AN ASSESSMENT OF OUTWARD BOUND USA'S URBAN/EDUCATION INITIATIVE

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Urban/Education Initiative undertaken by Outward Bound is an impressive and inspiring effort. The project has drawn together many knowledgeable, hard-working, and committed individuals--public school educators, staff from Outward Bound Schools and Centers, and their myriad working partners--to improve the lives of urban youth. The philosophy and practices this reform effort promotes are compelling and timely, and have been embraced by students, teachers, and administrators alike. Three years into a ten-year time frame, Outward Bound appears poised to have an impact in the areas of educational theory and policy. Yet, in terms of influencing educational practice--meaning that the educational experiences of significant numbers of inner-city youth are notably changed--Outward Bound still has far to go before active learning, adventure, community service, challenge, and risk-taking are common aspects of American schooling. Two critical and interrelated factors will dictate the ultimate outcome of this effort, funding and the institutionalization of Outward Bound practices. Without public funding and without a clear sense for how Outward Bound pedagogies and philosophy can be institutionalized, the Initiative's goal of improving the educational experiences of large numbers of urban students will not be realized. Further, it is obvious that the predicament facing America's urban schools is markedly different from other schools--student needs are more pressing and, as a consequence, so are teacher needs. To address these realities, in addition to continuing its Initiative efforts, Outward Bound needs to "get political"--seeking new and different partners with the commitment and ability to influence our national agenda and to once more make urban school reform a national priority.

Over the three years of the Urban/Education Initiative what has evolved to be perhaps the most prominent goal of the Initiative is to improve the lives of inner-city youth by influencing what happens in urban schools--in great part, by changing the experiences of students, teachers, and administrators. In this regard, the Initiative has been notably successful. In many different ways, bringing Outward Bound-based philosophy and practices into the lives of these persons has been perceived as invigorating their school-based experiences, helping them to teach and learn more effectively, and simply making school a more engaging place to be. For students, the benefits they realized through the Urban/Education Initiative generally were tied to the experiences they were exposed to as a consequence of ideas their teachers or Outward Bound instructors implemented. These changes took many different forms: In Portland, Maine, Project Link sought to raise the academic expectations of potential at-risk students while they were still in elementary school by partnering them with high school students who served as mentors and role models. In Hickory, North Carolina, Outward Bound staff and school personnel organized wilderness "expeditions" for middle school students that sought to promote both their academic and affective growth. In New York City, two of the Outward Bound Center's community-based projects have worked to develop students' writing ability as well as their self-confidence and ability to work

collaboratively. And these are but a few of the many programs created through the Initiative. One of the more prominent developments associated with this work has been the change in student attitudes, which has often led to increased engagement with their schoolwork. As a Decatur, Georgia, middle school teacher remarked: "Kids who used to say, 'I can't,' now know that they can do it." A Boston teacher offered a comparable remark, "The most important aspect of expeditionary learning is that students are learning to be responsible for their own learning."

Teachers who have participated in Initiative-sponsored efforts have attributed many benefits to their involvement as well. In a very fundamental way, exposing teachers to Outward Bound-based pedagogical and learning practices proved to be professionally invigorating and intellectually stimulating. Many said that their Initiative-related experiences encouraged them to question and reassess many aspects of their teaching that had been taken-for-granted. Speaking to this aspect of the Initiative's influence, a Portland administrator stated, "Outward Bound helps people to see themselves differently." In a similar vein, a Boston principal said, "The best thing about the Initiative is that it provides growth opportunities for adults in the building and gave us some time to think about what we're doing." And many teachers concurred with these perceptions. A Colorado teacher who attended two Outward Bound-directed workshops discussed how she now views her curriculum: "It made me think of curriculum in ways that are more meaningful....The workshops emphasized every aspect of learning that you can think of. I can't offer enough accolades about them." A Decatur High School teacher made a comparable observation: "I am used to living by the clock and tight schedules, and the Outward Bound workshops and wilderness experiences taught me to loosen up."

One of the primary benefits that administrators, both those at the district- and school-level, who participated in Initiative-related activities attributed to these reform efforts was that they provided opportunities to network with others involved in similar work. Because of the challenges and tensions associated with promoting educational change, these persons felt that they benefited from connecting with colleagues who faced similar predicaments. As one Colorado elementary school principal remarked, "It's nice to know that it's not just you, that it's not a totally personal problem. What's happening is a systemic phenomenon."

Implicit in this discussion of students, teachers, and administrators is that Outward Bound has been successful in developing partnerships for its work, in great part, because of the nature of their intervention. In contrast to many other educational reform efforts, Initiative-sponsored activities have offered educators more than a philosophical stance as a means to attract and mobilize their support; rather, there has been an explicit emphasis on having teachers and school administrators *experience* what the Initiative promotes. As Outward Bound USA noted in its proposal to the New American Schools Development Corporation: "The idea of expeditionary learning must be experienced first hand if it is to be truly owned by those seeking to implement it" (Outward Bound USA n.d.b: 37). As a

consequence, faculty not only supported the ideals of their restructuring effort *in theory*, but they understood them *in practice* as well (to varying degrees). Further, these efforts also served to identify and bring together like-minded educators, a notable development given that philosophical divisions within schools have hampered many educational reform efforts.

As seems logical, those teachers who had the greatest exposure to Outward Bound-based practices and philosophy were the most supportive of this approach to teaching and learning, and had the most sophisticated understanding of these educational practices. As one Portland teacher noted, "I'd say enthusiasm for Expeditionary Learning is directly related to how much that teacher has been involved in wilderness activities with Outward Bound." Of course, this implies something of self-fulfilling prophecy--since one can assume that those involved with Outward Bound-sponsored activities are at least willing to consider this approach to curriculum and instruction--but it also points to the value of continuing to make such opportunities widely available for interested teachers. In the course of the first three years of the Urban/Education Initiative, Outward Bound has been notably successful in this regard. In 1990, for instance, the year before the Initiative began, Outward Bound had 860 teachers and youth workers in its programs. By 1992, it was working with over 3,000; by 1993, over 4,000.

Outward Bound's ability to effectively create partnerships has also led to the creation of the Expeditionary Learning Project. While the goals and methods of Expeditionary Learning are consistent with those of the Initiative--including substantive institutional change, a central role for experiential curricula that develop understanding as well as character and motivation, and a long-term perspective in working toward these ends--Expeditionary Learning is more focused and more systemic, as the project involves working with entire schools that are committed to change. Specifically, the Expeditionary Learning Project has developed four strategies for school reform: (1) creating totally new schools; (2) transforming schools; (3) phasing-in schools; and (4) enlisting "spirit of Expeditionary Learning" schools.

In terms of promoting common values, an additional observation should be kept in mind: A substantial percentage of the teachers involved with Initiative-sponsored efforts have displayed an exceptional level of commitment to these educational practices and their students. Nonetheless, two interrelated questions remain: Can this enthusiasm be sustained? And, how much of the teachers' commitment has to do with teachers coming together to do something they feel is important, and how much can be attributed to Outward Bound pedagogy? That is, the level of commitment by teachers can be understood as a consequence of their being part of something new and different. The novelty and sense of "we're all in this together" commonly work in tandem to raise participants' effort levels. As one outside researcher who has worked at various Expeditionary Learning schools commented: "They set about to change the school day and they certainly have. It used to go from eight until two-thirty. Now it goes from eight 'til five." Without

adequate support, over time these effort levels may drop as novelty evolves into routine. Signs of this development are already apparent, as some teachers have left Expeditionary Learning schools, in part, because of the demands associated with something so new and different. Furthermore, while partnerships have been created, determining how best to utilize the expertise of Outward Bound personnel in public school settings remains an issue in a number of sites. In addition, the connection between Expeditionary Learning and Outward Bound Schools is, for some participants, including Outward Bound field staff, uncertain.

As a consequence of the Urban/Education Initiative, Outward Bound--in its multiple manifestations and with its wide-ranging partners--is now fully involved in the arena of educational reform. No longer are wilderness retreats or ropes courses the primary intervention by Outward Bound personnel in American schools; as a consequence of the Initiative, Outward Bound representatives are full participants in the national effort at school restructuring. In terms of working with urban youth who, for the most part, represent a new clientele and new challenge for Outward Bound, a trustee from the Atlanta Outward Bound Center remarked:

> The challenge is not just to work with successful students, helping educated middle class students to get enrichment from Outward Bound. That's no great challenge. The challenge is to translate, disseminate, and inculcate the ideas so that the vulnerable persons in society are served as well.

A second shift related to the Urban/Education Initiative involves the focus of Outward Bound's work. In the past, Outward Bound sought to "change the world, one person at a time." However, through the Urban/Education Initiative, Outward Bound Schools and Centers have committed themselves to changing institutions. Addressing the magnitude of this challenge, an administrator from the Colorado Outward Bound School noted:

> The city is a different venue and it requires a different curriculum [than the wilderness schools]....It takes a different level of support to keep an urban program going. To do it successfully, you have to be like New York City Outward Bound Center which is highly dependent on outside fundraising to support their program....[In addition,] urban programming requires a different type of staff training and recruitment, because it requires a different *kind* of person to do this. It also takes extensive networking....You need to find new revenue sources and that requires shifts in your fundraising strategies which requires a different organizational administration and different program directors....It's also connected to marketing and public relations issues as well as school policies.

By the nature of this work, the Initiative has engendered strain within the Outward Bound confederacy. All Outward Bound Schools and Centers have

particular identities; yet through the Initiative, many began to reassess their identity, never an easy undertaking. In the process, various philosophical and practical divisions have emerged. Moreover, by participating in the Urban/Education Initiative, some Outward Bound Schools felt that to sustain their involvement with urban programming, they would need to make major institutional changes, changes they and their governing boards were not prepared to embrace. The Schools therefore renewed their commitment to their wilderness roots, while stepping back and evaluating the feasibility of future urban programming and similar outreach programs.

In our view, funding from the DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Foundation has allowed Outward Bound to develop multiple models and strategies for urban school renewal aimed at influencing various levels of the school "system"--including curriculum development, teaching styles, and school governance structures, to name a few. Moreover, the goals promoted by the Urban/Education Initiative differ in significant ways from those espoused by comparable reform efforts, in particular, its emphasis on experiential learning and increased student responsibility as well as its explicit commitment to character development. In this regard, Outward Bound, through the Urban/Education Initiative, has a great deal to offer American education. Yet, to make the goals espoused by the Initiative a more routine part of American education, Outward Bound must develop a more "political" orientation toward school reform--building a consensus around the need for increased funding for urban school reform and convincing our public schools to take the steps necessary to institutionalize the philosophy and practices espoused by the Urban/Education Initiative. As Tom O'Neill, Principal of the Lewenburg School in Boston observed, "Outward Bound needs to sell [its programs] as the answer to our urban needs."

I. INTRODUCTION

In February 1990, Outward Bound USA developed the outline of a ten-year plan for an Urban/Education Initiative. In so doing, Outward Bound National Office and the Outward Bound Schools and Centers[1] in the United States began to think about how they could transfer the lessons and benefits so often derived from their wilderness- and adventure-based work to urban settings, with the ultimate goal of having a positive effect on the lives of inner city youth. To fully appreciate this effort, it helps to first examine how Outward Bound has defined its pedagogical practices. As the "education program description" of the New York City Outward Bound Center states:

> At the heart of [Outward Bound] pedagogy is the concept of learning as an adventure; a journey in personal discovery. Instead of being a passive activity, learning is rooted in students' own personal experiences and, to the extent possible, involves them in real and meaningful situations where they are active participants in acquiring knowledge, developing skills and solving problems....Moreover, the relevance of what they learn is immediately apparent to them since it has immediate application to the tasks and problems they are faced with resolving. A further element in this pedagogy is that the experiences upon which it is based are intentionally designed to challenge students in some fashion (physically, mentally, and/or emotionally) and require them to call upon previously undiscovered abilities and strengths. These experiences thus help students to realize just how capable they really are and to come to the recognition that they can do much more than they thought possible.
>
> Also central to the Outward Bound pedagogy is the concept of community; that each individual is defined in terms of his/her relationship to the community and has a responsibility to contribute to its well being. To successfully complete the challenging experiences that form the content of this pedagogy, students must not only call upon their personal resources, but must reach out to others for resources and support. Through these experiences, then, they learn the value of cooperation and trust, and discover in concrete and dramatic ways, what it means to be of service to others.
>
> Indeed, the central aim of Outward Bound's pedagogy is to help young people discover and put into practice the skills, values and qualities of character they need to not only succeed academically and vocationally,

[1] Throughout, this report capitalizes "Schools" and "Centers" to designate those related to Outward Bound, and to distinguish them from public schools or other social service centers.

> but to be socially responsible and active members of their communities. And the particular genius of this pedagogy is not simply that it emphasizes value-formation and character development in an explicit way, but that it does so in a way where, as Paul Ylvisaker, former Dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, has said, "the value of values is demonstrated." Young people may know in some inchoate way about the value of cooperation, empathy and support before they set out on a backpacking expedition. But when they are in the midst of that expedition and are relying on one another to find the correct route, cook the meals, and set up camp, the importance of these values is demonstrated dramatically and unforgettably (New York City Outward Bound Center n.d.: 1-2).

To support the efforts of the National Office and various Outward Bound Schools and Centers to bring these practices to bear in American cities, in September 1990 the DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund awarded a $2.6 million grant to Outward Bound USA for a proposal entitled, "Outward Bound Goes to School and Comes to the Cities: An Urban/Education Initiative for the 1990's and Beyond." The thrust of this three-year effort was "to encourage institutional change and develop program models in schools and other youth-serving institutions, primarily in the cities, that will, on a sustained basis, foster active learning, cooperation, and community service, thereby helping to improve the lives of youth, especially those from disadvantaged backgrounds" (OB USA 1993a: 1). In the larger arena of social and institutional change, the goal was also "to demonstrate a new direction in youth-serving institutions, to suggest models and strategies of systemic change beyond individual project sites, and especially to place a renewed emphasis on challenge, active learning, cooperation, and service among young people" (OB USA 1993a: 9). More specifically, Outward Bound USA identified the following "guiding themes" behind the Urban/Education Initiative:

- institutional change in schools and other urban institutions;
- a central rather than peripheral role for experiential curricula and pedagogies that will develop motivation, character, and citizenship;
- a long-term perspective toward achieving the two previously noted goals; and
- a focus in the ensuing three-to-five-year period on quality rather than quantity--that is, developing effective programs and operating principles before efforts are made to replicate and disseminate their work.

Ultimately, by promoting these forms of school-based experiences Outward Bound hoped to "improve the lives of urban youth."

To realize these goals, Outward Bound identified five "priority areas for the development of models and prototypes" (OB USA n.d.a: 7). The first of these areas,

"Teacher Development[2]," is aimed at influencing pre-service as well as practicing teachers working in urban schools, with the overarching goal of promoting Outward Bound pedagogies and practices (OB USA n.d.a: 7). The second area of focus involves the "Professional Development of Administrators." In this regard, Outward Bound's efforts are aimed at addressing issues of "decentralization and school-based management" (OB USA n.d.a: 11), helping administrators to network with others doing comparable work and offering them new ways to think about what educational leadership might entail. The third emphasis outlined in the proposal involved "School and Community Collaborations." In line with this goal, the Initiative has sought to engender more long-term and extended contact between Outward Bound Schools and Centers and urban public schools as a means to promote Outward Bound philosophy and practices in these schools as well as to encourage institutional change, better teaching, and greater student success. The fourth area of proposed work centers on the "Connection Between Adventure and Service." In line with its historic commitment to service, the proposal noted, "Outward Bound seeks more service in the context of what is seen as its adventure program, and, it would appear, may be able to bring a needed measure of adventure into what are conceived primarily as service programs, thus making them more engaging and attractive to youth, and more demanding" (OB USA n.d.a: 13). Finally, Outward Bound has sought to develop "Urban and Minority Outward Bound Staff," that is, "to locate, recruit, train and develop staff who can deliver and instruct safe, Outward Bound-quality programs in the complicated and often frustrating environment of the cities and their public schools....[and] ensuring that a high proportion of them are persons of color" (OB USA n.d.a: 14).

As an outgrowth of this Initiative-related work and in pursuit of a far-reaching model of "school and community collaboration," Outward Bound USA and various partners applied for and received a five-year, multi-million dollar grant to support the creation of "break the mold" schools from the New American Schools Design Corporation (NASDC), a project initiated by President Bush. Drawing on their Initiative-related work to that point and refining some of these ideas, this team created the Expeditionary Learning Project, an effort intended to restructure American schools in three ways: First, by making "learning and character development" central to schools' work (OB USA n.d.b: 1). Second, by reorganizing "time, space and relationships among persons, across disciplines, between persons and learning technology, and between the school and community" (OB USA n.d.b: 1). And third, by "its high level of expectation for student achievement and character development [which] is manifested in a requirement for student demonstrations of intellectual, physical and character development at three major transition points" (OB USA n.d.b: 1).

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[2] In the proposal, OB USA used the term, "Teacher Training and Development." In line with the perspective advocated by Professor Harold Howe, we too feel that "training" is an inaccurate and inappropriate metaphor for thinking about the professional growth of teachers. We urge OB to discontinue its use.

To accomplish these ends, the Expeditionary Learning Project has developed the "design principles," a set of guidelines drawn primarily from the educational insights of Outward Bound's founder, Kurt Hahn, that informs the efforts of those working in Expeditionary Learning schools. These principles embrace the following assumptions about learning: that self-discovery should be a fundamental goal of all schooling; that students should become increasingly responsible for their own personal and collective learning; that authentic learning involves emotion and challenge; that effective learning necessarily involves intimacy and caring; that the collective and individual should be merged in the learning process; that in all learning situations there should be a fair assurance of success; that schools should promote the "having of wonderful ideas"[3] among all involved; that solitude and reflection are integral parts of the learning process; and that all education should be informed with some notion of a social vision, including a commitment to improving the larger society (OB USA n.d.b: iii). One central means by which these principles have been put into practice has been through the "learning expedition," an effort to adapt lessons learned in wilderness settings and apply them within the structure of urban public schools. Learning expeditions offer a way for students, teachers, and administrators to think differently about teaching and learning, while still emphasizing fundamental academic skill development in the areas of: communications; qualitative reasoning; scientific thinking; cultural, geographical, and historical understanding; fitness; and aesthetics (AED 1994: 44-5).

When we discuss the Expeditionary Learning Project in this report we encourage the reader to keep in mind that, in line with the expectation that Initiative-related efforts would feed into and inform one another, the Expeditionary Learning Project has drawn on insights derived from earlier Initiative efforts and has taken advantage of connections with schools and districts made through these efforts. In a similar manner, later Initiative efforts have incorporated ideas and practices derived from the philosophy and practices of Expeditionary Learning. As such, when we refer to specific Expeditionary Learning schools or activities, we capitalize the term "Expeditionary Learning." When we speak in more general terms as to the use of ideas and concepts developed through this project (such as learning expeditions), we do not capitalize "expeditionary learning."

II. METHODOLOGY

To inform the evaluation team's understanding of the Urban/Education Initiative, the team first collected and reviewed relevant reports and program documents that were available from Outward Bound USA's National Headquarters, as well as materials from local Initiative sites. The team used the understandings generated by these reports as well as our own experiences with experiential education, school reform, and qualitative research to design research instruments that allowed us to collect comparable data at seven sites involved in the Initiative

[3] This term comes from a book authored by Eleanor Duckworth, *"The Having of Wonderful Ideas" & other Essays on Teaching and Learning*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1987.

(Boston/Cambridge, New York City, Dubuque, Denver, Atlanta, Hickory, NC, Decatur, GA, Portland, ME, Garrison, NY, Voyageur Outward Bound School, and Pacific Crest Outward Bound School). The team looked in relative depth at six sites: New York City, Boston, Denver, Dubuque, Portland, and Atlanta/North Carolina. In addition, we contacted public school and Outward Bound personnel involved with Initiative efforts in Minneapolis and San Francisco, two sites where this work was terminated. Each site, except for Dubuque, was visited at least three times by team members, twice by the person who wrote a case study about that site and once by the Principal Investigator. In total, roughly ten days were spent conducting research in each site.

During our visits, team members attempted to get a multi-dimensional sense for what was occurring at these sites by interviewing key personnel (e.g., students, teachers, administrators, and Outward Bound personnel) as well as observing classes or other meetings. The team also met with representatives from several agencies and institutions affiliated with Initiative sites that were providing students with non-school-based learning experiences to get a sense for how the relationships emerged, what had happened to date between the two organizations, and what their future plans might be. As much as possible, we sought to coordinate our visits with times when significant and representative activities were being undertaken (e.g., to observe a learning expedition). In some sites, researchers met with the ethnographers from the Academy for Educational Development (AED) Project to share their findings regarding Expeditionary Learning school sites. Throughout the research period (January to May 1994), the University of Colorado team met every other week to share findings and to formulate ideas. Upon completing our visits, each researcher wrote up a preliminary case study derived from the research she/he had conducted. These reports have been shared with participants at various research sites, and together with their comments, have served as the basis for generalizing about our findings from individual school sites as well as identifying key issues and developments at specific sites.

III. KEY QUESTIONS

In their "request for proposals" Outward Bound USA asked for a "formative evaluation" that "contains suggestions for sharpening and improving the efforts being made to achieve the goals of the project." In doing so, the report would "provide a common ground of competent judgment on which the grantor and grantee [could] envision next steps in accord with the vision of the proposal but also attuned to the realities of the project" (OB USA 1993a: 5). Specifically, this evaluation addresses eight sets of topics and questions identified by Outward Bound USA as fundamental to the project. We begin by discussing the Initiative's *effects on students, teachers, and administrators*, since changing their lives for the better is the ultimate focus of this effort. Perhaps the central means by which the Initiative has worked toward this end, by creating *working partnerships*, is the second topic addressed in this document. That is, the Urban/Education Initiative can be

understood, in great part, as a series of partnerships created by the Outward Bound National Office and by Outward Bound Schools and Centers with the intent of realizing the goals Outward Bound USA identified. Describing the nature and structure of these partnerships then leads to the third topic, *program models*, which includes assessing the effectiveness, sustainability, and replicability of these models as well as the factors integral to these developments. These initial topics then create an effective context for understanding the fourth discussion, *institutional change*, which assesses the degree to which the Urban/Education Initiative has changed the fundamental structures of schools and other youth-serving institutions. The fifth topic--*the goals, coherence, and consistency of Initiative-related efforts*--extends the earlier discussion of students, teachers, and administrators as we consider how the philosophical ideals promoted by the Initiative are being implemented in various sites. A closely related issue, the *coordination and management of Initiative resources* constitutes the sixth topic. Moving to a broader perspective, we next examine the *effects on educational thinking in theory, practice, and policy* of the myriad Initiative efforts. To offer some historical perspective, we consider the topic of *change over time* as it relates to the various Initiative efforts. We conclude by discussing what we consider to be *some related issues, enduring questions, and recommendations*.

