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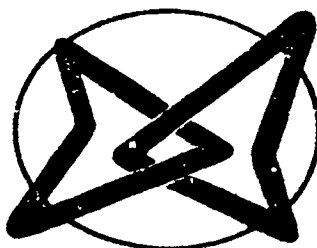
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ABSTRACT

        Through a comparative analysis of nine urban school
improvement projects, it illustrates the association between patterns
of constituent collaboration in the design of intervention projects
and problem solving strategies and the degree of mutual adaptation,
incorporation, and sustained project effectiveness. Many of the
barriers to school improvement are cultural and relational rather
than programmatic. Patterns of constituent relationship expressing
mutual trust and respect, complementary roles, and shared goals are a
necessary but not sufficient condition for a successful approach to
the solution of persistent school problems. Three recommendations to
improve the nature and quality of interpersonal relationships in
school intervention projects, addressed to private and to
governmental funding agencies as well as to technical assistance
groups are: Where possible, resource and technical assistance should
be focused on the better functioning of those sites demonstrating an
established set of change activity, identity, direction, philosophy,
goals, and colleague constituent pattern of relationship; technical
assistance groups must engage in face-to-face interaction with other
constituents; Finally, a cross-site analysis suggests a need for the
support of collaboratively designed school improvement proposals,
projects, and strategies as well as associated colleague patterns of
constituent relationship. (Author/AM)

(PATRONS, CLIENTS, AND COLLEAGUES:

A COMPARATIVE CONSIDERATION OF PATTERNS OF

PARTICIPANT RELATIONSHIP IN NINE EDUCATION

INTERVENTION PROJECTS)

Norris Brock Johnson, Ph.D.

November 1977

DRAFT VERSION
FOR LIMITED CIRCULATION ONLY

PROJECT OVERVIEW

The Documentation and Technical Assistance in Urban Schools Project (DTA) is an effort to learn more about how to make urban public schools work better for urban students. Toward this end, DTA combines educational research and practice within one project. DTA's mandate has three inter-related parts:

> DOCUMENTATION - to study, using primarily ethnographic techniques, the ways in which selected urban schools organize themselves to solve problems. Documentation focuses upon nine sites throughout the country selected and funded by NIE to continue to engage in locally initiated improvement activities.

> TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE - to develop in practice specific strategies which are designed to improve urban public schooling. Technical assistance strategies are based upon documentation of useful practices in the nine funded sites.

> LINKAGE - to increase understanding, through observation of DTA's attempts to link documentation with technical assistance, of the processes through which research can be useful to practice, and practice can influence research.

Our work is designed to effect school improvement through direct work in urban public schools and through sharing what we learn with the following audiences: parents, teachers, and administrators of urban public schools; the educational research community; groups or agencies working to assist urban schools; policy makers.

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FOREWORD

This paper is part of the series of DTA papers that attempts to speak to important issues about problem solving and intervention in local schools to facilitate problem solving based on cross site analysis of the nine sites which DTA documented. Johnson explores in this essay his conception of the importance of the basic relationship between assistance group and the school groups being served. The essay both explores the concept of collegiality as a basic principle for effective change, and examines how, in his judgment, the concept is played out at the nine sites. He concludes with recommendations for future project design.

This is a draft of the essay. The author and DTA welcome critical comments. The draft was written before the final writing and analysis was complete on the nine sites. Therefore, interpretation of the nine sites should be considered tentative until they are checked against final analysis of each site.

<p style="margin-left:40%">Thomas A. Wilson
Project Director</p>

When thou camest first,
Thou strok'dst me,
And mad'st much of me;
Wouldst give me
Water with berries in't;
And teach me how
To name the bigger light,
And how the less,
That burn by day or night:
And then I lov'd thee...
Yet you sty me
In this hard rock,
Whiles you do keep from me
The rest o' the island.

From The Tempest
by William Shakespeare

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In several capacities, governmental and foundation agencies, school prac-
titioners, as well as various technical assistance groups, have dedicated them-
selves to the solution of seemingly irresolvable urban school problems. Yet,
as if composed of an unalterable genetic structure, fundamental problems persist.
Moreover, in many cases, the messenger is often attacked in the very process of
trying to convey solutions; change agents are often castigated as "do-gooders"
and "outsiders".

RELATIONSHIPS AND STRATEGIES

Many of the seemingly impassable barriers to urban school improvement are
cultural and relational as well as economic and political. For example, cities
and metropolitan areas have long exhibited a diversity of culture, ethnicity,
and socioeconomics, at once serving as catalyst for innovation and creativity
as well as for persistent discontinuity and discord (Fried, 1967). In itself
then, the very heterogeneity of urban areas, and its educational institutions,
poses a barrier to cultural continuity (Cohen, 1969). On one level, present
educational change efforts are situations of cross-cultural contact. Much of
the frustration, resentment, hostility, and mutual rejection accompanying edu-
cational change efforts is due to ineffective patterns of relationship among
the diverse parties involved: administration, instructional staff, students,
parents, community representatives, district officials, Federal educational
personnel, and technical assistance groups. In particular, local school people
seem to be as affected by the character and nature of the relationships in inter-
vention and change projects as they are by the change strategies themselves. In
sustained change efforts, it is not exclusively an improvement strategy itself
that is either accepted or rejected; tacit or overt rejection or acceptance

also is a characteristic pattern of relationship among participating parties

underlying the presentation, introduction, and incorporation of a particular

strategy. Such characteristic patterns reflect the attitudes, conceptions,

images, value, and assumptions each party has of the other. Especially in the

heterogeneous urban school situation, patterns of relationship among parties

involved in education change efforts affect how both individuals and groups

view and value the contributions of the other. In turn, these views and atti-

tudes invariably affect the outcome, regardless of the strategy involved, of

the project as a whole (Belshaw, 1970).

Overview

Based on a comparative analysis of data from the longitudinal study of

nine urban school change projects, this article posits a relationship between

patterns of relationship among participants in the intervention situation and

the degree of incorporation of problem solving strategies. The purpose of this

article is to stimulate greater awareness of and attention to the role of par-

ticipants' relationships in the outcome of school improvement efforts. The

following data are illustrative; a sample of only nine projects is not meant

to validate the indicated relationships.* That particular patterns of partici-

pants' relationships are associated with the particular outcomes of school

*The Documentation and Technical Assistance Group employed site-based researchers
to spend two years documenting intervention activities in each of the nine pro-
jects. Each researcher wrote a descriptive case study on their site. Research-
ers also wrote monthly summative updates and in-progress analysis papers. The
Documentation and Technical Assistance Group was charged with the design of a
study comparing inductively generated topics across sites. Accounts of more
objective activities, such as problem identification and strategy design, were
derived from funding proposals, conference working papers, minutes from project
meetings, and other document analysis. While this article was being drafted,
researchers were still living near their school sites and were able to provide
specific information, feedback, and critical insight on the formulation of
this paper.

intervention efforts is a deductive hypothesis framed for further testing. The

data-based analysis of intervention projects is still quite rare (Havelock, 1969:

13-3); rarer still is descriptive literature on the pre-implementation phases

of intervention strategies. When they do occur, a recent RAND report (Berman,

1975:3) notes:

> ...the literature paints project accomplishments in glowing broad-
> brush terms but it provides little information about specific suc-
> cessful strategies, about the components necessary to success, or
> even about what constitutes success.

