

THE PROBLEMS OF IMPLEMENTING FLORIDA'S
TEACHER EDUCATION CENTERS: ANTHROPOLOGICAL
PERSPECTIVES ON ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE IN EDUCATION

By

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THE PROBLEMS OF IMPLEMENTING FLORIDA'S
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This study identifies and interprets the problems of implementation, or organizational change, experienced by most of the original ten teacher education centers implemented in Florida during the 1974-75 school year. It is organized into two major parts: the first provides general descriptive data about Florida's teacher education centers and their problems of implementation. The other section offers an interpretive framework for understanding organizational change and applies it to the problems of center implementation in Florida and to the advent of teacher centers nationally.

In this study problems of implementation are considered to be those circumstances, conditions or activities that hindered the accomplishment of the organizational changes prescribed by the letter and spirit of the legislation that established Florida's teacher education centers. The changes

were prescribed to establish a new system for teacher education in Florida in which school districts, colleges of education, and classroom teachers would work cooperatively in identifying teacher training needs, developing programs responsive to those needs, and evaluating the effectiveness of such programs.

The state's teacher education centers were not established as independent agencies but were grafted onto host school districts in conjunction with cooperating universities and teacher organizations. The preexisting structures and habits governing inservice teacher education and the institutional interests of participating agencies greatly affected center implementation, often mitigating against the realization of prescribed organizational changes set forth by the enabling legislation.

A review of research on organizational change reveals the lack of a theoretical framework for research, especially a framework that interrelates the influence of internal and external factors as they affect organizational change. Malinowski's functional theory of institutions is offered as a possible framework. Its usefulness is explored by applying it to the problems of center implementation in Florida and to the advent of teacher centers in American education.

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

Florida was the first state in this country to establish a state-wide system of teacher education centers, based on state legislation and supported by public funds. The start of the adventure was the passage of the Teacher Education Center Act of 1973 by the state legislature. The Act declared a new state policy for teacher education; one that emphasized shared responsibilities, collaboration, and partnership among groups and organizations involved in teacher education. The state's teacher centers were called upon to embody the new policy and act as a means for its accomplishment.

The purpose of this dissertation is to identify and interpret the problems of implementation, or organizational change, experienced by most of the original ten centers implemented in the 1974-75 school year. To achieve this purpose the author feels it necessary to cover the following topics:

a description of Florida's teacher education centers, including the charges of the enabling legislation and general characteristics of the state's centers,

an overview of the problems of implementation, or organizational change, experienced by most centers during the first year of implementation,

a case study of the problems experienced in one center, through the description of the issues that appeared before the center's council,

a review of the research on organizational change in education to provide an interpretive framework for a further understanding of the problems of implementation,

the application of an interpretive framework to the problems of organizational change faced during the implementation of Florida's teacher centers,

and the application of the framework to the advent of teacher centers in American education to further check on its usefulness in aiding the student of organizational change.

Accordingly, the dissertation is divided into two major parts. The first, comprised of Chapters Two, Three, and Four, provides general descriptive data about Florida's teacher centers and the common problems they faced during implementation. The second, comprised of Chapters Five, Six, and Seven, offers an interpretive framework for understanding organizational change, and applies it both to the problems of center implementation in Florida and to the advent of teacher centers nationally. Chapter Eight summarizes the findings of the dissertation and offers suggestions for further educational research on this topic.

This study is descriptive only to the extent that it provides the reader with a general portrait of Florida's teacher centers and adequately identifies their common problems of implementation. It is not a detailed ethnographic

account of teacher center activities, as can be found in the work of Feiman (1975). It is not a history of the state's centers, nor is it concerned with ascertaining the extent to which teacher centers have been implemented successfully in Florida. Rather this work is concerned primarily with identifying and understanding the problems of implementation common to Florida's centers during their first year of operation, school year 1974-75.

The problems addressed here are problems that were faced by most, if not all, of Florida's centers. The field research upon which this work was based was designed specifically to gather data and derive common problems of organizational change.*

In this study problems of implementation were considered to be those circumstances, conditions, or activities that hindered the accomplishment of organizational changes prescribed by the letter and spirit of the enabling legislation for Florida's teacher centers. The prescribed organizational changes were new sets of activities and social relations called for by the enabling legislation. They were prescribed in order to establish a new system for teacher education in which school districts, colleges of education, and classroom teachers would work cooperatively to identify training needs,

* The development of this study and the methods used are described in the Appendix.

develop programs responsive to those needs, and evaluate the effectiveness of such programs. The required extent of shared responsibility and collaborative decision-making was unprecedented in the state.

CHAPTER TWO
FLORIDA'S TEACHER EDUCATION CENTERS
1974-1975

As the 1973 legislative session in Florida drew to a close in late June, the Teacher Education Center Act was passed in a flurry of education legislation. The Act (Florida Statutes § 231.600-610) set forth a new state policy for teacher education, one that called for more cooperation among groups involved in teacher training -- college faculty, school district administrators, and classroom teachers. To provide a mechanism for this cooperation, the Legislature established a state-wide system of teacher education centers. In this sense, teacher education centers were established as a means, or a process, to achieve a desired consequence.

This chapter describes the legislation that provided for the state's centers and their basic organizational characteristics, namely their goals, their governance, their finance, and their programs.

The Enabling Legislation

The intent of the enabling legislation, as set forth in the first section of the Act, is clearly to establish

a "partnership" among the groups involved in teacher education. Moreover, the Act recognizes the importance of teachers in improving the quality of schooling and the necessity of teacher involvement in bringing about educational change. The following passages illustrate the intent of the enabling legislation. They are excerpted from Fla. Stat. § 231.601.

The most important influence the school can contribute to the learning of any student is the attitudes, skills, knowledge and understanding of the teacher.

If any change is desired in the nature or quality of the educational programs of the schools it will come about only if teachers play a major role in the change.

Teachers can best assist with improving education when they directly and personally participate in identifying needed changes and in designing, developing, implementing, and evaluating solutions to meet the identified needs.

It is commonly accepted that teacher education is best carried out through the collaborative efforts of the colleges and universities, the schools, and the community.

In order to facilitate collaboration between colleges and universities and school districts, insure appropriate involvement and participation of teachers, and establish procedures for joint utilization of resources available for preservice and inservice teachers, the state board of education shall issue regulations providing for the establishment of teacher education centers in school districts.

The enabling legislation also specified the basic characteristics for centers. Each teacher education center was to be planned, financed, and staffed jointly by one or more school districts and by one or more colleges or

universities. Community colleges could participate in appropriate phases of teacher education center activities (Fla. Stat. § 231.603). Each center was to be governed by a center council including representatives of participating school districts, classroom teachers, universities, and community agencies (Fla. Stat. § 231.606). Each center was to be funded jointly by participating school districts and universities, with additional funds coming from the Florida Department of Education and other appropriate sources (Fla. Stat. § 231.609).

In Section 231.604 the Act established the State Council for Teacher Education Centers to assist the Florida Department of Education in developing a state system of centers. The State Council was to assume the following responsibilities: (1) recommend feasible locations for teacher education centers, based on proposals submitted by school districts and universities; (2) recommend guidelines for the expenditure of funds for the centers; (3) evaluate the progress of the centers; and (4) perform other duties required by the purposes of the Act. Members of the State Council were appointed by the Governor, and included representatives from the State Department of Education, school districts (board members and administrative staff), classroom teachers, and university teacher educators. The State Council, operating through the Florida Department of

Education, initiated requests for proposals to start teacher centers in local school districts, selected which proposals were to receive funds, and exercised a general control over the development of the state's teacher education centers.

Even though the Teacher Center Education Act was passed in 1973, no centers were established the following school year. Instead, the 1973-74 school year was used as a planning year by the State Council for Teacher Education Centers. After their deliberations which included examining teacher centers in other states, consultation with educational groups in Florida, and a detailed examination of the enabling legislation, the Council recommended some amendments to the original Act. These amendments were adopted during the 1974 legislative session.

Among the 1974 additions was Section 231.611 which described the procedure to be used in approving centers.

1. The department of education shall provide each school district and each university full information about teacher education centers and a copy of all requirements for establishing and operating centers.
2. Each district and university wishing to jointly establish a center in 1974-75 shall submit a brief proposal to the department of education.

3. The State Council on Teacher Education Centers shall review all proposals and recommend to the department of education the ten locations which in the opinion of the Council will best meet the expectations of the Teacher Education Center Act; provided, however, that consideration shall be given to geographic location so as to have some center development in several regions of the state.
4. The department shall notify all school districts of the locations selected and request those selected to develop a detailed plan of operation for approval by the department of education in accordance with this Act and regulation of the State Board of Education.
5. The Department of Education is authorized to use up to \$20,000 per teacher education center from the educational research and development program to assist with start up and other developmental costs when such development is consistent with the mission of the research and development program.

The newly added section also specified that the Department of Education was authorized to approve up to ten centers for the 1974-75 school year, and that state-wide implementation should be accomplished by June 30, 1979.

The Original Ten Centers

Pursuant to the Teacher Education Center Act, ten centers were approved by the State Council for operation beginning with the 1974-75 school year. Of the original ten centers, seven served single school districts and three served multi-district areas. Together the ten centers served twenty-four of Florida's sixty-seven county school districts, along with about 20% of the state's 76,366

teachers for that year. Table I lists the ten centers, their host school districts, cooperating universities, community colleges, and the number of teachers served by each center. Figure I shows a map of Florida indicating the county school district which started teacher education centers in 1974-75.

A Process Not a Place

The term "center" is a bit misleading as applied to the state's teacher education centers. Florida's teacher education centers are not buildings or special training sites. Instead they are administrative and coordinating agencies that plan, deliver, and evaluate teacher education activities within school districts. Centers provide a means for developing teacher training activities and offering them to teachers. In essence, centers in Florida are more of a process than a place.

There is not much to see if you were to visit one of Florida's teacher education centers during a normal working day. You would probably find yourself in the administrative offices of a school district, where one door would bear the name "Teacher Education Center." You would first meet a secretary with a stack of messages and a mass of paper work piled on the desk. If the director of the center is not attending one of his many meetings, he or she would be busy

TABLE I
FLORIDA'S TEACHER EDUCATION CENTERS (1974-75)

Teacher Education Center District	Cooperating University	Cooperating Community College	Number of Teachers Served
Alachua County	University of Florida	-----	1,122
Bay County	University of West Florida	Gulf Coast Okaloosa-Walton	923
Leon County	Florida A&M University Florida State University	-----	1,187
Okaloosa County	University of West Florida	Okaloosa-Walton	1,394
Osceola County	Florida Technological University	-----	394
Polk County	University of South Florida	Polk	2,905
Sarasota County	University of South Florida	Manatee	1,112
Mideastern (St. Lucie, Indian River, and Martin Counties)	Florida Atlantic University	-----	1,502
PAEC* (Calhoun, Franklin, Gulf, Holmes, Jackson, Walton, Liberty, and Washington Counties)	University of West Florida Florida A&M University Florida State University	Chipola Gulf Coast Okaloosa-Walton	1,407
Southwest (Collier, Charlotte, DeSoto, Glades, Hendry and Lee Counties)	Florida Atlantic University Florida International University University of South Florida	Edison	2,668

*Panhandle Area Educational Cooperative



FIGURE I
FLORIDA'S TEACHER EDUCATION CENTERS (1974-75)

with administrative tasks. You would not find a group of teachers at the center engaged in training activities. Rather you would likely find some printed training materials, some surveys of teachers to determine their training needs, contract forms for consultants who offer programs, and schedules for future training programs.

The administrative work of the center is done by the center director and the staff (if there is one). It is their offices that you see when you visit a center. The director and staff administer center policy and programs adopted by the center council and approved by the host school district. The director is a school district employee, and is usually appointed by the district on the recommendation of the council. The director and staff also serve as information sources for the council, and in that capacity work as liaison with the local school district and the cooperating teacher training institution.

In order to get to the heart of a center, an observer would need to witness a series of council meetings in which teachers, college faculty, and school district administrators discuss what training programs should be offered and how they should be given. The observer should see how teacher training needs are identified by the center, how center programs use college faculty and other trainers to respond to expressed needs, and how programs are evaluated to check on their value in meeting those needs. Likewise, the observer should seek to determine center goals and how

center activities are funded. Finally, the observer would have an incomplete picture if training programs were missed, although it would be difficult to witness all of them. Not being a specific training site, the center's training activities are carried out in classrooms, auditoriums, field settings, virtually anywhere within the district that teachers can gather.

In the sections of this chapter that follow, Florida's centers are described in terms of center goals, governance, funding and programs. These are basic characteristics of the cooperative process designed to be fundamental to center operation.

Center Goals

In order to start a center, universities and school districts had to jointly submit a proposal that stated goals for center operation and activities designed to reach them. An examination of those goals provides an indication of what types of organizational change that centers sought to accomplish. A content analysis of those goals revealed three major themes common to most centers. Not surprisingly, local goals reflected the intentions of the enabling legislation. The major themes included the following: (1) to improve and strengthen cooperative arrangements among colleges of education, school districts and classroom

teachers in conducting teacher education and staff development programs; (2) to assess inservice training needs of teachers and develop training programs that are responsive to those needs; and (3) to promote a career long approach to teacher education.

Some minor themes appeared through content analysis, which were shared by several centers but not most centers. They included moving teacher education toward a competency-based approach, developing systematic methods for the evaluation of teacher education programs, and creating alternative ways for professional development.

The goal statements of the Alachua County Teacher Education Center provide an illustration. The goals of the center are as follows:

1. To improve and strengthen the cooperative relationship between university and public school faculty members and administration with respect to preservice and inservice programs.
2. To develop a collaborative approach to comprehensive needs assessment and planning for professional development in which interests and needs of all participants in the educational process would be included.
3. To encourage the development and utilization of more effective organization procedures for education decision-making, so that those who are affected by decisions have an opportunity to participate in making those decisions.

4. To develop procedures for the identification, coordination, utilization, evaluation, and dissemination of potential resources and resource talent within the school system, the university, and the community which could be channeled effectively into clinical preservice and inservice training programs.
5. To develop a systematic plan for the evaluation of all clinical preservice and inservice training activities conducted under the auspices of the Teacher Center.
6. To develop a model collaborative organization structure for the Alachua Teacher Center which will provide for both effective policy and administrative leadership and broad involvement in program design, implementation, and evaluation by those who participate in its programs.

Center Governance

Since one of the major purposes of the Teacher Education Center Act was to establish a partnership in teacher education, and since that purpose is clearly restated in the goals of local centers, the manner in which centers are governed is an important aspect in any description of centers.

A center council forms the governing body for each of Florida's teacher education centers. Made up of representatives from the teaching profession, colleges of education, community colleges (in many instances, but not all), school districts, and local communities, the council's basic activities include: (1) determining what types of programs are to be offered, (2) establishing an appropriate

budget so that those programs can be given, and (3) evaluating the programs to assess the extent to which they meet the training needs of teachers.

To accomplish these tasks, most center councils met regularly, usually once a month, throughout the first year of implementation. Most meetings were held in the administrative offices of the school district. A few councils held their meetings after school or in the evening, but most councils met during the school day with participating teachers released from their instructional duties during the meeting.