IV. EFFECTS ON STUDENTS, TEACHERS, AND ADMINISTRATORS

Over the three years of the Urban/Education Initiative, what has evolved to be perhaps the most prominent goal of the Initiative is to improve the lives of inner-city youth by influencing what happens in urban schools--in great part, by changing the experiences of students, teachers, and administrators. In this regard, the Initiative was notably successful. In many different ways, bringing Outward Bound-based philosophy and practices into the lives of these persons has been perceived as invigorating their school-based experiences, helping them to teach and learn more effectively, and simply making school a more engaging place to be.

A. Students

For students, the benefits they realized through the Urban/Education Initiative generally were tied to the experiences they were exposed to as a consequence of ideas their teachers or Outward Bound instructors implemented, in the classroom as well as in out-of-school settings. These changes took many different forms: In Portland, Project Link sought to raise the academic expectations of potential at-risk students while they were still in elementary school by partnering them with high school students who served as mentors and role models and with whom students regularly interacted, often in group initiatives. In New York City, two of the Center's community-based projects have worked to develop students' writing ability as well as their self-confidence and ability to work collaboratively. The Center also offers courses in City high schools that combine wilderness experiences (e.g., backpacking and rock climbing) and group initiatives with developing students' academic skills, self-esteem, and leadership capabilities. And

all of the Expeditionary Learning Schools have as a central goal making student learning more active and more authentic and integrating aspects of both academic, emotional, and physical challenges into their curricula.

The effect of such work has, in many cases, been substantial. One of the more prominent developments has been the change in student attitudes, which has often led to increased engagement with their schoolwork. As a Decatur (GA) middle school teacher remarked: "Kids who used to say, 'I can't,' now know that they can do it." Commenting on students' efforts to learn a foreign language, the Outward Bound staff person working at Frederick Douglass Academy in New York City also described a change in student willingness to take risks: "The kids are willing to try, and that's key to learning a second language. They may be afraid to embarrass themselves, but at least they try." A Portland teacher saw students as more responsible for their work, "This year the kids are more independent, self starters. They made toys for people in the community last year, and they really got the process of giving, rather than just receiving. It was amazing." A Boston teacher offered a comparable remark, "The most important aspect of learning expeditions is that students are learning to be responsible for their own learning." In an interview with *The Web*, David Olsen, the Principal of Central Alternative High School in Dubuque, made an interesting observation on the "complaints" students raised with Expeditionary Learning: "We had a meeting and the students were complaining quite a bit. As we reflected on what they were complaining about, it was actually praise. They were complaining that they now had to work hard, that they were accountable....We have seen a tremendous change in the students' work."

Students, too, described similar changes in their attitudes. A student from Portland Regional Vocational Technical Center (PRVTC), for example, said, "The other teachers and students used to think that we were the bad kids. Now they see what we're doing, and they're like, 'Wow.' They're impressed. Now other kids want to do Expeditionary Learning." Another PRVTC student described a similar change in personal terms: "I think I had the record for suspensions in my other school. Now, I like coming to school." A Hickory (NC) student connected his summer school experience with his own raised academic expectations:

> The learning expeditions in summer school helped to make learning more interesting for me. We learned to write about our feelings, each other, and future hopes and plans. Our teachers tied math problems into our activities. I was planning on dropping out of school, but because of our expedition, I now want to graduate and get a recreation degree or marine biology degree.

A Dubuque student offered a powerful testimonial as to how she now perceived school:

> [School] is a lot better than last year. Last year you just forgot [whatever you had studied] 'cause it never really had any point to it. Now, waking

> up in the morning you think of all the fun stuff you get to do that day. It used to be that you just couldn't wait for the end of the day. And now when you're working on something fun, you just don't want to quit.

Further, when Dubuque students were told that many community members felt that they were just having fun, there was resounding disagreement. Students maintained that Expeditionary Learning taught them in a way that they would remember, that it was more applicable to real life, that they now took more pride in their work. Reflecting on the public scrutiny the Expeditionary Learning schools in Dubuque had received, one boy added, "I don't understand why some people think this is a bad idea. They should just talk to us."

As the reactions by Dubuque students suggest, with the coming of the Initiative, as student attitudes toward academics have changed, in many cases, these changes have translated into improved academic performance. Although they frequently described school as "more fun," students also said that Outward Bound activities and expeditionary learning were "much more educational." When asked what this meant, Dubuque students said, "It's more real", and "If we were tested on the things we learn from books we wouldn't know as much as the stuff we learn from doing it." These students told stories of going to the pond to collect samples for analysis with microscopes. They said that collecting samples, sketching their organisms, looking them up in guides, and then writing reports made them feel like real scientists.

In New York City, the Outward Bound instructor teaching at George Washington High felt that students successfully addressed the challenge of doing what were for many their first research papers: "They got away from plagiarism and copying straight from the text. We made it research-oriented and forced the kids to synthesize their ideas....They did incredible projects." Portland teachers also expressed enthusiasm about the quality of work their students produced on learning expeditions:

> In the past we had 20 percent of the kids at the top, 20 percent at the bottom, and the rest in between. Now, we literally have no kids at the bottom, and the top kids are still challenged. Everyone is doing first-class work.
>
> Kids are engaged in their work and with the community. They are doing more work of a higher quality and working together.
>
> All the kids are performing better.
>
> The end products of our last expedition were spectacular.

Teachers also connected changes in student attitudes and performance with the nature of the work the teachers now designed, which allowed students to achieve in various ways. As a special needs teacher in Dubuque said:

> [The learning expeditions] challenge and recognize everyone. Students who don't do very well [with traditional school work] usually discover things they are good at, and the other kids recognize that they are good at it. Some of the kids with reading difficulties are great with measurement or with their hands....The kids, from the learning disabled to the gifted and talented, are pushed to their limits.

Another Dubuque teacher noted, "[Expeditionary Learning] recognizes different students....Who is the artist? Who is good with their hands? Who can spell? When we set off the rockets, it was the special education kids who were the experts." A Boston administrator reinforced this perception, "Some kids benefit academically more than others, while some are good at the more physical stuff."

Initiative-related efforts also appear to have influenced student relations with their peers. After working in an Initiative-sponsored summer school program, one Hickory High School student described how he learned the value of conflict resolution: "It was really hard, but I learned....how to survive, not just in the wilderness but in life....I learned to walk away from fights." A student from the School for the Physical City in New York noted: "We seem to be a lot more together than at other schools. We share things. If you get something wrong, everybody knows about it, and we try to solve it together" (Richardson 1993). A Portland high school student noted, "Everything we do is cooperative." Said another, "The thing I learned most is how to work together." Dubuque students spoke extensively about the changes in the social environment of their schools. They said that as a consequence of staying in one group, instead of breaking down into different ability groups, there was "less bragging," and "less competition with other people." They talked about learning from other students and making new friends because you worked together on projects. A Portland middle school teacher also saw students as more cooperative and compassionate with one another: "The biggest change I see is first, how much we're able to get done, and second, how the kids treat each other. The change is incredible." Other Portland teachers made comparable remarks:

> The cooperative aspect, trust, respect--that really carries over. The kids who've [been exposed to Outward Bound practices] are more willing to cooperate. They see each other in a broader light.

> The tolerance level is better. The top kids tolerate the others better, they value each other.

As part of the Initiative students in every city also participated in wilderness expeditions and adventure initiatives. And perhaps even more so than their reactions to classroom-based changes, students found these opportunities to be decidedly positive (although, as discussed later, some urban students found these experiences unfamiliar and disconcerting and consequently, chose to ignore the

opportunity). As a documentation of the "Summer Scholars Program" sponsored by the North Carolina Outward Bound School (NCOBS) noted:

> One of the most powerful aspects of the summer experiences is the lasting friendships, the tightly knit community the Outward Bound crew forms. They return to school as a group, and we help them form a club with the teacher who guided them through the orientation process as an advisor. Using what they learned, the students write their club's mission statement and meet regularly. The club has gone on wilderness expeditions and leadership retreats and has developed service projects to improve their school and neighborhood. By meeting regularly, students are able to encourage and support each other in the daily challenges facing them at school and at home (Levin 1994: 33).

One of the more poignant examples of the benefits of such experiences for students can be seen in an Outward Bound student alumni group known as Rebels With a Cause. While the "Rebels" have been involved with Outward Bound through Initiative-funded programs in their schools as well as through the New York City Outward Bound Center, it seems revealing that they have all had at least one wilderness-based experience. And this experience, in particular, seems to have motivated them to form an alumni group and to try and bring the benefits of Outward Bound-based experiences into the lives of other students. In Hickory, North Carolina, one school offers a special four-week summer program (adapted from the North Carolina Outward Bound School's (NCOBS) "Summer Scholarship Program) for eighth grade at-risk students. In the summer of 1993, ten students participated. This past summer, there were 60. Here, too, the effects of a wilderness experience seem substantial. As the school reported: "The participating students demonstrated remarkable results not only in academics, but in problem-solving, team work and responsibility. Their success has continued in their freshman year at Hickory High School." Reflecting on his own experience, a Boston principal discussed the value of such opportunities and the need to make them broadly available to students:

> I went on a rafting trip on the Colorado River with Outward Bound. It was a knockout, and I'm not a camper. The whole experience was so exciting and thrilling....The Outward Bound people were impressive. They taught us about the stars at night, about the local geology, about fossils. But my question is: Are we getting our kids into these kinds of experiences? Are we able to provide anything comparable for them? We need "to show the kids the stars at night." We need to transfer that energy and expertise to our teachers so that our kids will experience it. If you're going to do [learning] expeditions, you must go on a [wilderness] expedition. There's got to be some means to make that happen in school and relate that to learning in general.

The success of these various efforts at drawing on Outward Bound-based pedagogies and practices were often times impressive; faculty and administrators alike praised this work. Even at those sites where the Initiative's efforts were effectively ceased, upon hearing of this decision, one program director in St. Paul, Minnesota, wrote:

> I am writing to express sadness at Outward Bound's decision to phase out the Community Education Program. As you know, your [Outward Bound] School has been a significant partner in our work....Over and over, when I do student evaluations and exit interviews, I hear how important the [Outward Bound] activities were to students.

While the effects of Initiative-related efforts on students have in many cases been substantial, this is not to suggest that such an approach to education and schooling is magical or simple. Teachers and Outward Bound instructors have experienced resistance to their efforts. For instance, as faculty offered students increased responsibility in the classroom--in terms of relying more on project-based assignments and providing students with more unstructured class time to complete their projects--the tensions generated by such innovations were also apparent, as faculty struggled with determining reasonable levels of student responsibility as well as figuring out how they could get students to internalize a greater sense of individual responsibility. Moreover, in some cases urban students were uncomfortable with various aspects of the wilderness experience, including what they perceived as a lack of attention to personal hygiene and the need to trust Outward Bound instructors who they might not know well, as well as a general uneasiness with the wilderness itself. Such reactions are not surprising. As a consultant to the Expeditionary Learning Project noted, to put the design principles into practice schools "need a new culture that will support cooperative learning, experiential education, and increased student responsibility. Students need to be socialized into the new setting and new expectations." In a similar vein, an instructor from the Atlanta Outward Bound Center observed:

> Urban students are not accustomed to the wilderness environment and they're not used to working in groups in school. It's not part of the traditional curriculum, so it's tough to get them to do cooperative learning....It's been difficult to get students to the level where they're comfortable with this approach.

Thus, while Initiative-inspired changes have been embraced by many students, it would be short-sighted to ignore the fact the reforms represent marked changes in many school routines. And as many students have grown comfortable with these routines, it will take time for them to adapt to new practices and expectations.

B. Teachers

To a considerable extent, the Urban/Education Initiative has sought to influence life in schools by exposing teachers to new ways to think about education. Much to its credit, teachers who have participated in Initiative-sponsored efforts have attributed many benefits to their involvement. In a very fundamental way, exposing teachers to Outward Bound-based pedagogical and learning practices proved to be professionally invigorating and intellectually stimulating. Many said that their Initiative-related experiences encouraged them to question and reassess many aspects of their teaching that had been taken-for-granted. Speaking to this aspect of the Initiative's influence on teachers, a Portland administrator stated, "[Such activities] help people to see themselves differently." In a similar vein but addressing the Expeditionary Learning Project directly, a Boston principal said, "The best thing about Expeditionary Learning is that it provides growth opportunities for adults in the building and gave us some time to think about what we're doing."

And many teachers concurred with these perceptions. For example, a Colorado teacher who attended both the Adventures in Active Learning Workshop and Leadership Team Institute sponsored by the PEC/School Renewal Project and the Colorado Outward Bound School discussed how she now views her curriculum: "It made me think of curriculum in ways that are more meaningful....[The workshops] emphasized every aspect of learning that you can think of. I can't offer enough accolades about them. And I guarantee that I can speak for every single person at our school" (and she estimated that two-thirds of her school's staff had attended Initiative-sponsored workshops). Another Colorado teacher also described a shift in her thinking that she attributed to the workshops and subsequent reunions that she attended:

> Now I take risks in different situations that I wouldn't have before, and I ask kids to do it too. The workshops also showed me how important it is to teach kids in ways that involve the total student, both their intellectual and emotional growth. Now we're getting kids outdoors. We do games and activities that build kids intellectually, but we do it outside. I let kids discover things on their own and never realized before how valuable that is.

A Decatur High School teacher made a comparable observation: "I am used to living by the clock and tight schedules, and the Outward Bound workshops and wilderness experiences taught me to loosen up."

In general, while most Initiative-related efforts have sought to include multiple teachers from the same school in their programs, the implementation of such experiential and project-based learning was more classroom-specific than have been the changes associated with Expeditionary Learning, which was the first opportunity Outward Bound found that allowed them to require change at the school and system level as a condition of participation. Opportunities provided by the Initiative, for instance, promoted change among participating teachers but these

changes were not directed so much at institutional structures and total inclusivity among the faculty, although Initiative-supported work served as a foundation and complementary adjunct to schools' ongoing efforts at systemic change in Portland, Denver, Boston, New York City, and Hickory, NC, and to a lesser degree in Baltimore, Decatur, GA, and San Antonio. (The effect of these less-inclusive efforts on schools is discussed further in the section on "Institutional Change.")

The Expeditionary Learning Project has been undertaken as a more systemic and more focused approach to change than any of the other models yet developed by the Initiative. It is the only model of a whole school re-design, rather than a program in a school, which most all of the others are. It also has substantially more funding behind it than any of the other models and a national staff of eight organized to deliver it, which none of the others have. For example, this restructuring effort created the design principles to provide philosophical guidelines for participating schools, with the expedition serving as their central educational metaphor. Still, as occurred with many other Initiative activities, these principles and this metaphor have offered teachers a new way to think about their role in the schooling process--energizing teachers to incorporate service, reflection, and challenge into their curricula, to take their lessons outside the traditional classroom, and to make students' affective as well as their intellectual development a central goal in their teaching. For instance, as an Expeditionary Learning principal in Dubuque watched a Chinese New Year Dragon created by thirty noisy children parade through the halls she pondered out loud: "Now that we have set them free, how we will ever rein them in again....But then why was it necessary to rein them in the first place?" When asked what Expeditionary Learning looks like in a classroom, a sixth grade teacher responded, "Usually, it looks like chaos, but I really think they are learning more." A Portland teacher said, "This has been an amazing process for me. I was always very rigid, very structured as a teacher. Now I'm much more flexible, and I'm having fun teaching! And the change in the students is dramatic." Another Portland teacher reinforced this point, "The concept of an expedition helped me re-frame my curriculum in a way that was more fun, more interesting, and provided better learning experiences."

In many respects, these remarks suggest that using the metaphor of an expedition helped teachers re-conceptualize their ideas about teaching content. In particular, there is a sense that skills and knowledge can be learned through a process-oriented approach. The "project" nature of much of Outward Bound's work in schools allows for more "authentic" forms of learning activities that have real world relevance and promote increased personal investment. Describing the effect of relying more on such tasks as writing letters, newspaper articles, and brochures, a chapter one reading specialist in Dubuque said:

> Kids are reading their own books, to their parents and on tape. Even the lowest level reader can read her own book. These kids' vocabularies are being pushed beyond what we ever thought they could do. They are writing their own stories so the words we need to tell them go far beyond

> the vocabulary we once taught. It amazes me, I wasn't sure they were going to be able to...and they have amazed me.

In addition to these pedagogical and curricular developments, many teachers have found that their work with the Initiative encouraged them to reflect on their experiences and to think about group process. Commenting on how he perceived personal changes that he attributed to an extended Initiative-sponsored workshop, one Decatur High School teacher remarked, "The intensive two-week workshop made me a much more introspective person about my teaching. I learned to be a risk-taker, something I had never thought about before."

Teachers also found their Outward Bound-based experiences to be invigorating. After participating in Initiative-sponsored workshops and expeditions, many said that they returned to teaching energized and with a new outlook on their jobs. As one teacher remarked, "Attending one of [the Initiative-supported activities] gives you an excuse to come back and be different." At times, teachers involved with Initiative workshops made an effort to share what they had learned with their colleagues. As one noted: "We have become active parts of the staff development for the district and have run workshops for most of the elementary and secondary teachers in the district." Reflecting on the efforts of attending the Active Learning in the Middle School institute run by the Harvard/Outward Bound Project, a teacher who is widely credited with making Outward Bound practices a part of her school wrote:

> On the last day of the Harvard workshop, the principal at College Park Middle School [in Hickory, NC] received a long-distance phone call from Boston. "We know we only have one-and-a-half teacher workdays before the beginning of school, but we want to do a whole day of staff development [focused on Outward Bound practices] with the entire College Park staff. We will plan the day, provide food and snacks, and we *promise* you it will be like nothing we've ever done before. We guarantee it will change our staff. We are very excited! We have it all planned out, and we want to have lunch with you tomorrow to give you the details." What kind of administrator could squelch that kind of enthusiasm and carry on with a clean conscience? (Hill n.d.).

In the introductory note to a curriculum developed for a project involving the Denver Historical Society and the Denver Rail Heritage Society, two elementary school teachers suggested something of how Initiative activities can reverberate throughout a faculty:

> During the summer of 1992, we were privileged to participate in the "Adventures in Active Learning" course at the Colorado Outward Bound School in Leadville, Colorado....Returning to Denver, we wanted to make learning expeditions a reality for the K-2 students at our school, which is close to downtown Denver where expedition opportunities

abound. But how could we get there? Bus field trips were being cut in the budget crunch. Could we find a shortcut from the school to downtown that wouldn't be too far for young children to walk?

Armed with enthusiasm, we set out walking along the Platte River by the school. As discouragement was beginning to take over, we came upon the Denver Rail Heritage Society (DRHS) trolley trips building. We went in and met the executive director who said that he knew a shortcut--the trolley. It would take us virtually from the school to downtown Denver. When we told him money was an issue, since we had none, he said that a grant could possibly be written.

This led to meetings with the DRHS director of planning and development and the education director. They wrote and applied for a grant from the Colorado Historical Society. In the meantime, the school faculty and staff used a professional planning day to experience an expedition to downtown Denver on the trolley and the executive director gave a guided tour. Comments, such as, "When can we take the kids?", "I've lived here all my life and I never knew....", and "That was really fun!" were common.

The award of the DRHS Trolley Trips Grant by the Colorado Historical Society....has allowed our students to gain an understanding of early Denver history through expeditions using public transportation. This "expedition" from Leadville to downtown historical Denver has been a series of connections. It is heartwarming to know that so many people are, as PEC says, "on belay for kids."

Back in their school settings, such professional development opportunities also helped teachers to think about how they might work together more effectively. As the principal at Jack Elementary School in Portland remarked, "Outward Bound offers teachers a forum to really be collegial and to discuss what they're doing and to be reflective and supportive of each other." A team of teachers from Hickory, NC, all from the same department, said that their three-day Initiative-sponsored workshop changed them from being the most "dysfunctional" department in the school to being school leaders in bringing about a range of reforms. As one participant noted:

We learned to resolve personal and professional differences. It served as a catalyst for opening up some things that needed to be resolved. We learned to work together and we learned conflict management skills. It provided the first uninterrupted time we had together. The leaders of the workshop modeled affirming but goal-oriented behavior. We moved beyond our own territories toward the ground of our common humanity. We continue to use our newly learned skills. The Outward

> Bound workshop helped to draw us out of our routines and opened us up much more than would have been true otherwise.

While attending workshops together often helped bring together teams of teachers back at the school site, teachers at Expeditionary Learning schools often came together as a consequence of collaboratively developing and implementing learning expeditions. As an Expeditionary Learning staff member commented on a team of Boston teachers:

> I think that they have a fairly long way to go but they started in a healthy place, there's no doubt about it, and what brought them farthest was not any particular work by me but that incredible bonding that happened on their trial by fire of their first learning expedition.

In the classroom, such improvements in interpersonal skills often promoted more interdisciplinary and teamed teaching. Commenting on how faculty who participated in a workshop directed by Hurricane Island Outward Bound School (HIOBS) staff now worked together, a Portland principal said:

> In December we had a team of teachers do a low ropes course for three days....In talking with them and observing them I'd say that they are doing more together. They do interdisciplinary blocks with field trips. They're doing an interdisciplinary unit with the tech ed teacher. They are all responsible for different things. There's an equal sharing of responsibilities. They seem to be talking the same language.

At King Middle School in Portland, in the course of two years 22 faculty members attended Initiative-sponsored summer workshops. In the opinion of the principal, the number of participants and the nature of the shared experiences teachers had were critical to the school's overall reform strategy:

> That changed the face of this school. We had 22 "changed" people. If you put them in a room with a problem, they could figure something out. They developed respect for each other and emerged as leaders by doing things people didn't think that they'd be able to do....We never would have gotten vertical housing [which allowed teachers to work with groups of students for more than a single school year] without their support and expertise.

While increased teacher collaboration seems to have led to various positive developments, not all teachers enjoy collaborating extensively with colleagues and many feel uncertain with their ability to do so effectively. For instance, in Dubuque some teams of teachers did not work well together. In one instance, teachers taught in an expeditionary format but they did little collaboratively. In the pairings for the 1994-95 school year, some teams may be split to partner strong Expeditionary Learning teachers with those who are less committed or comfortable with teaming.