The concentration here is on the preconditions of effective improvement strate-

gies. In the approach to the resolution of persistent urban school problems,

participants in change efforts must adopt mutually satisfactory roles and relation-

ships. That this is not usually recognized is demonstrated in the infrequency

with which funding proposals reflect the collaborative contributions of in-

volved participants. Collaboration usually refers instead to the practitioners'

and communities' post hoc acceptance of a technical assistance group's a priori

change strategy and procedure. At its inception, such a pattern of participant

relationships engenders mutual resentments, feelings, and attitudes undermining

the effectiveness of an otherwise appropriate improvement strategy.* The pre-

implementation approach to a solution to school problems is as important as the

solutions themselves. There are particular patterns of participants relation-

ships that seem to be necessary but not sufficient conditions for the effective

implementation and incorporation of particular improvement strategies. Those

conditions will be discussed in this paper.

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*A reference from the Iroquois City case study draft (Sherlock, 1977) illustrates
the manner in which school clients there received a funding proposal. "When
they received a paper in the mail, they were uncertain as to whether it was
really a proposal or a directive being 'laid on' them by outsiders." In another
instance, at a school meeting to discuss the proposal, an Iroquois City community
representative charged, "This proposal is the 'do-gooder' trying to tell the
people what they need."

The following section discusses the nine NIE funded school improvement projects in terms of their pre-implementation patterns of relationships among participants; emphasis is placed upon the degree of participation in problem identification, strategy design, and proposal writing. A concluding section presents several summary recommendations to school practitioners, funding agencies, and technical assistance groups for improving their joint work.

PATRONS, CLIENTS AND COLLEAGUES

A DTA site researcher writes:

> The expert/colleague issue is extremely important in the larger
> context of educational change. School staffs resist experts.
> In fact, they all appear to loathe the idea of someone suggest-
> ing to them how to do something (Clark, 1977:8).

Analogy and metaphor remain effective methods of presenting disparate data. It has seemed to me that characteristic patterns of participants' relationships in several school intervention projects bear remarkable similarity to, on the one hand, patron-client relationships characteristic of peasant and plantation societies and, on the other, to the more collegial relationships characteristic of bureaucratic societies. These anthropological concepts order and clarify a heretofore slighted aspect of the school intervention process.

Euphemistically, clients are customers; one to whom something is done or to whom something is given. A client, being a client, is one, we assume, who is being taken care of. Always, the client is the recipient of something; the word suggests dependency and passivity. Motives are peripheral; presumably, parents take care of offspring out of a sense of love while lawyers protect people out of a sense of justice. Still, clients are invariably sheltered, protected, de- fended, and nurtured. Clients exist in a perpetual dependent relationship characterized by unequal status, role, knowledge, and expertise.

At once the Spanish <u>patrón</u> is ship captain, landlord, protector, and employer. From the Latin <u>pater</u> is derived the biological characteristics connoting the behavior and attitudes of a progenitor toward his offspring. Paternalism assumes a gap in status, role, and biological capability. With the best of intentions, a <u>pater</u> and <u>patrón</u> are inexorably charged with the ceaseless obligation of benevolently guiding and taking care of presumably incompetent wards; it is the curse of obligation.

In all these words, it is important to note the <u>biological</u>, deterministic, and inflexible connotations given to essentially <u>social</u> relationships. To carry out their role, clients need patrons; to carry out their role, patrons need clients. These roles are symbiotic; thus, we more properly speak of a patron-client pattern of relationship. Paternalism, patronage, and the patron-client relationship exhibit great depth of historical and geographic expression; these patterns endure because they are adaptive, functional, and of social consequence (Mannheim, 1940). Patron-client patterns of relationship are primarily manifested within stratified, heterogeneous societies among people of unequal status and rank having differential and unequal access to strategic and socially valued resources.* As Max Weber (1946) documents, these patterns of relationship effectively order, <u>yet</u> <u>preserve</u>, the status and role differences endemic to stratified, heterogeneous groups and societies:

> "Patron-client" contracts...tie people...of significantly different socioeconomic statuses (or order of power), who exchange different kinds of goods and services. Patron-client contracts are thus phrased vertically, and they can be thought of as asymmetrical, since each partner is quite different from the other in position and obligations (Foster, 1967:216).

Patronage is a pattern of relationship existing on many social levels. Patrons serve as intermediaries to wider, less accessible resource networks. Individuals,

*On the comparative characteristics of stratified societies, see Fried (1960), McAdams (1966), and Wittfogel (1959). Here, suffice it to say that states are inherently differentiated in rank, status, and the distribution of resources.

or groups, seek out patrons in order to receive benefits to which their social

position inhibits access. Thus, local school groups might seek assistance from

consortiums, research centers, or university professors. But these terms are

relative; a patron is quite often the client to a still larger patron. There are

more than a few instances of education technical assistance groups acting as

patrons to a local school system but as clients to a funding agency:

> With patron-client contracts. . .one of the two partners is
> always of significantly higher position, from which stems the
> power which permits him to be a "patron" to the other. . . A
> patron, it is clear, is someone who combines status, power,
> influence, authority--attributes useful to anyone--in "de-
> fending" himself or in helping someone else defend himself.
> But a person however powerful and influential, is a patron
> only in relation to someone of lesser position--a client
> who, under specific circumstances, he is willing to help
> (Foster, 1967:222).

To the extent that patrons secure expected resources for their clients, the re-

lationship endures. Through patronage, it will be seen that education technical

assistance groups provide information and ideas, serve as brokers to wider re-

sources, interpret specialized knowledge, and bestow higher status to clients.

On the other hand, to the extent that clients provide patrons with expected

resources, the relationship endures. It is not often stressed the degree to

which clients add to the power of patrons (Kenny, 1960). It will be seen that

educational patrons, because they themselves are clients, need local school

clients to spread their strategies and ideas thus gaining notoriety, fame,

prestige, further funding, and, sometimes, power. Local school clients provide

patrons with the data base on which much educational change theory as well as

patron reputation, is built; local school clients provide the essential situations

through which hypothetical improvement strategies are tested and refined.

Seemingly, all participants get what they need.