In most cases center council meetings were controlled by the center director who set the agenda, maintained the pacing of the meeting, and reported to the council on events and circumstances. The director usually initiated ideas, requested discussion of particular topics, and exercised a general influence over the interaction among council members.

The subject matter of most council meetings typically reflected current concerns of the council and director, i.e. setting priorities for training programs, working out arrangements with participating universities, or evaluating center programs. For an illustration of the topics that a council was likely to work through see Chapter Four which presents in chronological sequence the substantive issues faced by a council in its first year of operation.

By law, teachers form a majority of each council, which allows them the opportunity to exercise control over their own professional training. But it is unlikely that they could exercise any radical power through the center, since according to law the overall operation of the center is placed within the administrative structure of the school district which the center serves. Consequently, all teacher center activities have to be carried out in accordance with school district regulations.

The relationship between the center council and the host school district is established by the enabling legislation in Section 231.606. According to the Act, the center council is to recommend policy and procedures for the center, recommend an appropriate budget, recommend the employment of appropriate center staff, and develop goals and objectives for the center within the policies as determined by the local school board. In contrast to the council's general recommending function, the school district is to appoint the members of the center council, adopt policy and procedures for the center, adopt a budget for the center, and appoint the director and staff of the center.

Center Funding

As established in the enabling legislation, centers are jointly funded by participating school districts and

universities. Section 231.609 of the Act specified financial responsibilities for both parties. School districts were to provide appropriate and adequate facilities for center operation, to employ a director and staff, and to budget for center activities all appropriate funds for inservice teacher education programs for the district. Universities, through provisions of the Florida Board of Regents, were to contribute faculty resources to the center.

School districts in Florida, whether they have a teacher education center or not, are required by law (Fla. Stat. § 236.0811) to budget five dollars per full-time student in the district for the purpose of inservice training for education personnel. Those districts with centers used their inservice budgets to finance center operation, so no new funds were required for a district to start a center.

The Board of Regents allocated twenty-four full time faculty positions for use in the state's teacher education centers. Funds for those positions were taken from "service" faculty budget lines available to universities. The twenty-four faculty positions were spread unevenly among the eight participating state universities; the University of North Florida in Jacksonville did not participate in a center. Two examples illustrate the uneven distribution of faculty

resources: the University of Florida was granted four faculty positions to serve the center in Alachua County with about 1,258 teachers, and the University of South Florida received four positions to work with centers in Polk County, Sarasota County and the six counties served by the Southwest teacher center. Together these centers served 7,452 teachers.

Universities were granted from two to four full-time faculty positions for use in one or more of the state's centers. Yet, full-time faculty positions were rarely used. Instead, a full-time position was broken up into one-third or one-fourth time appointments to a center. By doing so, a university with four full-time faculty positions allocated for center use could send from 12 to 15 part-time faculty members to work with centers.

In addition to funds from school district and university sources, the ten centers started in school year 1974-75 were eligible for a grant of up to \$20,000 from the Department of Education in Tallahassee. The funds were designated for research and development purposes and could be used by centers to provide services or materials needed to get a center started.

To give an idea of the level of spending for center programs, Table II lists center expenditures from September, 1974 to January 31, 1975. These data are contained in the

1975 annual report of the State Council for Teacher Education Centers. Comparable data for the entire 1974-75 school year are not readily available.

TABLE II
CENTER EXPENDITURES
(9/74 through 1/75)

Center	Expenditure
Alachua	\$61,935.08
Bay	71,823.00
Leon	NA
Mideastern	NA
Okaloosa	32,361.41
Osceola	46,429.00
PAEC	130,000.00
Polk	118,550.18
Sarasota	23,598.00
Southwest	25,401.46

Center Programs

The Teacher Education Center Act, as amended in 1974 specified the appropriate activities of the centers.

According to Section 231.603, each center's activities were to include the following:

to assess inservice training needs as perceived by classroom teachers, school district personnel, university personnel, and other concerned agencies,

to develop programs based on those identified inservice needs,

to provide human and material resources for inservice training by whichever agents are best prepared to deliver them,

to assess needs and provide the resources and experiences for clinical preservice teacher training, thus relating theoretical and practical study,

to facilitate the entry or re-entry of educational personnel into the teaching profession,

to facilitate training processes which are based on assessment of needs, the development of experiences to meet those needs, and evaluation of the extent to which those needs were met.

to facilitate internal and external evaluation which would include, but not be limited to, data gathering, process evaluation, product evaluation, and validation of teaching competency.

Even though the enabling legislation called for centers to be active in preservice and inservice teacher education, most centers were involved primarily with inservice teacher training activities. Table Three presents the numbers of student interns (preservice) and classroom teachers (inservice) served through the state's teacher education centers. These data cover the period from the start of the 1974 school year to March 1, 1975. They are contained in the 1975 annual report of the State Council for Teacher Education Centers.

TABLE III
 PRESERVICE AND INSERVICE TEACHERS SERVED
 (9/74 to 3/75)

Center	Teachers Served	
	Preservice	Inservice
Alachua	1,208	1,000
Bay	46	902
Leon	213	4,513
Okaloosa	18	1,265
Osceola	7	400
Polk	300	3,000
Sarasota	25	1,200
Mideastern	0	45
PAEC	1	1,165
Southwest	0	2,642
TOTAL	1,818	16,132

As the above data indicate, most center programs were offered for teachers already employed. Accordingly, one of the most important aspects of center program development was assessing the training needs of classroom teachers within school districts.

The most common approach among centers to the assessment of teacher training needs was to conduct a survey. The survey instrument listed both general teaching skills and skills or techniques directly related to specific subject areas. Examples of general teaching skills would include selecting and writing instructional goals and objectives,

motivating students, and individualizing instruction. Subject area skills would include the following examples: materials and methods of teaching metric measurement, chart, map and graph skills for social studies, and environmental education in the science curricula.* Teachers were asked to respond to the list of teaching skills and subject area competencies in terms of their current level of expertise and their need for further training. Their responses were tabulated and those areas ranked low in expertise and high in perceived need of training were taken to be the areas for which programs should be developed.

Once the needs assessment was completed, regardless of particulars, it became the basis for further program planning. The general sequence of planning typical of most centers included the following steps:

a council and staff reviewed survey results of perceived training needs,

council and staff considered school district training needs,**

council and staff reviewed available funds and training resources,

* Both sets of examples are taken from the needs assessment survey developed by the Southwest teacher education center.

** For instance, the district may be implementing a new reading program that requires inservice training for all elementary teachers.

council and staff established priorities for training programs,

the staff usually prepared a list of training programs based on priorities developed,

the council offered suggestions and approved programs and schedules,

the training programs were offered and then evaluated by the council and staff to determine if they met the training needs as determined by teachers and the school district.

The emphasis throughout the program development process was on providing programs that suited the perceived training needs of teachers, as well as the requirements of the school district, on using the available faculty resources from participating universities, and on offering training programs within the constraints of the school district's calendar, budget, and policy.

Once program plans were established by the center council and staff, education personnel were notified, trainers identified, rooms scheduled and programs offered. When programs were offered during school hours, substitutes were assigned to participating teachers so they could attend. When programs were offered after school or on weekends, teachers were usually paid a stipend for their attendance.

During their first year of operation, a variety of programs were offered through Florida's centers. A few examples are illustrative. In the Alachua County center, a group of secondary social studies teachers expressed a desire for training in the techniques of oral history in order

to incorporate that method in their classrooms. The center helped identify some resource people from the University of Florida with expertise in the area, and a three-day workshop in oral history was offered. In the Osceola center, a group of teachers in a newly formed middle school requested help in designing interdisciplinary learning centers and working together as a team. A faculty member from Florida Technological University in Orlando, Florida, was identified as having skills in these areas, and was assigned to work with teachers in their school for a year as part of his "regular work load. In Lee County, Florida, served by the Southwest center, teachers requested aid in recreational math activities, and a teacher from a neighboring school who had been successful in such activities was released from her teaching duties to work with other teachers. Again, in the Alachua County center, a classroom teacher and a college faculty member exchanged roles for a week to share their expertise with the other's class.

Teachers participated in center training programs for a variety of reasons. In some centers, programs were offered on days set aside for staff development and attendance was required. Other than required attendance, some teachers took programs to update their teaching certificate issued by the state. Two routes for certificate renewal were available: continued work at a university or inservice training within the school district. Center programs were approved inservice

experiences for certificate renewal. In some districts, teachers received raises in salary by accumulating credits for graduate courses at universities or a set number of inservice training programs.

Summary

Considering the enabling legislation and local center goals, teacher education centers were established to encourage cooperation among groups involved in teacher education and to ensure that training programs become responsive to the expressed needs of teachers. The joint funding of centers by school districts and universities, as well as the representative council form of center governance, were designed to build a sense of partnership among participating groups. The emphasis on needs assessment as a fundamental process in program development represented an effort to make training experiences pertinent to practicing teachers.

It is important to realize that Florida's centers were designed to be more of a process than a place for training. The implementation of centers called for new organizational relationships among school districts, universities, and classroom teachers. They required new strategies for program development. They were adventures in joint funding.

They established new ways of planning for and conducting inservice teacher education. The problems associated with their implementation are identified in Chapter Three.

CHAPTER THREE PROBLEMS OF IMPLEMENTATION: AN OVERVIEW

In broad strokes, the enabling legislation asked local school districts, colleges of education, and classroom teachers to break away from old habits. Teacher training was to be conceived in a new way and traditional relations among organizations were to be altered. The problems of organizational change identified in this chapter are the circumstances and activities of groups that hindered the realization of the intent of the enabling legislation.

Preexisting Structures

Until the mandate for teacher centers, each school district in Florida carried out inservice teacher education with considerable autonomy, according to interviews with school district supervisory personnel. In each school district, one or more staff members were assigned the responsibility of developing the district's Master Inservice Plan, a document required by the Florida Department of Education that describes in behavioral objective language the inservice programs offered within the school district. The Master Inservice Plan was developed in consultation with an advisory group of teachers, supervisors and administrators, but in

most districts the advisory group was usually limited to giving tacit approval to plans developed by school district staff. Basically the tasks and processes involved in determining teacher training needs, developing programs, securing trainers and consultants, and evaluating the programs were initiated and controlled by school district staff. Developing and providing inservice teacher education programs was considered the domain of the school district's staff.

Similarly, colleges of education felt that preservice teacher education and graduate training were its major responsibilities. Little systematic planning was given to programming and staffing inservice teacher education. Excepting the placement of student teachers, little effort was made to work cooperatively with school districts. Individual faculty members were active as consultants and trainers. For more college faculty, the involvement in inservice teacher training was individual and ad hoc at best. The enabling legislation sought to bring an end to the piecemeal involvement of colleges of education in inservice teacher training by involving college faculty in the governance of centers and by assigning faculty to work in centers as part of their regular job assignment. To enforce this intent, Section 231.610 of the Act prohibited further payment of consulting fees to college of education faculty working within teacher education centers.

Teachers were involved in inservice teacher training as consumers. In most cases, they were clients in a system that required courses for degree programs or certain inservice programs for continued certification after graduation. Classroom teachers had little influence on what was offered and no specific mechanism for making their desires and interests known. When enrolled in graduate programs, teachers could choose among electives. When participating in school district sponsored inservice workshops, teachers had some opportunities to choose among alternative programs. But in both cases, teachers were typically given training programs deemed important or necessary by others.

Before the development of Florida's teacher education centers, there were a few attempts of limited scope to establish cooperative relations in teacher education. Portal schools and experimental competency based teacher education programs were two examples. In each case, teacher training programs were to be developed and operated cooperatively by school districts, colleges of education, and teachers. However, these earlier efforts did not require the extent of shared decision-making and joint responsibility mandated for teacher education centers.

These earlier efforts did stir interest in school district/university cooperation in inservice teacher education. Of the state's nine publicly supported universities, the

University of South Florida in Tampa and Florida State University in Tallahassee were the most aggressive in developing cooperative programs with nearby school districts during these earlier efforts. When teacher centers started in Florida, these two universities participated in more centers than any other state supported universities.

Despite the interest on the part of some universities and school districts in earlier cooperative efforts in teacher education, no real precedents or models existed for the type of collaboration called for by the implementation of teacher education centers. Lacking was an established model of cooperative decision-making among school district administrators, college faculty, and classroom teachers. There was no precedent for a jointly funded program for inservice teacher training. A well thought out means of assessing self-identified training needs of teachers and developing programs based on those needs was absent. Also lacking was the institutional reward for classroom teachers, college faculty, and school district administrators to view their roles in a new way and to build new sets of relations with one another.

The implementation of teacher education centers called for new sets of behavior on the part of participating groups. Although it might seem unfamiliar to them, teachers were to

assume more initiative and responsibility in their professional training. School district administrators were to work collaboratively with others and abandon their assumed duty of "giving" inservice training to teachers, regardless of the views of teachers. University personnel were to attend to teachers and school district administrators as partners in an enterprise thought to be their own, and plan with them inservice programs to be offered in school districts, not in college classrooms. Thus, the implementation of teacher education centers called for new sets of relations and patterns of behaviors among groups involved in teacher education.

Common Problems

The task of this chapter is to identify common problems experienced by Florida's teacher centers during their first year of implementation. This approach is justified because the ten centers shared a common structure assigned by law, and their locally established goals expressed common themes. Based on their reform goals, the state's ten centers also set up common expectations for new behaviors and institutional change, and those implementing centers generally faced similar preexisting conditions regardless of their host school district or participating university.

Simply put, centers faced common problems because they shared a common shape and mission. They shared common goals for change and faced similar conditions. While each center did experience certain problems due to local conditions, these were not the focus of this study.

The following sections of this chapter identify and discuss those problems of organizational change related to the basic characteristics of Florida's teacher centers -- governance, finance, and program development -- as well as those problems related to planning centers and supporting their activities.

Planning for Change

A smooth start for teacher centers was hindered by the lack of specific information at the local level. Even though the original enabling legislation was passed at the end of the 1973 legislative session, it was not until a year later that specific information about the requirements for starting a center became available to local school districts and teacher training programs about the requirements for starting a teacher education center. As mentioned earlier, the school year immediately following the passage of the enabling legislation was used as a planning year at the state level.

Exact information about teacher center implementation was not sent out by the Florida Department of Education in

Tallahassee until late June, 1974, with centers to begin implementation in September, 1974. A package of information was sent to all Florida school districts and state approved teacher education programs that outlined the processes involved in developing a teacher education center. The sequence for submission, review and approval of proposals for teacher centers included the following steps.

The Commissioner of Education sends each school district and each university with an approved teacher education program information about teacher education centers and requests a letter of intent to participate in the program.

The State Council for Teacher Education Centers receives letters of intent and makes recommendations to the Commissioner of Education.

The Commissioner of Education invites selected districts and universities to submit complete teacher education center proposals.

Upon recommendation of the State Council for Teacher Education Centers, final proposals are approved by the Commissioner of Education.