While we refer to Dubuque to make this point, these developments were common across sites. Just as students faced new expectations in the classroom, so too did teaming represent a shift in terms of what it meant to be a teacher. And as with students, while some embraced these changes, others were resistant and questioned the effectiveness of this strategy, while still others were uncertain of just what was expected of them. Still, given the voluntary nature of most teacher involvement with the Initiative and the level of support for change provided these teachers through Outward Bound, most teachers have made a concerted effort to make Initiative-related changes "work" at their schools.

As well as changing the nature of intra-faculty relations, Initiative interventions often influenced student-teacher relations. Proponents of Outward Bound-based teaching and learning said that it was "so different from regular school" and wished, as one middle school teacher from Hickory remarked, that "all learning could be like this. I feel closer to these kids than any I have ever taught." In Hickory, a powerful component of one Initiative-sponsored program involves organizing three-to-five day camping trips for students and teachers. Reflecting a common reaction to these experiences, a teacher described the power of spending that amount of time with her students:

> I felt like a student again for one of the first times since I entered teaching...It broke down the separation I usually feel between me and my students....It was the greatest challenge, mentally and emotionally, that I have ever had with my students.

In addition to giving teachers new settings in which to interact with students, many teachers also began to see themselves as interacting differently with them. While teachers often mentioned that working with their students in more extended time blocks and employing more project-based assessments often led them to grow closer to their students, these structures also allowed them the confidence to step back and let learning be more student-directed. In reference to a camping expedition, a teacher remarked:

> It tore me up that I could see a child having difficulty and not be able or permitted to help them. I am so used to helping and supporting them in school, that it was a terribly powerful experience for me to stand back and let them do it on their own.

Alluding to her teaching role now that learning expeditions are a common element in her classroom, a second grade teacher from Dubuque said:

> You have to follow the children in the expeditions, you give them structure and they take off. And it's difficult to step back and give them the freedom to go where they will because it doesn't always come out looking like you would do it, but letting the kids be the experts is the most positive part.

As seems logical and as occurred with students, those teachers who had the greatest exposure to Outward Bound-based practices and philosophy were the most supportive of this approach to teaching and learning. As one Portland teacher noted, "I'd say enthusiasm for expeditionary learning is directly related to how much that teacher has been involved in wilderness activities with Outward Bound." Stated another teacher, "Those who are the most supportive have had the most exposure, and have been on [outdoor] expeditions themselves." Of course, this implies something of a self-fulfilling prophecy--since one can assume that those involved with Outward Bound-sponsored activities are at least willing to consider this approach to curriculum and instruction--but it also points to the value of continuing to make such opportunities widely available for interested teachers. In the course of the first three years of the Urban/Education Initiative, Outward Bound has been notably successful in this regard. In 1990, for instance, the year before the Initiative began, Outward Bound had 860 teachers and youth workers in its programs. By 1992, it was working with over 3,000; by 1993, over 4,000. If Outward Bound hopes to influence American education in a significant way, they should continue to make professional development activities available to large numbers of educators and potential educators.

Thus far, many teachers involved with the Initiative have described substantial changes in their curricula and teaching practices. Nonetheless, some voice concern with the academic rigor of their work. In Dubuque, there is apprehension that students may not be exposed to the skills or content they need. To compensate, some teachers still teach an hour of math every day, and some teach a structured progression in language arts. At the high school level, there is uncertainty as to whether students will develop the skills they need solely through a process-oriented approach to teaching. To compensate, some teachers attempt to teach in both styles, structured and expedition. There is also discussion of going to a "skills strands" in the fall of 1994, to boost attention to basic skills. In Colorado, concerns for academic rigor were apparent when faculty from the Rocky Mountain School held an informational meeting for incoming students and their parents. In this instance, after a lead teacher (there is no principal) noted that there would be "many uncertainties, few standardized tests, and no rigid calendar," nearly 20 percent of the parents withdrew their children from the school (OB USA 1993b: 42-3).

Further, at Expeditionary Learning sites where only a portion of a school has implemented the design principles, there is skepticism among non-participants as to the academic validity of Expeditionary Learning. As an Expeditionary Learning teacher remarked, her colleagues saw Expeditionary Learning as little more than "camping trips and nature hikes. They don't see Expeditionary Learning as helping to develop students' reading skills. They don't consider it very academic." A Portland principal who was reluctant to have his school participate in the Expeditionary Learning Project tied his concern, in part, to issues of academic rigor: "As much as people are supportive of hands-on learning, there are a lot of critics of

Expeditionary Learning. It's seen too touchy-feely and not enough emphasis on the basics." In his evaluation of the Atlanta Outward Bound Center, Silsbee alluded to a similar concern: "[Some Decatur] teachers criticized students who left class to participate in Outward Bound, seeing no correlation between Outward Bound activities, both behavioral and cognitive, and the classroom activities in other classes" (Silsbee 1993: 7).

In discussing the Initiative's effects on teachers, a final point deserves mention: Much of what the Urban/Education Initiative has sought to promote involves teacher empowerment. Generally this has been interpreted to mean "giving teachers increased power"--opportunities to develop curricula, to sit on various committees, to help create school policies. As an Expeditionary Learning liaison to member schools noted:

> [F]rom the word "go" we've said that professional development is going to be primarily done through creating common planning time for teacher teams as they do the work of writing new kinds of curriculum...[and] new kinds of assessments....[Our philosophy of professional development] isn't bringing in an outside expert...and running [teachers] through how to do it. It's having [teachers] do it, facilitated by folks from our office. And that's a drastically different model of professional development. This approach honors the teacher as the primary resource in this whole process. So I think the teachers feel exceedingly empowered by expeditionary learning

Although such reforms offer teachers greater power, restructuring efforts in the United States often approach these changes naively--regularly failing to include more time to exercise this power or opportunities to learn how to exercise power effectively. Given all the developments that teachers have faced, especially those involved in the Expeditionary Learning Project, it is not surprising that they consistently voiced a common concern. As the AED "Interim Report" observed:

> [E]ven given the differences in teaming arrangements, complaints about lack of time for planning cut across all the schools. These complaints concerned the lack of time to plan in advance, lack of reflection time after the expedition, and lack of time scheduled within the week which forced teachers to plan after school and on weekends (AED 1994: 40).

A teacher at an Expeditionary Learning school concurred with this assessment. Commenting on his workload at the mid-year point, he remarked: "This can't go on forever or our teachers will all burn out. We're putting in huge numbers of hours. We need other support staff....We're already giving up an afternoon a week for which we're not financially compensated."

Such reactions seem understandable. Consider, for example, that in addition to promoting active learning, community service, and cooperative learning, the

Initiative encouraged teachers to develop interdisciplinary projects and to interweave such Outward Bound principles as self-reflection, challenge, and student collaboration. In many cases, these proposed changes represented significant shifts from previous teaching styles. (We return to this topic, which seems vital to the overall project, in our final section, "Related Issues, Enduring Questions, and Some Recommendations.")

C. Administrators

One of the primary benefits that administrators, both those at the district- and school-level who participated in Initiative-related activities, attributed to these reform efforts was that they provided opportunities to network with others involved in similar work, although they also admitted that doing so was difficult due to the amount of work associated with changing a school. In a straightforward sense, administrators had the chance to share ideas and to consider how others had dealt with problems they all seemed to face, opportunities that many valued because they made it clear that they were not the only ones facing certain difficulties. As one Colorado elementary school principal remarked, "It's nice to know that it's not just you, that it's not a totally personal problem. What's happening is a systemic phenomenon."

Initiative-sponsored activities also provided opportunities for administrators within the same school system to network with one another. In Dubuque, for example, the district instructional facilitators work as consultants with teachers in developing and implementing curricula. Consequently, they play a critical role in transmitting the ideas and practices of Outward Bound to schools within the district. In the summer of 1993, all of the district instructional facilitators went on a canoe trip with Voyaguer Outward Bound School. The following fall, the superintendent, Diana Lam, noticed a change in her administrative team:

> That experience has altered our style of working together. At the beginning of the year, there was a list of 25 things that needed to be done. We sat down, divided the list, took responsibility for our own part and the work is being done. That [level of collaboration and efficiency] wouldn't have happened before.

In Portland, the superintendent undertook a comparable team-building exercise among district administrators. Working with HIOBS, he had two groups of administrators attend initiative workshops and team-building experiences that focused on experiential education. Looking back on the experience, he noted that both were "extremely positive experiences...that were key for building support, commitment, and understanding about experience-based learning throughout the district." (Administrator opportunities to network with others is discussed further in the section on "Program Models.")

As occurred with teachers, administrators too were inspired and motivated by their exposure to more experiential-based approaches to teaching and learning.

Reflecting on the opportunities to share ideas about school change provided him by participating in Outward Bound invitationals on the Colorado River and in Florida, a Boston principal remarked:

> It was the best professional development of my life. After bitching and moaning, you realize that you start talking shop and you learn something new everyday...It makes you feel like you're growing professionally. You talk about educational issues 24 hours a day.

The Public Education Coalition (PEC) representative to the School Renewal Project offered a comparable observation:

> The schools in the PEC/School Renewal Project felt like they were going nowhere so we took 15 principals to Leadville [Colorado Outward Bound School's base camp] for three-and-a-half days. The experience infused such energy into this project that it was unbelievable. It really pushed people beyond their limits....There's nothing as quick, powerful, and effective as Outward Bound....We worked at getting people to the point of saying, "I can do this." In reflecting on their experience, many principals said, "If I can climb that cliff, I can do anything."

Drawing on the motivation that they associated with their Outward Bound experiences, administrators then often sought to support teacher efforts in their districts or schools so as to make such practices a more common part of school routines. In effect, this infusion of professional energy at the administrative level often rippled through a school. As an Outward Bound instructor involved in the Initiative remarked about her work with school administrators:

> Working with administrators in the wilderness really got them enthused about the experiential approach to instruction and learning. They were not so concerned about directly applying these things to the classroom. They started thinking about how they could create a school culture that would promote this kind of learning. In fact, this experience led us to create a similar experience for teachers, one that included a wilderness experience but that was also more focused on how to apply these ideas to the classroom.

Along these same lines, a principal described the effect of participating in a leadership workshop directed by staff from the Colorado Outward Bound School (COBS):

> I'm a big proponent now of Outward Bound. I now have our staff involved with similar activities. I'm committed to the value of this experience....When you get to Leadville it's easier to shed your everyday baggage. It's a beautiful area and everyone is challenged and they are

> dependent on each other. It's an environment that lets you problem-solve almost anything. It really brought us together as a school.

Another Colorado principal who participated in two Initiative-sponsored expeditions commented on how they influenced him:

> They were lifetime experiences that I'll certainly never forget....They really affected my spirit as a human being for the rest of my life. They profoundly influenced my spirit as a school leader...They made me think about what I am about in serving kids. They made me ask, "What are my core values? What do I want to do with the rest of my life?" [The experiences] also influenced me as a public school leader. They made me realize that life is not a dress rehearsal. For example, everyday I make choices as to how I'll run the school. I can either manage or lead. I'm going to get out there and lead--take ideas and use them. That requires courage and risk-taking that you learn through Outward Bound. And I feel that this causes others to be courageous and bold and not foolish, and to create a new future.

In this instance, the principal took the president of the school's parent-teacher organization, the assistant principal, and a parent to a three-day workshop the next summer. As this experience too proved valuable, he decided to organize a trip for his entire staff. Eventually, after securing funds through the PEC, his school board, and from teachers themselves, he helped organize a trip for 30 people. Reflecting on the value of this experience for his school's restructuring efforts, he remarked: "It was exceptional in helping us to create a focus and vision for the future of our school." The school vision that emerged from this experience included having teachers and students stay together for two years as a means to promote better relations. As he explained, "Now they don't spend the first four-to-six weeks of school getting to know one another." Faculty have also incorporated alternative assessments into the school routine and are spending more time helping students learn how to utilize computer technologies to promote learning. At King Middle School in Portland, the principal had a comparable experience. After going on an invitational run by HIOBS, he encouraged teachers to participate in similar opportunities the following two summers, to the point where a "critical mass" of the faculty had experience with Outward Bound pedagogy and practices. In the principal's view, these experiences were crucial in readying the school to adopt a multi-age house structure when they later became an Expeditionary Learning school.

While these are but two examples, they are symbolic of how Outward Bound experiences influenced participating school administrators. Specifically, administrators' involvement with the Initiative often promoted two interrelated outcomes that seem integral to school reform: First, these educators connected with others doing comparable work, thereby offering them insight into the change process and a measure of moral support to help sustain their efforts. And second, by

the nature of the Outward Bound experience, they were motivated to support teacher efforts in their districts or at their schools, so as to make experiential and reflective practices a more common part of their school routines.

Administrators who sought to promote change in their schools also found that a less traditional leadership style facilitated the process. David Olson, Principal of Central Alternative High School, for instance, feels that he needs to "nurture" teachers:

> One of the strong ways that I am able to nurture teachers--and it seems almost a required way--is by participating with them in a lot of the staff development. That's when...you are a colleague of the teachers. I like the "colleague of teachers" role when I am participating in a Project Adventure workshop or mini-sabbatical, and we work really hard together. That's been a positive part of the whole thing, and a good way for me to nurture (Campbell 1994a: 8).

As we note in our discussion of "Program Models," administrators often found it effective to connect with teachers as more of a colleague when promoting change. This seems fully in accord with the goals of Outward Bound and the Initiative. Indeed, the "web" serves as both the name for Expeditionary Learning's newsletter and a metaphor for the relationships promoted through this reform effort, implying a shift in traditional conceptions of leadership. James MacGregor Burns in his seminal work, *Leadership*, pointed to the value of such "transforming" leadership styles:

> The relations of most leaders and followers are transactional--leaders approach followers with an eye to exchanging one thing for another....Such transactions comprise the bulk of the relationships among leaders and followers....Transforming leadership, while more complex, is more potent....The transforming leader looks for potential motives and followers, seeks to satisfy higher needs, and engages the full person of the follower. The result of transforming leadership is a relationship of mutual stimulation and elevation that converts followers into leaders... (1978: 4).

While many principals who seek to promote reforms in line with Outward Bound pedagogies draw to some extent on such an approach, they also emphasize that doing so is difficult, in great part, because of a lack of time. As one administrator remarked, on some days "[teachers] are just too busy with other decisions right now. So...I am doing more management than classroom things" (Campbell 1994a: 8). Along these same lines, another Expeditionary Learning principal noted, "There is always too much to do, I just have to set priorities and choose what I cannot do." Perhaps summarizing the administrator's point of view, the principal of the Hernandez School in Boston stated, "Expeditionary Learning is definitely more administrative work, more attention to details. It's an imposition, but a good one."

D. Common values

In discussing the effects of the Initiative on teachers and administrators one fact should be kept in mind: More than a decade after the publication of "A Nation at Risk," research suggests that much remains to be learned about changing an individual school, let alone educational systems (Firestone et al. 1989; McQuillan and Muncey 1994; Muncey and McQuillan 1993, n.d.; Wehlage et al. 1992). In fact, many responses to the alarm sounded by "A Nation at Risk" have had little substantive effect on our schools. America's attitude toward school reform can perhaps be best described as "ambivalent." On the one hand, people express a disaffection with the status quo; on the other, they fear the effects of change and, when given a choice, often prefer the certainty and apparent security of the "system as is." Various factors have contributed to this development. One which seems particularly relevant, especially in light of the Initiative's work, is that there has been no consensus as to the need for change or what form any change should take. Quite simply, many Americans (including students, their parents, teachers, and administrators, among many others) agree that something is wrong with American education, but they do not agree on how such ills might be remedied.

In contrast to many other educational reform efforts, Initiative-sponsored activities have offered educators more than a philosophical stance as a means to attract and mobilize their support; rather, there has been an explicit emphasis on having teachers and school administrators *experience* what the Initiative promotes. As Outward Bound USA noted in its proposal to the New American Schools Development Corporation: "The idea of expeditionary learning must be experienced first hand if it is to be truly owned by those seeking to implement it" (OB USA n.d.b: 37). A staff member from the Atlanta Outward Bound Center offered a comparable observation:

> It's hard to articulate the strengths of Outward Bound to someone who's only heard about it, or even for someone who may observe it from a distance. The key thing is to get more and more teachers interested and to go on four- or five-day expeditions. Until teachers do that, they probably won't see the benefits for their students. Often, they don't see the value for classroom learning.

Many school personnel, for example, have come to understand Outward Bound's educational philosophy by living it--through ropes courses, wilderness expeditions, or rafting trips, for instance--and thereby have come to embrace experiential learning as practiced by Outward Bound. Commenting on the dramatic rescue of a man who had been stranded for day in the wilderness, Mieko Kamii of the Expeditionary Learning Project staff said,

> It was probably one of the most dramatic examples of service that one can imagine....This critical situation created a possibility of acting, of rising to the occasion, of putting aside personal desires in order to

> respond to an emergency. It gave the group a remarkable opportunity to [have an] experience in common... (Rodgers 1993: 5).

While this particular instance was extraordinary, it illuminates the value of experiencing what one hopes to achieve; that is, participants often come to a clearer sense of what exactly it is that they are trying to achieve and why it seems valuable. As one administrator described a rafting trip he took on the Colorado River, "We were living the process we were hoping to implement." In such wilderness expeditions, for example, both the means to promote cooperative learning and the value of this approach to teaching and learning are made concrete in the nature of group challenges that are part of these experiences. Further, people often found that they were pushed beyond their perceived limits. Discussing the experience of having all persons in her expedition climb to the top of a canyon, a school administrator noted:

> Through it all, by helping each other to the top, we experienced a kind of teamwork and collaboration that was exhilarating for all of us. The learning implications were incredible....That's a different level of involvement than telling students what to do. There was none of that. We were given information and expected to go on and do our best doing it (Krapfl 1993: 6a).

Ultimately, these experiences led most participants to believe that powerful lessons could be learned in ways that differed markedly from the learning common to most schools--and perhaps just as importantly, these persons had experiences with precisely what such learning could entail.

The Initiative has promoted common values among its participants in other ways as well. For instance, most Initiative-related involvement--by students, teachers, and administrators--has been voluntary. Teachers teamed with Outward Bound instructors in New York City high schools have generally done so willingly, although it seems revealing that at one site where these efforts by the New York City Outward Bound Center have experienced difficulty, the teachers involved had been assigned to the program by administrators. At the Rocky Mountain School for Expeditionary Learning not only did teachers willingly apply, but an effort was made to identify persons committed to particular educational beliefs. As an administrator involved with hiring the school's faculty said:

> We put lots of time into hiring. We were very careful about the hiring process. Because this was a non-traditional setting, we were looking for non-traditional folks....We put prospective staff members through various exercises to see them work together. We felt that they needed to have "like" characteristics. We did one-on-one and group interviews. We had them take part in group projects and group problem-solving exercises. We were looking for their skill and expertise as teachers as well as their teaming ability.

These developments seem particularly sound since all school reform efforts ultimately depend on what teachers and students do in their classrooms (however "classroom" may be defined). Quite simply, most of what the Urban/Education Initiative seeks to promote educationally cannot be imposed on students and teachers; these ideas must be embraced. The experiences offered by Outward Bound therefore seem critical, as they enhance participants' willingness to embrace these educational ideals as well as enriching their understandings of the experiences themselves. The voluntary nature of most teachers' involvement with the Initiative also seems crucial. Commenting on his work with various Expeditionary Learning schools, a consultant alluded to the importance of this factor: "I have no real power or authority so I need to get people to buy into the program. I need to get teachers to begin asking the tough questions, to recognize their successes, and to elaborate on what's happening within their classrooms." Not only is it important to get teachers to embrace these ideas, but successful reform also requires a substantial level of commitment and effort by participants. As the same consultant remarked, "You have to buy into the philosophy and be willing to put in the hours necessary to make this happen or [learning expeditions] won't work as well for you." Such a level of commitment cannot be imposed on teachers, a profession which has traditionally been afforded considerable individual autonomy. The NASDC proposal certainly spoke to this assumption, as it stated:

> Whatever rules we might ever seek to impose on them, schools are fundamentally democratic at the 'shop floor' level. Schools will improve only as people discover in themselves, and then work out together, new understandings and more effective forms of active cooperation (OB USA n.d.b: 10).

We also want to emphasize that the Outward Bound experience can serve a comparable function with students. Alluding to the power of such experiences, in particular, when "the value of values is demonstrated," the New York City Outward Bound Center has written:

> Young people may know in some inchoate way about the value of cooperation, empathy, and support before they are in the midst of that expedition and are relying on one another to find the correct route, cook the meals, and set up camp, but in such a setting the importance of these values is demonstrated dramatically and unforgettably (n.d.: 1).

Perhaps the most telling such instance involves the New York City Outward Bound student alumni group, Rebels With A Cause, who represent multiple city high schools and who all share a common experience, an Outward Bound expedition. Their involvement with Outward Bound, which began through school-based programs that then led to a summer scholarship wilderness trips, motivated these students to continue to draw on what they had learned through those

experiences and to pursue compatible efforts in their community. As one student remarked:

> After going on the North Carolina [Summer Literacy] Program I wanted to share what I experienced with new kids. You find out about yourself, the wilderness, teamwork, responsibility, and communication. These are essentials for life. You can learn in the wilderness what you need to live in the city.

Eventually, the students decided to create a youth organization that brought together students from various city high schools. Outlining their intent, one student explained: "We wanted to do more than just have meetings. We wanted to work with younger kids in their neighborhoods. We wanted to develop our own center." Two goals that they set for themselves were to be involved with community service and to work to improve the environment. When a fellow student fell victim to urban violence, they built a memorial garden, which they named "Unity Park," in an empty lot near South Bronx High School. In addition, they organized and ran a program for younger students, aged 10 through 13, in a church in the Bronx. While the specific activities of program were unclear when this research was conducted, the students were committed to some common ideals first brought to the forefront through their Outward Bound experiences--community service, experiential learning, cooperation, and personal challenge. This experience of the Rebels points to the relevance of attending to the cultural side of school reform; that is, the values associated with such efforts. With the Rebels, they came together in part because of sharing common experiences, and thereby realizing that they shared certain values. Without such an experience, how would students representing different grades and different schools come together?