There are problems. Patron-client patterns of relationship are inherently

undemocratic, paternalistic, and unequal; they breed mutual resentments and

hostility. The pattern of relationship is associated with characteristic

feeling states; constituent heterogeneity is itself a problem:

> ...situations having potentially anxiety producing qualities;
> personal influence from high status individuals may produce
> considerable tension because of the prestige involved in one
> individual being of higher status. Also, a large disparity in
> status between individuals may create anxiety because of the
> tension produced by communication between individuals of
> different backgrounds (Havelock, 1969:5-14).

In its extreme, the cultural, social, and educational differences between the

participants in urban school improvement projects often generates hostility, fear,

defamation, disrespect, and mutual suspicion. Patrons come to feel they are

supposed to "do everything"; that clients are irresponsible and ungrateful.

Clients feel they are seen and treated as "children"; they speak of coming to

feel disparaged, demeaned, slighted, disrespected, not "taken seriously", of

being seen as "stupid", of being "talked down to", of social isolation and im-

plied devaluation, and of ideas, problems, and strategies being "laid on" them

by "outsiders". But school and school/community people continue to need re-

sources of many kinds; patrons continue to need the prestige of patronage.

Mutual hostility and resentment proliferates; if the project does not fail, it

will be hampered by lack of cooperation and ineffectiveness.

There are alternatives. In contrast to the stratified patron-client re-

lationships, colleague relationships homogenize rather than stratify (Reina,

1959; Wolf, 1966). The likelihood of differences in culture, schooling, or

status being accepted as legitimate is enhanced (Niehoff and Charnel, 1964).

Colleagues perceive each other as, and adopt a corresponding posture of, co-

equals. This posture is voluntary, participatory, collaborative, and democratic;

the work connotes partnership and friendship. Colleague relationships are charac-

terized by long-term face-to-face interaction, mutual admiration, respect, trust,

and support. The above-mentioned attitudinal by-products of client dependency

and patron paternalism are dissuaded.

In both patterns of relationship, patrons and clients remain _elites_ to
their respective constituents; it is elite position, status, and knowledge
that provides access to strategic resources (Bottomore, 1964; Mills, 1956).
Elites are distinguished by the relative social weight and deference given to
their knowledge, expertise, authority, and skill; elite position of course, can
be both achieved and ascribed. In the school intervention situation, the crucial
point is how technical assistance groups _manifest_ their elite position and
power; how it is translated into interpersonal and participant patterns of re-
lationship. In short, the matter concerns how elites (change agents) behave
toward and think about non-elites (school practitioners, parents, community re-
presentatives, and students). One either assumes that people can identify their
own problems and contribute toward their solution, and act accordingly, or, one
assumes that people cannot identify their own problems and contribute toward
their solution, and act accordingly. The first posture invariably results in
what I choose to term a colleague relationship; the second in the familiar
patron-client relationship. Here, my assumption is that patron-client relation-
ships foster mutual resentments that hamper the resolution of school problems;
that colleague relationships, at the very least, acknowledge that dignity and
respect so crucial to the urban populations served by educational elites.

By assuming a colleague posture to other participants in the intervention
situation change agents do not negate their elite status; differences of access,
expertise, knowledge, culture, and status will remain. The important qualita-
tive difference is the pattern of relationship; more correctly, it is the quality
and character of the attitudes associated with and flowing from the relationship.

In the intervention situation, a colleague pattern of relationship, at the
pre-implementation phase, would be characterized by collaborative problem identi-
fication and diagnosis, strategy design, and proposal development (Lewin, 1952:

Thelen, 1967). Would-be patrons utilize their elite resources by acting as
consultants; would-be clients, bringing their grounded experiences, become
colleagues (Boehm, 1956; Gallaher, 1964; Pelz, 1955). Ideally, both elites
and non-elites would enjoy mutually acceptable roles and division of labor.
In the initial preproposal phase of school improvement projects, participant
groups, funding agencies, and technical assistance groups might try to find
a way to work toward the establishment of a colleague pattern of relationship
as a precondition to the later working out of the project itself; suggestions
are contained in the recommendation section of this paper.

Patron-Client and Colleague Patterns of Relationship in Nine School Intervention and Technical Assistance Projects

Illustrated here are characteristic patterns of patron-client and colleague
relationships among participants in several school intervention projects.
These descriptive accounts support recommendations for more effective approach-
es to the design in implementation of projects to improve urban schooling. The
descriptions are en medias res; most of these projects, and their participant
patterns of relationship, have undergone changes over the three year funding
period. As such, the focus here is on the degree of colleague collaboration
in the conception of local school problems and the design of problem solving
strategies. Cases one through eight illustrate patron-client patterns; case
number nine illustrates a colleague pattern. Patron-client relationships are
characteristic, as will be seen, as they are encouraged in no small part by
grant agency funding patterns. The intent is not so much to resolve this
issue as it is to identify its complexity and the nuances of its manifestations.

Case Number One: The School Self-Improvement Project (1)*

Coalition for Business and Education Collaboration (CBEC) is a consortium
of over two hundred bankers, corporation representatives, and business leaders.
Established in 1965, the Collaboration sought to apply business management
skills and techniques to the solution of urban school problems.   In 1969, the
Collaboration contracted with Justifiable Futures in Education (JFE), an edu-
cational research firm, to test the feasibility of a school/business partner-
ship in two selected city high schools.   In 1970, the New York City Board of
Education asked the Collaboration to establish partnerships with ten other
schools; two were finally selected.   Based on experiences in these four schools,
in 1974 CBEC responded to a National Institute of Education Request for Fund-
ing Proposal (RFP) and received a grant to extend its strategy into four ad-
ditional high schools.

Historically, there are two phases to CBEC's strategy; an early Collabora-
tive Planning project and a later Self-Improvement project.   The early strategy
was based on a participant planning model of educational change stressing the
collaborative constituent involvement and responsibility in goal setting, pro-
gram and staff development, and evaluation.   At the request of each school,
business consultants from the Collaboration were placed in the schools them-
selves.   Under the NIE grant though, CBEC shifted to a strategy of internal
management and decision-making; the aim was to train internal change agents.
Initially, principals and assistant principals were the focus of the strategy.

*Site names and names of participants in the sites are pseudonyms.   Numbers
 in parentheses indicate site numbers.   Often sites are known by several
 different names, thus the numbers should provide clear identification.

The problem solving strategy was conceived of and designed by Justifiable Futures in Education representatives. To be sure, there was development collaboration; yet, it was phrased horizontally among employment, socio-cultural, and educational peers rather than vertically shared with local school participants. The development participants were business, industrial, and educational elites; one professional group collaborated with another. The technical assistance group placed emphasis on developing colleague relationships with district officials; this patron group became a client to a still larger group of patrons. In each project, the NIE mandate was to develop a broad-based local problem-solving strategy. In shifting from a participant planning to an institutional renewal strategy, this project exhibits a gap between intervention theory and practice. Constituents expressed a need for parent/community participation and greater project stress on vocaticnal mathematics and reading programs. The technical assistance group, however, decided to focus on the improvement of management skills. By reinforcing existing hierachies, principals were rendered brokers and change agents, thus effectively hindering the establishment of new patterns of relationship. Even so, principals were not involved in the identification of the project problem focus or in the design of the problem-solving straegy. Organizational development theory was presented as the problem-solving strategy; thus, it is not surprising that:

> A participant responded that in observing the participation
> of principals present in the workshop, there seemed to be
> some resistance to OD concepts as espoused by Barth. Other
> participants stated that they too were resistant to many OD
> concepts due to what they viewed as an effort to be manipula
> tive (Davis, 1977).