The package of instructions informed school districts and universities that if they were interested in starting a center, they had to submit a "letter of intent" to the Commissioner of Education by the 12th of July, 1974. As such, local groups had less than three weeks to decide whether to start a center and develop specific preliminary plans for their center. A few centers had begun general planning before specific information was available.

The State Council met July 22 and 23, 1974, and reviewed thirteen letters of intent received by the Department of Education. The council recommended ten sites to the Commissioner of Education as possible centers, and asked those sites to develop a full proposal for a center. Prospective centers were then notified and were asked to submit their proposals as soon as possible. Four weeks later at the State Council meeting on August 19th, seven of the ten sites had submitted their proposals. Proposals for a center had to specify how the center would be organized and staffed, how it would operate, what its goals and objectives would be, and how it would evaluate its progress. Detailed planning had to be done hurriedly.

State guidelines for center planning required the involvement of three groups in the planning process; classroom teachers, school district administrators and college faculty. That requirement was consistent with the spirit of the enabling legislation. At the local level, however, the requirement caused problems in arranging times and places for meetings to plan for the center.

Center directors reported that not enough time was allowed to plan collaboratively. Under the pressure of deadlines, letters of intent and proposals were developed without the desired full participation of all three groups.

In one case, the school district's teacher organization was not consulted about the plans for a teacher center until the local proposal was returned to the school district by the Department of Education because it lacked the required signature of the teacher organization representative.

Interviews with center personnel revealed that the steps involved in collaborative planning took more time than most people estimated. Activities reported as consuming more time than anticipated included arranging schedules for meetings with people, getting to know unfamiliar faces, considering the meaning of the enabling legislation and deciding on a plan for a center, writing a proposal that included goals and objectives agreeable to all, and getting appropriate signatures through school district and university bureaucracies.

The problems associated with a lack of adequate planning time at the local level were frustrated further by a lack of clear, specific directives to give guidance and assurance to individuals planning for and operating the fledgling centers. Some general guidelines for center operation were provided at the state level through the enabling legislation. Such guides established a particular form or organization and spirit of "partnership" for the centers. Also, the package of information sent from the Department of Education

to local districts and teacher education programs included six principles which center proposals were to address. The principles were as follows:

Teacher education centers should not be considered as an education program separate from existing institutions.

Centers function more to facilitate and coordinate available resources rather than to perform the actual delivery of services.

Centers represent collaboration and cooperation in a shared decision-making process among involved agencies.

Centers clearly reflect the increased need for classroom teacher involvement in teacher education decision-making.

Centers require a funding system which supports collaboration.

Centers direct attention to the need for a career-long process of teacher education.

Although such general principles were available to guide those starting centers, when questions arose about specifics of center operation, center personnel felt lost and expressed concern about the lack of guidance. Those charged with the management of teacher centers were unsure of such basic issues as the following:

What kinds of resources were available through the university. How much is available to our center? How do we arrange to receive these resources? Who pays for the travel of university personnel to conduct workshops? How is the time of university faculty accounted for?

Is the teacher education center responsible for training programs just for teachers, or is it responsible for the staff development of all school board employees?

How are center funds to be managed in multi-district centers? Does each district have to send all of its staff development funds to the center? What if personnel from one district of a multi-district center do not participate in a particular center activity; are funds from that district used to support it?

How are center training programs to be developed? Is there a sound assessment strategy for determining teacher training needs? How are programs to be evaluated? Are staff development programs developed last year to be implemented this year, or does that violate the law?

How are non-credit faculty managed in colleges of education when faculty load is typically judged on credit hour activity? What should be the basis for faculty pay? How can faculty schedules be determined in advance?

Problems of Governance

The concept of collaboration in Florida's centers was functionally expressed in mandating a representative center council as the basis for teacher center governance. Representation did not directly lead to equal partnership. Interviews with teachers, college faculty, and school district administrators, as well as observations of center council meetings and routine center activities revealed three factors that hindered groups from participating on center councils as equal partners: (a) job descriptions and traditional role expectations, (b) flow and possession of necessary information, and (c) distribution of authority within the center.

Role expectations on the part of classroom teachers worked against their participation as full partners in council meetings. Eddy (1969) has shown that teachers in bureaucratic school systems become socialized into a subordinate role. In interviews, teachers reported a reluctance to disagree with other members of the council; they felt that administrators and college faculty had special knowledge and insight into participating school districts and universities. Also during council meetings, teachers were less likely to initiate ideas or items for action than were school district administrators or college faculty. Another indication of their subordinate role was their appointment to the council by the district superintendent.

Apart from role expectations, the job description for teachers directly hindered their full participation in council meetings. Usually teachers are charged with instructional responsibilities with few duties beyond classroom teaching. Teachers serving on center councils were faced with a problem, since there was little time available to them for preparation or participation in council meetings. For teacher representatives on the council, time for consulting other teachers and studying school district policy and fiscal affairs was almost nonexistent. School district administrators and university personnel serving on the

council were not handicapped in the same way. Their job descriptions included flexible schedules, and they had easy access to information and one another which teachers do not.

Traditional job descriptions and role expectations also influenced the possession and flow of information; another important factor affecting how council members could act as partners. Before centers started, information about inservice education was concentrated among school district staff members, and disseminated to school personnel through memoranda that informed them of training activities. The flow of information was from the central administrative office to the schools, a flow suited to the superordinate/subordinate structure for inservice teacher education.

The center council with its representative membership was supposed to provide a more "open" structure for communication among involved groups. However, center directors usually detained possession of the basic information needed for center operation. The director was the conduit for information from local school district(s) and the Department of Education in Tallahassee. During council meetings most of the time was taken up by the director passing on information to council members. Little independent information was available. Directors also controlled the flow and possession of information, by setting the agenda for council meetings.

Although teacher centers were predicated on the notion of collaboration and partnership in teacher education, the structure assigned to centers by the enabling legislation mitigated against the practice of collaboration and a sense of partnership. The relationship between the center council and the host school district was critical in this regard. According to the Teacher Education Center Act the center council was charged with a general recommending function. In contrast, the authority assigned to the school district included: appointment of council members, adoption of center policy and procedures, appointment of center director and staff, and adoption of the center budget. Clearly, the school district was not an equal partner with college faculty and classroom teachers.

Interviews with teachers revealed their awareness of the structure and the hinderance it placed on collaboration. They expressed a concern that their interests were being placed second to those of the school district. Additionally, council meetings were observed in which teachers introduced an idea or plan for center activity that went against school district regulation or previous inservice arrangements made by the district, and in those cases the teacher initiated idea was disallowed.

By making teacher education centers part of school district administrative units, other conditions were

introduced that also added to the problems of partnership. Two examples illustrate this point. Eight of the nine centers under study had their offices housed in the school district administrative building. Their written communications were sent through school district channels and bore the district's letterhead. There was no uncertainty as to who "owned" the center. Similarly, the center director and center staff were school district employees, and as such were held accountable within that system. As district employees, center directors were associated with other district personnel in a variety of ways. The center director in one center served as the district's Assistant Superintendent for Instruction. In another center where the district superintendent was elected, the center director was the campaign manager for the superintendent.

Teachers issued another complaint. While some superintendents appointed teachers to the council based on the recommendation of the local teacher organization, other superintendents were thought to appoint teachers who would merely go along with school district decrees. This possibility allowed for double representation by the school district.

Some typical comments of center participants illustrate the problems of governance discussed in this section:

There is a lack of background information necessary for decision-making, particularly among teachers.

Traditional teacher-administrator differences are carried into council meetings and interfere with desirable group processes.

People in power don't have to collaborate.

Council members don't have the interpersonal communication skills to be effective collaborators.

A few people tend to dominate information and decision-making at the expense of others.

It is possible for the superintendent, sometimes an assistant superintendent, to override a project which the council has agreed to sponsor.

Decisions are made at another level and the council talks them over and acts as a rubber stamp.

Most of the time, I don't know enough to put my two cents in.

I supported that training activity because Mr. X (a member of the district staff) said it was necessary.

Problems of Funding

To encourage a sense of partnership, the enabling legislation mandated that centers be jointly funded by school districts and universities. However, in most centers school districts contributed far more toward center operation than participating universities. The unequal contributions of districts and universities mitigated against a sense of partnership and favored the view that teacher centers were owned and operated by school districts.

As mentioned earlier, school districts contributed \$5.00 per full time (equivalent) student to center operation. Universities provided centers with one and one-half to four faculty positions, depending on allocations from the Board of Regents. With each faculty position valued at \$20,000 for twelve months, a center could receive from a participating university a maximum of \$80,000 in faculty services.

The relative impact of the financial contribution by a university depended on the size of the host school district. In a small school district with a center, the financial contribution of the district would be relatively balanced with that of a university, helping to support the notion of partnership. For example, in the Osceola County teacher center, the smallest district with a center, the school district contributed about \$40,000 to the center, and the participating university (Florida Technological University) contributed a similar amount in faculty resources. The case was dramatically different for a large school district, where a district's contribution to the center's operation would be far greater than faculty resources received from a university. In Polk County, the district contributed over \$300,000 to the center, matched by only \$21,000 in faculty resources from the University of South Florida.

Problems of Program Development

Section 231.603 of the enabling legislation specifically charges centers with the duty to "assess inservice training needs as perceived by classroom teachers, school district personnel, university personnel, and other concerned agencies" and to "develop programs based on those identified inservice needs." To the extent that Florida's centers developed programs that responded to teacher identified training needs, the inservice programs could be considered "teacher centered." Such an accomplishment was blocked because most centers lacked an adequate means of assessing training needs.

Before the advent of centers, inservice training programs were typically based on the perceptions of school district supervisory staff, and the issue of assessing training needs in a comprehensive way came as something new to most districts. During the first several months of center implementation, centers offered inservice programs planned and developed during the previous school year (1973-74). Not until the second part of the 1974-75 school year did most centers develop or adopt a means to assess the training needs of teachers.

Assessment techniques differed according to the number of teachers served. Four centers in larger districts joined together in borrowing a technique developed in Mesa, Arizona, a technique based on a survey of educational

personnel. This technique has been briefly described in the section on program development in Chapter Two. The actual survey instruments as modified for use in one center are published as an Appendix in the monograph, *Implementing Teacher Education Centers: The Florida Experience*, by Van Fleet, Kinzer, and Lutz (1976). Centers in smaller districts relied on a more informal means of needs assessment, such as asking one teacher in each school to gather information about what types of training programs teachers and staff desired in that school.

Since the survey method was commonly used, and affected the greatest number of teachers served by Florida's centers, it warrants examination. Based on observations of its use and interviews with teachers, two problems with this needs assessment technique were evident to the author. Because this survey technique was used in centers serving large numbers of teachers, the results were usually tabulated by computer. The computer print-out of the survey results came to be perceived as the "bible" for program development in these centers: it was even specifically referred to by that name by certain directors. The appearance of the computer print-out lent an authority of "hard data" to the questionnaire. Little attention was paid to teacher attitudes toward the survey instrument. During an interview,

one teacher who had recently completed a survey readily admitted that teachers did not take the questionnaire seriously. He had heard that one teacher had a student fill out the form. Secondly, in interviews teachers expressed a reluctance to record on the instrument what they felt were their weaknesses. They feared that the information would be used against them in teacher evaluations. They were particularly fearful that the information would become known to their principals.

Beyond the technological problem of assessing training needs of educators, problems of established role behaviors and institutional reward systems hindered the development of inservice programs that were truly teacher centered. Center directors, as school district administrators, reported that they were rewarded in most instances for implementing and administering policy according to fixed guidelines, and for not causing disturbances within the system. As described earlier, there were few fixed guidelines for center operation during the early phases of implementation, and the new institutional relationships and cooperative procedures called for by center operation upset previously existing patterns. Subsequently, as centers were started, directors were placed in an insecure position on both counts. College of education faculty active in teacher centers reported that the time and energy they spent working in

teacher centers was not rewarded equally as time spent on research or scholarly writing. These faculty members also pointed to a division they saw among college of education faculty; some were seen as service oriented, others academically oriented. It was felt that the academic faculty controlled the reward structure. In both cases, institutional reform was called for by the implementation of teacher centers, but traditional expectations and reward systems were not altered. The new behaviors needed to develop and produce inservice programs in a different way were not supported.

Problems of Support for Center Activities

The intent of the enabling legislation was to create a state-wide system of teacher centers, as a means to achieve the announced new policy for teacher education. The legislative proclamation met with two problems. The financial incentives for starting a center made them attractive to small and medium sized school districts and unattractive to large, urban districts. Secondly, during their first year of implementation, centers enjoyed little grass roots support among classroom teachers.

School districts differed in their perceptions regarding the attractiveness of starting a center. A key factor was the size of the school district. The smaller the district,

the more financial incentive there was to start a center. Two financial incentives were available to districts. Each center was eligible to receive faculty resources from participating universities, amounting to a maximum of \$80,000 per year. Most districts received less than that amount. Also the State Department of Education in Tallahassee granted up to \$20,000 of research and development funds to each of the state's ten centers. Consequently, in a small school district the additional resources available for starting a center could equal the previously existing budget for inservice programs, and double the amount of resources available for staff development. For a large urban district, the financial advantages for starting a center were minimal. During the 1974-75 school year, large districts in Florida's metropolitan areas had staff development budgets that approached or exceeded a million dollars per year. The maximum they could gain by starting a center was \$100,000, but they were likely to receive much less. The financial incentives for initiating a center were not compelling for large districts.

Teacher centers were, in effect, a state-level innovation that required local implementation. Although the enabling legislation was supported by the leadership of the state's teacher organization (then the Florida Education Association), in general, grass roots support for teacher

centers was lacking among local classroom teachers during the first year of operation. Each center involved a small number of teachers in the center council, and such teachers were supporters and advocates for the center. But most teachers were not familiar with the center concept or the particular activities of their local center. A survey taken at the request of one center after a year of operation showed that eighty per cent of the teachers in the sample of one hundred teachers knew little or nothing about the operation or programs of the local teacher center. Interviews with center directors and classroom teachers in other districts with centers suggested that this was true in other centers as well.

The following excerpts from teacher interviews illustrate this point.

Q: How many teachers in this building know about the teacher education center?

A: Not very many. Others may have heard about it, but don't pay any attention to it.

Q: How did you get on the teacher center council?

A: I got a note from the district superintendent in my mailbox at school telling me I was appointed to the teacher center council and when the meeting was to be. I didn't know anything about the center at the time.

Q: What do the teachers you know think about teacher centers?

A: Many of them think it's a sham, another gimmick in a long line of new ideas. If they don't see it making a difference in their classroom, many of them are not interested. It will take time.

Q: What do you know about your school district's teacher center?

A: Teacher center? Oh! I remember a fellow came in and talked about it in a faculty meeting. Sounds like a good idea, I guess.

Summary

Florida's teacher education centers were established as a means to achieve a new state policy for teacher education; a policy that encouraged cooperation among colleges, school districts, and classroom teachers. New activities and social relations were to be adopted to bring groups together in a partnership for the education of teachers. The circumstances and conditions that hindered the accomplishment of prescribed organizational changes were considered to be problems of implementation. In this chapter a number of common problems have been identified.