In terms of common values, an additional observation should be kept in mind: A substantial percentage of the teachers involved with Initiative-sponsored efforts have displayed an exceptional level of commitment to these educational practices and their students. As an Expeditionary Learning principal said, "What heightens the learning here is what invigorates the staff and Expeditionary Learning has an amazing ability to jump start enthusiasm." Nonetheless, two interrelated questions remain: Can this enthusiasm be sustained over time? And, how much of the teachers' commitment has to do with teachers coming together to do something they feel is important, and how much can be attributed to Outward Bound pedagogy? To a degree, the "Hawthorne effect"[4] may be at work. That is, the level of commitment by teachers can be understood as a consequence of their being part of

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[4] The Hawthorne Effect was identified and named as part of a study of work conditions in a General Electric plant. In an effort to improve productivity, the plant decided to change various aspects of their employees' work conditions (e.g., lighting, the arrangement of work space, work schedules, and so on). What they found was that no matter what they changed, productivity increased. They therefore hypothesized that it was the influence of being studied and being part of a novel experiment that, to a certain extent, led to the increased productivity, not so much the nature of the changes themselves.

something new and different. The novelty and sense of "we're all in this together" commonly work in tandem to raise participants' effort levels. As one outside researcher who has worked at various Expeditionary Learning schools commented: "They set about to change the school day and they certainly have. It used to go from eight until two-thirty. Now it goes from eight 'til five." Without adequate support, over time these effort levels may drop as novelty evolves into routine. There is a limit to individual goodwill and enthusiasm. Even with the voluntary nature of their involvement, some teachers have left Expeditionary Learning schools, in part, because of the demands associated with something so new and different. To avoid such developments, it helps to have time and other institutional supports institutionalized. "Sharing Days," where Expeditionary Learning schools meet to discuss developments at the various sites, and curricular input and assistance from Outward Bound staff often energized and inspired participants. Most teachers at the school found their assistance and the opportunities these activities created for the faculty to work together to be beneficial. But it seems that the school might benefit from making such opportunities more common, especially in this early period of institutional development when the schools' philosophies, structures, and practices are still in the formative stages.

E. Some Final Thoughts on Students, Teachers, and Administrators

- While various forms of experiential learning promoted by Outward Bound have helped to attract institutional partners, funders, administrators, teachers, and so on, the closer you get to the grassroots, the percentage of persons (most often teachers and students), who have had Outward Bound experiences diminishes, as does their support for and understanding of experiential learning Outward Bound style. As this report stresses throughout, the adventure/wilderness experience attracts persons to this educational approach, and it is an apparently effective means to help them understand the philosophy, in both theory and practice. Yet, if people have had limited opportunities to live such experiences, their support for this approach to learning as well as their understanding of it both diminish. This not only lessens enthusiasm for Outward Bound-related reforms, but it can dilute the nature of reforms that are implemented and undermine teachers' sense of efficacy in adapting and applying this approach to their classrooms. Moreover, it seems that students and teachers benefit from having the lessons derived from Outward Bound experiences reinforced. As one Portland principal explained, "Outward Bound can wear off."

- While this section of the report emphasizes the success the Initiative has had in bringing together like-minded educators and helping them understand and implement the Initiative's goals, it remains uncertain whether such experiences would work as effectively on those less committed to Outward Bound practices. Indeed, research suggests that it is unlikely that Outward Bound's efforts (or any school reform program, for that matter) could transform schools as yet undecided about the need for change. In such settings, school reform efforts get mired in politics, and what is implemented is often so compromised by the political nature of the process that it lacks substance and integrity--therefore

never convincing skeptics of its value. However, at a time when "school choice" is increasingly on the public agenda, Outward Bound could draw on the momentum associated with this movement to create a niche for its practices and, over time, prove the value and appropriateness of its philosophy and practices to skeptics. (Interest in the Rocky Mountain School for Expeditionary Learning in Denver and in the School for the Physical City in New York certainly speak to the interest by *some* students, parents, and educators in such reforms.) Yet, to try and accomplish the same end within the context of schools undecided and/or divided about the need for change is, in our view, unlikely to occur and not a wise investment of Outward Bound's resources.

V. WORKING PARTNERSHIPS:

A. How and Why Have They Been Created?

In many ways the Urban/Education Initiative represents an inter-locking and symbiotic series of partnerships initiated with the intent of drawing on the resources and expertise of the various partners to realize the goals outlined in the Introduction of this report. As Alan Grossman, President of Outward Bound USA noted, "[Partnerships] are the essence of our work. It's the only way to get the job done. We have no choice." Implicit in this statement is an acknowledgment that in Outward Bound's conception of school reform, Outward Bound is but one partner in a series of coalitions and partnerships that have come together to jointly try and improve the education provided America's urban youth. And this theme echoed throughout our research. Stuart Clarke, Director of the Atlanta Outward Bound Center, noted: "In my view, it's arrogant for Outward Bound to think that we can do it all....If we operate properly, we can expand our repertoire....But we need to work with others in order to leverage our resources." Sanna Randolph, Program Director for Education in the New York City Outward Bound Center, observed in her analysis of the Center's work:

> In order to reach its primary target group, inner-city young people, the Center has needed to work through and in established structures such as the school system, foster care agencies, and community-based organizations....People in these structures have been interested in Outward Bound to the extent that it fits and enhances the way they already operate. The Center, then, is largely dependent on the capacity, reliability and commitment of its institutional partners to deliver its program (Randolph 1990: 133).[5]

[5] In a number of places, we quote sections of Sanna Randolph's dissertation to support points that we raise. We should note, however, that her work pre-dated this study by roughly three years. Nonetheless, even given the time difference, it seems revealing that she found many of the same developments that we describe.

A HIOBS staff member put the matter succinctly, “Our linkages with other organizations are our strength--we need them.”

Throughout the network of Schools, Centers, and National Office that is Outward Bound, it is apparent that making links with appropriate and well-established organizations and persons is a common priority. For the most part, this occurs in two ways: In a straightforward fashion, Outward Bound Schools and Centers can find or be found by like-minded organizations that may need what Outward Bound can offer or have something of benefit for them. In such instances, representatives of the organizations come together, discuss their common goals, and establish a relationship. The second way in which this occurs is that Outward Bound creates partners. That is, they seek out influential persons in certain organizations and offer them the opportunity to participate in some form of an Outward Bound “educational” experience, which could take myriad forms: overnight expeditions in lower Manhattan with youth partners, day-long initiatives, traditional Outward Bound wilderness expeditions, and so on. In turn, these experiences often prove invigorating and enlightening to those participants who then offer to become involved with Outward Bound, in many cases establishing both a personal and institutional relationship with Outward Bound Schools or Centers. The success Outward Bound has had in this regard--on all levels, in Outward Bound Schools and Centers and at Outward Bound USA--is apparent in looking at the various partners whom they have enlisted to help them with their work: prominent universities, successful businesspersons, school superintendents and principals, and nationally renowned scholars.

Partnerships undertaken through the Urban/Education Initiative have taken many forms and involved many different partners. As a general rule, Initiative work is built on teaching strategies and learning experiences that Outward Bound Schools and Centers have already found to be effective (e.g., ropes courses, wilderness expeditions, alpine towers, and so on). Moreover, the partnerships that have emerged from the Initiative have taken the philosophical ideals that have been central to Outward Bound teaching and learning--cooperation and competition, personal challenge, service, a commitment to the environment, a focus on developing values--and have sought to adapt and apply these ideals to traditional school settings. While Initiative-related partnerships are rooted in Outward Bound philosophy, they differ from more traditional Outward Bound interventions into formal education and previous work with youth-serving institutions in one critical way: They explicitly seek to create sustained and sequential relations between Outward Bound and these institutions.

In many cases, these partnerships involve Outward Bound instructors working through public schools to offer their unique brand of learning to students. In Boston, for instance, the Thompson Island Outward Bound Education Center (TIOBEC) started the Middle School Leadership Initiative. This effort brought together students from three Boston middle schools to work with TIOBEC staff throughout the school year to “reengage students through social and physical

challenges in tangible situations relevant to the their own lives" (Buchanan 1993: 39). The specific goals of this work included developing students' leadership abilities and then using these abilities in community service work. Through the New York City Outward Bound Center, Outward Bound instructors have offered courses in various city high schools. The courses themselves generally seek to blend Outward Bound-based learning experiences with traditional school curricula and structures. About 80 percent of these interventions remain ongoing. In some instances, Outward Bound course scholarships have been available to students at these schools so that they could have their school-based Outward Bound experience reinforced by an extensive wilderness expedition.

Initiative-based partnerships have also sought to "foster active learning, cooperation, and community service" by having Outward Bound personnel work with teachers and administrators, exposing them to the value of experiential learning in all its manifestations and helping them think about how such learning could become a more integral part of normal school and classroom routines. In Denver, the local Public Education Coalition (PEC) felt that a multi-district school reform effort was foundering and sought to invigorate the effort by having school administrators involved with the project participate in a leadership workshop developed by COBS. The effort had multiple goals, including allowing these persons to get to know others attempting similar reforms, to help them begin to think differently about schooling and education, and to invigorate them and instill the confidence that could help them in their restructuring work. This experience so impressed many participants that they helped to create an opportunity for their teachers to participate in a similar effort the following summer, as well as themselves attending other such workshops offered through COBS and the PEC.

One of the more visible and ambitious examples of a partnership can be seen in the effort spearheaded by Outward Bound USA, "Expeditionary Learning: A Design for New American Schools," which was awarded a five-year, multi-million dollar grant by the New American Schools Design Corporation and which allowed for the creation of Expeditionary Learning Schools in five sites across the country. In this collaboration, Outward Bound USA brought together the Academy for Educational Development, Educators for Social Responsibility, Facing History and Ourselves, the Harvard/Outward Bound Project, Project Adventure, and TERC to conceive a strategy for creating "break the mold" schools. Further, this coalition forged connections with school districts throughout the country (Boston, San Antonio, New York City, Dubuque, Denver, Decatur, GA, and Portland, ME). The research, development, and design of this project was supported from Initiative funding. Moreover, this collaborative undertaking drew extensively on lessons already learned from working with students, teachers, and schools through earlier model-building activities of the Initiative. Indeed, many of the partners involved in the Expeditionary Learning Project first met and were attracted to aspects of Outward Bound philosophy, experiential education, active learning, and so on, as a consequence of participating in earlier Initiative projects.

In addition to the programs focused on public schools and educators, New York City Outward Bound Center and the Colorado Outward Bound School (COBS) have worked with urban youth through community-based organizations (CBO) to promote community service, leadership development, and collaboration among program participants. Recognizing that not all urban youth can be successfully contacted through school-based projects, the Initiative also aims to influence the lives of inner-city youth through community-based organizations. For the past three years, for example, the New York City Outward Bound Center has been working with Project Reach Youth (PRY) in various capacities. An Outward Bound instructor from the Center with experience in literacy training has worked directly with students involved in an after-school journalism program. In addition, Outward Bound has helped PRY with group dynamics and has taken students on adventure and initiative experiences. Furthermore, similar to Initiative work with schools, the New York City Outward Bound Center has organized the Youth Worker Institute Workshop. This three-day workshop has sought to help youth workers from CBO's gain insight into themselves as learners and provide fresh ideas for leading youth groups by using the power of personal experience.

While their partners have allowed Outward Bound Schools and Centers to connect with urban youth and those who work with them through established institutions and organizations, these Schools and Centers have offered youth and adults involved with these organizations learning experiences these institutions otherwise would not have been able to offer for a lack of appropriate expertise and requisite funding. In doing so, Outward Bound and its many partners have promoted shared understandings of the goals and practices of the Initiative as well as generating understanding, trust, and goodwill. That is, when people appreciate the adventure experience and experiential education, many times they also realize that they share many beliefs about education and what makes it effective. In effect, the Outward Bound experience offers these persons a shared vision as to their common goal, a source of motivation and a critical element to any effective partnership. This proved beneficial when the Expeditionary Learning Project began searching for sites to locate their schools. As a representative from one of the four school districts involved in creating the Rocky Mountain School for Expeditionary Learning in Colorado remarked when reflecting on how those involved with the project were already familiar with the ideas of Outward Bound: "We were all there because we were interested in the project and Outward Bound. It was a self-starting group of people. People were motivated to realize our goals and did what they said they'd do. Whatever work people accepted, they did." Reflecting on her involvement, the PEC representative to the Expeditionary Learning effort noted how her experiences working with Outward Bound had convinced her of the value of such an effort:

> Through participating in the Urban/Education Initiative, I realized that Outward Bound is so powerful that it was very compelling to me and exciting....It captivated my imagination....and it takes some people with dreams and a vision to make a school like this happen.

In many respects, these partnerships appear to have served the interests of all involved--expanding the influence of Outward Bound pedagogies by making connections between Outward Bound Schools and Centers and organizations that can benefit from what they have to offer. (As discussed in the next section, these partnerships have encountered tensions and experienced difficulties.) In many ways, Outward Bound appears to be adopting a strategy that some predict is the "wave of the future." As Larson and LaFusto wrote:

> In the "new organization," individual contributions will come as a result of understanding how one's efforts coincide with others, how one's objectives can be integrated with those of others, how one's own point of view can be advanced at the same time that other points of view are understood and acknowledged, and how multiple motives and energies can be focused on a single performance objective. In short, our contributions will come as a result of our ability to understand teams and teamwork [and we would add, "partnerships"] (Larson and LaFusto 1989: 18).

B. Partnerships and Differing Organizational Cultures

Since this report examines but three years of what Outward Bound USA envisions as a ten-year undertaking, it is useful to view these partnerships in terms of merging two different organizational cultures, with the expectation that doing so successfully will require time. While the Outward Bound Schools and Centers and their partners certainly share many similar goals--indeed, partnerships were created because of perceived common interests--it would be naive not to acknowledge that the partners represented different organizational cultures. Thus, while partnerships were often created because a person in a position of power associated with a particular organization (a superintendent of schools, school principal, board member, director, an influential teacher, and so on) perceived a value to such a relationship, making this partnership work on a day-in and day-out basis was another matter. Consider, for instance, a comparison of the typical public school structure and function with that of an Outward Bound school:

Outward Bound and the Public Schools-
Two Cultures

Public School Education	**Outward Bound Education**
1. $30 per day per pupil	1. $120 per day per pupil
2. Certified classroom teachers	2. Certified outdoor instructors
3. Long term consequences	3. Immediate consequences
4. Cognitive	4. Physical and affective
5. Repetitious and relaxed	5. Intense and unpredictable
6. Extrinsic motivation	6. Intrinsic motivation
7. Abstract learning	7. Connected learning
8. School-based	8. Wilderness- or non-school-based
9. Service learning	9. Service ethic
10. Individual emphasis	10. Group emphasis
11. Competition	11. Cooperation
12. Educational training	12. Corporate, social services, justice system
13. 20-to-30 year career teachers	13. 3-to-8 year career instructors
14. $30-40,000 average salary	14. $10-25,000 average salary
15. 9 months of schooling for 13 years	15. Varying lengths of exposure, ranging from one-day initiatives to 26-day experiences.
16. Paper and pencil assessment	16. Performance assessment
17. Much written material	17. Little written material
18. Followership emphasis	18. Leadership emphasis
19. 100-plus year history	19. 50 year history
20. Affects 50 million annually	20. Affects 10-15,000 annually
21. Fits “conserving” purposes of schools	21. Fits “innovative” purpose of schools

The two institutions, while having different cultures, purposes, staff, and philosophies, appear to have worked together rather smoothly in the earliest phases of the Initiative. Outward Bound representatives offered their particular services--adventure and experiential learning opportunities as well as group facilitation skills--and school personnel sought to adapt and apply to their particular circumstances whatever they considered useful. In addition, most participants were volunteers. In terms of their goals for participating schools, the early Initiative-related efforts had few expectations beyond changing practices in individual classrooms (although the Initiative itself was undertaking this work with the goal of developing effective and replicable models for working with public schools). The smooth relationship seemed to reflect not only the perceived value of the experience by teachers and administrators but also because there was no explicit effort by Outward Bound Schools and Centers to become a part of the schools and alter their routines in ways that influenced those who were not already favorably disposed toward what the Initiative sought to accomplish. (The efforts of the New

York City Outward Bound Center in local secondary schools represents a notable exception.)

As the many Initiative-related efforts have grown more complex and as the Expeditionary Learning Project emerged, the issue of "blending two cultures" has grown more complicated. In a very fundamental sense, integrating new "actors" in the school setting, such as an Outward Bound staff person, requires shifts in thinking and structure for all involved, otherwise the value of such a person is unlikely to be realized. Where Outward Bound personnel have been brought into schools on a regular basis (ranging from full-time employees to occasional consultant work), there was often, at least initially, some uncertainty by Outward Bound staff as to what their appropriate roles and functions should be, while school staff were uncertain how they might best utilize these new resources. The Rocky Mountain School, for example, sought to have an Outward Bound-experienced staff member work directly with the school on a regular basis, but doing so proved difficult and less-than-satisfying. As a COBS representative noted:

> It was awkward because we didn't know how to fit the person into the position....I think that the difficulty came from two factors: the nature of the start-up of the school and a lack of clarity about the person's role. The person had lots of expertise but the question was how to use her and in what capacity. At first, it wasn't clear *what* the school's needs were.

An administrator at the Rocky Mountain School offered a comparable assessment: "In the first year of the school we were trying to figure out the best use of our funds and we weren't sure that this was what we needed." Given the amount of work associated with starting a new school, it also seems that the school and COBS representatives had limited time to think about or discuss how they might fit such a person into the school structure.

At other sites, participants had similar reactions. At the School for the Physical City in New York, some teachers felt that there was little effort to integrate them into the urban expeditions led by Outward Bound instructors. As one faculty member stated, "We never planned the expeditions together, so I felt like a chaperone, not a real part of the expeditions." Some Boston faculty who worked with TIOBEC instructors also felt somewhat left out and uncertain in their collaborative efforts. As one remarked:

> They did wonderful activities but it was total chaos. It's good to have them here but we need to know what they'll be doing ahead of time so that we can find ways to support them in their work. We certainly appreciate having them here.

Not only can it be difficult to incorporate Outward Bound personnel into the life of schools, but oftentimes it is simply difficult to identify persons with such skills. While a number of administrators said that they would hire a teacher with

Outward Bound experience, they felt that such persons were seldom available. It seems that individuals who fit well into the Outward Bound culture are seldom attracted to public schools or urban settings. While the Outward Bound field staff and program directors interviewed were committed to serving urban youth and to promoting reform among youth-serving agencies, many seemed more attuned to the wilderness than to schools or urban settings. As Sanna Randolph noted with regard to New York City Outward Bound Center's work with city schools:

> Some of the early assumptions about staffing have not held true. Originally, it was thought the [New York City Outward Bound] Center would provide year-round employment to the wilderness schools' summer contract staff. In practice, however, only a few Outward Bound instructors have been willing trade the freedom and natural challenges of the wilderness for life and work in New York City beyond the short-term experience of leading one or two urban courses (Randolph 1990: 131).

Moreover, as Outward Bound Schools and Centers have increasingly begun to work with urban youth, there has been a need for additional staff training. Outward Bound in the U.S. has its roots in American wilderness. It is in this setting that Outward Bound's adventure-based educational philosophy which emphasizes group dynamics, cooperation, communication, challenge, and self-esteem was honed into a powerful tool. Understandably, many Outward Bound instructors view the wilderness as a critical element (for some it is *the* critical element) to the learning and growth promoted by Outward Bound experiences. The urban environment was a new setting for Outward Bound and the practices and knowledge that worked well in wilderness were not always successful in the city. As one high school principal summed up the "constraining" effects of Outward Bound's wilderness commitment:

> Outward Bound and the [public] school have highly trained, quality staff. But in Outward Bound, sometimes the staff were strongly committed to things like rock climbing as the only appropriate educational experience....That mind-set could get in the way and they couldn't translate what they were doing to the school setting. We usually saw this with new Outward Bound instructors or those who had a strong mind-set about how high one could climb. They missed the point that climbing could be used as a metaphor for life skills. This caused some problems.

This "mind-set" was sometimes perceived as a "we-have-all-the-answers" attitude that left some public school educators feeling that their professional opinions were devalued. One public school educator commented: "[Outward Bound] usually came into the school and said, 'You have problems and we know how to fix them.' They really stepped on some toes."

Program directors at various Schools and Centers were aware of the difficulties some instructors encountered as they moved from field-based courses to the arena of urban education. To facilitate this teaching shift, they allocated time and resources to retraining instructors, improving cultural sensitivity, and convincing wilderness staff that Outward Bound philosophy and pedagogy could be translated into urban schools. During a conversation on the constraints to implementing the Urban/Education Initiative, one program director commented:

> It was hard to get some of the Outward Bound [wilderness] staff out of the mind frame that you could only do Outward Bound on a long wilderness course. It took some time to convince them that you could boil 24 days into three or four....Another thing was that many Outward Bound staff have an aversion to anything to do with the city. They just didn't connect with the urban experience. They couldn't figure out why anyone wanted to be there.

Clearly, there are pitfalls associated with infusing Outward Bound philosophy and pedagogy into urban educational settings. Yet, judging by the success experienced even at schools where Initiative-related efforts were effectively terminated, Outward Bound can be adapted for the city. However, doing so requires time and money. One consistent theme that ran through our research was that various Outward Bound Schools cut back or ceased their urban programs in part due to financial concerns, some of which stemmed from the expense of adapting Outward Bound pedagogy and retraining instructors for urban settings. As one internal report at Pacific Crest Outward Bound School (PCOBS) stated: "Because of the staff-intensive nature of these programs and difficult economic times, PCOBS has finalized participation in the [Urban/Education Initiative] effort."

In addition to the difficulties encountered in helping Outward Bound staff adapt to school settings, so have problems emerged in helping public school educators understand and apply Outward Bound practices, especially as experienced in wilderness settings. As an Expeditionary Learning principal said:

> Some teachers will never do an Outward Bound course....Outward Bound needs to find a way to translate Outward Bound pedagogy into a different setting..... perhaps through an experience like Habitat for Humanity, through service. Outward Bound has to provide leadership opportunities without a wilderness experience.

The Outward Bound instructor who worked at the School for the Physical City also found this to be true. As she explained:

> We did a five-day wilderness expedition that was very demanding physically. And lots of the processing that we did felt fake to the teachers. It was not a good experience. It overwhelmed the

> teachers...and although that's part of the model...it's not everybody's thing.

Further, some VOBS staff backed off from working with Dubuque Expeditionary Learning schools because they felt that it was essential for teachers to experience Outward Bound pedagogy in a wilderness setting to fully understand it. In fact, in a number of sites Outward Bound instructors questioned whether anyone--student, teacher, or administrator--could truly appreciate the power of Outward Bound pedagogy if their exposure was limited to a day or two of initiatives or an abbreviated wilderness course. Yet as one teacher who took a Boundary Waters Course with VOBS said:

> [The course] was designed to give teachers an idea about how Outward Bound philosophy worked in a wilderness setting. They tried to discuss and translate the pedagogy to a classroom setting but most of the teachers were too uncomfortable or struggling too hard with just coping in a wilderness setting to make sense of it. When they returned, and were again comfortable, they may have seen the connections more. With time, reflection and comfort they "got" it.