This project does not exhibit a locally developed school improvement strategy; for the most part, the technical assistance group extended its problem focus and strategy onto passive clients.

Case Number Two: Building a Network of Mutual Self-Help in Three Junior
                    High Schools (7)

The Teacher Development Cooperative (TDC), the research component of the

Partners in Educational Reform, is a non-profit teacher center serving public

and private schools in the metropolitan Federal City area. Founded in 1970,

the Cooperative focuses on staff training in needs assessment techniques and

problem identification processes through workshops, seminars, and on-site

technical assistance. The Cooperative's professed expertise had been teacher

development and elementary school techniques for improving reading and writing.

In 1974, TDC staff drafted a problem-solving strategy in response to the NIE

RFP; the subsequent grant was to the teacher center.

The proposed strategy was to train school principals in management-by-

objectives techniques; the focus was on processes of problem identification,

management training, and evaluation techniques. The objective was to increase

principal effectiveness in problem-solving design and implementation. Subse-

quently, principals would extend these skills so as to involve other partici-

pants in on-going processes of goal setting, needs analysis, problem-solving,

and decision-making. The project schools had worked with the Cooperative on

a previous school improvement project. Each school principal had participated

in TDC workshops and had expressed interest in increasing management effective-

ness.

As with the previously described project, this project exhibits a clear

patron-client pattern of relationship. In both instances, the funded strategy

employed principals as brokers; a broad-based participant input into the design

of the problem focus or the problem-solving strategy was not sought. Yet,

schools have multiple constituencies. Single entry paths preclude the develop-

ment of organizational means of participation for other constituencies.

Single-entry paths, then, must employ brokers; brokers, though, inhibit the

technical assistance group from directly knowing and experiencing site reali-

ties. Multiple-entry paths are associated with colleague patterns of relation-

ship; they are associated with more direct and complex interaction with partici-

pants. The difficult conclusion is for change agents to establish colleague

relationships with all of the relevant school groups; the recommendation

section elaborates this need. In the present project, principals themselves

were peripherally involved in strategy design. In addition,

> Decisions on lines of communication and timing of interventions
> were made then by a group that included neither the project
> director, who was to implement them, nor representatives of
> teachers, parents, community people, or students (Gordon, 1976:6).

In both projects, there was a shift from an original area of expertise to an

organizational development strategy. Here, an explanation again seems to be

instances of patrons themselves becoming clients seeking to reflect the wishes

of still larger patrons--namely, their funding agency. Inevitably, this pro-

duces a gap between theory and practice:

> On the one hand, the TAG saw itself fostering innovation and
> renewal capability by changing current hierarchical leader-
> ship patterns and unilateral decision-making to a system with
> broader distribution of responsibility...On the other hand,
> the TAG's stragegy reinforced the top of the hierarchy's
> authority by making it the primary vehicle of change (Gordon,
> 1976:14).

Seemingly, in seeking to have their strategy better reflect funding objectives,

the technical assistance group developed the strategy without sustained

participant input; the new strategy was never clearly understood or accepted

by them. Strategy decision-making and problem definition were seen as repre-

sentative rather than participatory processes. The irony is that the project's

rationale was collaborative decision-making:

> That objectives are written from a point of view of the TAG,
> not of the client, underlines the contradiction of "demonstrat-
> ing" a change strategy that depends on initiation and conceptua-
> lization by the target group. It heightens the irony of a

> proposal based on collaboration being developed without
> substantive involvement of its target group, the school
> people, and without a clear stragegy for involving the
> group targeted for change (Gordon, 1976:16).

This illustrates a reflex of the patron-client posture. In paternalistic

fashion, the technical assistance group seemingly ignored the strategy and

problem-definition input of their clients. Participants, mainly teachers,

wanted to continue the previous technical assistance stress on improving the

classroom learning environment. As will further be seen, rather than being

based on empirical observation, client needs and responses were _assumed_.

Little pre-proposal time was spent in the project schools; in terms of the

funded strategy, they were not familiar with participant positions as concerns

the specific situations they were seeking to redress. Finally, imposed

strategies implicitly seek client situations providing patrons with strategy-

testing potential. Such are the patterns of relationship in the patron-client

situation.

Case Number Three: The School Renewal Partnership: Replication Mechanism
                     For a Mini-School Complex (2)

Founded in 1968, the Inner City Consortium is a consortium of business,

industrial, educational, and community groups. By 1970, the Consortium had

developed a decentralization school improvement strategy in two New York high

schools. Central University's School of Education was interested in develop-

ing methods of satisfying the varied needs of local schools, coordinating

change efforts, and facilitating the effective employment of University re-

sources; the Consortium collaboratively developed alternative education work-

shops.

In 1968, the target school had independently conceived and implemented a decentralization strategy. In searching out consultants, the school was impressed by the Consortium/Central University demonstration workshops; staff were asked to present several on-site informational workshops. In responding to the NIE RFP, the subsequent project director, a Consortium official, drafted the funding proposal. The Consortium became the technical assistance group; Central University and a local community school district were designated project collaborators. Implementation collaboration was between the Consortium and the New York City Board of Education's Division of Educational Planning and Support.

This project's school improvement strategy emphasized organizational and management restructuring. The TAG sought to develop a supportive process assisting sites in the implementation of a subschool, decentralization model as the basis for institutional renewal. The reorganization model is a linked series of subschools housed in a common building. School architecture defines the existence of four self-contained administrative units; one subschool on each floor. Each floor plans its own curriculum; jointly, physical education, languages, and material resources operate across subschool lines. A curriculum resource center serves staff development needs of all four subschools. The project objective was to increase teacher decision-making through administrative decentralization; a more broad-based constituency was to assume responsibility for educational planning and management. To this end, a representative advisory body was designated to manage the grant.

Again, we are presented with an instance of colleague collaboration being phrased horizontally between educational, social scientific, and business elites. As concerns the definition of project problems and strategy, local school participants complained of little collaboration. Participants, including the

Principal, were "informed" that a proposal based on the school's work had been submitted to NIE. Anger was expressed at the technical assistance group's making decisions about "their" project on the basis of little contact with or knowledge about the school itself. The technical assistance group was later rejected, in part, because they failed to fulfill patron obligations. Overextended in other projects, the Consortium did not deliver expected face-to-face expertise, knowledge, skills, or resources. Spending less and less time at the site, the technical assistance staff relied on the Principal-as-broker. School participants resisted appointed technical assistance representatives.