The problems most centers faced included the following:

the lack of precedent in collaborative arrangements in teacher education, particularly to the extent required for center operation,

hurried planning, without the full participation of all groups,

lack of specific information necessary to start and operate a center,

job descriptions and role expectations that hindered collaboration and partnership,

an inadequate flow of information needed for shared decision-making,

an imbalance in the financial base for center operation that facilitated a sense of ownership on the part of host school districts,

an inadequate means of assessing teacher training needs,

the lack of supporting reward systems for center participants,

differing financial incentives for starting a center, and

the lack of grass-roots support for centers.

CHAPTER FOUR
PROBLEMS OF IMPLEMENTATION:
A CASE STUDY OF A TEACHER CENTER COUNCIL

The center council is the cornerstone of center operation. It is the forum for decision making about program development, budget allocations, and policy formulation. Although it is assigned a recommending function in relation to the authority of the local school board, the council's activities are the core of the teacher center concept in Florida. The reader is reminded that Florida's centers are more of a process than a place for teacher training, more of a concept than a concrete building.

Because the center council is fundamental to the overall center operation, it is worthy of detailed attention. This chapter presents a case study of the issues that come before a center council during its first year of operation. These issues reflect the problems of implementation being experienced by the center. Beginning with preliminary meetings before the center is funded, the case study moves through subsequent meetings in which council members question the purpose of the center, how it should be organized and operated, and what its relationships with other agencies should be. Concerns shift over time, with the

more fundamental ones persisting, often unresolved. The case study is presented in a diary format. It is based on observations of council meetings and supplemented with notes kept by Dr. Suzanne Kinzer.

Preliminary Meetings

The beginning of this teacher center can be traced back to discussions between the superintendent of one of Florida's medium-sized school districts and the dean of a nearby college of education. Both were familiar with the recently passed teacher center legislation and had already discussed the possibility of starting a teacher center with others. They agreed that the collaborative arrangements available through a teacher center might improve teacher education, particularly inservice programs, and they decided to cooperate in starting a local center. The two institutions had a history of cooperation through informal arrangements, but the teacher center made the relationship more formal and more structured.

A planning committee for the center was formed. The superintendent appointed six teachers from those recommended by the local teachers' organization and two county staff personnel; the dean appointed two members from the college of education faculty. The Human Rights Council, a local community agency, was asked to select a citizen representative for the committee. With the planning committee so formed,

the superintendent appointed an acting chairperson. The planning committee was later to become the basis for the teacher center council, whose composition would remain the same until changed by actions of the local school board.

The first preliminary meeting was held in early July, 1974. The purpose of this meeting was to consider submitting a "letter of intent" to the State Council for Teacher Education Centers as the first step in starting a center. Issues raised in this first meeting included the following. What might a center look like? What would be its purpose? Who could participate? How would the center relate to existing programs and activities in teacher education? Who was to plan future meetings? Who should write the letter of intent? How should the proposal be prepared? To some extent these issues were resolved by local policy decisions. Certain issues were determined by requirements of the enabling legislation or guidelines from the Florida Department of Education.

Some members talked of a center that might be a specific place, one which could be tied into an already existing learning resources center. Others felt the center should be a fluid operation of activities. To be consistent with the enabling legislation, the members concluded that the center would function as a clearinghouse and coordinating agency for inservice teacher education activities within

the school district. As part of the discussion about what a center might be and do, possible goals and objectives for the center were listed and debated as preparation for writing the letter of intent.

In subsequent preliminary meetings during the summer of 1974 the following kinds of activities and discussions took much of the committee's time:

- a review of needs assessment techniques previously used to develop inservice programs,

- a review of money spent on inservice education activities in previous years,

- the examination of possible relationships between the center and existing groups, e.g., the inservice committee of the school district and the proposed teacher center council,

- a determination of lines of accountability and responsibility,

- a study of other teacher centers,

- an examination of the university's relationship to the teacher center, and

- a consideration of the possible conflict between teacher identified needs and goals and school district identified needs and goals.

After initial discussions of the above issues, and with the consent of the planning committee, the acting chairman drafted a letter of intent outlining the concept of the proposed teacher center and presented it to the school board for approval. Upon approval the letter was sent to the State Council for Teacher Education Centers, via the Department of Education in Tallahassee.

Planning for the center continued. At the next meeting the planning committee divided into task groups for the purpose of writing a proposal for the center. Task groups were formed around these issues: (1) needs assessment procedures for the center; (2) activities of the center; (3) future projections of growth; (4) organizational chart and budget for the center; and (5) goals, objectives, measurement procedures, and data collection to be used by the center. Each task group met independently and reported their ideas to the full committee at a later meeting. The acting chairman then synthesized the ideas of the task groups to write the final proposal required for state funding.

By late summer, 1974, the center was approved by the State Council. The planning committee members began assuming the full responsibilities of the teacher center council. One of the first requirements was to select a center director and staff, which would replace the acting committee chairman appointed by the superintendent. Since several council members had expressed interest in the full-time positions of director and resource teacher for the center, the council agreed to set up a selection committee apart from the council to avoid the risk of personal conflict among council members. The dean, the superintendent, and the executive board of the teachers' organization were each asked to appoint one person to serve, along with the citizen

representative on the council, as an interview committee for staff selection. Based on their recommendations, a center director -- a former school district administrator -- and a resource teacher -- a former classroom teacher -- were appointed. With newly appointed staff, the original planning group then became the official teacher center council.

Since classes were to begin in a few weeks, the council was immediately concerned with getting information about the center into the schools. To that end, a system of "contact" teachers was devised. A contact teacher was selected for each school and asked to inform the teachers and staff in that school about the center, as well as inform the center about the training needs of the personnel in their school. To orient contact teachers to the center and its functions, a meeting was arranged during the pre-planning days of the 1974-75 school year.*

The September Meeting

At the first official council meeting in September it became apparent that fundamental questions about how the council was to be organized and function demanded special attention. A committee was appointed among council members to draft a working policy for the teacher center. At the October meeting a draft of the committee's working policy

*Preplanning days are those days that teachers are required to work in late August or early September before students begin their classes.

was presented to the council and became a crucial issue for several months. Formulating and clarifying the center's policy became a lasting concern, one often neglected in deference to more immediate problems.

A second issue raised during the first meeting concerned how the council was to allocate funds; particularly, how the council was to respond to resource requests by individual teachers. The director was already receiving requests from many teachers for funds to attend various fall conferences for educators. Working without any guidelines, the director asked the council for assistance. The council suggested emergency procedures to deal with the requests and a special meeting was called to appraise the requests for funds. The meeting was long and tedious, and resulted not in the generation of guidelines or priorities for processing future requests, but in the review of the pros and cons of individual requests currently before the council. Although the council did decide on the pressing requests, it failed to set long lasting policy or establish guidelines for future efforts.

The October Meeting

At the October meeting, a draft of the working policy was presented to the council by the previously established committee. After reviewing the draft, it was approved with

suggested revision. However, the issue of a working policy for the center was far from settled, as revealed in later meetings.

During the discussion related to the approval of the working policy, three key issues were raised. First, confusion still existed as to the function of the center council. Was it an advisory body or a policy making group? Certain members felt the council should have more power. Eventually, council members deferred to the legislative mandate which charged the council with recommending functions.

Second, the issue of council membership was raised. The director asked if school principals should be represented. Some members argued that principal involvement would improve communications with the schools; others said that teachers would not be free to express their ideas if their principals were present in a meeting. The council voted to add a principal representative, and acknowledged that an additional teacher would have to be added to the council to maintain a majority of teachers, as required by law. Additionally, the originally designated community representative from the Human Relations Board asked to withdraw from the council. The council agreed to honor this request and to invite for membership a citizen known to several council members who had served on similar groups.

Thirdly, procedures for screening financial requests were again discussed. It was decided that a committee of the council would work with the center director and staff to propose budget categories and expenditure limits. The council also delegated authority to the center staff to act upon requests in approved categories up to \$500 without further council approval. The overall center budget would be subject to school board approval.

During the October meeting the council did identify several tentative priorities for center activities.

the involvement of teachers in decision-making regarding inservice teacher education,

a greater concern with preservice teacher training, especially through improving university/public school relationships,

the development and exchange of practical ideas for use in the classroom, along with an increased use of teacher talent in training programs,

sponsoring the development and dissemination of new ideas and innovations,

improving center functioning through the development of activities regarding communication with the schools and council operation,

encourage a more thorough and continuing program evaluation in teacher education.

Another important issue surfaced during this meeting. Inquiries in the schools indicated that neither the council nor the center were well known among teachers. Teachers were either ignorant of teacher center services and

possibilities, or in some cases already skeptical about the center as a new means for inservice education. To help alleviate this problem, the council agreed to field test some new materials focusing on human relations processes and communication skills designed especially for members of teacher center councils.

The November Meeting

At this meeting a number of special guests were present, including the superintendent of the local school district, the assistant superintendent for instruction, and the dean of the college of education. Their comments expressed several different themes and concerns, all of which were relevant to the future role and function of the teacher center council:

Council was spending an inappropriate amount of time reviewing specific proposals on a project by project basis, rather than setting directions, policies, and making recommendations regarding staff development. Had the council inadvertently gotten involved in directing the center staff to implement center activities before priorities had been set?

Activities such as designing needs assessment procedures, recommending staff development policy, identifying criteria for project evaluation, and monitoring the implementation of staff development programs were suggested as examples of appropriate council functions.

Staff development is multi-leveled, including district wide programs, school based programs, and individual programs. How do all of these levels fit into center activity? Specific concerns were expressed about the program supervisor's role in center activity.

Council was urged to identify teacher needs from a variety of perspectives and to plan in the spring for teacher center budgeting.

The visitors expressed concern about their lack of information about council activities.

These remarks caused a considerable amount of reaction among council members, some of which were openly expressed.

The following are sample responses.

the presence of people in power suggested their commitment to teacher center activity;

there is a need to develop a means of personal communication with teachers so they can better understand center activities;

methods for more effective communication between schools and the college of education should be developed;

attention should be paid to the lack of procedures to assess teacher training needs;

planning should be undertaken for next year so that carefully established priorities could provide direction for the center;

discussion should be renewed on center policy prior to an upcoming school board meeting, particularly in light of the day's meeting.

Some teachers felt that a political maneuver had occurred in which the "bosses" were trying to keep the council from gaining too much power by taking away their direct involvement in approving or disapproving specific training projects.

The December Meeting

By December the debate over a working policy for the council was not yet over. The meeting was spent reviewing the proposed policy in relation to recent criticisms by the superintendent and dean of the college of education. The council considered including the recently developed list of tentative priorities in the policy statement, but decided against doing so since the list needed further clarification and refinement. There was also some concern about the list not being based on an assessment of teacher training needs, and thus it was inconsistent with the intent of the teacher center concept. Due to these reservations, the list was tabled indefinitely, and the issue of a working policy remained unresolved.

With attempts to set a direction for the center ending again in frustration, the issue of communication was resumed. The center staff had taken measures to improve the image of the center by producing a slide-tape presentation that explained the teacher center concept and showed what the center could provide for teachers. In addition, meetings with contact teachers were held to ensure their cooperation. A committee of council members was formed to consider the communication problem and suggest appropriate strategies. Several committee members had recently returned from a

state-wide meeting for educators involved in teacher centers, a meeting in which they developed some ideas for improving communication.

At the end of the calendar year 1974, the teacher center council was unsure of its purpose, and unclear about the scope of its role. This lack of clarity was common among Florida's centers. Other major problems that found expression in these early council meetings, such as communication, needs assessment techniques, and proper relationships with other agencies were also common among Florida's teacher centers in their first year.

The January Meeting

As the center council began the new year, a number of new issues emerged. Inservice training for principals was discussed as the new principal representative reported on a survey of principals he had conducted. The director requested help in designing a procedure for assessing teacher training needs.

The issue of preservice teacher education also emerged in the January meeting. The council had been primarily concerned with inservice teacher education during its early months of operation. The issue was raised in connection with the placement of student teachers in the district's schools. It was noted that the college of education traditionally thought of student teaching as its proper

domain, but that the presence of a teacher center was to make the relationship between the school district and the college of education more cooperative than in the past. The discussion of preservice teacher education included the following points:

supervision of interns by the college of education faculty is inadequate,

interns are not well prepared,

the teacher center could play an important role in bringing the school district and college of education into a cooperative relationship,

the university reward system for its faculty does not support service in the field,

defensive attitudes exist among teachers, college faculty, and school district administrators, and

a university project on collaboration has made some studies in improving understanding among different role groups in teacher education. It could also serve as a vehicle for bringing people who operate within the center together to express concerns and share ideas.

A possible boycott of accepting student teachers by the local teacher association added another dimension to the issue of preservice teacher education. Traditionally, teachers who accepted supervision of a student teacher received a free university course. Now teachers were being asked to pay a fee, which precipitated the threat of a boycott. Certain council members argued that the council should side with the teachers and support the boycott. But eventually

the council adopted a position that ultimatums should not be issued and that the involved groups should work together to settle their differences of opinion. A committee of the council was established to explore what the council and center could do in the area of preservice teacher education.

The council's chairman reported on his presentation of the revised working policy of the council to the school board. Although the board approved the working policy, it expressed concern about the lack of preservice activities in the center and criticized the council for the little degree of citizen involvement. Based on its concern, the school board voted to change the composition of the center's council. The center was to include three citizens, ten teachers, two members of the school district staff, one principal, and two college of education faculty.

Because of the change in council composition, the entry of new members became an immediate concern. Training by a university project interested in building the process of collaboration was suggested to help orient new members.

The February Meeting

The February meeting brought another crucial issue to the council's attention, namely whether the school district was to continue its support of the center's director and staff.

The council's chairman reported on a meeting held with the superintendent who planned to make major changes in center operation. The superintendent wanted to keep the teacher center council active as an advisory group for inservice teacher education, but to eliminate the full time positions of director and resource teacher because of budget cuts. The superintendent also wanted to allocate a large portion of staff development funds directly to individual schools, rather than using the council to allocate funds. A detailed discussion followed dealing with the implications of the superintendent's plans. A letter was sent requesting the superintendent to attend the next council meeting.

In addition to the apparent lack of support from the superintendent, the issue of center funding was clouded further since the legislation that established centers was being reexamined. Members noted that with such uncertainties the work of the council was much more difficult.

Attending the February meeting as guests were several faculty members from the college of education. They were invited to continue the discussion about the center's involvement in preservice teacher education. Members of the council divided into small groups with a college faculty member in each group. Issues raised in the work groups included the following. What is the present situation in preservice teacher training? What should be done? What have been some successes? What are the current needs from the college point

of view? From the center's point of view? What resources are needed to meet these needs?

Following the discussion of preservice teacher training, the director presented a possible strategy for assessing teacher training needs. The director emphasized the importance of developing and implementing a method for assessment, since future program planning would be based on the results. A careful consideration of the proposed assessment strategy was not forthcoming due to the weight of concerns heard by council members earlier in the meeting. The problems of establishing a thorough and systematic means for assessing teacher training needs persisted without apt attention.