While we make the point that blending different organizational cultures represents a challenge, when Outward Bound personnel have been able to "bridge the two cultures," their contributions and long-term presence in schools seem to have been quite beneficial. As an Outward Bound instructor with considerable experience in public education noted: "Teachers can lose sight of their overall vision at times because they're all in the trenches and all working phenomenally hard. They need someone who can step back and reframe what they're doing. They need someone to work with the process and technical aspects of experiential learning." And teachers from various sites involved with the Initiative agreed with this assessment:

> Without the Outward Bound staff helping us, there is little chance that we would have been able to do all the exciting things we have done.

> The Outward Bound people brought a whole new way of looking at schooling and children.

> We just don't have the time as teachers to do all the necessary legwork and planning for [learning] expeditions, so the extra pair of hands was critical.

> If the schools had already changed to accept some of the expeditionary learning ideas, we might have been able to do it without Outward Bound, but Outward Bound certainly sped up the process.

> They are such a different type of people, particularly in their ability to see things from a new perspective, that without their help I doubt we would be anywhere near where we are today.
>
> The Outward Bound staff look at the world in such a different way than we as classroom teachers do. They are a constant source of amazement to me on the creative ideas they bring out.

The work of Tina Clarke, a HIOBS representative who has worked extensively with Initiative-based efforts in Portland, offers an illustrative example of someone who has successfully bridged two cultures. As one Portland teacher characterized her work: "Without Tina, 85 percent of the things we wanted to accomplish wouldn't have happened." Educated both as an Outward Bound wilderness instructor and a public school teacher, her ability to bridge the worlds of outdoor education and public schools has been vital to this effort. In order for Outward Bound's educational philosophy to be understood and implemented, persons such as Tina need to model and explore with teachers and administrators the possibilities inherent in experiential curricula and pedagogies so that they understand how such practices can be applied to school settings. As one HIOBS staff person noted, "At first, the Outward Bound model didn't translate well. Teachers needed a picture to start with. What's necessary is someone to articulate it well. It must be a...person who is respected." Her dedication to the implementation of experiential learning as promoted through the Urban/Education Initiative is impressive. As the President of HIOBS stated, "Tina has done a masterful job of moving [the Urban/Education Initiative] along on her own. She is the one carrying the torch in Portland."

In bridging the two cultures, building trust, and modeling Outward Bound practices, Tina Clarke has been involved with numerous collaborative efforts. She has been crucial in setting up HIOBS' summer literacy program in Maine, and provides the link between Outward Bound and the Portland public schools, maintaining ongoing relationships with all three city high schools, all three middle schools, and Jack Elementary School. She also conducts workshops for teachers and has set up a ropes course at PRVTC and demonstrated for teachers how to use it. She has conducted a low ropes course to promote self-esteem among low-income mothers of students at Jack Elementary School, done team building games and activities with 6th graders at King Middle School, and has worked with Portland High and PRVTC students to link them with Jack Elementary School students in the role of advisors (Project Link). In partnership with the Univesity of Southern Maine, Tina has helped Deering High develop and run an experience-based freshman orientation program.

In light of this discussion of merging different cultures, one particular instance of Tina's work in Portland seems especially revealing. To promote Outward Bound in Portland schools, there was an effort by Tina and HIOBS to organize an extended raft trip for district staff and school administrators. From

feedback she received, Tina realized that some school personnel might not participate if doing so required such a commitment. With this concern in mind, Tina designed a series of shorter activities. The raft trip was scaled down to a weekend workshop, which seems to have been successful in introducing school staff members to Outward Bound philosophy and practices and to getting many to see the value of such experiences. As a consequence, these persons with considerable influence in the Portland schools experienced Outward Bound practices and no one was excluded. (Of course, this still leaves in question whether what these persons experienced was truly Outward Bound.)

Other Outward Bound staff who have experience with public schools have also made substantial contributions to the Initiative. Commenting on the work of Scott Hartl, an Expeditionary Learning representative who works in various school sites, a Portland teacher remarked, "Scott showed us that it was the teaching process that we needed to change...and how to have fun doing it!" Susan McCray, a representative of New York City Outward Bound Center who worked for four years at South Bronx High School was so respected by her faculty colleagues that they asked her to facilitate an all-school retreat. In virtually every site where these persons and others with similar skills were working, faculty and administrators were uniformly appreciative of their efforts, although noting that making such relationships productive required time and communication. Not surprisingly, all three have experience as Outward Bound instructors and as teachers.

C. Leadership, Shared Vision, Communication, and Trust[6]

In looking at the Initiative in terms of partnerships, four interrelated themes appear central to this work: leadership[7], shared vision, communication, and trust. Leadership is probably the most critical, for it can mobilize support, inspire commitment, and provide the "power" to get things done. In public schools, it certainly helps that superintendents and district personnel in Portland, Colorado, Hickory, Decatur, Dubuque, and New York City support Outward Bound-based learning and teaching. In Colorado, for instance, district personnel and school administrators alike consistently supported Outward Bound-based learning and teaching, in both their work with the PEC/School Renewal Project and the Rocky Mountain School. Effective leadership is also important at the school site. In Portland, principals have been key players in most Initiative programs. As one teacher stated, "My principal sent me to an Expeditionary Learning meeting. It was like a gift from heaven." Another group of teachers noted, "Our principal is totally behind Expeditionary Learning. He's the one that really keeps us going." Several teachers mentioned that the support and enthusiasm of the principal was essential to the continuation of Outward Bound's involvement with their schools.

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[6] Larson and LaFasto (1989) address these themes in some depth.

[7] While this discussion focuses on those in formal positions of power, we should add that OB experiences have enhanced teachers' sense of leadership and many of them have served in leadership capacities at their schools.

In contrast, in two efforts by COBS that were eventually abandoned, there was a sense by COBS staff that no one at the school sites had taken ownership of the programs and COBS staff were not prepared to "go it alone." Administrators approved the programs but no faculty maintained the sort of long-term relationship that would promote the goals of the program. Students, too, were described as disconnected from the program and "indifferent." At one Boston elementary school involved with Initiative projects a number of teachers questioned whether they had administrative support for their Initiative-related work. Many felt that their schedule did not support common planning time, they were not involved in hiring a new assistant principal ostensibly in change of overseeing the school's Initiative-related work, and the teachers did not know what grades they would be teaching until just before the school year began. In such an environment and with such uncertain leadership, faculty were reluctant to take risks in their classrooms and to implement changes. As one teacher said, "With these sorts of reforms, someone needs to go first, so the others know that it's OK to follow. But no one wants to commit until they know what support we have. People don't trust the school system."

Leadership within Outward Bound Schools is also a key factor. At Pacific Crest Outward Bound School (PCOBS) and Voyageur Outward Bound School (VOBS), two sites where Initiative efforts were undertaken but eventually dismantled, there was a sense among some staff that their Schools' leadership did not fully embrace the idea of taking a more active role working in urban settings. As one urban program director observed:

> From 1985 to 1990 there were constant translation battles between the wilderness staff of Outward Bound and the urban programs. This tension was going on long before the [DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund] moneys became available. The nature of the battles was over the definition of Outward Bound. For ten years the discussion has focused around whether or not Outward Bound is a classical wilderness rite of passage or an educational philosophy emphasizing personal development, social responsibility, and social development. It took a lot of work and time to explain to the [Outward Bound] wilderness schools what we were doing. There was a culture clash between urban centers and wilderness programs. It was a choppy road.

Some VOBS and PCOBS urban staff also felt that the wilderness experience was valued more than their urban efforts. They sensed that Outward Bound was "just playing around in the inner city," especially since these sites cut back on urban funding as soon as finances grew tight. Offering his perspective on this development, one program director remarked:

> [We] never experienced a complete program alignment around the urban programs. They thought that [the Urban/Education Initiative] was

> a way to play in the urban setting and see what happens. This was never a big pressure but it worked itself out in subtle ways. The staff never completely realized the reality of urban programs. There just wasn't the alignment in the [Outward Bound] school to put the time and energy into the programs to make them work.

Issues of leadership also arose in Atlanta, where, due to turnover in directors, the Center's direction was increasingly defined by NCOBS, of which the Atlanta Outward Bound Center was a sub-center. Yet, in the opinion of some involved with creating the Center, this was not a productive relationship. As one trustee noted: "NCOBS wants to run the Atlanta program, but they don't know this community and they have limited time to devote to it. So people here don't sense that NCOBS is totally dedicated to the Atlanta Outward Bound Center."

A second central issue, closely entwined with leadership, concerns whether there exists a shared vision as to what the partners are trying to accomplish. Quite simply, if partnerships are going to work well, they are more likely to do so if they have common understandings about what they are trying to accomplish. In the highly collaborative Colorado Expeditionary Learning effort, representatives from Outward Bound and the PEC worked to keep the vision and goals of the many different partners, including four separate schools districts, constantly at the forefront of their work. As one participant explained:

> Barbara Volpe [the PEC representative] and Dale Whyte [the central COBS representative] brought considerable energy and commitment to the work. They were the leaders of our group. They never let us get beaten down by the process, which could be frustrating at times. They kept us enthusiastic and focused on our goals.

In contrast, some of those persons associated with the Initiative in Atlanta have sensed a lack of direction. In describing these efforts, people expressed uncertainty as to what their work was intended to achieve. (As noted previously, in Atlanta, turnover in key positions was relatively high.) Alluding to a "lack of direction" that she felt, a trustee for the Center said:

> I wasn't clear on what everyone was doing. I wasn't clear on what our charge was. I knew that we wanted a center, but what were we to do about it? I'm not sure whether NCOBS wasn't clear enough on what they wanted to have happen or whether they were waiting for us [in Atlanta] to define it.

As the previous discussion of leadership implied, communication represents another key factor to creating effective partnerships. Without good communication, how can there be a clear vision, especially when there are multiple actors and organizations bringing different skills to a collaborative effort? Somehow, people need to understand not only *what* they are trying to accomplish, but *how* they might

realize their goals. In one Expeditionary Learning school, a somewhat frustrated program director told the school's principal that he felt let down by one of the school's partners:

> [Our partners] are not coming through for us....I can't figure out what's breaking down....The things you expect to happen, aren't happening. Where are they? We need to ask [their directors] for those things that we thought they were offering. We were thinking that something would be set up for us. How will these partners help us?

The principal's response suggested that he had some sense for the tensions associated with making partnerships effective as well as the importance of communication. As he responded:

> I think that [our partners] would be surprised to think that they're not helpful. We need to continually define what our relation with one another should be. There is a lot of support there....It's not their failure. Together, we need to figure this out. We still don't know how to collaborate. We're all still new at this game. *We* need to figure out what we need and who we have to ask for it.

In line with this principal's remarks, effective communication has played a vital role in the collaboration between Outward Bound and public schools. Implementation of the Urban/Education Initiative seems much smoother and to advance more rapidly in sites where communication was effective from the start. In Dubuque, a consensus about implementing Expeditionary Learning was established early on in the process. Expeditionary Learning was offered as an opportunity for all Dubuque schools in the fall of 1992, and commitment by individual schools only came after many discussions about the process of change and what adopting Expeditionary Learning would mean for them.

In contrast, the initial communication between Outward Bound and the Portland pubic schools regarding the Initiative and Expeditionary Learning was described as "a bit muddy." As one HIOBS staff member noted, "[Expeditionary Learning] was not structured well in the beginning. At first, the Outward Bound model didn't translate well....There were a lot of unclear expectations. We 'mushed around' for a long time." Some teachers felt like they had gotten in over their heads. As one noted, "I guess we didn't really understand what we were getting into." Portland teachers also commented on the lack of clarity in introducing Expeditionary Learning and lack of consensus around Expeditionary Learning goals and expectations. In part, these issues tied to communication help explain the pockets of resistance to Expeditionary Learning and the Urban/Education Initiative that have arisen in Portland schools.

In looking at these partnerships, it also helps to consider the "differing cultures" perspective. The cases of those Outward Bound schools where Initiative

efforts were halted provides an illuminating example of what happens when communication is faulty. In terms of finances, these Outward Bound schools were uncertain as to exactly how much funding they would be awarded as well as when it would be received. While they felt that they were encouraged by Outward Bound USA to "shoot the moon" in terms of program designs, the eventual funding proved to be less than anticipated.

> Outward Bound USA would tell us to dream big, that there was millions of dollars to work with. So we would dream and create programs and then they Outward Bound USA would only give us $80,000 for a $200,000 project that we had developed and implemented.

Yet for Outward Bound USA, this was very much in line with their overarching strategy. As Greg Farrell, Vice-President in charge of urban/education programs noted:

> I encouraged people to write proposals for more than the DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest moneys could fund because I wanted these efforts to be part of a grand plan and to use these ideas and the [DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest] money as a means to get more money for their work.

Furthermore, in some sites, field staff believed that urban programs were receiving less financial and clerical support than their wilderness counterparts. Yet, school administrators said that more of their time and school resources were directed toward supporting urban programs than their traditional wilderness base. As one noted:

> If you look at the School's records you will see that I spent more management time and money proportionally on urban programs. Wilderness programming was actually more excluded. Our wilderness courses are the economic engine that drive our whole program base. The urban programs were tapping from the fly wheel [wilderness programs] of the economic engine. We were faced with a situation of running down our economic engine because so many resources were going to support the urban programs.

In looking at issues of communication, it becomes clear that communication is closely tied to time. Miscommunications do not arise because people want them to. Most often they arise because people have limited time to communicate. In Portland, for instance, the time allowed for the school system to accept an offer to join the Expeditionary Learning Project was short, which explains some of the teachers' uncertainty about the program. In Denver, the value of good communication, as well as how it could be accomplished through a relatively simple adjustment, was apparent in the creation of the Rocky Mountain School. This collaborative effort enhanced the quality of their communication through a simple logistical adjustment: the partners hired a professional writer to record and

disseminate what occurred and was decided at their many meetings. Consequently, this critical burden was never added to the existing workload of anyone already working on the project, thereby promoting communication and allowing the key participants to keep their energies focused on the change effort itself.

A final issue, that of trust, seems intertwined with communication. For instance, while some Outward Bound schools redirected personnel and resources from program concerns to writing grant proposals, expecting that their efforts would be rewarded with substantial amounts of funding, what funds they received sometimes proved disappointing. In the case of COBS, not only were the funds below what the school anticipated, but because of commitments already made to their programs, the school felt obligated to carry through on their commitment, even though they did so at a financial loss. Moreover, at COBS some persons were not certain where the Initiative originated. Was it "one man's pet project" or a new direction for Outward Bound? For some, this uncertainty contributed to their skepticism:

> At first there was some animosity because we weren't certain just where the impetus for the Initiative was coming from. We felt that it was being driven by a single individual but we didn't realize that he actually represented many different persons' point of view. He was pushing it so hard that people became suspicious....It seemed too top-down. It wasn't buying into the confederacy but involved more centralized control.

In the view of some of those associated with Outward Bound Schools, such developments strained their relationship with Outward Bound USA as well as their commitment to urban programming.

As a counterpoint, the effort by four Colorado schools districts to create RMSEL offers an insightful illustration of the role played by trust (as well as communication and a shared vision) in helping partners to work together effectively. Such extensive collaboration among school districts is not typical. Creating this new institution required that the districts devote personnel, time, and finances to the effort. Given the number of partners and their potentially differing interests, it seems that it was no coincidence that many persons involved in the effort had participated in Initiative-sponsored professional development activities and that the liaison from Denver's PEC, a woman widely acknowledged as having been a key actor in the whole process, had worked extensively with all four districts as well as COBS through the Initiative. In addition, the most active representative from COBS had also worked with many of the same people and school systems through the same Urban/Education Initiative activities. The relations these persons established as a consequence of their shared experiences seemed to play a pivotal role in generating the trust required for those involved to maintain their commitment to this effort. Reflecting on the process, a representative from one of the school districts noted:

> It was a very collaborative process. There were committee members who represented students, parents, teachers, and administrators. We worked by consensus and sought to get everyone to agree with our ideas. Somewhat surprisingly, there were few people with major conflicts and few people who were working against the project. We didn't all think alike but we at least understood what the issues were that we had to deal with, such as school politics and keeping parents happy and supportive of the effort.

In reference to the role Initiative-sponsored efforts played in promoting trust, the PEC representative noted:

> The Public Education Coalition already had credible relations with all four districts to begin with [because of their Initiative work]. They trust the PEC. The superintendents of all four districts sit on the PEC Board of Directors. Many of the people had participated in Initiative efforts. So when the NASDC Project came up, we went right to our partner districts. If we didn't have such a firm relationship with all four districts, we probably couldn't have done it....So the relationships already existed to make [Expeditionary Learning] happen.

Given the collaborative nature of so much Initiative--related work, it seems critical to realize that these four factors--leadership, a shared vision, communication, and trust--represent issues that all involved with these efforts need to keep in mind and regularly assess.

VI. PROGRAM MODELS

Outward Bound's educational philosophy, while complex and subject to interpretation, has been founded, in part, on the value of impelling persons into challenging experiences--which have traditionally involved active and experiential learning, cooperation, and service--and thereby instilling self-confidence and other forms of positive personal growth that will carry over into the day-to-day challenges that people face. Since the 1960's, Outward Bound Schools and Centers have developed a variety of educational interventions in urban settings and in conjunction with public schools, with the goal of using these value forming experiences to transform schools and other youth-serving institutions by transforming the individuals within those settings.

As Outward Bound has sought to have a greater impact in the arena of urban public schooling, this model has been adapted to both the urban setting and the culture of schooling. In translating the Outward Bound model of change through challenge, the notion of challenge has been reinterpreted. Where challenge might mean a 26-day trek through the wilderness, challenge may now mean the completion of a difficult academic "learning expedition" within the confines of a

public school. Where teamwork previously meant helping each other scale a rock face or cross a roaring stream, teamwork may now mean listening attentively while classmates report their research on the history of their community. With the shift to public schooling, Outward Bound's priorities have shifted as well. Outward Bound is now pursuing long-term institutional change, a more central role in schooling, and more sustained relationships with students, teachers and administrators. While the focus is shifting from individual to systemic change, the Urban/Education Initiative still emphasizes challenge, active and experiential learning, cooperation and service among young people.

Looking at the working partnerships that have emerged as a consequence of this reform effort also points to the program models which have come about from the Urban/Education Initiative. As a general rule, in shifting from Outward Bound's more traditional involvement with schools to the Initiative, the models for working with urban youth have grown more complex, more formalized, and more directed toward specific goals. For instance, prior to the Initiative, much of Outward Bound's work with urban youth and schools took two forms: relatively short-term experiences, such as day-long initiatives undertaken with a group of students from a particular school; and more long-term interventions, such as summer scholarship courses or working with adjudicated youth. In the Urban/Education Initiative, Outward Bound has adapted its work in two ways: First, Schools and Centers are attempting to create more ongoing relations with students from inner cities who are thought to be at-risk. Second, the Initiative explicitly seeks to "foster active learning, cooperation, and community service." In the Expeditionary Learning Project, the approaches to change have been similar, although they are more systemic and encompassing than those promoted through many Initiative programs. That is, many Initiative programs involve Outward Bound Schools and Centers connecting with somewhat isolated school personnel--an administrator, the director of a community-based organization, or an interested teacher, for instance. Often, because of the uni-dimensional nature of this tie, these relationships were vulnerable. If there was turnover in a critical position, the relationship was jeopardized. The Expeditionary Learning Project has targeted more actors and brought in more partners to help with their work.

In examining program models, we assess the effects of the Initiative in the following areas, defined by Outward Bound USA as central to the Initiative (OB USA 1993a: 17):

- **School Collaboration:** How has the Urban/Education Initiative brought Outward Bound pedagogies, activities, and values into the curricula and structures of public schools?

- **Teacher Development:** How has the Initiative assisted, developed, and supported teachers and other youth workers to teach and work more effectively?

- **Administrators:** How has the Initiative encouraged leadership, teamwork, and support among educational administrators and others?

- **Service:** How has the work associated with the Initiative helped prepare young people for service and citizenship?

- **Racial Diversity:** How has the Urban/Education Initiative influenced Outward Bound in terms of increasing racial diversity at all levels of the organization and developing diverse staff in Outward Bound and related programs?

A. School Collaboration

As noted in the previous section on "working partnerships," Outward Bound involvement often begins with the exposure of a superintendent, principal, dean, or president to a raft trip, ropes course, or workshop. This person then returns to his/her setting and seeks ways to implement these ideas. In many Urban/Education Initiative sites, collaboration with schools has been initiated from the top down; that is, key personnel such as a superintendent, were contacted by Outward Bound and invited on an "invitational" Outward Bound course. In Portland, the superintendent went on a rafting trip and attended a community dinner given by Outward Bound/Expeditionary Learning. In Decatur, it was years after a ropes course and after the person had been promoted to superintendent, and when Outward Bound made contact, offering to help with outside money and staff, that the implementation stage began. In the case of Atlanta, important figures in the business community, after participating in various Outward Bound short courses, helped to convince the school board and superintendent of the efficacy of using Outward Bound to effect change.

Collaborations with schools within the Urban/Education Initiative have taken many forms. While some programs and activities are similar across sites, one of the strengths of the Initiative is the flexibility and site-appropriate nature of school collaborations. Initiative efforts include summer workshops for teachers and administrators, day-long initiatives, Outward Bound courses in schools, leadership training and conflict resolution work with students, summer wilderness expeditions, and parent-education workshops. This variety of programs evolved out of the specific needs of participants at each site and are adapted to local needs.

Wilderness challenge courses were particularly effective in the southeastern Initiative sites. In many cases, a direct Outward Bound experience was provided to administrators, teachers and students. In the spring of 1992, 100 College Park Middle School students and ten adults participated in a five-day wilderness challenge course. In the summer of the same year, seven Hickory High teachers and administrators participated in a three-day wilderness workshop course at NCOBS. In the fall of 1992, two Hickory Middle School teachers participated in the North Carolina Teacher Training Program, a nine-day wilderness workshop course aimed at developing understandings of experiential education. Also, 200 middle school

students and 15 teachers participated in a five-day wilderness challenge course that involved backpacking, rock climbing, high ropes, solo, group initiatives, challenge run, and group discussions. In the summer of 1993, 13 at-risk eight grade students enrolled in a Hickory summer remedial program known as the Summer Scholarship Initiative. Teachers and students alike reported that this program provided an interdisciplinary and rigorous summer learning experience and that students returned with a far more positive attitude toward school and their education. The New York City Outward Bound Center also offers a Summer Scholars program, and Hurricane Island Outward Bound School offers a summer wilderness expedition for teachers.