Clients spoke of feeling "exploited"; they felt the technical assistance group wanted to increase its prestige through identification with and owner-ship of an already successful strategy. Additionally, constituents felt the technical assistance people "used the wrong approach" in assuming a leadership rather than assistance role. The technical assistance people "came in with all the answers", "talked down to us", "treated us like children", and "patron-ized us". There were complaints of being manipulated; of feeling "like puppets", of having a proposal, a funded project, a set of ideas and procedures, and a group of people being "laid on" them. It was felt the technical assistance people were trying to impose their own problems and direction; that their activities did not reflect local school needs. Local school participants felt they completed the grant in spite of the technical assistance group.

Case Number Four: Imaginative Educational Cooperation Project (6)

In 1970, the River City school system established an Organizational Development Department, composed of professional consultants routinely assist-ing school administrators in problem-identification and problem-solving. In

1974, several members of the Department became the technical assistance group for a new school improvement project. Collaborative consultation was provided by the Director of the River City Public School's Urban Education Center, the University of River City, and the University of Barrington. In responding to the NIE RFP, the project proposal was conceived, developed, and drafted by the initial project director, a Departmental staff member, and the River City Public Schools Assistant Superintendent for Organizational Development.

This project sought the development and implementation of a decentralized problem-solving model. The technical assistance group sought to more effectively foster feelings of ownership and responsibility for local school/community objectives and improvement strategies. Intervenors sought to institutionalize a process whereby traditional client groups such as parents, students, and community representatives became collaborative colleagues.

The assumption is that traditional organizational development models designate one group to develop change strategies that are then extended to other constituents not involved in their development. It is assumed that constituent involvement in the conception and design of change projects enhances identification and ownership. Thus, the technical assistance group served as consultants to key school personnel, training them in techniques of problem identification, conflict management, goal setting, decision-making, and intervention assessment.

This project effectively illustrates the distinction I am making between strategy intent and result--that this gap is an inevitable result of a patron-client pattern of relationship. In spite of its professed intent, this project did not substantively collaborate with participants in the pre-implementation conception and identification of school problems or in the design of the problem-solving strategy. It was assumed that organizational development was the change strategy. As with the Federal City project, it is again ironic that

the goal and philosophy of the technical assistance group was the development

and implementation of a collaborative decision-making model:

> The TAG's Phase I proposal asserts that the failure of urban
> school systems to solve the problems plaguing them was a re-
> sult of the process by which solutions have been developed
> and implemented rather than as a result of the solutions them-
> selves...one in which professional educational administrators
> define problems and construct solutions which must be imple-
> mented by others (e.g., staff, students, parents, or community
> members). Such programs are virtually doomed to failure be-
> cause those people who are responsible for their implementation
> do not see solutions as "theirs" and, therefore, do not see
> themselves as responsible for the program's success (Brown, 1977:66).

As patrons, the technical assistance group themselves became an example of what

their goal statement said should not be done. Initial problem setting and

strategy design was among elite colleagues.

> In fact, the development of the project fits clearly the
> "role-centered" model of decision-making in that the pro-
> blems were defined and the strategy was developed by a group
> of Central Office experts, which the TAG asserted was the
> problem in the first place (Brown, 1977:41-42).

The predictable result was that clients, both staff and parents, came to feel

that the project did not reflect their problems but was something "laid on"

them; something imposed. The intervention entry level remained with the

principal. Though no consulting was done at the local building level, the

technical assistance group puzzled over the lack of client response and involve-

ment:

> Prior to the start of the project, the TAG had no history of
> involvement with the target schools...Although the Principal's
> knowledge of OD was already known, their interest in having
> the project in their schools was apparently just assumed...
> Dr. Winter (Washington Principal) reported that he and Harry
> Miller (Jensen Principal) were angry when they found out that
> they had not been consulted or notified about the project
> in the planning stages (Brown, 1977:8).

> As for parents, those at Jensen (project school) knew nothing
> about the project. Those at Washington (project school) looked
> on it as a source of funds for workshops and other projects,
> but they were uncertain about the role of the consultants
> (Brown, 1977:41).

The technical assistance people did though, hold meetings for local client contributions; few came to these meetings or took them seriously. The patron-client posture dissuades constituent communication. This project's clients never understood the project: its goals, purpose, or language. It is reported that clients felt patronized, looked down upon.

In isolation, with no site-specific knowledge of the project school, the technical assistance group developed a school improvement strategy. Further, there was no project accountability to the local school communities. The technical assistance group was accountable to the Superintendent of Schools; in seeking legitimacy, the technical assistance group itself became a client to a more powerful patron. The Imaginative Educational Cooperation project effectively illustrates the discontinuities inherent in patron-client postures in school intervention processes.

Case Number Five: El Dorado Faculty Development Project (3)

The Teachers' Institute is a non-profit research and development group within the statewide Teachers' Association. For several years, the Institute has administered its teacher involvement and governance strategy in area schools. In responding to the NIE RFP, the Institute sought to extend and refine its existing strategy. The principal investigator, an Association staff member, wrote the project proposal. A feasibility team identified target schools and developed implementation strategy; the Association had previously worked with the project schools.

The project's goals were to increase teachers' participation in decision-making and to improve their management skills. Through workshops, teacher representatives were trained in the design and implementation of school governance structures. The assumption was that the development of formal

constitutions insured the collaborative governance of school buildings. Returning to their local schools, the teacher representatives developed, within existing administrative frameworks, a teacher governance structure. The technical assistance group assumed an advisory and consultant role; local school governance structures were determined by teacher-directed needs analysis and planning.

In this project, the technical assistance group assumed a homogeneous colleague pattern of relationship among peer elites. The professed goal of shared decision-making and collaboration was limited to this group. Interestingly, owing to the lack of teacher participation, the project, in 1975, came very close to being terminated. The project entry level was past teacher association presidents unfamiliar with current site specifics. The technical assistance group had prior involvement in the school district--but not in the project schools. Teacher representatives served as brokers; these teachers were not elected but appointed by past teacher association presidents. Hypothetically, it was not known how those teachers interacted with their peers at the building level. The project came to be associated with a particular group of teachers; it was seen as the "brainchild" of a group of Association members.

Often, "collaboration" refers to the homogeneous peer patterns of relationship illustrated here. The National Institute of Education emphasized the development of broad-based constituent involvement in school problem-solving. The El Dorado project made no serious attempt to involve constituents in its activities. Such projects are often tautological; strategies are successful to the extent that they self-define the conditions for success. The point here is that 1) technical assistance groups must have detailed, first-hand, broker-free knowledge of the local school situation in which they are working; 2) to the greatest extent possible, representatives from all school constituent groups should ideally share in defining problems and problem-solving strategies.