The March Meeting

The March meeting opened with the superintendent presenting his views directly to council members on the role of the center council and staff for the center's operation. He expressed concern about the amount of money being spent on staff rather than training programs. He suggested that the coordination of the center could be assumed by a county staff person as part of their responsibility, and that two full time staff members were not necessary for center operation. Contrary to the superintendent's views, council members argued for keeping at least a full-time director for the center. The council agreed to develop a list of vital staff functions performed by the director, and the

superintendent consented to review the list before making his final decision. While the superintendent was citing a reduced budget for the next school year as a reason for cutting staff, some council members felt that he was showing lack of support for the current center director and resource teacher. Later in the year, the director would be replaced, and the position of resource teacher would be dropped from the budget.

During the March meeting considerable time was spent discussing training programs to be offered during the summer. Plans had to be made early so that teachers would be aware of training opportunities.

The April Meeting

This month's meeting provided some relief from the bad news the council had been receiving. A letter from the Commissioner of Education in Tallahassee was presented commending the center for its programs. The superintendent announced that after considering the council's report on center staff functions, he agreed that a full-time director was necessary. He was, however, dropping the resource teacher from next year's budget.

The issue of assessing teacher training needs brought up in previous meetings was once again considered. No comprehensive system was identified, but center staff reported on a variety of activities to gain information about teacher training needs. Needs assessment interviews had

been conducted in two schools on an experimental basis. Meetings were held with elementary school personnel about training programs for the next year. Forms for requesting funds from the center to participate in training programs or attend conferences were distributed to the schools. Meetings with middle school and secondary school personnel were planned by staff, and letters were sent to those schools so that training needs could be discussed among school personnel prior to the meeting with center staff.

In an effort to facilitate future planning and to achieve some end of the year closure, the director established committees to deal with the following topics:

the role and selection of contact teachers for the next school year,

priorities for center training programs and budget guidelines,

revision of working policy and committee organization,

the role of the council in the selection of a new director.

The May Meeting

Additional planning work faced the council as the end of the school year drew near. In response, the council extended its normal afternoon session to include an evening meeting.

The May meeting began with council members divided into committees as established at the April meeting. Each

committee was to focus its attention on planning for the next school year.

The committee on the role and selection of contact teachers reported the following recommendations:

contact teachers should be selected during preplanning days,

bimonthly meetings of contact teachers should be scheduled and those attending should be paid a stipend,

a school site system of peer evaluation should be devised to ensure that contact teachers are doing their job,

contact teachers should report on teacher center activities at each school site,

more face-to-face communication among contact teachers should take place through meetings, social gatherings, and informal conversations.

The recommendations of the committee were accepted by the council and implementation was urged for the next school year.

The committee on priorities and budget guidelines recommended a formula for the allocation of funds in three categories: individual requests, school-based programs, and district level requests. The committee noted that training priorities were needed to give meaningful direction to the distribution of funds. The committee's report generated considerable discussion, which was carried over into the June meeting.

The committee of policy revision reported no recommended changes in the center's policy as approved earlier by the local school board. The committee did suggest that a committee should be formed to help the incoming director, especially in the area of funding review.

With the directorship of the center open for next year, the committee on staff appointment received close attention. Several council members were applying for the position of director. The council agreed that it should not be the interviewing body, although it was charged by the enabling legislation with recommending to the school board the employment of a director. The appointment of the director subsequently went through established hiring procedures of the school district, with minimal input from two council members.

The May meeting continued with an evening session during which the following issues were discussed.

whether teachers should receive stipends for attending workshops held after school or on the weekends,

the questionable usefulness of problem solving workshops for teachers,

the lack of receptivity of the survey of needs assessment by teachers,

mandated district-wide inservice reading programs,

the expressed preference of teachers toward using other teachers as workshop leaders rather than college faculty or outside consultants.

The June Meeting

At the June meeting the new director, a former classroom teacher, assumed staff responsibility for the council. The council agreed that some informal meetings could take place over the summer, especially a committee of the council that would aid in the transition of directors.

The discussion of budget guidelines continued from the May meeting, and was the only major item of business. The council accepted the committee's recommendation to distribute money according to the following categories:

50 percent for the school-based projects with approved programs,

40 percent to district-wide projects sponsored by the teacher center,

10 percent for individual projects not associated with the above categories.

The funding plan that allocated 50 percent of the center's funds for school-based staff development was consistent with the wishes of the district superintendent. However, the council felt it important that schools have a careful plan for inservice work before they received funds from the center. Otherwise funds for inservice education could be misappropriated within the school. Other budget related issues discussed at the last meeting included who would receive and approve school plans for staff development, and when schools would be informed about the new plan for school-based staff development.

Summary

By following the issues faced by a center council during its first year of operation, a more detailed expression of problems of implementation has been provided.

The problems encountered by this center shared several themes with the problems experienced by centers across the state. Those problems included the following: (1) an uncertain beginning with the council unsure of its role and function, (2) problems of communication between the center and classroom teachers, (3) a relationship between the center council and the host school district in which the host district held the ultimate authority, (4) the problems of allocating scarce university resources, and (5) the absence of an adequate means of assessing teacher training needs.

CHAPTER FIVE
ATHEORETICAL RESEARCH ON ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE
AND A PROPOSED ALTERNATIVE

Several sets of factors affected center implementation in Florida. Some factors were specific to the design and internal operations of teacher centers while others were external to the operations of the center. However, in the research on organizational change in education, a model or theoretical framework is lacking that interprets organizational change in relation to interrelated internal and external factors that influence change.

The present chapter has two sections. The first is an account of the current research on organizational change in education that discussed two major weaknesses in that research. The second section proposes an alternative to the traditional atheoretical approach to interpreting educational change, an approach based on Malinowski's functional theory of institutions.

An Overview of the Research

The American Educational Research Association has published the most complete review to date of the research on organizational change in education, done by Joseph Giacquinta (1973). After reviewing 107 sources on that topic,

Giacquinta (1973, p. 179) concluded that "the literature is basically atheoretical in nature." That is, he found little research designed to develop and/or test theories of organizational change. According to Giacquinta (p. 178), most of the literature on organizational change in education has been the result of "atheoretical efforts to make change, not efforts to test theories of change." His conclusion reemphasized an earlier review of the research done by Gross, Giacquinta, and Bernstein (1971, p. 35). As reported by Giacquinta, his review findings also concur with those of Sieber (1967).

To counter this lack of theory, Giacquinta offers in his own work only "several postulates" about organizational change, rather than a comprehensive theory of institutions and institutional change. His three postulates are as follows:

Organizational change, when successfully completed, proceeds in three distinct stages: initiation, implementation, and incorporation. Successful completion of one stage, however, does not guarantee successful completion of the next. (p. 200)

These stages are influenced by attributes of the innovations that are introduced, the manner of their introductions, characteristics of the school personnel who must make the changes, and structural properties of the school setting. (p. 200)

These factors do not influence initiation completely in the same way they influence implementation or incorporation. (p. 200)

If a student were to heed the advice of Giacquinta, studies would focus on the stages through which an innovation is

accepted or rejected and the attributes of the innovation and organization into which the innovation is introduced. The question remains as to whether these postulates are comprehensive enough for a theory or interpretive framework for understanding organizational change.

Although Giacquinta's review does not lead to a satisfactory theoretical framework, it does illustrate an additional weakness in the conceptualization of research on organizational change in education. Giacquinta found that the research fell into five categories.

The effects that the attributes of an innovation have on its acceptability, e.g., the innovations cost, its "divisibility," and its material form (Miles, 1964); four studies were reported in this category. (pp. 181-83)

The effects of various strategies used to introduce the innovation, e.g., the role of the change agent (Bennis, Benne, and Chin, 1969); twenty-eight studies were reported in this category. (pp. 183-85)

The effects of participation in decision-making by organization members, e.g., the effectiveness of introducing change using strategies of participation as compared to introducing change from the top by superordinates (Coch and French, 1948); sixteen studies were reported in this category. (pp. 185-89)

The effects of personal characteristics of organization members on change, e.g., the resistance of organization members to change (Morris and Binstock, 1966); twenty-four studies were reported in this category. (pp. 189-94)

The effects on change of the properties of the school as a special type of organization, e.g., the values of educational personnel and the diffuseness of educational goals (Sieber, 1968); five studies were reported in this category. (pp. 194-97)

Accordingly, most educational research studies have dealt with the effects on organizational change of factors that are internal* to the organization itself. The effects of factors external to the organization are largely ignored in the education research literature.

The education studies that do consider external factors tend to be the exception. In their book on organizational change in education Gross, Giacquinta and Bernstein (1971) report on external factors, but fail to account carefully for their influence on change in the conclusions drawn from the study. A study of the antecedents of organizational change by Greiner (1967) accounts for external pressures affecting change and internal tensions promoting change. A study by House (1974) also recognizes the importance of external factors, as does a recent study by the Rand Corporation (1975).

A search through the Comprehensive Dissertation Index, 1863-1972 revealed a similar pattern in dissertation research. Of the 180 studies cited on educational innovation(s) and organizational change in education in that index, only five studies dealt with the effects of external factors on

* For the purposes of this study, internal factors are considered to be those variables associated with the structure of the organization, its activities, the characteristics of its members, the codes of behavior, thought, and value shared by its members, and the properties of the innovation itself. External factors are considered to be those variables that operate outside the organization under study that may influence the rate or nature of change within the organization.

educational change (Burnham, 1972; Christe, 1970; Joyner, 1969; Peterson, 1969; Zeitlin, 1958).

As shown, there is a general, though not complete, neglect in education research of the role of external factors in interpreting organizational change. This neglect exists despite the prevailing knowledge of educational sociology, anthropology, and history, that factors external to schools have a fundamental impact on what happens in school. For examples of this point see Fisher (1972), Kimball (1974), and Cremin (1955). However, the prevailing habits of education research on organizational change would have a student seek to understand the problems of organizational change in relation to the internal characteristics of the organization(s) and the strategies and attributes of the innovation itself. Giacquinta's prescribed postulates typify this approach.

While the education literature on organizational change tends to focus on internal variables to the exclusion of external variables, the anthropological literature on this topic to date has focused on the external to the exclusion of the internal. Despite the growth of the research in anthropology and education, the anthropological literature on educational change is sparse. A search through the past ten years of Abstracts in Anthropology revealed less than a dozen studies on educational change. Those studies focused

exclusively on the influence of factors external to educational organizations undergoing change. For examples see Kandizoti (1974), Britton (1973), Levin (1974), Rosenteil (1971), and Lopate (1974). Of the 683 annotated sources cited in Anthropology and Education: An Annotated Bibliographic Guide (Burnett, et al., 1974), only seventeen dealt with organizational change in education, examples include Brameld (1968), Epstein (1968), Kimball (1968), Read (1955) and Wallace (1972). With the exception of the studies by Musgrove (1968) and Gallaher (1973), those studies also focused on the role of external factors as they influenced the change process in schools.

Neither the educational literature, nor the anthropological literature on educational change, provides a theoretical or interpretive framework that interrelates internal and external variables in interpreting organizational change in education.

The preceding overview of research has established two important points. On the authority of Joseph Giacquinta and the American Educational Research Association, education research on organizational change lacks a needed theoretical or interpretive framework. Additionally, an interpretive framework that interrelates the influence of external and internal factors into an understanding of organizational change is absent from the education and anthropological literature.

To gain a deeper insight into the implementation of Florida's teacher education centers, and to explore the use of an interpretive framework in understanding organizational change in education, the author sought to identify a theory of organizations or institutions that would effectively interrelate external and internal factors in the interpretation of organizational change. Malinowski's functional theory of institutions was identified as having a potential for such an application. His theory of institutions was adopted as a possible interpretive framework. It was applied to an interpretation of the implementation problems experienced by Florida teacher centers to explore its usefulness. Its explanatory power is not tested against alternative theories of institutions or organizations. Neither is it prescribed as the best or only interpretive framework for understanding organizational change. It does seem to have considerable value, however, in developing a broad and comprehensive understanding of the problems of organizational change identified in previous chapters as implementation problems.

Malinkowski's Functional Theory of Institutions

Writing in the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Rhoda Metraux (1968), p. 541) states that the work of Bronislaw Malinowski has played a decisive part in the

formulation of contemporary social anthropology. More specifically Malinowski is regarded as the founder of modern functionalism in anthropology (Metraux, 1968, p. 541; Bohannon and Glazer, 1973, p. 274; Kardiner and Preble, 1961, p. 156). Audrey I. Richards (1957, p. 24) credits Malinowski's functional theory of institutions as his most enduring contribution to the theory and methods of social anthropology. Since an understanding of the tenets of Malinowski's functional theory of institutions is basic to the objective of this dissertation, they are discussed here.

The concept of "institution" lies at the heart of Malinowski's analysis of culture. For Malinowski (1960, p. 49), "the best description of any culture in terms of concrete reality would consist in the listing and analysis of all the institutions into which that culture is organized." He further states:

I would challenge anyone to mention any object, activity, or symbol, or type of organization, which could not be placed within one institution or other although some objects belong to several institutions, playing specific parts in each. (1960, 161)

Malinowski views institutions as "definite groups of men united by a charter, following rules of conduct, operating together a shaped portion of the environment, and working for the satisfaction of definite needs." (Malinowski, 1973, p. 291)

Malinowski describes his functional theory of institutions in several places (e.g. Malinowski, 1931; 1939; 1941-42; 1944; 1960; 1973). Essentially, his theory includes two propositions: institutions are derived from individual and group needs, and institutions are interrelated within an integral culture. According to Malinowski (1973, p. 292), "Every institution contributes, on the one hand toward the integral working of the community as a whole, but it also satisfies the derived and basic needs of the individual." While Malinowski views institutions as interrelated, his emphasis on the necessary connection of institutions to the satisfaction of human needs separates his functional theories from those being developed at the same time by Radcliffe-Brown. According to Radcliffe-Brown, as reprinted in Bohannan and Glazer (1973):

The function of any recurrent activity, such as the punishment of a crime, or a funeral ceremony, is the part it plays in the social life as a whole and therefore the contribution it makes to the maintenance of the structural continuity. (p. 298)

The notion of function is different for Malinowski (1960, p. 159):

Functionalism would not be so functional after all, unless it could define the concept of function not merely by such glib expressions as 'the contribution which a partial activity makes to the total activity of which it is a part,' but by a much more definite and concrete reference to what actually occurs and what can be observed. . . such a definition is provided by showing that human institutions, as well as partial activities with these, are related to primary,

that is, biological, or derived, that is, cultural needs. Function means, therefore, always the satisfaction of a need.

Malinowski's proposition that institutions are derived from individual and group needs is described in his 1939 article, "The Group and Individual in Functional Analysis," reprinted in Bohannan and Glazer (1973, pp. 272-96). Therein, Malinowski claims that man has basic needs -- food, shelter, safety, reproduction, movement/relaxation, and bodily comforts -- that are expressed in drives, desires or emotions which move the organism to the satisfaction of those needs (p. 278). Moreover, a culture's institutions regulate and coordinate human activity toward the meeting of those needs.