Day-long initiatives have also been a part of this program in several different sites. In the winter of 1993, eight Hickory middle school teachers and counselors participated in a two-day retreat sponsored by NCOBS aimed at providing an opportunity to network with other regional teachers, and develop experiential education concepts, methodologies, and curricula. Six College Park Middle School teachers participated in the four-day Active Learning in the Middle School summer institute run by the Harvard/Outward Bound Project. In Portland, a low ropes self-esteem course was offered for low income mothers of elementary school students and an Outward Bound-type freshman orientation program takes place each fall at one of the local high schools. In Boston, elementary and middle school students came to Thompson Island to engage in one-day, hands-on, natural science exploration and multicultural learning.

The Initiative has also supported direct Outward Bound staff work with teachers and students. The Colorado Outward Bound School and Thompson Island Outward Bound Education Center both ran youth leadership initiatives for urban students that exposed them to various outdoor activities and sought to have students use the leadership skills that they developed to implement community service projects. In Portland and Decatur, conflict resolution work was done with students by Outward Bound staff through the Urban/Education Initiative.

The Expeditionary Learning Project is an example of intensive and ongoing collaboration with schools. While it differs in degree from many of the previously described interactions, the general structure is much the same. Further, these examples of broad-based collaborations with schools illustrate the importance of flexibility and responsiveness of Outward Bound and the Urban/Education Initiative. As one Portland teacher commented, “We needed to learn more about conflict resolution and [Outward Bound] had a program for that.”

In the sense of a “model” for school collaboration, a few factors related to these collaborations are relevant. First, Outward Bound has made contact with supportive school personnel, often persons with considerable influence, and sought to convince them of the appropriateness of Outward Bound philosophy and practices for urban schooling. Second, in conjunction with the schools, Outward Bound has sought to design and adapt programs appropriate to the needs and

interests of particular schools and teachers. And third, in creating these programs they have sought to expand their base of support within schools and school systems by offering school personnel various forms of professional development opportunities and/or offering to run specific programs at these schools.

With regard to the "effectiveness" of such models, it would seem ideal if one could first gain the support of a powerful administrator. In turn, this person could create conditions and provide continued support for changes that seem likely to engender support from teachers (e.g., offer summer workshop focused on these educational ideas, create schools specifically set up for such an approach to learning, and so on). School reform, without the support of the persons at the top, is doomed. School reform, without the support of those who must implement it, the teachers, is also doomed. To endure, reform efforts must gain support throughout the system--in the form of waivers, financing, board policies, and so on from the administrative hierarchy and in the day-to-day commitment by teachers needed to make reform a reality. To promote teacher and administrator "buy in" to Outward Bound's vision for schools, it helps to have these persons experience Outward Bound expeditions or workshops. Further, their commitment is sustained by ongoing support from Outward Bound personnel.

The final critical dimension to those collaborative efforts that have endured involves funding. That is, these efforts have had additional funds that have sustained their work. For long-term planning, however, Outward Bound should consider how to engender the same ends without providing so much financial support to their public school partners. To a degree, Outward Bound must push and cajole its partners to take the necessary steps to institutionalize the practices that have been introduced and practiced by Outward Bound. (The section of this report on "institutional change" discusses how this can occur.)

B. Teacher Development

In their proposal to DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest, Outward Bound USA targeted "teacher development" as a critical element in its overall strategy for improving urban education. Specifically, Outward Bound USA identified four areas related to "Teacher-Development" that they hoped to influence: (1) "Mid-career Renewal of Teachers" aimed at those working in urban settings and in "subject areas where the traditional curriculum (reading, environmental education, physical education) can be shown to benefit from the injection of challenge and character-building experiences" (OB USA n.d.a: 7); (2) "Preservice Teacher Education Modules" which would entail working with prospective teachers to enhance their confidence, to connect academic learning with the development of character, to help them develop process and reflection skills, and to introduce them to out-of-school perspectives on the learning styles of urban youth; (3) "Team Training for Cooperating Teachers" in which Outward Bound would work with teachers supervising student teachers to help this relationship become a learning experience for both involved; and (4) "Experiential Assessment for the Transition of Teachers to Professional Certification," an effort directed toward working with schools and

universities to consider how Outward Bound might fit with new approaches toward teacher certification, in this case, supporting the professional renewal and certification of teachers along the lines of experiential perspective. In terms of the last two goals, we saw no signs of Outward Bound work being conducted in these areas and we do not discuss them.

According to teachers and administrators across sites, one of the more profound impacts of the Urban/Education Initiative has been in the area of teacher development. The opportunities provided by the Initiative, including Expeditionary Learning, for professional and personal renewal are far-reaching. In all of these efforts, teacher development is seen as a collaborative undertaking. Rather than the more traditional model of drawing on outside experts to inform teachers of new teaching methods, materials and philosophies, Outward Bound personnel have worked to empower teachers to become experts themselves. Rather than a one-way stream of information, the Initiative has brought teachers together to share information and ideas, to network with one another, and to become familiar with experiential philosophy and methods of teaching.

1. Working with Practicing Teachers

As with school collaborations, the collaborative models of teacher development have taken many forms in different Initiative sites. The Harvard/Outward Bound Project, for instance, runs the Active Learning in the Middle School summer institute, which attracts teachers from throughout the country, and offers courses for graduate students, who are most often professional educators and who are likely to hold prominent positions within various educational settings.

Another form of teacher development was the implementation of teacher workshops. These workshops were offered in many Urban/Education Initiative sites, and in Decatur and Hickory in particular, teachers were effusive in their praise of the variety of Outward Bound programs which they attended. The following provides a sense for the variety of professional development opportunities offered in these sites:

- Short after-school workshops on communication and applying Outward Bound/Expeditionary Learning concepts to the classroom. These workshops were generally for teachers from one school or from throughout the district. These often include discussions of learning expeditions, speakers who are experts on particular topics (e.g., assessment, active learning, etc.), mini-initiatives, team-building activities, and collaborative planning.

- One-to-three day workshops, often at a camp, ropes course/alpine tower site, or an Outward Bound base camp, providing a more in-depth set of Outward Bound type of experiences. These workshops were generally with teams or departments from a school or district.

- A two-week teacher development program at Warren Wilson College (WWC), a collaboration of the college and NCOBS, usually with a team from a school or district. These programs were taught by WWC and NCOBS staff.

- A three-week teacher practica at NCOBS, often with teachers from throughout the state or nation.

In addition to the work in Decatur and Hickory, comparable efforts are apparent in New York City and Colorado. The New York City Outward Bound Center, for instance, runs day-long workshops on weekends throughout the school year for interested teachers, for which there has been far more interest than available slots. In Colorado, the joint effort by COBS and the PEC/School Renewal Project offered teachers week-long summer workshops aimed at promoting active and experiential learning and sponsored follow-up reunions during the school year to reinforce the lessons learned in the workshops.

In many respects, these efforts are similar to traditional professional development programs for teachers, as they seek to offer them new ways to think about teaching and learning in their classrooms. Yet, they are notably different in two respects: First, they seek to enlist a "critical mass" of teachers from the same school, assuming that doing so will provide greater support for reform and make change more likely to endure. Second, they often include some form of follow-up--so that professional development is not merely a one-shot ordeal, rather, it becomes an ongoing experience.

2. The staff member model

One unique model of collaboration and teacher development that has emerged in several Urban/Education Initiative sites, notably New York City, Denver and in the southeast, is the model in which public schools include an Outward Bound instructor as a full- or part-time member of its staff. In New York City's School for the Physical City and at South Bronx High, for example, teachers work one-on-one with a NYC Outward Bound Center staff member to help in planning and teaching. Next year at the Rocky Mountain School for Expeditionary Learning, a staff member who is an experienced Outward Bound instructor will serve as the "adventure guru"--working primarily to help teachers think about how they can refine their expeditions and make adventure a more integral aspect of the school. In the Southeast region, the most powerful institutional impact appears to be where an Outward Bound staff members spent a considerable amount of time at one school, working in-depth with a few teachers and more broadly with the whole staff on a range of curricular and other reforms.

This type of collaboration is not without problems. Concerns were raised about difficulties integrating an Outward Bound staff person into the life and culture of the school; there were also concerns that other staff might feel as though what Outward Bound seeks to promote will be taken care of by that person so that teachers don't need to be concerned with that aspect of the school and can instead

focus on their previous methods of teaching. On the other hand, an instructor functioning from within the school provides an unparalleled level of support and modeling of Outward Bound teaching methods and ideology.

3. Working with prospective teachers

In its effort to improve urban education, Outward Bound has sought through the Urban Education Initiative to enhance the experiences of not only practicing teachers but those of preservice teachers as well, to enhance their confidence, to connect academic learning with the development of character, to help them develop process and reflection skills, and to introduce them to out-of-school perspectives on the learning styles of urban youth. While this goal has not been fully developed or implemented, some Urban/Education Initiative sites (notably Boston, Dubuque and North Carolina) have begun to work with prospective teachers. The courses in experiential education and service learning offered through the Harvard/Outward Bound Project include future teachers as well as graduate students and practicing educators. In North Carolina, the Urban/Education Initiative helped establish the North Carolina Teaching Fellows program for prospective teachers. This program targets college juniors, and seeks to promote experiential learning and teach prospective teachers how to integrate wilderness experiences into the classroom. The New York City Outward Bound Center developed a curriculum guide titled, "A Curriculum Guide for Teachers" and "Outward Bound in the Classroom: A Teacher's Guide." Both publications have the potential of informing preservice teachers about Outward Bound philosophy and methods.

In Dubuque, Lincoln Elementary has a partnership with Tri-State Colle which benefits both teacher certification students and the elementary school. Lincoln has a large number of student teachers and student volunteers involv their school. These students focus on the expeditionary learning concept in th classes before spending their observation and their student teaching commitm at Lincoln. Central Alternative High School also had student teachers on their In this way, future teachers are exposed to Outward Bound methods first-hand can see how this type of teaching and learning is implemented in the schools.

While the bulk of the Initiative's teacher development work has focused on the mid-career renewal of teachers, inroads are being made in working with prospective teachers. As the Initiative continues to evolve, there is potential for expanding teacher development efforts in terms of preservice teachers. Indeed, the future of teacher development for the Initiative may be enhanced if Outward Bound is awarded moneys through the Starr Foundation, where they recently submitted a proposal for creating teacher development centers for New York City and two other sites. The goals are consistent with the Initiative, in terms of promoting sustained work with schools, in-school technical assistance for teachers, networking among like-minded educators, and undertaking curriculum development related to active and experiential learning (OB USA 1994: 2). Indeed, support from the DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Foundation has allowed Outward Bound to refine these models of teacher development, thereby placing them in a strategic position--given

Outward Bound's experience and contact with multiple school districts--to leverage funding from other sources.

4. Expeditionary Learning:

The Expeditionary Learning Project's model of teacher development can seen as an outgrowth of the collaborative model developed by Outward Bound through its earlier Initiative-related work. Expeditionary Learning has drawn some of the same types of teacher development, such as workshops and wilder expeditions, and has added other forms of collaboration, such as sharing days, sabbaticals, teacher summits, and *The Web*, a newsletter that includes articles b teachers that are intended to help others think about how they might transfor their classrooms. "Sharing days," for example, are regional conferences that br together Outward Bound staff, teachers, and administrators to share successes frustrations, present examples of learning expeditions, and garner new ideas fr each other. In a similar fashion, "professional exchanges and networks" bring teachers together from different schools in the same city or from different citie share experiences, develop curricula, and provide mutual assistance and supp These exchanges and networks also offer a means to provide follow-up and technical assistance to schools and teachers. Last year, Outward Bound organiz exchanges on such issues as learning through service, learning expeditions in 45-minute classroom, authentic assessment, and productive school-communit partnerships.

"Mini-sabbaticals" are week-long opportunities for teachers from the same schools to work together, either in the summer or during the school year, to create interdisciplinary curricula and learning expeditions. Similar to the mini-sabbatical are "teacher practica," five-to-seven day workshops that give teachers direct experience with Outward Bound activities and pedagogies and opportunities to reflect on them. The practica give teachers a direct experience with Outward Bound pedagogies in action and the opportunity to explore the principles underlying them. "Summits" are designed to increase teachers' skills in developing and leading learning expeditions by immersing teachers, with expert guidance, in particular themes and subject areas. Recent summits addressed such issues as "Rocks, Rivers, and Caves," and "Connecting History to Issues of Social Justice Today."

In full accord with the goals and practices of the Initiative, although in a more intensive fashion, the Expeditionary Learning approach to teacher development has promoted sustained contact with teachers, has offered teachers multiple forums in which to enhance their expertise (e.g., summits, practica, sharing days, and so on), and has engaged a critical mass of teachers from the same schools.

C. Administrators:

The Urban/Education Initiative has encouraged the development of teamwork, leadership and support networks for administrators in a variety of ways. In many sites, administrators have worked closely with Outward Bound staff, and with colleagues in other schools to implement the goals promoted through the

Initiative. Many of these collaborations are discussed in the sections on "working partnerships" and "effects on students, teachers, and administrators," but we will note some key themes in the emerging Outward Bound model of administrator development. One key to the development of administrator networks is their participation in Outward Bound courses. In many instances, principals were so influenced by their experience that they sought to include more persons in similar experiences. In Decatur, the impetus for involvement in the Urban/Education Initiative came from a superintendent who had a "powerful experience" on a ropes course some years previous. In Portland and Dubuque, principals participated in a challenging Outward Bound rafting trip down Cataract Canyon. And these experiences set the stage for acceptance of various efforts by the Urban/Education Initiative.

Yet, doing this effectively has proven difficult, due to the geographic dispersal of Initiative sites, and compounded by the isolating nature of schools and school districts, a common development in school change efforts. That is, administrators are often engaged in putting out local "brush fires," and have little time to network and collaborate with administrators from other schools or school districts. While one commonly cited river trip was described by many participants as "life-changing," the networks developed were not always sustained by participants. Said one staff person about a principal, "We were tent mates and had great talks and got pretty close. But now we hardly ever talk to each other. We're both just too busy." In Portland, one principal of an Expeditionary Learning school was described as "doing the job of ten people." Commented one teacher, "She's up before dawn, has all her meetings before school, and stays late almost every night." Such schedules leave little room for ongoing connection with other administrators. Furthermore, political tensions, competition between schools, and competing philosophies of schooling make administrator team-building difficult.

Nonetheless, where collaboration has occurred, many administrators felt that they benefited. One of the primary benefits that administrators, both those at the district- and school-level, who participated in Urban/Education Initiative-related activities attributed to these institutional reform efforts was that they could network with others involved in similar work, to share ideas and to consider how others had dealt with problems they all seemed to face. As one principal remarked, "It's nice to know that it's not just you, that it's not a totally personal problem. What's happening is a systemic phenomenon." In some instances, administrators also found ways to collaborate with colleagues they met through Initiative-sponsored experiences. Some principals, for example, have teamed with partner schools and have worked collaboratively to promote change at their schools. This has included encouraging teacher exchanges between schools and having students visit one another's school. In this section, we draw primarily on the Colorado case to illustrate effective administrator team-building, renewal, and development.

One of the earliest efforts undertaken by the Colorado Outward Bound School (COBS) as part of the Initiative was their work with the Public Education Coalition

(PEC)/School Renewal Project. The project itself was started as a means to create a diverse set of "laboratories for change" in 17 schools from four school districts. The project's involvement with COBS began when a representative from the PEC sought to inject energy and create a greater sense of camaraderie among the principals involved in the project by offering a four-day leadership course developed by COBS at the Leadville base camp in October of 1990. Energized by the perceived effectiveness of this effort, the PEC and COBS worked with the principals to offer a three-day workshop the following summer for 50 participants, the Leadership Team Institute. This program included teachers, parents, and community leaders as well as administrators and sought to promote collaborative decision-making and team-building, to enhance participants' leadership capacity, and to create professional bonds among all participants. These experiences also motivated the principals and the PEC and COBS representatives to create a summer workshop for teachers, known as Adventures in Active Learning.

As with teachers, administrators, too, were inspired and motivated by their exposure to more experiential approaches to teaching and learning. The workshops also allowed educators from different schools to connect with one another and to draw on their respective areas of interest and expertise to promote various goals--including multi-age grouping, site-based management, and curriculum reform. Alluding to how the workshops influenced her, an administrator noted, "For me, it's always helpful to look at new ways to challenge myself and different ways to take risks to improve the school." In this particular instance, "risk" involved having the team from her school work closely with their 'paired'[8] school at the Leadership Team Institute to think about how the two schools--one in west Denver and one in southeast Denver--could work together to foster improved communication, trust, and understanding. Although they had never worked together on any comparably substantive activities before, the teams from the two schools decided to sponsor a series of "Family Math Nights" when parents and students came together to work collaboratively on solving math problems. In the principal's opinion, "taking the opportunity to build bridges" at the institute has begun a trend of collaboration that she plans to continue.

In looking at these efforts to help administrators network, a few central factors emerge: First, as with teachers, initiatives and workshops energized administrators. Second, it helps to reinforce Outward Bound lessons in an ongoing fashion. In addition, administrators have power to involve more persons in similar efforts. Still, encouraging leadership, teamwork and support among educational administrators is challenging, due to multiple job pressures and the inherently isolating nature of administrative work.

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[8] As part of its efforts to address issues of school integration, the Denver Public School System has "paired" schools from different neighborhoods in the City which represent different racial/ethnic distributions. In this case, 1st and 2nd graders from a southeast Denver school were bussed to the principal's school in west Denver. In turn, her school bussed their 3rd, 4th, and 5th graders to the southeast Denver school.

D. Service

While, to a degree, Outward Bound was founded on the concept of service, translating Kurt Hahn's vision of community service into the day-to-day realities of the public school has proven difficult. Overall, teachers seemed eager for direct help to incorporate service into their teaching. Still, teachers said that they rarely had time for these projects, or for the reflection time they felt necessary to integrate the lessons learned. In Portland, HIOBS staff members also noted that the development of a service ethic was largely missing in Portland's Urban/Education Initiative efforts. One commented, "Outward Bound was founded on the concept of selfless service. Now we've imported traditional concepts from public education to make academic self-esteem the focus. Service has become an appendage." Others noted that Outward Bound itself had moved away from service as its primary goal. Furthermore, in Initiative-sponsored workshops and institutes there has been more of a focus on active pedagogies, team-building, leadership development, and authentic assessment than service.

Teachers who did incorporate service projects into the curriculum reported mixed results. In one instance, students visited a group of seniors. When asked to describe the experience, most replied that it was "OK," saying little about whether they learned anything or whether they felt that those being served benefited from their efforts. In contrast, another teacher related the results of a community service project as "fantastic." She stated, "They really got it about giving and not just taking."

Philosophically, Outward Bound staff seem dedicated to bringing the question of service into the curriculum. One staff person emphasized the importance of service in developing each learning expedition. He stated, "I often ask teachers to identify an audience that could benefit from this work." He emphasized that the question of service should underlie the design of each expedition, that the point of each expedition should be an end product that is of service to others. He also noted the tension between this theory of service and its practical applications in the classroom, and stated, "The whole question of service as it fits into our design is a bit of a tangent....How *do* you deal with an ethic of service within a classroom?"

In spite of these challenges, service projects have been undertaken in a number of Initiative sites. Outward Bound alumni at South Bronx High School built a peace garden in remembrance of a classmate who was a victim of urban violence. Dubuque Schools received a grant from CommServ, an Iowa-based organization which promotes service learning. In the spring of 1993, elementary and high school students from Expeditionary Learning schools in Dubuque conducted service projects at Four Mounds, a local park and archaeological site. Indeed, in most all learning expeditions undertaken at Expeditionary Learning schools, service learing was somehow made a part of the experience. In Atlanta, students initiated a service project with a drug/alcohol treatment center for homeless persons. The Hickory Public Schools received a grant from the Serve

America Foundation to develop a school-based service learning program. A refinement of its summer learning expedition called "Scholarship Through Service," this program organized its learning expeditions entirely around service.

In addition, Outward Bound staff have worked with City Year in Boston and City Volunteer Corps in New York City, primarily conducting leadership and team-building exercises with participants. Also, the Harvard/Outward Bound Project offers two popular elective courses focused entirely on service learning and the Project has taken a leading role in promoting service learning among Massachusetts colleges and universities. While the integration of service into the learning experiences of students involved with Initiative programs may not have reached the level of intensity envisioned by Kurt Hahn, this ideal is certainly a key and unique element in virtually all of the programs promoted by the Initiative. (We should also note that there is further discussion of service in the section on "goals, coherence, and consistency.")

E. Racial Diversity

In conducting research into the issue of racial diversity within the Outward Bound network, we have found considerable support for this ideal. In various ways, Outward Bound Schools and Centers have sought to recruit, educate, and develop staff of color. COBS representatives noted, for instance, that through the Internship Development Program they have sought to increase the number of persons of color on their staff. In Atlanta, through the Urban/Education Initiative, and as part of NCOBS' Racial Diversity Initiative, the Center identified took 22 promising applicants into a 13-day program spread over several weeks. Twelve persons completed the training and four (three persons of color) were hired in full-time positions. The New York City Outward Bound Center and TIOBEC have made comparable efforts. In addition (as noted previously), those Schools and Centers that have chosen to promote urban/education programming, have sought to school their staff in learning to work effectively with inner-city youth. Moreover, through the Initiative, Outward Bound USA hired a staff member to work full-time in this area and supported organizational meetings of NAALA (Native American, African America, and Latino American) staff to develop a larger and more sustained program to promote their interests and concerns--which led to the creation of the NAALA Institute. The effects of these efforts can be seen most notably in such sites as the New York City Outward Bound Center, where persons of color are a majority on the staff, including several high-ranking members, and in Atlanta, where Stuart Clarke, an African American, was recently hired as Director.

While we acknowledge these efforts and the commitment by Outward Bound, we feel that we should include the following remarks by the NAALA Institute in its assessment of racial issues in the Outward Bound network, writ large:

> Today, in 1993, while significant progress has been made, it has not come as quickly as we had hoped and we are not yet where we want to be. We

> remain a largely white organization, especially at top management and Board levels....While all within the system are committed to diversity, and important efforts have been initiated, a vehicle is needed to enhance local initiatives and move forward in a dynamic, coordinated fashion toward whole-scale system-wide diversity (NAALA Institute report 1993: 1).

Without being condescending, we should acknowledge that it is easier to embrace a commitment to racial diversity than to enact one.

