as the researcher concurs that anyone writing about what one has been doing for eight years is invested in believing in its worth, at least partial worth. The methodology of this study seeks to control the problem of bias of the

researcher by firmly grounding the study in technical
assistance variables, including those variables indepen-
dently generated from another study,[1] and through a
uniform questionnaire format.

The methodology undertaken in this study included a
three stage process. In stage one a questionnaire was
designed to elicit perceptions from all Campus Coordina-
tors about the technical assistance role which they may or
may not have felt they played in their pairing assignments
regardless of whether their project was a staff develop-
ment or service delivery model. Coordinators were also
asked to indicated general demographic information and
whether or not they would be willing to be interviewed on
the subject. The second stage of the research methodology
involved twelve in-depth interviews with Coordinators.
Coordinators were chosen on the basis of their willingness
to be interviewed and by variables of race and sex. The
interview format asked participants to respond to a set of
questions designed to elicit their perceptions about a set
of technical assistance variables and to respond to ques-
tions of how the technical assistance role was (or was
not) played as well as prescriptive observations about the
role.

The third stage of the methodology involved in-depth
interviews with nine Boston school department personnel
who were selected by reputation; that is, they were

suggested by Coordinators as also probably concurring that
the Coordinators' role does include a technical assistance
function. They were also selected to represent the
broadest possible spectrum involving variables of race,
sex, administrative position, length of service and type
of high school (i.e. examination, magnet, district) in
Boston. School department personnel interviewed were
asked to respond to the identical list of technical assis-
tance variables and the same set of questions given Coor-
dinators designed to elicit both descriptive and prescrip-
tive responses.

Summary of the Findings

Findings of this study are in three parts: findings
of the questionnaire; descriptive findings of the techni-
cal assistance role as played; and prescriptive findings.
Of the fifteen responses obtained from the questionnaire
circulated to Campus Coordinators in the spring of 1982,
ten coordinators considered that they worked directly with
the headmaster, principal, or district superintendent
"usually." Three responded to this question "often." One
worked "usually" with an assistant headmaster. One worked
"rarely, if ever" with the headmaster, principal, or
district superintendent. Three who did not work directly
with the headmaster, principal or district superintendent

considered that they worked "usually" with the administrator's designee.

Coordinators responding to a set of variables describing the technical assistance function reported that they participated in joint planning, and resource identification more frequently than they did in problem solving around specific school problems or crises. Nine out of fourteen also participated in brainstorming and acted as sounding boards for their administrators "frequently." All fourteen felt that "technical assistance is an important part of (their) role, regardless of the time spent on it." To the question, "Do you feel that the school or district based administrator with whom you work welcomes your role as technical assistant?", eleven answered "yes"; four answered "sometimes"; one answered "no."

Coordinators and school department personnel interviewed in this study were asked to respond to two set of technical assistance variables, one of which was generated through the questionnaire, the second of which was developed in another study.[2] Interviewees were also asked a series of identical questions eliciting both descriptive and prescriptive comments about the technical assistance role.

Descriptive findings Participants in the study identified the conditions necessary to establish the technical

assistance role in the context of inter-institutional collaboration in which such a role developed in the context of this study, one of Court-mandated collaboration between Colleges/Universities and Boston schools and school districts. These conditions included resolving issues of <u>expectations</u>, and <u>control</u>, and also depended on the administrative <u>leadership style</u> in the school. The relationship required, in addition, "that someone in the school" take responsibility for initial planning and the establishment of a collaborative relationship.

Participants also identified the <u>stages</u> of collaboration which might support the development of the technical assistance role. The first of these involved <u>commitment</u> and <u>trust building</u>, which required <u>time</u>, occurred over time and necessitated the <u>on-site visibility</u> of the Coordinator as well as direct <u>access</u> for school department personnel to the larger collaborating institution. The <u>second stage</u> of collaboration during which the technical assistance role might further develop was marked by negotiation, which included establishing mutual <u>respect</u> of collaborating institutions and the <u>matching</u> of resources and needs through the development of <u>appropriate expectations</u> of what could be sought and provided.

Once these stages were completed, collaborative relationships which developed a technical assistance role were marked by high <u>commitment</u> to the <u>common goal</u> of

making the school and/or program work, open and frank communication, on-site presence of the Coordinator, and a collegial relationship. Once established, such relation-ships could handle constructively some conflict, absorb some failure, and demonstrate growth and change over time.

The model of technical assistance documented descrip-tively by those interviewed was defined by variables recognized by Coordinators and their school department counterparts as descriptions of the functions performed by the technical assistant. These included technical assis-tance in planning, identification of resources, problem solving around school problems, crisis intervention, brain storming, stabilizing school organization, communicating to staff, shaping community expectations, enhancing school image, and getting "things accomplished" (loop hole management). The last variable, enabling administrators additional flexibility to obtain resources and solve problems through the structure of the collaborative, seemed most important to school administrators.