Culture thus appears first and foremost as a vast instrumental reality -- the body of implements and commodities, charters of social organizations, ideas and customs, beliefs and values -- all of which allow man to satisfy his biological requirements through co-operation and within an environment refashioned and readjusted. (p. 280)

Malinowski goes on to propose three levels of needs; basic needs associated with fundamental biological requirements, instrumental or derived needs associated with the necessity to organize systems of cooperation required in meeting basic needs and symbolic or integrative needs associated with systems of knowledge and value that legitimize cooperative efforts in meeting instrumental needs. In effect, these levels of needs build on one another, suggesting that all

institutions serve need-meeting functions and that institutions are interrelated within and across levels.

In assessing Malinowski's contribution to anthropological theory, Audrey I. Richards (1957, p. 24) says that Malinowski's division of needs into three orders has not been productive in subsequent research, either theoretically or methodologically but that Malinowski's concept of the institution as derived from his needs approach has "proven an exceedingly useful tool for collecting and analyzing data." Malinowski's detractors have the same praise. Amidst a severe criticism of Malinowski, Max Gluckman (1949, p. 24) claims that Malinowski's functional theory of institutions represents a significant and lasting contribution to social anthropology.

Functionalism has been criticized as being conservative and teleological and that criticism holds true for certain fundamental tenets of functionalism as a social theory. Radcliffe-Brown, more than Malinowski, was responsible for the proposition that every part of a society is inter-locked and interconnected, directly or indirectly, with every other part. The mechanistic metaphor of Radcliffe-Brown focused the attention of anthropologists on what was perceived as the unchanging underlay of society. The conservative aspect of functionalism is compounded by its teleological dimension that contends the function of a particular social activity or institution is to perpetuate itself and society.

The criticisms of functionalism have largely been aimed at functionalism as social theory, not as a method of investigation. A severe critic of functionalist social thought, I.C. Jarvie, makes this distinction in his article "Limits to Functionalism and Alternatives to It in Anthropology" (1965). Jarvie argues that there exists enough evidence to abandon functionalism as a social theory. However, he contends that the method of investigation associated with a functionalist approach that seeks to examine how social groups interrelate and the social uses of a society's material environment is worthy of continued application. Malinowski's functional theory of institutions provides a possible theoretical or interpretive framework for research on educational organizations. It highlights the necessity of interpreting organizational change in terms of internal and external factors, i.e., how a particular institution works to satisfy the needs of its members and at the same time relates to other institutions.

In this study, school districts, organized teacher groups, and colleges of education are considered to be institutions, and the economic, political, and educational needs of these institutions become major units of analysis. The concept of "needs" can be ambiguous. Here needs are taken to be the desires and interests of individuals and groups that form institutions. For example, when a teachers' union fights

hard in negotiations with a local school board, the union is expressing its economic and political interests in bargaining for higher salaries and better working conditions for its members. When a school board insists that its rules be obeyed by school personnel and students, the board's demands are expressions of its political interests, or need to coordinate behavior within the institutions.

Malinowski's functional theory of institutions prescribes two fundamental questions for any analysis of institutional change: How does an institutional change reflect or express changes in individual or group needs? How does a change in one institution relate to changes in other institutions? Clearly the answers to these questions require a consideration of factors that are internal and external to the organization(s) under study. Answering those very questions comprises the basic thrust of the work that follows.

CHAPTER SIX
THE PROBLEMS OF TEACHER CENTER IMPLEMENTATION:
INTERPRETING ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

The interpretive framework adopted here takes as its major task the examination of organizational change in relation to internal and external factors that affect change. Specifically, the requirements of this approach are to interpret the problems of teacher center implementation by showing the influence of internal and external factors on desired organizational changes: a particularly important element in this interpretation is the affect of institutional interests on change.

Internal and External Factors

Internal factors that have been identified as influencing organizational change during the implementation of Florida's teacher centers include the following:

- the distribution of authority within the center,
- an imbalance in the financial base for center operation,
- the effects of traditional role expectations and job descriptions on center participants,
- the relative attractiveness of centers, based on the financial incentives for starting a center,
- the lack of needed technology and social relations for a sound assessment of teacher training needs.

External factors included the following:

- the interests of state-level educational organizations,
- the advent of professional teacher organizations in the state,

- a depressed state economy that affected school revenues,
- a changing demography and teacher supply.

The above internal and external factors were interrelated in their effects on change, and are discussed here in their interrelated contexts, rather than singled out for individual attention.

Starting a Center: New Groups and Expressions of Power

The problems of hurried planning to meet state-imposed deadlines have already been identified. In the rush to meet deadlines, letters of intent were prepared and center proposals were written without the full participation of all groups. In one case, teachers were not included at all, and the center proposal was developed without their knowledge. In another center, teachers were included only to read and sign the proposal. In such cases where teachers were not included, or included only in a limited way in planning efforts, this amounted to the first expression that teachers were to be junior, not full, partners in teacher centers. In most cases, the plans to start a center were initiated in the school district office, and the design for center operation was to keep control of the center located in that office.

In addition to hurried planning, the ambiguities faced by those managing centers led to another consequence that affected center implementation. At a state-wide conference

on teacher education, held in November, 1974, center directors had an opportunity to meet together for the first time and discuss their problems. Subsequently, they agreed to meet once a month to share information and common concerns. The directors emerged a powerful group, although they were without any specific authority. They effectively presented their concerns and problems to the Department of Education, State Council for Teacher Education Centers, Board of Regents, and the legislature. They developed into a significant lobby for the state's centers and provided important links to state level agencies.

The impact of this development on local centers was that directors became the primary information links, not only with the local school district but with external sources of information, i.e., other directors and state agencies. Acting in this role solidified power and leadership in the director. In turn, this increased the dependence of local council members on the information of the director. As the link to pertinent knowledge, directors became the principal source of information for the center council. Other than information introduced by council members during council meetings, center directors controlled what was "known" by the council. They could screen out unwanted information, or release it to certain groups and not others. Since the local school board

employed center directors, the position of the director in this regard reinforced the political interests of host school districts. The director's relation with the host school district was related to another more fundamental problem of center governance caused by establishing teacher centers as part of the administrative unit of local school districts.

Distribution of Authority: State and Local Interests

The ideal of a collaborative council as a governance structure was damaged by the mandated relationship between the center council and host school district, a relationship in which the school district was assigned ultimate authority. That mandate was a direct result of the ability of school districts to have their political and economic interests represented at the state level.

The original teacher center concept discussed prior to passage of the enabling legislation was based on a collaboratively governed center located on "neutral territory." The center would not be housed in a school district or university so that neither would claim ownership of the center or exercise undue control over center activities. That conception of a teacher center was altered in response to pressure upon the legislature by representatives of local school districts. Acting on behalf of school districts, two state-wide organized interest groups -- the school boards'

association and the superintendents' association -- lobbied local legislators during deliberations on the Teacher Education Center Act. They lobbied to have teacher centers located within school district administrative units so that centers would be controlled by local school board policy and be accountable under school board fiscal procedures. Their efforts were successful and the resulting legislation reflected their interests.

Through the efforts of state-level agencies a governance structure was assigned to centers that worked against full collaboration. In the local setting additional institutional interests further mitigated against the accomplishment of partnership. These interests were expressed in terms of job descriptions and role expectations, but they can be viewed more fundamentally as the educational and political interests of institutions in regulating the behavior of their members through establishing codes of behavior and providing sanctions for those codes.

Institutions, according to Malinowski (1973, p. 282), establish codes of behavior that define duty and privilege, as well as educate members to those codes through the use of sanctions and the application of rewards and punishments. With regard to center implementation, the institutional codes of behavior that were most influential over the activities and social relations of the participants were not derived

employed center directors, the position of the director in this regard reinforced the political interests of host school districts. The director's relation with the host school district was related to another more fundamental problem of center governance caused by establishing teacher centers as part of the administrative unit of local school districts.

Distribution of Authority: State and Local Interests

The ideal of a collaborative council as a governance structure was damaged by the mandated relationship between the center council and host school district, a relationship in which the school district was assigned ultimate authority. That mandate was a direct result of the ability of school districts to have their political and economic interests represented at the state level.

The original teacher center concept discussed prior to passage of the enabling legislation was based on a collaboratively governed center located on "neutral territory." The center would not be housed in a school district or university so that neither would claim ownership of the center or exercise undue control over center activities. That conception of a teacher center was altered in response to pressure upon the legislature by representatives of local school districts. Acting on behalf of school districts, two state-wide organized interest groups -- the school boards'

association and the superintendents' association -- lobbied local legislators during deliberations on the Teacher Education Center Act. They lobbied to have teacher centers located within school district administrative units so that centers would be controlled by local school board policy and be accountable under school board fiscal procedures. Their efforts were successful and the resulting legislation reflected their interests.

Through the efforts of state-level agencies a governance structure was assigned to centers that worked against full collaboration. In the local setting additional institutional interests further mitigated against the accomplishment of partnership. These interests were expressed in terms of job descriptions and role expectations, but they can be viewed more fundamentally as the educational and political interests of institutions in regulating the behavior of their members through establishing codes of behavior and providing sanctions for those codes.

Institutions, according to Malinowski (1973, p. 282), establish codes of behavior that define duty and privilege, as well as educate members to those codes through the use of sanctions and the application of rewards and punishments. With regard to center implementation, the institutional codes of behavior that were most influential over the activities and social relations of the participants were not derived

from the teacher center itself, but from school districts, colleges of education, schools, and teacher organizations.

Because centers were not established as independent agencies, but grafted onto existing institutions, individuals were not joined together in a new organization that would develop its own sanctions and codes. Instead, individuals were asked to act out behavior appropriate to the goals of teacher centers, while their primary institutional affiliation was with a school district, a college, a school, or a teacher's organization.

The codes and sanctions within these larger more complex organizations were not significantly altered due to the implementation of centers. Only a few of their members would be participating in a center at any given time. Consequently, role expectations and job descriptions were not greatly disturbed within them. For instance, the fundamental organizational principles of colleges of education that shape role expectations and job descriptions of faculty members were not altered to accommodate the activities of a small portion of faculty members participating in teacher centers. The extent of change was limited to the allowances in work load for those individuals working in a center. Similarly, school district administrative units maintained role expectations and codes of behavior for their administrators as centers were established, even though center directors became part of the school district staff. In effect, centers

were implemented on the margins of large, complex educational institutions which remained fundamentally unaltered by the presence of centers and the participants in the centers maintained their allegiance to the institutions that employed them.

Economics of Teacher Centers: State and Local Interests

It has been shown that an imbalance in center funding existed due to the small contribution of universities in comparison to that of school districts. However, the imbalance was not due to the stinginess of participating colleges, but was an expression of the economic interests of the State University System.

Officials of the State University System in their testimony before education committees of the state legislature spoke against the development of a state system of teacher centers, fearing that the economic resources currently available to universities would be drained into school districts through the operation of such centers. At the time, universities were already facing reductions in their budgets since state revenues were lower than expected. The efforts of the State University System were successful and no funds were taken away from the budget of the System to finance the centers. Through administrative provisions within the State University System, twenty-four faculty budget lines already appropriated in the category of "service lines" were designated for use in the state's teacher centers.

In this manner, a minimum contribution on the part of the State University System was made to the implementation of centers. Their contributions meant that twenty-four faculty members would have to be distributed among ten teacher centers. This minimal contribution was contrary to the requirements of the enabling legislation which charged the Board of Regents, the governing board of the State University System, with providing enough resources to respond to the training needs generated in approved teacher education centers. While certain centers received four faculty positions for use in a center, others received only two. The lack of resources which affected the ability of a participating university to develop and offer programs that a school district could use is illustrated later in this chapter.

Just as economic interests affected the participation of universities in teacher centers, it influenced the distribution of centers among districts in the state. Of the original ten centers in Florida, none were located in a major urban area. The major reason was the requirement by law that districts with centers had to spend their staff development budgets through the center. In a large district like Dade County (Miami), the staff development budget was about \$1.5 million per year. Without a teacher center, that budget was controlled by a few administrators in the

district's central office. With a center, the center council would assume responsibility for recommending how the staff development funds would be allocated. School district administrators in large districts were hesitant to release direct control of that much money, turning it over to a center council comprised mainly of teachers. It was simply not in the economic interests of the districts to do so.

Another factor in Florida's urban areas that affected the development of teacher centers was the emergence of organized teacher groups. In the context of collective bargaining, school administrators were beginning to view teachers as adversaries, not collaborators. Teacher centers were seen as a program in which teachers gained some additional control over inservice training programs, and consequently school district administrators lost. Any such advantage for teachers was to be bargained for, not given away.

With the area of collective bargaining still in its infancy in Florida's school districts, the place of a teacher center in a negotiated contract was uncertain.

Even where centers were implemented, economics influenced center operation. During the school year 1974-1975, state revenues fell short of expectations and forced budgetary cutbacks in local school districts. In one

center, the allocation of center funds was halted by the local school district, and money that was supposed to support staff development programs was used for general operating funds. Although this was clearly a violation of state law no action was taken against the school district.

Impact on Program Development

The institutional interests described above directly influenced the development of center training programs and their responsiveness to the professional training needs of educators -- the fundamental charge given to teacher centers by legislation.

Through the enabling legislation, the teaching profession was assigned the responsibility to make center programs "meaningful and relevant" to classroom teachers. The mechanisms for the accomplishment of that responsibility were the center council and the assessment of teacher training needs. Even though the center council was comprised of a majority of teachers, the control of the council was stacked in favor of the local school districts. Center council meetings were observed in which teacher initiated ideas were disallowed because they conflicted with school district policy or arrangements previously made by the district. In the case study presented here, the power of the local superintendent to affect the operation of the

council was illustrated. It has also been noted that teachers acted out a subordinate role in center council meetings.

An additional factor was involved. The ability of teachers to make programs "meaningful and relevant" to the profession may have been greater if local teacher organizations would have been more influential. However, centers were not located in school districts with strongly organized teacher groups, as in Hillsborough County (Tampa), Dade County (Miami), or Duval County (Jacksonville). Additionally, local organizations were often in their first or second year of collective bargaining and their priorities were for higher salaries and job security, priorities that aptly responded to the depressed economy of most Florida school districts at that time. The issues of teacher centers and inservice education were not high on the list of priorities for concern and action.

The ability of participating universities to respond to training program needs was similarly hindered by institutional interest, namely the economic interests of the State University System and the job descriptions and role expectations of the faculty in participating colleges. In one center, faculty members were assigned to two middle schools to help teachers build individualized curriculum materials and to work in team teaching situations. The training

programs of the center could have placed several more faculty members in the same role in elementary and senior high schools, but the university had only two faculty lines to assign to the center. Another constraint was that job descriptions and reward systems for university faculty were not altered to favor center participation. Some faculty members with the skills to work in centers were unwilling to do so because they felt that such activities were not rewarded on a comparable basis with on-campus and scholarly work.

Summary

Both internal and external factors influenced the implementation of teacher education centers in Florida. The desired organizational changes were affected by the interests of local and state-wide groups and the changes experienced in centers were affected by changes that occurred elsewhere in the state. A consideration of both sets of factors allows a more comprehensive understanding of what happened to teacher centers in Florida during their first year of operation and the problems of implementation that they faced.