VII. INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

As discussed earlier in this report, much of the early efforts of the Urban/Education Initiative can be understood as the "creation of new partnerships" with the intent of realizing the goals identified by Outward Bound USA as central to the Initiative's work. If one defines "institutional change" as involving enduring and formalized shifts in the function or structure of an organization, the partnerships engendered directly by the Urban/Education Initiative would not, by themselves, generally represent significant institutional changes. For the most part, these partnerships were undertaken with the goal of helping personnel from schools and some community based organizations do their work more effectively. They were relationships initiated with the intent of exposing school personnel (including students, teachers, and administrators) to Outward Bound pedagogy and associated practices with the oftentimes dual goal of revitalizing these persons and their commitment to educational reform as well as offering them opportunities to consider how such methodologies might be adapted and applied to their school and classroom settings. Thus, these changes generally involved shifts within institutions, not transformations of the institutions themselves. Yet, as a consequence of these partnerships and this work, at some sites institutional changes did occur, often through what Outward Bound personnel refer to as the "ripple effect." Furthermore, the Urban/Education Initiative's Expeditionary Learning Project has, in a number of cases, involved significant institutional transformations as well as the creation of two entirely new institutions, the Rocky Mountain School for Expeditionary Learning and the School for the Physical City.

A. Early Initiative-Related Efforts

Assessing the early Initiative-related efforts in terms of their institution-wide influence reveals a fairly broad range of experiences: At some sites, institutional change was virtually nonexistent; at others, it could be substantial, although few of these efforts transformed schools in a deeper way. Also, to understand this Initiative-sponsored work, it helps to think of some of these efforts as individual "projects" as well as the work of particular Outward Bound Schools or Centers. That is, at the same School or Center, different projects could have significantly different levels of institutional impact.

At some sites, Initiative-related efforts had a limited focus and had little institutional effect. In the Atlanta Public Schools, the earliest Initiative programs seem to have been undertaken as a result of "top-down" directives and experienced little success in getting teachers and building administrators committed to a common vision. To quote an evaluation of the 1992-93 school programs, the efforts were "less than a qualified success." The evaluators made twenty-six recommendation--including clarifying program goals, enlisting total school commitment, improving communication with parents, and involving Outward Bound instructors in the school on a regular basis--all of which suggest that these efforts had little effect institution-wide. The Colorado Outward Bound School was involved with two separate intervention programs (the Denver Youth Leadership Program and the Colorado Springs Youth Leadership Initiative) designed for "at-risk" youth. The intent of the programs was to help students channel their energies in constructive ways, to avoid dropping out of school, and to provide peer leadership. While the initial plan was to work with a number of high schools in each city, it appears that no faculty at the schools fully bought in to the projects and the efforts proved disappointing. In fact, the Denver program was prematurely canceled.

In Decatur (GA), the impetus for change came from the superintendent of schools who had a "powerful experience" on a ropes course some years previous. When he was asked by the Atlanta Outward Bound Center to include his schools in the Urban/Education Initiative, he became a leading advocate for their involvement. In conjunction with the Atlanta Outward Bound Center, he created a sense of shared mission by providing a range of short courses for teachers and administrators. His efforts were apparently successful and the reforms promoted by the Initiative were beginning to change the ways educators practiced their craft. However, due to funding difficulties, many on the Atlanta Outward Bound Center's staff were let go. Without their support the impact of the reforms was lessened, leaving some teachers feeling that they had been "abandoned" just as they were beginning to make progress in institutionalizing experienced-based learning. Nonetheless, the efforts of the Atlanta Outward Bound Center did help to mobilize funders around the concept of active learning and, with the arrival of a new Program Director for the Center, Stuart Clarke, it appears as though the Center may again begin working with Atlanta public schools.

In a number of Initiative sites, administrators and associated school personnel found that Outward Bound experiences neatly complemented their ongoing efforts at school reform. In these cases, the institutional effects could be significant, although they could not be characterized as transformative in themselves. College Park Middle School in Hickory (NC) is a school that already had a reputation for educational reform. Yet, the framework offered by the Initiative stimulated the development of clearer goals for students, teachers, and the school. For students, the goals of the program included developing interpersonal skills, group cohesion, strong service values, and academic achievement. For teachers, the program sough to improve their understanding of principles and skills

related to experiential education, student-centered and student-directed learning, cooperative projects, constructive risk-taking, and performance-based and interdisciplinary learning. To accomplish these goals a variety of learning opportunities were created. Students worked in a local Headstart reading program or became involved in service projects as part of their social studies curriculum. To promote greater levels of personal and interpersonal trust, an academic unit was implemented that culminated in a one-day trip to a local ropes course. A third component to the model was a five-day wilderness challenge course for two hundred middle school students and sixteen teachers. In certain respects, developments in Portland were similar to Hickory. Here, the school system was already involved with its own "school improvement process" and when administrators recognized how Outward Bound practices could serve as an adjunct to their ongoing work, many readily embraced the opportunity.

The work of the Public Education Coalition, four school districts, and COBS in Colorado perhaps epitomizes what occurred in many early Initiative programs. The PEC was promoting a reform effort that sought to create "laboratories for change" in four local school districts, yet found that its work was not proceeding as hoped. A representative of the PEC working with this restructuring effort knew of the team building and leadership development aspect of Outward Bound and contacted COBS and arranged to have fifteen principals participate in a four-day leadership workshop designed by COBS that, in the words of PEC personnel, "infused such energy and life into this project that it was unbelievable." In addition to invigorating these participants, this workshop created closer ties and understandings--in essence, a network--among these persons who were working toward similar goals in different settings. It also convinced the PEC and these public school administrators that more teachers and administrators needed to be exposed to Outward Bound pedagogy and practices and, the following summer, fifty teachers, parents, community leaders, and administrators attended the Leadership Team Institute and a summer workshop for teachers called Adventures in Active Learning. These efforts continued for two more years. Back at their school sites then, these administrators went about promoting change in their schools and these teachers brought Outward Bound-based teaching methods to bear in their classrooms.

As a consequence of these partnerships and this work in Colorado, changes certainly occurred. Perhaps the most prominent concerned the workshops' effects on teachers, many of whom were motivated to teach in new ways. Comments such as, "[The Adventures in Active Learning workshop] gave me so many ideas for teaching differently," and "Working with the instructors and other teachers really helped me to look at my classroom in a new way," typified teacher remarks.

In one instance, the faculty's collective experiences "spilled over" to the students. At this school, faculty viewed their Outward Bound experiences so positively that the student council decided to offer a mini-leadership course for students who ran for student council offices. At another school, after various

teachers had attended Initiative-related workshops, they joined together to write a grant that would allow them to convert a creek that ran nearby their school into a "learning environment for kids." While the plan was "on hold" because of a change in leadership, the hope is that the school will work with the city to fix up the creek so that it can be used for science and social studies classes.

In addition to these effects on teachers, some schools found that they clarified their institutional goals at the workshops. This seems to have been particularly valuable for schools that relied upon site-based management structures--an increasingly popular approach to school governance in this country and one with which Outward Bound's efforts are usefully aligned. In fact, in a number of cases those who were to be on their school's governance committees all went to the leadership and decision-making workshop as a group. As three administrators noted:

> Spending those days together in Leadville and having the opportunity to continually focus on what our school's mission should be, really led us to rethink what we were doing with our students.
>
> It allowed us to fine-tune our thinking and to pull together a lot of things for people. The camaraderie was amazing.
>
> It was an opportunity for us to look at our work in a sustained fashion. It helped us to continue our collaborative decision making. In that sense, it provided support for what we had already started. It also encouraged the teachers involved to join our collaborative decision making team. One teacher had never done anything like that before and he's now on our school improvement team. I think he always felt like something of an outsider before.

While these changes involved shifts within institutions, they did not constitute transformations of the institutions themselves. The most pronounced changes teachers associated with these efforts generally involved changes in practice within individual classrooms, or possibly in collaboration with a colleague. For instance, commenting on the "institution-wide changes" engendered by the workshops, a teacher who attended both the Adventures in Active Learning workshop and Leadership Team Institute noted, "Regretfully, I'd said that there have been none. A couple of us as individuals have thought more about [these lessons] and done things on our own, but there's nothing sustained." Another teacher who participated in both workshops offered the following comparison of the two experiences:

> Most of the changes for me were in terms of active learning and risk-taking in the classroom that carries over into other areas in life. In terms of leadership, I don't think that the workshop was as effective because of the different personalities [among the staff] back at the school. The

> Outward Bound experiences were great, but I felt that each school probably had its own specific needs and because it was such a large group with people at all different levels of understanding with regards to Outward Bound, I don't think that it carried over back to the school as well....Everybody takes what they're ready for.

A principal offered a comparable assessment:

> The workshops did not translate so well back to the school. It raised questions for our team about how to teach differently but it was hard to connect the lessons at the school with what Outward Bound had done for us. Everyone who participated in the workshop enjoyed it but we had a hard time getting the rest of the staff to go along with it....So I'd say that most of the effects were on individual teachers. Individuals made internal, personal changes but we are still having a difficult time translating those insights into our school setting and making that connection.

A parent who attended the Leadership Team Institute and a follow-up workshop for her school's governance committee expressed many of the same reactions. As she recalled, "I felt that those who went [to the workshop] and many of those at the school had a commitment to work together for change. And I saw this as an opportunity to become involved in that change effort in a non-threatening way...with a common goals in mind, that being the good of the kids." While she felt that she had a "personal vision of parental involvement," she faced "a deeply entrenched perception by parents who, in spite of their educational backgrounds and the fact of their being parents, just don't see themselves as being involved in the management side of schools." In her view, most parents were too busy or not interested in being involved at the school. Reflecting on the workshops, she remarked:

> The workshop was good for us [who participated] but it was difficult to come back to a staff of 80 and communicate all of the ideas effectively. Middle schools are tough because there are a broad range of ideas as to how they should be run. Plus, the idea of shared governance by teachers and parents led to struggles. The Outward Bound experience was valuable but we needed something more for the rest of the staff. We even sent the entire governance board to Outward Bound that fall, but we weren't quite sure what we wanted to accomplish then. It was too much to do in one day with two consultants and it didn't work. As a consequence of devoting time to school governance, many teachers struggled with their teaching too. And they saw that it was a big, big job.

While this parent was quick to point out that she "thoroughly respected Outward Bound in terms of their ability to help people work together as a team and to help them understand the nature and consequences of their differences," she also

felt that the goals for the Institute were "a little too much to expect in such a short period of time." In her view, this well-intended effort had a minimal effect on the school's governance structure.

This process was a relatively common aspect of early Initiative-related work and characterizes its level of institutional change. That is, those working with urban youth had the opportunity to experience Outward Bound-related activities and then considered how they could bring their new-found understandings to bear on their work, whether it be helping them to think about how they and their colleagues might work together more effectively and/or how they might apply Outward Bound-based pedagogy to their work with students. This was the nature of most institutional change associated with the Initiative--it was essentially classroom-based and dependent on the inclinations and skills of individual teachers.

In discussing the early Initiative-related efforts, we should mention those undertaken by the New York City Outward Bound Center, since the Center has taken such a variety of approaches to promoting school reform. One of the more prominent forms of intervention adopted by the Center is offering an Outward Bound class within a traditional high school. English, social studies, and physical education tend to be the classes most often bearing credit, and classes typically meet on a daily basis for either a semester or a full-year. A key component to this "class-based" model is the involvement of an Outward Bound instructor, on a full or part-time basis, to collaborate with the classroom teacher in planning and teaching classes. Another strategy for institutional change employed by the New York City Outward Bound Center has been the attempt to develop Outward Bound "houses" within traditional school structures. In terms of institutional change, it seems revealing that the house-based strategy, which has a greater potential institutional impact, has also proven to be more difficult to implement.

The New York City Outward Bound Center is also involved in countless short-term interventions. One involves educating school-based management teams, comprised of principals, other administrators, teachers, parents, paraprofessionals, and sometimes students. Generally, this entails working with the full staff of a school, individual departments, or an interdisciplinary team in several short sessions, a weekend, or a week-long retreat. Finally, alumni clubs represent an effort by the Center to maintain contact with program participants after a program has officially ended. In the past, Outward Bound graduates have returned "high" from the mountains or some comparable experience, only to confront their real lives with limited support from Outward Bound. To help the lessons Outward Bound promotes in its wilderness and urban programs take hold and "transform" the lives of its participants, long-term contact seems essential. The students involved in these alumni programs are ones who have obviously experienced the benefit of their Outward Bound school course work or short-term programs, and who are seeking to gain further benefit from those experiences. Moreover, at least in the case of Rebels With A Cause (discussed in more depth in the section on

"effects on students, teachers, and administrators") these clubs have helped the Initiative's goals and message reach other students as well, as the Rebels have created a program in which they work with younger students, ages 10 through 13, introducing them to the ideas of service, challenge, cooperation, and value formation that they experienced.

In this discussion of Initiative efforts two interrelated factors seem key: First, even though Initiative efforts were given credit for making an invaluable contribution to the overall reform of schools, enlivening students, faculty, and administrators, and helping teachers "see through a new set of lenses," Outward Bound was generally viewed as an external agent for reform. While the Initiative allowed Outward Bound to create new partnerships, in many of these instances, their work was merely an "add-on'" to the existing institution--often with no structures or funding to ensure continued existence--not substantive changes to the nature of the institution. As an evaluation of the Atlanta Outward Bound Center's efforts noted:

> [A]s I attended activities and interviewed school personnel, Outward Bound personnel, and students, it became clear that there was little or no reason to expect changes in teachers or the school as an institution because there was limited collaboration between teachers and the Outward Bound program....Teacher involvement, links to the curriculum, and mentoring/follow-up scarcely occurred. Classroom teachers were not involved in the sessions with their students inside or outside the classroom....No substantial links have been made between the regular classroom curriculum and the Outward Bound curriculum. The lack of teacher involvement and curriculum planning appears to have occurred not because of a lack of interest or willingness on the part of the classroom teachers or Outward Bound instructors, but rather because of time constraints (Neville 1992: 4).

In many respects, Outward Bound offered an "institutional luxury" to schools by providing a piece to an existing organization that fit with the goals of that organization and was perceived as helping the organization function more efficiently, but which was never formally made a part of the organization, nor were they ever incorporated into the systems' base budgets after the programs were started.

Second, while participants appreciated Outward Bound's involvement with their schools, what they had to offer was seen as tangential. The philosophy and experiences were not widely embraced and when funding ran out, the programs often ended. (GOAPe, an off-shoot of a PCOBS effort at Gallileo High School in San Francisco represents an exception to this observation and is discussed later in this section.) Although officially preceding the Initiative's implementation, in her study of the New York City Outward Bound Center, Sanna Randolph also found this to be true:

> Principals were surprisingly receptive to the idea of an Outward Bound program for their students. As long as they did not have to put up funds out of their school budgets, they were willing to identify teachers to participate in the program, recommend students, and approve out-of-school field trips. When pressed to relieve participating teachers of a full teaching load in exchange for weekend supervision of the outings, pay teachers' salaries out of their regular teacher allocations, or provide per session payments for overtime work, some (though not all) were more hesitant (Randolph 1990: 136).

The same point was made by several superintendents and principals in our research. While it was hoped that the public schools would recognize the importance of these programs for their students and teachers, and would contribute money and resources to their continuation, as has occurred with most externally funded interventions into public education, this seldom came to pass. One Outward Bound School director summed up the situation in this way: "There was no indication that the school districts would be willing to support existing programs. The seed grants [from the Initiative] were over and there was no sustainable source of income on the horizon."

However, the potential for greater change inherent in these early Initiative efforts should not be underestimated, as the Initiative laid the foundation for the systemic institutional reforms characteristic of the Expeditionary Learning Project. In fact, in Boston, New York City, Colorado, and Portland many of those involved with Expeditionary Learning had first been exposed to Outward Bound and experiential learning through the Initiative. And here is where institutional change has been the most marked.

B. Expeditionary Learning

Relative to earlier efforts, the reforms promoted through the Expeditionary Learning Project are notably more systemic, in that they have been undertaken with the understanding that schools will transform themselves in line with the goals of the Initiative and, in order to do so, Expeditionary Learning staff are working directly and intensively with teachers and administrators in these schools. Specifically, Expeditionary Learning has adopted four different strategies for reform: (1) creating totally new schools; (2) transforming schools; (3) phasing-in schools; and (4) enlisting "spirit of Expeditionary Learning" schools.

Two schools are totally new: the School for the Physical City and the Rocky Mountain School for Expeditionary Learning. Perhaps the most profound instance of institutional restructuring associated with the Urban/Education Initiative can be seen in Colorado where four school districts pooled resources and skills to create the Rocky Mountain School. The idea for the school came about when Outward Bound USA Vice-President of Urban/Education Programs, Greg Farrell, and the future Director of the Expeditionary Learning Project, Meg Campbell, attended an

Adventures in Active Learning Workshop and were impressed by the work teachers were doing. The COBS and Public Education Coalition representatives then began a dialogue with their partner districts which led to a commitment to explore the idea of creating an Expeditionary Learning school as a group rather than as competing districts. To do so, they created the Interim Leadership Team (ILT) which was made up of parents, administrators, students, and teachers from all four districts as well as representatives from COBS and the Coalition. Their charge was substantial: to draw on the ideas of Outward Bound and its design principles to create a totally new school, and to do so in a way that was acceptable to four different school districts. To facilitate their work, the team created a decision-making model and set up a series of "task forces" to work on specific aspects of the project (e.g., site selection, food services, curriculum and assessment, and so on).

The school they created differs from more typical schools in various ways. It is governed by a two-tiered hierarchy. The first tier, the Board of Cooperative Educational Services, has representatives from all four school districts who officially govern the school. The second tier is the Governance Council, which is made up of students, teachers, parents, and representatives from the PEC, COBS, and local communities. The school also has a Service Link Board, which is not a formal decision-making body but which provides advice and information and assists in finding materials and supplies that the school might need. For instance, when the school had to address issues related to "special services," they drew together personnel as needed from the four districts to advise the school.

The school itself embodies many signs of institutional change. Administratively, rather than having a single principal, the school is directed by a three-person committee of "lead teachers." (For the fall of 1994, two lead teachers and a business manager will comprise the administrative team.) In terms of its structure, the school practices multi-age grouping (organizing itself in terms of grades K-2, 3-5, and 6-9 this past year), has created extended blocks of time for its classes, and encourages all faculty to complement their classroom instruction with out-of-school experiences. In the classroom, the concept of the "learning expedition" informs much of the instruction--which means that faculty try to make student learning an intellectually rigorous experience that draws on individual as well as group effort, to make their lessons authentic and interdisciplinary, to incorporate a service ethic into their lessons, and to allow for individual and group reflection on the learning process. And throughout the school there is an explicit focus on students' affective as well as academic development.

Similar signs of institutional change are apparent in New York's School for the Physical City (SPC). This effort too involves substantial collaboration, as it seeks to integrate the efforts of the New York City Outward Bound Center, Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art (CU is a private, tuition-free engineering school located in New York City), the Infrastructure Institute at Cooper Union, the Mission Society (a charitable society involved with community organizing in NYC), the New York City Public School System, and Outward Bound USA through

Expeditionary Learning. This past year, SPC had a full-time staff person from New York City Outward Bound Center work with the school in various capacities to promote and support their change efforts. Further, one day each week students were involved with learning expeditions outside the school setting.

A second type of Expeditionary Learning school are the "transformed" schools, all of which are in Dubuque. Here, no new schools *per se* were created, but the four Expeditionary Learning schools have experienced substantial restructuring as a consequence of the project. Learning expeditions, for instance, are a regular and integral part of school life. Active learning, including more authentic, interdisciplinary, and portfolio-based assessments of student learning, are now commonplace in classrooms where teachers previously relied on standard forms of evaluating student understanding. In trying to create a "community of learners," faculty teach and plan collaboratively and students work cooperatively on projects. When on expeditions, there are no subject area breaks or teaching in 45-minute periods. In addition, teachers at these schools will be working in multi-year teaching cycles with the same group of students.

The Dubuque schools have also changed the relationships between students and teachers. As a result, many people feel there is a change in the climate of the schools. For example, most Expeditionary Learning classrooms now hold community meetings on a daily basis to reflect on their day, to read inspirational quotes, and to plan. At the elementary level, all special needs students and teachers have become full members of the classrooms. Skills area subjects such as reading or math are no longer grouped by ability; all students focus on the same content but apply it at individually appropriate levels. Students are partnered more often to tutor their peers.

The community, too, is now a part of the life of these schools. Parents serve on the schools' advisory committees. In fact, one parent-teacher organization has 32 separate committees. Community members serve as guest speakers and support the schools' work by assisting with student projects in various ways. Student exhibitions of their work are often attended by parents, other relatives, and friends. In addition, professional development opportunities for teachers are more numerous and varied than in the past. For the fall of 1994, the schools hoped to revise their "district outcomes" so that they more closely accord with the goals and methodologies of expeditionary learning, while still honoring district guidelines.

Two major issues which are now being addressed in Dubuque include rewriting the district outcomes and developing alternative assessments which more closely reflect Expeditionary Learning pedagogy. In the summer of 1994, teachers planned to reassess district outcomes and identify the essential skills and concepts for each grade level, and then to consider how these guidelines can be enacted so as to ensure the integrity of the design principles. Changes in district wide assessment are also being targeted for discussion. While teachers are using authentic assessments and portfolios in the classrooms, they are currently held to the

traditional report card system and standardized tests. Instead, they hope to design district assessments that parallel their classroom assessments.

Although reform efforts in Dubuque have been impressive, they have not been undertaken without some tension. Diana Lam, the Superintendent of Schools, was on the Expeditionary Learning Project's design team and, as such, brought tremendous commitment to and understanding of these ideals with her to Dubuque. However, some in the city questioned the appropriateness of making expeditionary learning such an integral part of Dubuque schools and have sought to elect school committee members who oppose such reforms. After the 1993-94 school year, Diana Lam resigned her position to assume a superintendency in another city. Although her replacement has expressed a commitment to Expeditionary Learning, it will be interesting to see whether the new superintendent is able to maintain the pace and depth of reform promoted by Ms. Lam. Quite often, turnover at the higher levels in school districts has not been conducive to institutional change.