Prescriptive findings Findings of a prescriptive nature included models which informed the technical assistance role. These were described as facilitator, mentor, coach and nurturer. Three Coordinators specifically linked these models to their perceptions of the literature on staff development, specifically stages and conditions of

adult learning theory. They and their school department counterparts suggested various support systems for head-masters, identified various changes in the school system which by giving more power at the building level would assist administrators in their role as instructional leader, outlined areas for further professional growth, and indicated by inference at least the possibility of a collaborative model of management which would facilitate headmasters in avoiding the bureaucratic constraints that presently so hamper their efforts to be instructional leaders in the schools.

Coordinators, while suggesting that under the present organizational structure their role is peripheral to the agendas of their own institutions of higher education, also suggested that inter-institutional collaborations, and the role of Coordinator in those collaborations, could provide a model for institutions of higher education in a time of declining resources, diminished support for education, and reduced student population. Such a model would require, they acknowledged, changing the present structure of the institution of higher learning.

Conclusions, Implications, Speculation

One of the conclusions emerging from this study is the complexity of inter-institutional collaboration.

Coordinators and their school department counterparts have

in Boston participated, through a Court initiative, in a

relationship which required collaboration not only of

individuals but also of institutions. Coordinators were

not simply consultant, change agents out to "do a project

in the schools." They were always outsiders, but also

representatives of their own institutions, although their

role was more or less peripheral to those institutions.

School department personnel, especially headmasters

of secondary schools interviewed, also participated in

collaboration not only as individual leaders of their

schools but also as "middle managers," to use Morris'

phrase,[3] in their relationship to the larger school

organization, a bureaucracy which many of those inter-

viewed felt constrained them.

Yet the story both Coordinators and headmasters

shared about what worked in individual schools supports

the research about how school improvement really occurs.

It underlines the reality of the school as the locus of

change, of the importance of linkages, of systematic ad

hocism which allows for local adaption at the school

level, of the necessity for involving the participants in

the solutions, and affirms that school improvement occurs

from the bottom up. Despite the fact that the literature

does tell us how successful school change can occur, which

this study confirms, the bureaucratic restraints of both

the school system, especially the large urban school system, and the College/University as institution make such a model unlikely to survive without some major institutional change.

Tyack notes in his new book the need for "pro-school coalitions,"[4] of a wider constitutency to support public education in a time of declining student enrollment and limited financial resources. Neale[5] argues that in a time of declining college student enrollment, institutions of higher education also will need to consider collaborative models. Using E.T. Ladd's model of "Organizational Life Space,"[6] Neale argues that future collaborations in education must involve closer attention to the dynamics of collaboration on the institutional level.

Let us not pretend that the organizational changes, in both schools and institutions of higher education, this vision suggests would be easy. However, the line of reasoning does indicate an area for further study. If inter-institutional collaborations and pro-school coalitions are to succeed, and to last, further research must enable us to examine the institutional constraints to such a model and suggest remedies for those constraints.

One fruitful model to pursue is the research/practitioner model, which actively involves the school practitioner in research within the institution of higher learning, and promises as well that the products of such

research might more directly inform the practice. Another
fruitful effort might be the study of collaborative solu-
tions to problems common to both levels of institution;
for instance, the issue of the preparation, support and
college retention of the urban minority student seen
through a new frame of concern bridging the last two years
of high school and the first two of college. Both models,
since they involve adults as learners, might usefully also
further the research on adult learning, a field with
implications for school improvement staff development
activities.

Recent initiatives in Boston such as the Boston
Compact, a business agreement with Boston Schools, and the
newest attempt to construct a University Compact are
hopeful attempts to strengthen collaboration through
policy. However, both these efforts would profit from
further consideration of the inter-institutional issues
which assist and constrain the implementation of such
policy agreements, when and if such policy agreements can
be reached.

Tyack also suggests that "school leaders now needed
are people politically adept at building pro-school
coalitions, willing to abandon a narrow professional
ideology, and skillful in creating coordinated programs in
individual schools."[7] He notes the perceptions of an

American educator on the role of the principal, per-
ceptions shared after travel abroad. The educator noted:

> When in England recently, I was very much
> impressed with the power of the English counter-
> part to our principal, the headmaster. Funds
> were allocated to the headmaster in low economic
> areas for him or her to do with what they
> thought was best without even a preliminary
> report to the local headquarters. In this
> nation we entrust to a principal the educational
> future of some three to four thousand students,
> a building often amounting to ten or fifteen
> millions dollars, a payroll of half a million
> dollars -- but we do not trust him or her with
> ten dollars worth of petty cash. (8)