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Case Number Six: The Extension and Expansion of a Community-Based Education
                    Program (9)

The Neighborhood Corporation for Educational Improvement (NCEI) is a
constituent elected, representative community organization. For ten years,
NCEI has maintained a self-generated school-improvement project in New York
City: East Town School, a comprehensive community education institution. In
1967, the East Town Parents Association negotiated with the New York City
Board of Education to construct a community school at the site of an urban
renewal project. In collaboration with a neighboring Parkville community
group, they took the name of the Educational Improvement Committee. In
collaboration with the Board of Education, the group designated a planning
staff and hired two academic consultants. In 1970 the planning committee sub-
mitted to the school board a proposal requesting the establishment of a second-
ary educational facility. Building upon previous experience, in 1974 the
Committee asked NIE for a grant to further institutionalize the alternative
high school.

This project was based on the belief that schooling is a collaborative
process. Schooling is successful to the extent that all constituents--parents,
staff, administrators, and community persons--directly participate in the
educational process. The purpose of the project was the maintenance of a
comprehensive educational facility; the technical assistance strategy was the
development of a more encompassing and elaborate governance structure better
utilizing constituent resources. The developed committee structure would pro-
vide a mechanism for collaborative planning and decision-making. Yet, ten
years later, the project is on the verge of collapse.

Underlying collaboration assertions is a familiar pattern of patron-
client relationship. The project's strategy emerged from a group of white,
highly schooled Parkville parents and similarly educated, political blacks

and Hispanics from East Town. A superficial overlay of color and geography
masks a relationship between two elite groups. Collaboration was phrased
within similar groups rather than between dissimilar groups. Discontinui-
ties--language, class, socioeconomic status, culture--were established between
this group and the other participants. It is often assumed that educational
or intervention discontinuity is a reflex of color. This project illustrates
how the gap between the schooled and the unschooled (Illich, 1973) varies
with class and cultural divisions within the same color groups; that the tech-
nical assistance group and their clients were of the same color did not insure
the success of the strategy. School constituent groups are not monolithic--
either by class, ideology, or color. Ethnic diversity often masks ideological
similarity. Only after the project's problem focus and strategy had been de-
fined by this colleague elite group did they seek out client approval. Thus,
the "community" in community control referred to this governing patron group.
"Collaboration" meant constituent implementation approval.

As a result, it is reported that the project's philosophical and edu-
cational concepts were not understood by clients; they were not familiar with
goals, language, or on-going activities. Other than within a small group of
clients, the project has not engendered sustained, broad-based support. The
patron-client pattern of relationship did not provide the support necessary
to withstand the subsequent shocks of a rapidly changing student population
and budget cutbacks. This project started, as did the School Self-Improvement
Project (1), with a new building; here were opportunities to develop broad-
based patterns of colleague relationship. Yet, in both instances, we see
the persistence of patron-client patterns and the attendant gap between rationale
and practice.

Case Number Seven: The Program for Satellite Teacher Center (5)

In 1973, the Iroquois City Public School System's Board of Education and Iroquois University's College of Education collaboratively developed an area center for teacher development. The center primarily provided in-service staff development workshops, pre-service teacher training activities, and a teacher referral and placement service for the alternative schools in southeast Iroquois City. In responding to the 1974 NIE RFP, a proposed extension project was collaboratively developed and drafted by the subsequent principal investigator, a school system coordinator, an Iroquois University staff development specialist, and the in-service coordinator for the southeast alternative schools. The project would replicate, then establish a teacher center serving eastern Iroquois City.

After more than two years, constituents concluded that the extension project had not achieved sustained incorporation. Similar to the Imaginative Educational Cooperation Project (6), this project's technical assistance group went against local school sentiment. Again, there was teacher preference to concentrate on classroom processes. This is another instance of clients serving to increase the prestige of patrons in providing situations for the replication of successful projects.

> Many problems arose from the external generation of the pro-
> ject. The fact that the teacher center was created in another
> area and simply given to people resulted in problems of
> acceptance and ownership...(Brown, 1977:51).

In terms of the projects described here, it is not so much the fact of externalism that is important as is the accompanying participant patterns of relationship. As will be seen, colleague patterns of relationship are enhanced through face-to-face, broad-based, vertical, site-specific interaction over comparatively long periods of time. Patron-client patterns enhance the isolation characteristic of externally developed projects. In Iroquois City,

this isolation is expressed physically. Additionally, the mere fact of
extensionism contradicts the National Institute of Education's emphasis upon
the generation of local school developed projects.

The Satellite Center was isolated from _its_ patron, the Model Center, as
well as from its four client schools and their parent, student, and community
constituents. As has been seen, externally developed projects seem to be under
pressure from _their_ patrons to develop successful replications. In this
pattern of relationship, local participants are all but ineffectual. Effective-
ly, the technical assistance group becomes a client to a larger patron:

> The situation was one in which the (new) center staff might
> well have viewed the (parent) center as a "rich and snobbish
> step-sister" (Sherlock, 1977:76).

Subtly, the extended project became a client enhancing the prestige and repu-
tation of its patron. The new center's clients, not being colleagues in problem
definition or strategy design, felt they served as a "laboratory" for the
testing and evaluation of _their_ patron's strategy:

> It is also clear from the data presented in the case study
> that the client population never felt ownership of, or identifi-
> cation with the Center. Among the confusion and lack of under-
> standing, there were feelings of suspicion. There was a
> sense that the whole project had been "laid on" by outsiders...
> The suspicion toward outsiders was that the project was probably
> more to the benefit of the University people than to the
> clients (Sherlock, 1977:2-26).

The technical assistance group spent little time in the new center or in the
client schools. Even in its second year, NIE representatives were called upon
to explain the strategy to local school clients. Local school staff never
quite understood how the project could help resolve the classroom problems they
felt important. The Satellite Center degenerated into merely a source of
funding for staff development proposals; mutual hostility and mistrust severed
opportunity for any on-going colleague relationships.

Case Number Eight: The Developmental Approach to Urban Education: A
                     Psycho-Social Action Model (4)

In 1968, the subsequent project principal investigator, was attempting
to understand and resolve persistent problems of high levels of school absentee-
ism and drop-out rates, the mutual anxieties and fears of parents and teachers,
and low student academic performance. Employing a psychological approach,
a series of child-centered community action programs was developed. An edu-
cational consortium of local community groups was formed. The consortium
expanded upon the original psychocultural interaction model in continuing to
work with local school groups. At this time, activist parents, through school
and district committees, had been agitating for basic improvement in local
school environments. In 1974, the consortium organized parental concerns as
impetus for drafting a project proposal in response to the NIE RFP.