The use of Malinowski's functional theory of institutions that requires the examination of internal and external factors was shown to be useful as an interpretive framework

that leads to a fuller understanding of organizational change in education. His emphasis on the role of institutional interests in organizational change also appears to be warranted.

To further test the usefulness of Malinowski's approach, Chapter Seven extends the application of the interpretive framework to the advent of teacher centers in American education.

CHAPTER SEVEN
INTERPRETING THE ADVENT OF TEACHER CENTERS IN
AMERICAN EDUCATION

In this chapter the interpretive framework derived from Malinowski's functional theory of institutions is applied to the advent of teacher centers in American education as a further test of its usefulness in understanding change.

The Teacher Center Movement in American Education

According to two nationally prominent students of teacher centers, the teacher center movement is one of the "hottest educational concepts on the American scene today" (Schmieder and Yarger, 1974a, p. 5). A clear count of centers has yet to be made, but in 1974 the best estimate claimed 4,500 centers in this country (Schmieder and Yarger, 1974a, p. 9). In the same year, eighteen states had legislation or state-level administrative provisions establishing teacher centers, with fifteen more states conducting state-level studies as to the appropriateness or feasibility of implementing teacher centers (Smith, 1974, p. 21). With regard to state sponsorship of teacher centers, it is important to note that Florida was the first

state to establish a state-wide system of teacher centers through legislation (Smith, 1974, p. 24).

The teacher center movement has gleaned support from federal and state governments, private foundations and professional organizations, as well as local school districts, teacher groups, and college personnel across the country. This wide base of support is due partially to the flexibility of ambiguity of the teacher center concept. Schmieder and Yarger (1974b, p. 28) state:

When the term "teacher center" is mentioned in the U.S. it could just as well refer to three teachers opening a store-front shop in Harlem, as to a state-controlled network of centers designed to serve literally thousands of teachers and other educational personnel.

These authors go on to depict seven organizational types and four functional types of teacher centers found in the United States (Schmieder and Yarger, 1974b, pp 28-31). Their typology can be reduced to two basic organizational types, single agency and multi-agency centers; and two basic functional types, advocate and responsive centers. Single agency centers have been established by single educational agencies to respond to their own interests, and multi-agency centers have been sponsored by two or three agencies to respond to common interests and desires. Advocate centers are those that have taken as their function the advocacy of a particular educational activity (open classrooms, individualized instruction, competency based

teacher education, etc.). Responsive centers are those that have been developed to respond directly to the training needs of the clients to be served. The point is, several different types of centers exist, with the teacher center label being applied generously to all of them. In fact, a national survey of six hundred "teacher centers" found those organizations using two hundred different titles to describe themselves (Schmieder and Yarger, 1974a, p. 6). Florida's teacher education centers are multi-agency centers of the responsive type.

Although the teacher center movement includes centers of different organizational and functional types, there are common themes that tie together the divergent aspects of teacher centering. A Descriptive Study of the Teacher Center Movement in American Education by Sam Yarger and Albert Leonard (1974) reports the findings of a survey of six hundred teacher centers of various types. Some of their major findings include:

- teacher centers serve grades K-12 inclusively;
- teacher center programs are designed most frequently for inservice teachers;
- . most centers have "nonspecific" programming or a combination of "thematic" and "nonspecific" programming, reflecting a responsiveness to the educational needs of educators;

- of those centers that reported specific, thematic program emphases, individualizing instruction, classroom management, humanizing education, and topics concerning open classrooms were reported as major programmatic thrusts;
- ninety percent of the centers surveyed indicated that center programs were initiated and sustained for the "enhancement of teaching children";
- the most commonly used evaluation procedures are the perceptions and opinions of program participants;
- center programs most often take place in elementary and secondary schools;
- most teacher centers include a form of partnership, typically between a university or college and a school district;
- decisions about the content of center programs are made by both teachers and administrators.

On the surface it appears that teacher centers, regardless of type, tend to offer programs that are responsive to the training needs of teachers who are already employed. Programs are offered on sites where teachers are. In most cases, teachers are involved in making decisions about center operation and program content. Teacher perceptions about center programs are used in the evaluation of programs. With teacher needs in mind, most programs are designed to respond to an "overwhelming concern among educators for the processes of teaching/learning, rather than matters of content" (Yarger and Leonard, 1975, p. 35). Bruce Joyce and Marsha Weil (1973) offer a similar

description, though not as detailed, of the themes of teacher centering, based on their examination of the early literature on teacher centers.

The Advent of Centers in Relation to Group Interests

Smith (1974) has recognized that teacher centers initiated at the state level have taken on structural characteristics consistent with the purposes of state agencies: that is, these centers were designed to respond to the needs of the state. Evidence of this is clear in the Florida case. Because Florida's teacher education centers were established by state law, they have been susceptible to state interests. The state is already using teacher centers as a vehicle to deliver training programs that the state requires teachers to take. For example, all teachers in Florida who need to have their teaching certificate renewed are required to take state-approved inservice programs in reading and the use of paraprofessionals in the classroom via teacher centers, if one is housed in their school district. The same is true for kindergarten teachers and teachers in the first three grades; they are required to take approved inservice programs in early childhood education. In each case, programs are required by the state for the continuing certification of teachers. Florida's centers rely on state law and regulation for funding and

program approval. As such, state educational agencies retain considerable control over centers and they can shape teacher centers to suit their needs. This section explores further how the advent of teacher centers is related to group interests, and especially to the changing training needs of teachers. Consider how three centers started.

In 1969, educators in San Francisco began planning for the desegregation of twelve of the city's 100 elementary schools. A Teacher Council, consisting of teacher representatives from each of the twelve schools, was formed to aid in that planning. The Council included a committee of teachers responsible for curriculum and staff development for the desegregation program. Their job was to design appropriate curriculum for the schools, introduce teachers to the new materials, and train them in skills necessary for sensitive teaching in racially mixed conditions. From this group grew the idea of a teacher center where teachers could meet informally and share their problems as well as successes. With school district approval, the center began in a loft over the stage in an elementary school. Most of its programs were directed at providing teachers with needed materials and skills as they faced the educational problems of school desegregation (Devaney and Thorn, 1975, p. 168). The San Francisco Teacher Learning Center now occupies the

top floor of a large elementary school, and offers curriculum and staff development opportunities for all teachers in the San Francisco school district, with most of its offerings still pertinent to instructional problems in multi-cultural classrooms.

The public schools of Minneapolis, Minnesota, have three interrelated goals; desegregation, decentralization and alternatives in schooling (Devaney and Thorn, 1975, p. 118). The University of Minnesota and a special project, the Southeast Alternative Project, funded by the National Institute of Education, are working with the public schools in reaching these goals. In 1971, the Southeast Alternative Project began developing alternative public schools within the multi-cultural neighborhoods adjoining the University of Minnesota. With the help of curriculum and staff development specialists, teachers in these schools were asked to design new teaching materials appropriate to their particular school. Special training programs for teachers were developed by the Project and the College. In 1973, these inservice activities were used as the nucleus for what was to be called the Minneapolis/University of Minnesota Teacher Center, a center formed in collaboration between Minneapolis Public Schools and the University of Minnesota.

By the time the 1973 enabling legislation was passed for Florida's teacher centers, Osceola County had made plans to open two middle schools. Recognizing that new curricular materials would be needed and that teachers would have to gain skills in working in team teaching situations, the school district staff saw the possibility of a teacher center as a way to gain additional resources and expertise for the staff development work necessary for the district's implementation of middle schools. College faculty from Florida Technological University in Orlando, Florida, had already been working with school district administrators in developing communication and problem solving skills. With working relations established, the two groups planned how the university and school district could work together in a teacher center to meet the inservice training needs of the school district. Plans were made and the center started in 1974. During the first year of teacher center operation, a large part of the center's resources was spent in the two new middle schools, especially in programs for teaching skills called for by the middle school concept.

While teacher centers in these cases served to meet the training and socialization needs of teachers, they were also part of the plans made by school districts and colleges of education in response to changes they wanted to implement or services they sought to deliver.

Most commentators on teacher centers in America agree that centers have come about in response to the special training needs of teachers (Devaney and Thorn, 1975; Howey, 1974; Joyce and Weil, 1973; Kemble, 1973; Schmieder and Yarger, 1974a; Yarger and Leonard, 1974). None of these commentators has tied such training needs to specific changes or complex of changes in the educational environment. But the anthropologist, Margaret Mead, provides a model worthy of examination.

Using cross-cultural evidence to support her arguments, Mead proposes that the structures for cultural transmission within a culture adapt to the rate of change being experienced within that culture. The important correspondence in Mead's formulation is between the rate of change and the structures for transmission of information. Those cultures in which the rate of change is slight are characterized by a predominant vertical structure for the transmission of information from the elders to the young. Based on their experience, the elders pass on knowledge with the assurance that it will serve to perpetuate the mental and physical health of the group. Mead (1970, pp. 1-24) labels those cultures post-figurative.

Those cultures undergoing fundamental change, or those groups that are experiencing life in a culture other than

their own, augment the vertical structure with a horizontal structure for cultural transmission. In such conditions, the experience of the elders can no longer be distilled and passed on with a sureness that it will be applicable in the lives of the young, because the experience of the elders is not and will not be that of the young. When faced with changed situations, peers provide more practical models than those of their elders, according to Mead (1970, p. 31). She maintains that the vertical structure retains its usefulness in areas of continuity, but horizontal structures for transmission develop additionally among age groups to pass along solutions to problems not previously faced by the elders. Mead (1970, pp. 25-50) refers to these cultures as cofigurative.

In Malinowski's functional analysis, the youth in cofigurative cultures face problems for which the elders can provide little practical direction, though they do provide indirect guidance. In order to coordinate activity in meeting these problems, forms of horizontal transmission are institutionalized among age mates to meet their "instrumental" and "integrative" needs.

If teacher education is considered as the transmission of professional information in education, then structures for teacher education can be seen in the same way. While no period in American education can be considered changeless, some periods experience a greater rate of change than others. In terms of the conditions that affect classroom teachers,

the past five to ten years would have to be considered a period of great change; great enough to alter the structures for the transmission of "educational" knowledge. Schools have been reorganized, including movements toward middle schools, open schools, alternative schools and now fundamental schools. Curriculum has changed and changed again; modern math, individualized learning, transformative grammar and a back-to-basics movement. The social composition of schools has been drastically changed, with forced busing integrating many schools in the South and North for the first time. Educational fads, supposedly designed to help teachers cope with such changes have flashed across the country, probably generating more confusion. As forces within and without public schooling have pushed for changes, new training needs for teachers have been generated. Many of the "elders," in the form of college faculty and school district supervisors, lack the experience to deal with new conditions, although these "elders" were often the proponents of change. As in the case of cofigurative cultures, teachers were forced to develop their own answers based on their immediate experience and in turn to provide practical models for their peers.

For example, forced busing to achieve racial integration finally hit public schools in the early 1970's. Even though many educational innovations in the areas of curriculum, instruction, and school organization were begun

previously in relation to federal efforts to sponsor desegregation (Eddy, 1976), the number of new programs intensified during this time. Public school teachers, the author being one at the time, were faced with not only the problems of desegregation, but with what to do about all the innovations sponsored in the name of school desegregation. Because college faculty and supervisors had not previously faced such problems, their help was minimal and generally theoretical or inspirational in nature. As in the case of configurative cultures, teachers turned to their peers for practical models. It is no simple coincidence that teacher centers began appearing in the midst of such changes. Neither is it a coincidence that many centers across the country such as the San Francisco center, trace their origins back to desegregation efforts. Teacher centers provided a means where teachers could establish their own training programs that were directly relevant to their training needs. Additionally, they often served as trainers themselves. In this sense, teacher centers may very well represent horizontal structures augmenting the vertical structures already present in teacher education.

The theme of horizontal transmission of professional knowledge is clear in this description of a teacher center proposed by the United Federation of Teachers (Kemble, 1973).

Basically the center should belong to teachers. It should be a place where any teacher can take a vexing classroom problem and find a friendly colleague who will help find the solution. It should be a place where a group of teachers can take a list of questions on a particular reading program and know they can arrange for a couple of sessions in which another teacher who knows the program can give them the answers.

Teacher centers, then, can be understood as additions to teacher education that reflect changes in teacher training needs. Yet, teacher centers emerged in a complexity of needs by different groups. Since teachers could exercise more control over their own professional education through centers, the centers responded to political, as well as educational needs of teachers. Centers also served certain economic needs of colleges of education by creating a real world setting thought to be more attractive to students and by creating employment opportunities for college faculty. The state department of education and local school districts have used centers in serving educational needs generated by programs they have sought to implement or goals they have adopted.

The Advent of Teacher Centers in Relation to Corresponding Changes in Other Institutions

Two key factors in the success of teacher centers have been identified by Eugenia Kemble (1973). They are teacher input and control of center operations and the fact

that program goals relate closely to teacher needs. From this perspective, the responsiveness of teacher centers to teacher needs depends partially on how centers are governed. One of the common features of teacher centers discovered by Yarger and Leonard (1974) was that teachers are involved in making decisions about the content and evaluation of center programs. For brief descriptions of how teachers participate in the operation of Florida's center see Van Fleet (1975, 1976). Across the country, teachers are seeking to determine the form of their own inservice education. Teacher bargaining agents now regularly include in their contract proposals the elimination of "Mickey Mouse" inservice courses as a demand for improved working conditions (Kemble, 1973). In general, teachers are gaining more control over their own professional education. The advent of teacher centers in which teachers share authority with others in the design and implementation of inservice teacher education reflects corresponding changes in society and education.

According to Herbert Gans (1973) and George Lodge (1975), authority structures within the American culture, and their supporting ideology, are shifting. They argue that individualism is being replaced by collectivism, and that there is a reduced willingness to accept traditional authority and an increased demand on the part of subordinates to participate in decision making.

According to Gans (1973, p. 44), as America becomes a "negotiating society" the traditional authority structure of superordinate/subordinate is taking on a new shape. Gans admits that many unilateral decisions are still made in business and in the community, but claims a tendency toward negotiation.

Parents continue to try to boss their children, and teachers their students, but some students now take their teachers to court and others go on vandalistic rampages when negotiations break down. . . . Old rules -- such as those that denied public employees the right to strike, Southern blacks to run for office, or enlisted men to question officers' orders -- have fallen by the wayside, and once-autocratic institutions must negotiate with the people they controlled in the past. (pp. 44-5)

At the heart of this shift is a changing conception of authority -- from one dominated by individualism and contract to one based on collectivism and consensus. Gans states:

. . . people now want more autonomy in their lives and are less willing than in the past to be bossed around by superiors or by antiquated and arbitrary rules, both at work and in the community. . . . (p. 38)

Yankelovich (1972, p. 44) supports the contention of Gans by reporting that in 1968, 56 percent of the students he surveyed had no objection to being "bossed around" on the job. By 1971, only 26 percent were willing to submit to such authority.