The headmasters whom I interviewed were clearly adept at

building pro-school coalitions as their collaboratives and

business pairings proved. They shared the perception that

Collaboratives and the 636 funding which supported them

had assisted them in providing some relief from "the

bureaucratic logjams" which constrain them. Inter-insti-

tutional arrangements do assist school administrators gain

flexibility to solve problems on the school level. But

alone they are not enough. The school department needs to

find ways to support headmasters and principals gain the

flexibility and control they need at the individual school

level. Control over personnel assignments, budget flexi-

bility, and adequate administrative staff are clearly

beginnings. In the meantime, one cannot help but admire

the fortitude with which these talented administrators

face yet another series of bureaucratic upheavals at

present writing: staff reduction; budget shortages;

administrative reorganizations; district consolidation; a new teachers' contract negotiation; an enlarged school committee to be elected primarily by ward.

These upheavals one administrator described recently as "going through those changes over and over again." The phrase brings us back again to the difficult nature of social change. What I have chiefly learned from my experiences in Boston 1975-82 is, in fact, something about the difficult nature of change, the time required, the difficulties encountered, the ambiguity which must be tolerated. In readings of the period and in interviewing the participants I can not help but speculate on the varying abilities of people to function in such a context. What enables some of them to persevere while others "burn out," or give up, or resist or stay too long? One possible line of inquiry might be "portraiture" studies, of the nature which Sara Lightfoot[9] envisions detailing how people deal constructively with the demands of rapid social change. How can constructive responses be fostered? What can the recent research on the developmental stages of adult learning contribute to our understanding of living as adults in rapid social change.

Since this is a study about change in the particular social context of a Court Order desegregating the Boston Schools, it is important to end with what, in fact, began the involvement of most of us who have been Campus

Coordinators in this endeavor. In rereading the background documents relating to the Boston school desegregation effort, I was struck by the enormous and monumental social struggle which the city has undergone in eight years. The anguish of the various actors, "good guys and bad," comes forcefully through the pages of the writings of Lupo, Hillson, Shrag, Dentler and Carrell. The intensity of the social struggle I had, frankly, forgotten. I have written at length about it, because I think it is important that it not be forgotten. In its context, the efforts of those of us who have been involved in school change in Boston since 1975 take on another dimension. The fact that we kept out heads as well as we did is rather remarkable. Lest that statement sound inappropriately self-congratulatory, let me hasten to add that I personally have gained in this experience more than I have given. I am grateful for the people I have met, the adventures I have had, and the learnings I have been given. The most important of these learnings is about the nature of social change.

Former Commissioner Anrig,[10] in my opinion, said it best and so I will end with this, my favorite story. Summoned to coordinators' meeting in 1980 to "calm the troops," the Commissioner sat on a blue couch in Emmanuel College's Marion Hall, flanked by his assistants. Relaxed, benign, and reassuring, the Commissioner began, "My

hero is the paramecium."[11]   The paramecium, according to
Anrig, lives in stagnant water but, by rapid activity,
causes change.   When this microscopic creature faces
resistance, it changes shape, flowing past obstacles until
it can find a place to "wiggle through."[12]   Somehow the
vignette of the expansive Commissioner discussing the
difficult nature of social change through a parable about
a drop of pond water with a group of college/university
Coordinators on a Friday morning in Boston six years after
the Court Order, symbolizes for me the monumental endeavor
which has involved so many in Boston for so long.   Like
Anrig, I share the hope that what we have learned will
endure.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER VII

[1] Morris, Van Cleve et al, "The Urban Principal: Middle Manager in the Educational Bureaucracy," Phi Delta Kappan, p. 689ff.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Tyack, David and Elizabeth Hansot, Managers of Virture: Public School Leadership in America, p. 252.

[5] Neale, Daniel C. et al, Strategies for School Development: Cooperative Planning and Organizational Development, p. 42.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Tyack, David and Elizabeth Hansot, Mangers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America, p. 252.

[8] Ibid., p. 256. Tyack is quoting former Superintedent of the Detroit Public School, Norman Drachler.

[9] Lightfoot, Sara, Address at Harvard University, March 4, 1983.

[10] Gregory Anrig was Commissioner of Educationa in Massachusetts until 1981.

[11] Gregory Anrig at Emmanuel College, December 12, 1980.

[12] Ibid.

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10. Clark, David L., and Sue McKibbin, "From Orthodoxy to Pluralism: New Views of School Administration," <u>Phi Delta Kappan</u>, June 1982, Volume 63, Number 10, p. 669 ff.

11. Clasby, Miriam, <u>Mobilizing Resources for Boston Schools: A 90-day Project</u>: Boston, August 1981 (Update, June 1982) Unpublished paper.

12. Clasby, Miriam, <u>Towards a Cooperative Agenda: The Boston Public Schools and Boston Area Colleges and Universities</u>, Boston, April 21, 1982. Unpublished paper.

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