The aim of the funded project was to increase the effectiveness of
participants previously active in school improvement efforts: school and
community resources would be mobilized to better meet student needs. The
assumption was that urban school failure is a result of the discontinuity
between the student's native culture and the culture of the school. Urban
schooling is ineffective to the degree of lack of interaction and collaboration
between diverse constituent groups. The primary purpose of the project was
to render schools more responsive to the needs of the child. Site schools and
personnel volunteered to participate in the project.

The technical assistance group, the Cultural Continuity Project, is com-
posed of a local research center, a medical center, a community hospital, and
local school groups. The Board of Directors is composed of the principal in-
vestigator, the project director, the project school principals, and parent
and teacher representatives. The project strategy was to develop workshops

employing psychological and cultural approaches to conceptualizing and under-
standing the interrelationship of school, home, and community; child develop-
ment theory is the model about which the school should be made to function.
Workshops and seminars encourage participants to discuss and define their
respective roles, identify the child's physical, emotional, academic, and
social needs, identify the barriers to the satisfaction of those needs, and
then locate the school, community, or consultant resources to meet those
needs. Administrators were to be trained to view the school as a system that
either blocks or satisfies the needs of the child; they should then come to
better understand the child's culture at home and its relationship to the
school. Parents were to be helped to understand the language, norms, expec-
tations, and operating procedure of the school. These workshops also lessen
the fears school staff had of parents and, conversely, that parents had of
the school.

This project was based on a recognition of the cultural and ethnic hetero-
geneity of urban school communities as itself a contributing factor to urban
school ineffectiveness. The project made an important distinction between
the culture of the student and the culture of the child. In heterogeneous,
plural societies, the culture of the child is invariably different from the
national enculturation ethos.*

Local school constituents were not involved in the conception or design
of the problem solving strategy. Prior to the funded project though, both
the principal investigator and project director had spent considerable time in
and gained considerable experience with the local community. Parents and the
technical assistance group were able to thus develop a common approach to

*On enculturation in plural societies, see Mead (1943). On the culture of
the public school system in the United States, see Henry (1963).

school change; the problem was that the teachers came to be viewed as the adversary of this group. The alignment between parents, community representatives, and the technical assistance group made the strategy alien to the instructional staff. Again, the lesson is that the technical assistance group must, to the greatest extent possible, include all local school participants in the process of problem identification and strategy design.

Case Number Nine: The Project for Extending School Capacity for Self-Support of Responsive Education (8)

In 1967, the present project director, Dr. Marian Barber, reorganized five Bricktown elementary school classrooms around an open corridor plan. After three years of experience, an Assistors' Service was formed in order to institutionalize a support system for the open education strategy. In 1972, a University Center was formed on the Central University campus; the Center provided off-site support for the open education projects. In responding to the NIE RFP, Dr. Barber proposed to increase and refine the existing open education model. A grant was made to the Assistors' Service and University Center through the Research Foundation at Central University.

This intervention strategy was based on the reorganization of traditional classrooms into a decentralized arrangement linked through the employment of hallways as a planned learning environment. Traditional classroom organization and curriculum were considered unsupportive of the learning process. In each corridor community, classroom doors remain open; four or five classes, from k-6, share a common setting. The assumption here was that accessibility itself reinforces interaction enhancing the educational process; previously isolated constituents pool and share teaching techniques, materials, space, energy, ideas, and activities. The Assistors' Service places consultants in those public schools where pre-existing programs or activities have initiated activities toward the self-support of open education programs and have sought

the consultantship of the technical assistance group. Constituents, be they student, parent (students through parents), administrators, and teachers voluntarily participate in open education projects.

The objective of this strategy was to increase the heterogeneity of the learning environment; as a philosophy, open education supports participation, community, and the crossage, sex, ability, color, and ethnic interaction lacking in traditional classrooms. The open education project attempts to synchronize child development theory and school organization. Traditional age-graded curriculums are set aside; individualized learning activities are organized around student interests, learning styles, and biological needs. As similar to the previous Cultural Continuity Project (4), this project is based on the philosophy that the school exists to support the developmental potential of the student; both strategies are child-centered. Here, key concepts are the support of parent involvement in the educational process, the generation of a democratic learning environment, teacher, community, and voluntary participation.

A colleague pattern of relationship is illustrated. Elite and non-elite role relationships are phrased across status groups; in the previous case studies, elites were synonymous with patrons. Here, there is continuity between project intention, rationale, and actualities. The project is based on a philosophic stance of democratic education; a colleague pattern of relationship is a reflex of that philosophy. As has been stressed, it is values, attitudes and personal stances among participants that are crucial:

> The attitude toward (clients) is not one of condescension
> but of collaboration with them and reliance upon their
> unique contribution to the learning process in children
> and for the more sensitive development of teacher attitudes
> towards children (Karunakaran, 1977:205).

The project seems to be based on mutual communication, rapport, credibility,

visibility, trust, and familiarity among all constituents. The emphasis

here on voluntary participation distinguishes it from other extension strate-

gies:

> Thus, the project was not a University or Department under-
> taking, but the idea of an individual working within its
> structure. This would set it apart from other programs which
> are University experiments in the community. It was not a
> package that was being tested or delivered to the community...
> Its earliest manifestation was in a public school. Thus, it
> was not created in a laboratory situation and then applied
> to the school situation (Karunakaran, 1977:25).

Clients sought out the technical assistance group; strategies were not imposed.

In both, there was a mutuality of approach to school problem-solving; schools

experimenting with child-centered education sought out technical assistance

groups experienced in this strategy:

> Thus, it appears that the Project and its clients "matched"
> each other--parents were looking for an educational program
> that would honor cultural, ethnic, racial, and personal di-
> versity and the program expressed and was able to demonstrate
> these goals as being at the basis of its strategy for school
> reorganization (Karunakaran, 1977:96-97).

And again, very similar to the preceding project:

> The basic premise of the project is that it is a continuation
> and refinement of the informal learning provided by parents
> in the home (Karunakaran, 1977:204).

If this rather than imposition be the case, then the support generated for the

project is understandable; participants were related to as colleagues rather

than clients. There exists a common base about child development and education:

> The significant general observation that needs to be made in
> this section is that in the schools where the project has made
> most progress, there has been a proper match between Project
> goals and client interests and preferences...The Project ex-
> panded upon and refined the community's own projections for its
> schools (Karunakaran, 1977:204).

This approach is to be contrasted with previously described patron-client patterns of imposing, regardless of client wishes, a school improvement strategy. Here, in effect, participants are involved in problem definition and strategy design simply in choosing an improvement scheme. The technical assistance group provided implementation assistance. Voluntary participation cancels imposition.

The technical assistance group engaged in face-to-face collaboration; there were no brokers. Advisory personnel were placed directly in the schools. The project's goals and strategies were broadly advertised. Constituents worked together, and in so doing came to share the project:

> The philosophy and strategy of the Responsive Education project is expressed and implemented through the use of a language that appears to define this group. This language is shared by teachers, parents, administrators, and project staff members (Karunakaran, 1977: 55-56).