In a chapter entitled "From Individualism to Communitarianism", Lodge (1975, pp. 163-97) argues that Americans are losing their respect for traditional forms of authority because the ideological components of "individualism" and "contract" have become bankrupt. Business is no longer composed of individuals bound together by contracts, with those running the business gaining authority through proprietary rights. Business is now characterized by managers who have no legitimate proprietary rights and by workers who have an unidentifiable part in the business as a whole. The latter seek protection and advancement through unionization. Lodge asserts that collectivism and consensus are the new ideological components undergirding this shift and they are responsible for the emergence of "participative" forms of authority in the corporate world. For Lodge (p. 17) "consensus has become the source of authority, in place of the old contractual, managerial structure," and participation by workers in negotiations with industry is illustrative of the new "communitarianism" in business.

Such shifts in the authority structures have their expression in the collectivism taking place in the teaching profession. Haberman and Stinnett (1973, p. 2) note that in 1971 more than half the classroom teachers in America were under professional negotiations agreements, and that professional negotiations as a process existed in some form in

all but a handful of states; that in effect the principle of negotiations had become almost universally accepted in public education. The same authors (p. 3) claim that a recent ideological shift among teachers is apparent; "A decade ago, in polls conducted by the NEA, a solid majority of teachers were opposed to the use of the strike. Recent polls indicate a reversal of this attitude". As Rosenthal (1969, p. 1) states:

Classroom teachers have organized themselves and are seeking guarantees that they will not only be listened to on matters concerning school policy, but that they shall be given an active part in determining policy.

Changes in the teaching profession can be seen as consistent with changes occurring in other parts of the society.

In discussing the general movement away from unilateral decision-making in education, Rosenthal (1969, p. 3) points out that hardly a current textbook on school administration fails to invoke the distinction between autocratic and democratic leadership, the former disavowed and the latter enthusiastically applauded. His statement is based on the work of W.W. Charters, Jr., who goes on to illustrate that there is little empirical evidence to support the alleged advantages for "democratic leadership", concluding that the shift in preference is ideological (Charters, 1963, p. 785).

Charter's claim that the rise of participative forms of leadership and governance in education is based on ideological underpinnings is consistent with Lodge's argument that ideological shifts account for cooperative forms of decision-making in business and industry. Both authors point to societal changes that seem to set the stage for the development of teacher centers.

Summary

The spread of teacher centers throughout the United States has been a significant development in American education. As this dissertation is written, the United States Congress is considering federal legislation to further promote the implementation of teacher centers.

The advent of teacher centers has been interpreted here in terms of internal and external factors that affect organizational change. Specifically, the advent of centers has been viewed from the perspectives of group and institutional interests and the relation of complementary changes to center development.

Centers developed in relation to institutional interests of school districts and colleges of education and in response in increased inservice training needs of teachers who taught in rapidly changing schools. Margaret Mead's model of

postfigurative and cofigurative cultures was suggested as an explanatory model for their development. Additionally, the advent of teacher centers was shown in relation to complementary changes in major American institutions, namely the rise of participative forms of governance in private and public institutions.

The examination of the teacher center "movement" was undertaken to further illustrate the usefulness of Malinowski's functional theory of institutions in interpreting organizational change in education.

CHAPTER EIGHT
SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Two problems have been addressed in this study; the identification of implementation problems experienced by Florida's teacher education centers in their first year of operation and the interpretation of those problems using a theoretical framework based on Malinowski's functional theory of institutions. Problems of implementation were identified as hindrances to organizational changes prescribed by the letter and intent of the enabling legislation for centers.

The rhetoric of the enabling legislation emphasized collaboration, shared decision-making, and partnership. These desired activities and social relations were not ignored completely or eliminated during center implementation, but were altered by the influence of group and institutional interests. The political interests of school districts in maintaining ultimate control over center operation hindered the development of shared decision-making. The economic interests of the State University System led to an imbalance in the financial base for center operation that worked against a sense of shared ownership designed to enhance collaboration. The job descriptions and role

expectations of teachers mitigated against their acting as equal partners in the governance of centers.

Interrelated internal and external factors affected the problems of center implementation. Internal factors included the following:

- the distribution of authority within the center,
- an imbalance in the financial base for center operation
- the effects of traditional role expectations and job descriptions of center participants,
- the relative attractiveness of centers, based on the financial incentives for starting a center,
- the lack of needed technology and social relations for a sound assessment of teacher training needs.

External factors included the following:

- the interests of state-level educational organizations,
- the advent of professional teacher organizations in the state,
- a depressed state economy that affected school revenues
- a changing demography and teacher supply.

A review of educational and anthropological research on organizational change in education revealed no theoretical framework for interpreting the problems of center implementation. After a thorough review of the educational research on organizational change, Giacquinta (1973) flatly condemned it for being atheoretical. In response to the need for an interpretive model, the author turned to Malinowski's functional theory of institutions. The basic components of his theory of institutions were translated into two questions that provide a framework for interpreting institutional or organizational change. How does an institutional change

reflect or express changes in individual or group interests? How does a change in one institution relate to changes in other institutions? That framework was applied to an interpretation of problems of center implementation in Florida and the advent of teacher centers in American education. In both applications, the framework proved to enhance the understanding of organizational change and put it in a more comprehensive context.

It is an obligation of the dissertation writer to discuss the need for future research in the area under study. Since this study explored the usefulness of a way of interpreting organizational change, suggestions for further research are especially pertinent. Studies in the area need to recognize that organizational change is an institutional process. Change and the resistance to change should be researched in the contexts of group interests, and related changes in other institutions.

A subject needing special attention is the investigation of change in relation to conflicting interests of different groups that are necessarily associated in the change process. Such an investigation should seek to determine how the differences are resolved and the impact of that resolution on the organizational change.

As mentioned in the Appendix, the theoretical framework for this dissertation was developed after the field work was completed. If I were to do the study again, I would pay more attention to specific individual and group actors during the implementation process, with particular reference to how their behaviors and attitudes reflected group habits and interests. To aid in the data collection, a matrix could be developed that would list actors (individuals, groups, institutions) along one side and group habits, interests, and purposes along the other. In this way a visual display could aid the field researcher in checking which areas of research were being overlooked. This would also help in organizing and presenting information.

As applied anthropology addresses itself to policy questions in education, methods of investigation will have to be developed that can accomodate the study of groups, institutions, or other social units that are not spatially contiguous, or that come together only for certain periods of time. The traditional methods of participant-observation are not well suited to such situations. Also, for applied anthropology to be effective in policy related research, methods for studying social units for a period of time less than one year should be developed.

In carrying out this research, two questions were troublesome. I raise them here as questions that are worthy of continuing discussion among educational researchers. To what extent should the field worker provide technical assistance to local groups under study, assistance that could very well change their behavior, and how is that accounted for methodologically? Secondly, what is the proper relation between the problem under study and the interests of those being studied? Both questions deal with how helpful the researcher should be to the groups involved in research.

APPENDIX
DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDY AND METHODOLOGY

This research was supported by grants from the State of Florida, Department of Education (750-117) and Teacher Corps, United States Office of Education (OEG-O-74-2991). The purpose of the field research, as stated in proposals to sponsoring agencies, was to identify the common problems of implementation experienced by Florida's teacher education centers. The aim was to document the implementation of centers during their first year of operation. It was hoped that implementation of centers in subsequent years might be improved by such knowledge and result in revised policies and practices.

Development of the Study and Methodology

The study developed in three stages. The first involved field research in Florida's centers to determine their "start-up" problems. This stage lasted from January to March 15, 1975, and its ending was marked by the report entitled "Start-Up Problems of Teacher Education Centers in Florida." The second stage involved continued field research into center operation, especially the influences of institutional interests on the accomplishment of center goals.

The second stage lasted from March 15 through December 1975, and was similarly marked with the completion of the report "The Possibilities of Reform: Florida's Teacher Education Centers, 1974-75." Both reports were published by the Florida Department of Education, and partially fulfilled the author's contractual agreements. While these descriptive reports helped satisfy contractual obligations, they failed to examine the problems described in relation to a comprehensive framework for interpretation. The third stage of research which lasted from January through June 1976 involved a reduced amount of field work and increased attention to the identification and application of an interpretive framework for organizational change.

At the start of the project, letters were sent to the director of each center. The letter introduced the purpose of the study and requested their cooperation. Only one center, the Mideastern center, asked not to be included since it was not yet fully implemented.

To gather field data from the nine participating centers, a research strategy was adopted that included site visits to each center and the selection of three centers for more detailed study. The three centers chosen for such an examination were the Osceola, Alachua, and Southwest centers. They were chosen because they represented, respectively, a small center, a medium sized center

and a large center. The first two were single district centers and the latter was a multi-district center.

The participant-observer method of gathering field data was not applicable to this study. The centers were spread apart geographically with hundreds of miles separating them. Since it was important to gain an understanding of the problems indigenous to each and every center, the traditional approach of studying a group in one place over a period of time was of little value. Rather than using one particular method of gathering information, a variety of sources were used.

Site visits were the principal means of gathering field data. During visits to each center, research activities typically included interviews with the center director and staff, classroom teachers, faculty from participating universities and school administrators. When possible, site visits were scheduled to coincide with center council meetings or center training programs so such events could be observed and participants interviewed. While data was gathered on general center operation, the focus of attention was on problems of implementation.

Telephone conversations with center participants were also an important source of information. Frequently a brief conversation with a teacher, college faculty member,

or school administrator during a site visit would be followed by a telephone call at a later date to gain further information. Due to the distances between centers, a phone call to gain needed details was often preferable to personal travel.

Printed information augmented personal interviews and observation. Centers provided the author with their proposals, minutes of council meetings, lists of center training programs and memoranda pertinent to center operation. Another important source of printed information was the Florida Department of Education which printed the minutes of the State Council for Teacher Education Centers meetings, their reports, and annual reports on local center operation.

Another major source of data regarding center implementation was state-wide meetings and conferences. Regular meetings of the State Council for Teacher Education were attended as well as meetings of the center directors. Both proved to be valuable sources of information. During the first year of operation two state-wide conferences were held for center participants -- school district administrators, college faculty, classroom teachers, and representatives from the Department of Education. Both conferences provided participants the opportunity to discuss the problems and

successes of center implementation. For a report on one such meeting see Van Fleet (1976, p. 30-31).

Two other sources of information contributed to the study. In addition to interviews and observations conducted at local centers, interviews were conducted with personnel in state agencies, namely the Florida Department of Education, the Florida Board of Regents, and the education committees of the state legislature. Additionally, at the request of the Osceola center a questionnaire was designed to determine how familiar teachers were with their local center and the Florida teacher center concept in general. This was important in contributing to the discussion of the lack of grass roots support in Chapter Three.

Contract Ethnographic Research

Most of the work done for this dissertation could be considered contract ethnographic research even though a strict ethnographic method was not used. As such, the researcher is obliged to be sensitive to the constraints and benefits associated with working under a contract. In a recent article, Clinton (1976) speaks disdainfully of contract ethnographic research as "bargaining with the devil." He suggests that the political and bureaucratic concerns of sponsoring agencies can unduly affect the

methods used by field workers. He illustrates his point by describing his experience as a field researcher for Abt Associates, working under contract with the National Institute of Education to study local educational change. I have no reason to question the truthfulness of his account. However, my experience in Florida has been different.

The sponsoring agencies for my work did suggest a topic for research as part of our contractual agreement. How I handled the topic was up to me and the guidelines for good research. They also asked that I prepare articles for publication and make presentations at certain state and national conferences. Admittedly, those duties did take away from research time. But in my case the sponsoring agencies did not interfere with methods used for study or with the tone, substance, or wording of reports turned in to them. Besides their financial help, the sponsoring agencies provided help in other crucial ways.

My identification with research sponsored by the Florida Department of Education, the State Council for Teacher Education Centers, and the Collaborative Model Project at the University of Florida made easier my entry into the field and my establishment of working relations with center personnel across the state.

I also found the topic of research to be important in gaining entry and maintaining good field contacts. The topic of my work was a concern of those in local centers, as well as the sponsoring agencies. Both groups had an interest in the problems centers were experiencing. When the topic of research touches on the concerns of both the sponsoring agencies and the people the researcher works with in local settings, then the problems of entry and building working relationships are simplified.

With regard to establishing working relationships with people in the field, I found two other points important. During the interview situations, confidentiality should be assured, if requested. When individuals can give information that they wish not to be reported or attributed to their name, the researcher gains useful background information and perspectives, and also establishes trust in the relationship between researcher and field contact. Trust and courtesy, along with respect, are important in sustaining key relationships in the field.

Secondly, if the researcher is in the position to provide useful information to people in the field, reciprocal relationships can be established. For instance, as I would hear certain problems being discussed or see them being acted out in a local situation and if someone asked if

similar problems were faced in other centers, I would relay what I had seen and heard elsewhere. If they asked what was being done to meet such problems, I would give an account of what I knew and suggest people to call for more information.

From my research experience in Florida, I suggest that contract research can be done in a helpful way and without sacrifice to appropriate research methods. In fact, I found sponsoring agencies aided significantly in solving entry problems. Certainly research would have been impeded without their aid. Moreover, in this case contract research was done in response to a problematic policy situation. As such, research can lead to improved policy, the outcome sought by sponsoring agencies and hopefully, the researcher.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Alanson A. Van Fleet is a native Floridian, born in Tampa on November 11, 1947. After graduation from local public schools, he completed a B.A. degree in anthropology and a M.A. degree in education at the University of South Florida in Tampa. Additional degrees in education were earned at Georgia State University, M.Ed., and the University of Florida, Ph.D.

Mr. Van Fleet began his teaching career as a science teacher in Jesup, Georgia, where he taught for one year. Subsequently, he taught math in Tampa for two years. While working on advanced graduate degrees, he taught social foundations of education courses at Georgia State University and the University of Florida. He was also a full-time research associate at the University of Florida for a year and a half.

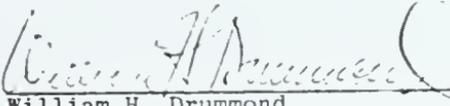
Mr. Van Fleet's academic preparation has specialized in anthropology and education at the University of Florida, and the history of education at Georgia State University. He has published articles in several educational journals including School Review, Journal of Teacher Education, Elementary School Journal, Florida Journal of Educational Research, High School Journal, and Council on Anthropology and Education Quarterly.

At present he and his wife, Jane, live outside Cleveland, Ohio, where he works as an Education Policy Fellow with the Citizens' Council for Ohio Schools. In September, 1977, the Van Fleet's will move to Knoxville, Tennessee, where he will join the college of education faculty.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.


Robert L. Curran, Chairman
Professor of Education

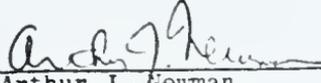
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William H. Drummond
Professor of Education

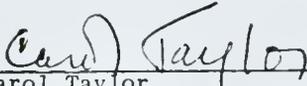
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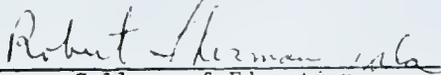
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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the College of Education and to the Graduate Council, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education.

August, 1977



Dean, College of Education



Dean, Graduate School