RECOMMENDATIONS

The present study suggests three recommendations that would improve the nature and quality of interpersonal relationships in school intervention projects. These recommendations are addressed to private and governmental funding agencies as well as to technical assistance groups.

1. Where possible, resource and technical assistance should be focused on the better functioning of those sites demonstrating an established set of change activity, identity, direction, philosophy, goals, and colleague constituent pattern of relationship.

Extensionist projects reinforce patron-client patterns of relationships. The previously discussed projects were funded to the extent that each had locally developed school problem-solving strategies. As has been seen, some strategies were locally developed; most were not. Extensionism contradicts

a funding emphasis on the local, building-level development of school improvement projects and strategies.* Cross-site analysis revealed that projects building upon pre-existing locally developed strategies were more sustaining than extensionist strategies.

Technical assistance groups must not define their role and mission as the generation and extension of school improvement strategies from without. In employing elite access channels, technical assistance groups might rec-ommend to local constituents the value of other existing approaches and techniques. Any extensionism should be collaboratively developed and monitor-ed. Any extensionism should be preadapted, as evolutionary biologists would say, for that particular site. Technical assistance personnel would only rec-ommend those traits already adapted to a particular situation. Rather than imposing direction, technical assistance personnel would do just that--assist. Adoption of a colleague pattern of relationship enhances the desirability of technical assistance personnel adjusting themselves to the established frame-work of the school.**

*Extensionism's rationale directly contradicts the indigenous, collaborative development of school improvement strategies:

> Underlying the predominant change efforts of the 1960's was a rational and mechanistic model of the change process. It assum-ed that if new educational products were developed...they could easily be "installed" in the schools. Schools tended to be viewed as machines into which new parts needed to be fitted. Thus, the parts could be prepared elsewhere (in the research and development laboratories or in federal planning departments) and then disseminated to a passive adopting group in local schools (Moore, et al., 1975:5).

**Havelock's (1969) problem-solver model forecasts the effectiveness of my so-called preadapted sites developing colleague patterns of relationship.

2. Technical assistance groups must engage in face-to-face, rather than broker, interaction with other constituents. The methodology and techniques employed by ethnographic anthropologists in conducting cross-cultural behavioral research has clear relevance and direct applicability to the establishment of colleague patterns of relationship. Technical assistance personnel can be more effective through behaving like ethnographers.

Because of the heterogeneous nature of the urban situation, school improvement projects, and their constituencies, are more profitably seen as cross-cultural in nature. Ethnographic research techniques reinforce the shared knowledge and consciousness, bridging constituent gaps of culture and schooling and class (Nolan and Roper, 1977: Roper and Nolan, 1977). Ethnographic approaches stress the direct participant observation of and contact with constituent groups; the rationale is that one only comes to know and understand the way of life of others by directly experiencing the situations producing their reality. As much as possible, the goal is to share in the assumptions, language, and goals of the people with whom one is working.* The point of departure is the people themselves; the local situation. Ethnographic methodology requires careful attention to matters of entry into a different culture, of establishing an acceptable identity and role, of establishing rapport with constituents, of personal adjustment to the local culture, of the empirical identification of relevant constituent groups, and of the establishment of credibility. Local groups are not presumed homogeneous or monolithic; multiple entry levels are stressed as is the empirical identification of relevant constituent groups.

We have seen projects suffer from a lack of on-site technical assistance presence. An ethnographic approach reinforces contact, mutuality, reciprocity,

*On ethnographic techniques, see Pelto (1970) and Williams (1967).

sharing, dialogue, familiarity, credibility, legitimacy, trust, and respect.
These attributes are not extendable or exportable; legitimacy and respect are
site-specific. The development of a colleague pattern of relationship alone,
and its attendant attributes, might take an ethnographer months; trust and
respect have to be earned. Though this ethnographic model of intervention
is useful, technical assistance groups, local school constituents, and funding
agencies must realize that the antecedents to an effective school improvement
project take time to develop.

3. The preceding cross-site analysis suggests a need for the support
of collaboratively designed school improvement proposals, projects, and
strategies as well as associated colleague patterns of constituent relation-
ship. In what fashion then, can governmental and private funding agencies
influence, if not direct, this goal? I believe that, in large part, funding
patterns themselves determine the character, problem focus, and latent theory
of school intervention.

Funding agencies ought to develop what I will term preproject feasi-
bility grants specifically designed to request the collaborative generation
and design of longitudinal projects. Constituents would propose to develop
specific patterns of relationship before and leading up to qualification and
consideration for the submission of a longitudinal project. As we have seen,
colleague patterns of relationship are attempted after rather than before im-
plementation. Further, the project itself is often dominated by the time
taken to work out roles and tasks. A preproject proposal would indicate how
it would employ funds to set up, or further develop, a collaborative structure
antecedent to a longitudinal project. Preproposal funding would form a con-
text for the development of shared attitudes, conditions, and behaviors pre-
adapted for the success of longitudinal projects. The attempt is to insure
that constituents consciously share the goals, philosophy, language, and
strategy of the longitudinal project.

A preproject RFP would be a proposal to develop a proposal. Preproject proposals would demonstrate the broad-based collaborative design of a longitudinal project; task allocations and constituent roles and responsibilities must be clarified. The RFP might outline the characteristics of a colleague pattern of relationship and an outline of the evaluation process. Preproject proposals must be rigorously evaluated; longitudinal projects will only be as effective as the constituent patterns of relationship formalized during this preproject stage. The funding agency must rigorously field-test the proposal for recognizable, demonstrable, and mutually satisfactory on-site colleague patterns of relationship. Longitudinal funding would be contingent upon successful preproject evaluation.

In reinforcing the development of colleague patterns of constituent relationship, this model has the potential for increasing the interpersonal and relational effectiveness of parties involved in school improvement projects.

SUMMARY

Through the comparative analysis of nine school improvement projects, this essay has illustrated the association between patterns of constituent collaboration in the design of intervention projects and problem-solving strategies and the degree of mutual adaptation, incorporation, and sustained project effectiveness. The study was meant to stimulate continued study of the quite important role of constituent attitudes, interpersonal behavior, and patterns of relationship in school intervention projects.

Many of the barriers to school improvement are cultural and relational, rather than programmatic, in nature; urban schools and school improvement personnel comprise a heterogeneous, diverse constituency. Patterns of constituent relationship expressing mutual trust and respect, complementary roles, and shared goals are a necessary but not sufficient condition for a

successful _approach_ to the solution of persiste.t school problems. Through
an ethnographic approach to school intervention as well as the development
of preproject feasibility funding, technical assistance groups will assume
more collegial and collaborative patterns of constituent relationship pre-
adapting a given project for longitudinal success.

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