A third form of institutional change adopted by Expeditionary Learning are "phased-in" schools. In these settings, the process of transformation is spread-out over a period of time rather than occurring all at once, although the ultimate goal of this approach, too, is total school transformation. An example of this strategy is the Portland Regional Vocational Technical Center (PRVTC). In this case the school has not only changed its program structure, staff commitment, and level of student learning, but perhaps of greater significance, it apparently transformed the community's perception of the school. For example, PRVTC was once more of a "holding tank" for at-risk youth than an educational center. Because of the economic resources of the Initiative and the opportunities provided by Outward Bound for staff development and curriculum redesign, this profile has changed. As one teacher stated: "This used to be seen as a dumping ground for bad kids. Now kids want to come here. Parents even see it as desirable." Students have recently been observed painting designs on the walls, journaling about their experiences, laying tile in the "reflection and meditation" area, and figuring out the supplies needed to make a gravity-fed water fall work. In other words, students were exhibiting a new pride in their school as well as in their learning. This transformation is apparently not missed by community members outside the school. As one PRTVC student asserts: "The other teachers and students [in other public schools] used to think we were the bad kids. Now they see what we're doing, and they're like, 'Wow.' They're impressed."

Some phased-in schools are split into different academic houses, one of which is guided by the principles of Expeditionary Learning. The Raphael Hernandez School in Boston is an example of such a school. Originally , it was structured as a combination elementary and middle school with a two-way bilingual academic format. It currently houses an Expeditionary Learning unit and by next year the school is planning to move toward a whole school model. At this time, all teachers in the 4th through 8th grade are completely involved in Expeditionary

Learning. One of the major institutional changes at Hernandez tied to Expeditionary Learning was the move to cross-grade groupings (6th through 8th) in the middle school. The first learning expedition used this structural change as teachers acted as generalists and worked in teams of three, each being responsible for all six content areas and for designing the culminating project. When this approach proved problematic, the school decided to have the teachers work in three teams of two teachers within their own subject areas. The students then rotated through in three-week "content area" blocks. In this scaled-back model, the students did not work in completely integrated teaching and curriculum units, although they had two subjects integrated during each three-week period and had a common theme linking all nine weeks.

The final approach to reform adopted by the Expeditionary Learning Project are the "spirit of Expeditionary Learning" schools. In this arrangement, spirit schools maintain contact with Expeditionary Learning representatives and implement learning expeditions on a smaller scale. One spirit school in Portland, for example, experimented with a calculus expedition. Another Portland school accessed the expertise of HIOBS to develop and implement a more experienced-based freshman orientation program. Being a spirit school allows schools to experience the potential of Expeditionary Learning without fully committing to total institutional change, a prospect many persons at these schools view as potentially problematic.

While the Expeditionary Learning Project is in but its first year of implementation, the institutional changes that are evident thus far seem significant. At one time, many of these schools had forty-five minute periods, top-down management, more "passive" forms of learning and teaching, and stratified grades. Now class time is regularly expanded or contracted to fit the demands of a given project. Administrative decisions are often made by a team of faculty and administrators. Many schools are experimenting with an integrated grade structure. Service is being integrated into their curricula, and faculty are now concerned with students' affective as well as academic development. Moreover, because Expeditionary Learning is not as dependent on external subsidies as were many of the earlier Initiative efforts and because this model involves schools committed to institutional transformation, this reform strategy has a more secure institutional status and is therefore able to promote transformation from within schools rather acting as an add-on to schools' existing structures and pressuring for reform from this perspective. Finally, it is important to acknowledge that the changes evident within Expeditionary Learning schools would probably not have been as extensive without the support of multiple partners from the private and public sector, partnerships that were developed during the early years of the Initiative.

C. Common Features

In looking at Initiative efforts that have led to some notable measure of institutional change, certain common characteristics become apparent. For one, at all of these sites there was a clear sense of what the project entailed. As much as possible, students, teachers, and administrators had a clear sense of what they were choosing to be involved with. Communication was effective and people chose to become involved in what the effort represented. That the overarching goals were clear and widely shared among those who participated is quite apparent in the level of commitment by participants at many of these sites, a level that commonly exceeds normal expectations. A second factor, closely related to the first, was that there existed administrative support for these efforts at both the building- and district-level. As one staff development director commented: "The superintendent of schools sets the overall tone. He has created and supported a culture of risk-taking and empowerment. He provides incentives for us to experiment."

A third factor relates to the teachers' professional development opportunities. Where Outward Bound-based practices and ideals have taken root most firmly, teachers were afforded opportunities to experience Outward Bound philosophy (e.g., through initiatives, backpacking trips, and so on) and to learn about how they might apply these ideas to their teaching. Moreover, these were generally not one-shot deals. Teachers often had opportunities to refine their initial understandings at follow-up sessions, be they another workshop with a similar focus or a reunion of those who participated in the initial activity. As a consequence, in contrast to many other reform efforts in the United States, faculty not only supported the ideals of their restructuring effort *in theory*, but they understood them *in practice* as well (admittedly, to varying degrees). Thus, these efforts entailed more than merely bringing together like-minded persons and trying to promote commitment to and understanding of some abstract concepts; they involved exposing these persons to relevant experiences, offering them metaphors applicable to their change efforts, and helping them develop the skills needed to realize the value of their educational ideals in the classroom. Speaking to the need for such experiences, Nora Pou, an assistant principal at Blackstone Elementary School in Boston, reflected on the need faculty had to experience Outward Bound:

> [W]e are still struggling to find evidence of [the design] principles school-wide. They are more evident within the classroom, more in some classrooms than others. It has to do with the type of exposure teachers have had to how the principles are carried out in the school setting. Our teachers need staff development, and to be able to visit other classrooms and see by themselves what each one of those principles means (Campbell 1994a: 9).

Also, many schools that have strong Initiative-supported programs were either already in the process of reform or were looking for a model to guide their restructuring. The Rafael Hernandez School readily fits the former case. By the time the Urban/Education Initiative became involved, Hernandez already was host

to a variety of improvement strategies, including Project Adventure, Boston College's Urban District Assessment Consortium, and a number of externally-funded projects for improving the school's computer technology. The same would certainly hold true for King Middle School and PRVTC in Portland, where the principals saw the Initiative as a means to complement their ongoing efforts at reform. Dubuque, too, was apparently "looking" for a change and Expeditionary Learning, in conjunction with the leadership of a new superintendent, proved to be what some administrators described as the "catalyst that catapulted us forward," that without it, they would still be talking about change.

Closely related to the notion that reform was in the air, many of the more successful Initiative sites were already considered "alternative," long before the Initiative's efforts. This connection is not surprising. It is easier to convince like-minded educators of the value of a reform than it is to convert skeptics. In Portland the Initiative took root in an alternative vocational school; in Boston it found acceptance within the walls of a bilingual school; and in Dubuque one Expeditionary Learning school is the district's only alternative high school. Certainly, some traditional schools have been influenced by the Initiative's efforts, and it would be a mistake not to acknowledge them. However, with respect to institutional change, the question should be asked: To what extent can success in alternative settings equate to wide-spread reform? So called alternative programs tend to be marginalized in terms of resources, status, and locations, compared to their mainstream counterparts. As such, will this impede the migration of the Initiative's reforms to the "mainstream?"

A final factor that cannot be overlooked, and which closely relates to teachers' professional development and their exposure to Outward Bound practices and philosophy, was that for all of these efforts there was outside funding available. While the skills, commitment, and goodwill of those involved certainly aided institutional change, one should not overlook the role played by the additional funding made available to these schools through the Initiative. In great part, this allowed schools to offer teachers these professional development activities. These additional funds provided support for representatives from these schools to come together and exchange ideas with others involved in the same project at reunions and Expeditionary Learning Sharing Days. In essence, outside funding helped provide two critical elements associated with successful reform: energy and understanding. That is, these professional development opportunities not only exposed students, teachers, and administrators to active learning, challenge, and service as a means to more fully appreciate their educational potential, but doing so also served in many cases to revitalize these persons and their commitment to educational change.

While adequate funding is vital to school reform, it would benefit the Initiative to begin thinking very hard about exactly how institutionalization can be created. On the one level, it would certainly help if schools could secure public funding to support their Initiative-related work and projects. Nonetheless, change

can endure when the funding is gone. Gallileo High School's GOAPe program is evidencd of this. Here, a student teacher and a veteran teacher, both inclined toward outdoor and experiential education, found each other and connected with the Pacific Crest Outward Bound School to create a strong outdoor club. However, due to various complications, Outward Bound funding ended. At first, the program leaders were frustrated and thought their program was doomed. Nonetheless, the program has endured because it has become a formal part of the school curriculum, one seemingly receptive part of most schools' structures that can embrace change (although curricula are ultimately dependent on faculty expertise and such change assumes that appropriate teachers would be available). Therefore, if schools are committed to what the Initiative represents, it seems reasonable that such courses would be made a formal curricular or extracurricular offering. Also, there would be an administrative commitment to hiring faculty skilled in, or at least committed to, the principles of outdoor education, experiential education, active learning, and so on.

D. University-Based Initiative Efforts

The Harvard/Outward Bound Project (HOBP) is the final example of institutional change created by the work of the Urban/Education Initiative. HOBP's initial role was that of a "think tank," generating ideas that went into the original Expeditionary Learning proposal. It is currently working toward becoming institutionalized within the Harvard Graduate School of Education. At present, HOBP offers two courses on service learning, both of which are highly rated and highly sought after by graduate students. HOBP has also organized a series of initiatives for Harvard's freshman orientation. In addition, the program has developed working relationships with public schools, the most prominent aspect being the Active Learning in the Middle School summer institute and its subsequent follow-up visits. (The section of this report on "coordination and management" offers a more detailed description of HOBP and its institutional ramifications.)

E. Outward Bound and Institutional Change

In discussing how embracing urban/education programming had influenced Outward Bound, Alan Grossman, President of Outward Bound USA, noted, "The Urban/Education Initiative was not so much a change as it was a crystallization of what we were already doing." While the Initiative could be viewed as a crystallization of what Outward Bound has done historically and many involved with Outward Bound note that urban concerns have been a part of Outward Bound's work as conceived by Kurt Hahn and as practiced in the United States since Outward Bound's inception, the goals promoted by the Initiative have required shifts in the work of Outward Bound Schools and Centers. Later comments by Alan Grossman, in fact, acknowledged that this "crystallization" had engendered change:

> Now, Outward Bound can be understood as a three-legged stool. The top of the stool is the philosophy and pedagogy of Kurt Hahn....One leg is our open enrollment, wilderness programs. That's our retail business.

> The second leg is our contract programming, that includes our professional development work and work with groups that want customized programming, such as community-based organizations and our work with environmental leaders, and with foundation and corporate boards. The third leg is our urban/education programming. That's our wholesale business and its aimed at systemic change....Here, we're not satisfied with the old "ripple effect"....Now we need to determine how to promote change. How do you market this strategy? How do you maintain quality control?

Thus, operating urban programs has led Outward Bound to adapt to an urban setting as well as an urban clientele--learning to work with new student populations, learning to deal with large urban school districts, soliciting symbolic and financial support from influential urban organizations, thinking about how one brings adventure into the city, finding funds for a "wholesale" as opposed to "retail" enterprise, and so on. Alluding to the difficulty of shifting its institutional focus to embrace urban/education programming, a COBS administrator offered an overview of what doing so required:

> The city is a different venue and it requires a different curriculum [than the wilderness schools]....It's a whole different industry and that's why it's so difficult. It takes a different level of support to keep an urban program going. To do it successfully, you have to be like New York City Outward Bound Center which is highly dependent on outside fundraising to support their program. You become dependent on the goodwill of your funders....[In addition,] urban programming requires a different type of staff training and recruitment, because it requires a different *kind* of person to do this. It also takes extensive networking. You need to "partner" with everyone....You need to find new revenue sources and that requires shifts in your fundraising strategies which requires a different organizational administration and different program directors....It's also connected to marketing and public relations issues as well as school policies. You need new safety policies. The urban setting is not like the wilderness.

In terms of working with urban youth who, for the most part, represent a new clientele and new challenge for Outward Bound, a trustee from the Atlanta Outward Bound Center remarked:

> The challenge is not just to work with successful students, helping educated middle class students to get enrichment from Outward Bound. That's no great challenge. The challenge is to translate, disseminate, and inculcate the ideas so that the vulnerable persons in society are served as well.

That working with this population would likely require significant shifts on the part of Outward Bound was apparent one afternoon when a representative from the New York City Outward Bound Center went to a City high school to recruit students for a summer scholarship course. In arranging to meet with students' parents, the students raised concerns that provide a sense for the challenges Outward Bound faces in the city:

> I'm 20. Do I need *anyone's* approval?
>
> My grandmother is my guardian and she can't come to the meeting because she's in a wheelchair.
>
> I have a job and can't leave work for two weeks.
>
> I work every night until eleven so I can't come to a meeting.

As Outward Bound's clientele has changed, so has the nature of the "Outward Bound experience" been modified for urban settings. The question has arisen, for example, whether "challenge" must play such a central role in Outward Bound expeditions. Quoting an Outward Bound instructor who was working at one New York City high school, Sanna Randolph observed:

> To these kids, just being out of doors is challenging enough. There's lots of levels of challenge....Outward Bound is too challenging and risks turning students off. [They] don't join for the challenge; they join for the enjoyment. If [the program] becomes too much of a macho thing, students will lose interest and not sign up (Randolph 1990: 46-7).

The school principal supported this notion: "People in the school don't want the program to be too challenging. We were intentionally an adaptive Outward Bound program....because the student population determines how challenging it can be" (Randolph 1990: 47).

Outward Bound has also had to consider how to bring "adventure" into an urban, classroom setting. As an instructor at the Atlanta Outward Bound Center remarked:

> The wilderness experience can't be beat. To realize anything comparable in the classroom we need to be creative, to do it in one hour. And it needs to have a carry-over, and that can be tough when you only see students occasionally....In the wilderness, the wilderness itself takes care of lots of things. Students are comfortable in schools. We need to design activities that will change that.

Speaking to the need to shift the work that Outward Bound undertakes, Stuart Clarke, the Director of the Atlanta Outward Bound Center, raised concern with needing to find new types of instructors:

> We need to reconceptualize the role of the Outward Bound instructor. The people filling this job this need to be able to do different things. They need a combination of skills that are rare. They need to have an outdoors competency and classroom teaching skills and be able to deal with different populations. Working with students of color is new for many Outward Bound personnel. They, or someone, also needs to be able to write grants to get funds to support this work.

Perhaps most significantly, what is at least implicit in these statements is that the efforts of Outward Bound USA have, to a degree, redefined Outward Bound. As a consequence of the Urban/Education Initiative, Outward Bound--in its multiple manifestations and with its wide-ranging partners--is now fully involved in the arena of educational reform. No longer are wilderness retreats or ropes courses the primary intervention by Outward Bound personnel in American schools; as a consequence of the Initiative, Outward Bound representatives are full participants in the national effort at school restructuring. Also, by the nature of this work, the Initiative has engendered strain within the Outward Bound confederacy. All Outward Bound Schools and Centers have particular identities; yet through the Initiative, many began to reassess their identity, never an easy process. In the process, various philosophical and practical divisions have emerged, within particular Outward Bound Schools and Centers as well as Outward Bound itself.

For instance, in some sites parents were concerned with allowing their daughters to go on an overnight trip supervised by male instructors, a concern often further complicated when parents had limited understanding of English. Some students raised concerns with issues of hygiene, while others simply considered the wilderness unfamiliar and discomforting. Describing some difficulties the School faced in seeking to increase its urban programming, a COBS administrator observed:

> To work with this student population, we tried to find a different kind of instructor, but there aren't many of them. Most people want to do wilderness and mountaineering in Colorado. But to work with urban youth one has to realize that people bring different world views to the experience. It used to be that when COBS was working with this population it was "sink or swim." Now, we do evening sessions with kids to prepare them for the experience. Urban kids have different views about the wilderness and such traditional Outward Bound learning experiences as "soloing" and "working through adversity" can be difficult for these students....We're still learning a lot as to how we, as a culture, need to shift. COBS has a very macho image. In our view, the mountains offer a very effective setting for what we want to accomplish, but we're still learning to adjust our approach and style.

Concerns have also arisen as to whether you can truly "do Outward Bound" in the city. Some wilderness veterans, for example, are struggling with the idea of being able to provide an "Outward Bound experience" without the physical demands of a 26-day expedition. Some of these persons believe that in order to truly understand and benefit from the Outward Bound experience, participants need the physical challenge of an extended expedition; other staff, often those with more limited Outward Bound backgrounds and who work in school-based programs, see the group-building skills and character development that comes from initiatives and other activities as representative enough of Outward Bound to get the message across. Speaking to this tension, a COBS staff member observed: "There's a fundamental tension here. Most Outward Bound Schools look the same everywhere [in terms of their reliance on the wilderness and extended expeditions as the central means to achieve their goals]. Yet, the Expeditionary Learning schools don't. So the question arises: Can we get the same outcomes through different means?" Another COBS administrator made a similar observation and connected his concern to financial issues as well:

> A key question for COBS was whether we could be all things to all people. And while we all agreed that we wanted to build character through service learning, leadership exploration, environmental issues, and so on, we also were asking ourselves: Must we do it exclusively through wilderness experiences? That was the issue. At one point, we felt that we could do both. Eventually, I think we realized that we can't. Not only did it strain us financially, but we had competition for our "core programming" from other outdoor and adventure organizations so we had to make a decision as to which direction we'd chose.

It is not surprising this split also falls somewhat along racial/ethnic lines. There are not many long-time Outward Bound wilderness veterans who are persons of color.

In a related vein, TIOBEC administrators have struggled with whether they should focus on outreach activities or try to draw students to their island resource. For instance, several TIOBEC programs rely on having an Outward Bound staff person in the schools almost full-time. TIOBEC administrators, however, are uncertain whether this is the most effective method for achieving Initiative goals:

> [I]t's very time consuming and staff intensive to take one person who is on a full-time salary and to put him or her in a school where you're only seeing them one day a week. You're meeting once a week as a program staff, and they're in the school the rest of the time....I really began to question whether that's an effective way to make change. And the other thing that I realized is, if we're not using Thompson Island as a resource, we shouldn't even own Thompson Island. We should do what [the] New York [City Outward Bound Center] does. So my model has really shifted from sending out staff into schools to change the institution of

> the school to really encouraging schools to use [Thompson Island] as a resource and to try and export some of the things we do well back into the classroom, through informed teachers and making a demonstrable difference in kids in the experience of how to learn.

The idea that Outward Bound is now working to change other institutions represents another institutional shift for Outward Bound. In the past, Outward Bound had the working philosophy of "changing the world, one person at a time." However, through the Urban/Education Initiative, Outward Bound Schools and Centers have committed themselves to changing institutions. When asked about this shift, a TIOBEC staff member suggested that the issue of institutional versus individual change was not yet completely resolved:

> I guess I really have to pull back and ask the question...is our goal to make institutional change or are we in the business of changing individuals? And I don't think we are experts in schools. I think we are experts in a way to teach and a way to learn and a way to understand that's different.

Speaking to this same tension, a COBS trustee voiced his support for Outward Bound's "traditional" educational role:

> Outward Bound has an educational niche and that's the class 23-to-28-day course. You can have teachers take that course and then apply the lessons they learn as a consequence to their classrooms. But don't call it Outward Bound....Outward Bound needs to "tend to its knitting"....We scatter shot ourselves for awhile there and I think that it was a big mistake.

In light of the nature of the Outward Bound organization, a confederacy that affords individual schools and centers considerable autonomy, it also seems noteworthy that the Urban/Education Initiative has led to what might be called, in contrast to institutional change, "institutional retrenchment" within the confederacy. While certain Outward Bound schools have embraced the inner city as a viable and valid site for their work, at other sites, there has been a renewed commitment to their wilderness orientation and a fairly prominent recognition that here, not in urban settings, is where their future as an organization lies. Addressing this shift in perception and role, a staff member from PCOBS noted: "At first, we thought that we were the engine on the train of school reform. Now, we see ourselves as just one more of the boxcars." Within COBS itself--mostly at the administrative and trustee levels--the mission of the school became a topic of heated debate. Eventually, the Colorado Outward Bound School made a commitment to wilderness programming as its institutional focus. As an administrator noted: "In the short-term, we decided to focus on our core programming, the wilderness, but we'll try to keep our innovative side alive as well in the Project Center, but that can probably only be 10 to 15 percent of the School's

budget and work." In these and other cases, the strains of adapting to urban/education programming--both philosophical and programmatic--proved too difficult.

Commonly, tensions that emerge within institutions, such as those experienced by Outward Bound Schools and Centers as a consequence of their involvement with the Urban/Education Initiative and the consequent reassessment of their mission, are seen as something negative, something to be avoided, something detrimental to the functioning of an institution. Yet tension can lead to growth. Some at COBS, for example, feel that the tensions generated by the Initiative have been healthy, for Outward Bound writ large as well as COBS. As one administrator remarked:

> When the urban programs were first introduced, a lot of wilderness schools' "baggage" got in the way. It's tied with Schools' images. A mountaineering school is what we were. For COBS, this [urban programming] was not the image that we wanted. But since [the Urban/Education Initiative was first introduced] there has been an evolution in the thinking of many associated with wilderness schools and they've begun to see Outward Bound as a process that can be divorced from the wilderness and now the respect for urban programming is growing. It's not image so much that holds Schools back now, it's more a matter of resources. From our point of view, we have to stick to the basics for our resources and income. We can't do it all. Besides, there are other [wilderness and adventure] schools doing it. There's [a rehabilitation hospital] that has its own ropes course....There are ex-COBS staff now doing their own stuff. We don't stand out in this area anymore. So why do it if others are doing so much in this area? It's just not that profitable. The anti-urban baggage is not a big deal now.

Offering his perception of the effects of the Initiative on Outward Bound, another COBS administrator expressed his view of the institutional tension this work engendered:

> The Urban/Education Initiative has been a creative and positive tension. That's the benefit of a confederacy. It allows autonomy at each individual School and in Outward Bound internationally. And our applicability to so many areas pulls us all. We at COBS have pushed Outward Bound too in different directions. But in the case of the Urban/Education Initiative, the threat was there to our financial stability so we stepped back for awhile and have been thinking about how we might strategically expand....At one point, I think there was a feeling that by having such an urban and school-based orientation we might confuse the public as to what we really are. Now I think it's apparent that it's OK to be different. It's OK for there to be the New York City Outward Bound Center.

F. Summary

In terms of institutional change, Outward Bound Schools and Centers have taken their traditional, intensive, short-term interventions with schools and urban youth (scholarship programs and those for adjudicated youth being exceptions) and begun to make those more sustained relationships. The early Urban/Education Initiative efforts in general can be characterized as intended to change institutions by changing the experiences of persons within those institutions. Teachers and administrators have been exposed to Outward Bound pedagogy and encouraged to think about how they would work together to change their schools. Students, too, have had opportunities to experience what Outward Bound could offer and have been encouraged to bring what they learned to bear on their schools and communities through community service projects. With the Expeditionary Learning Project, Outward Bound appears to have taken the ideas developed in the Initiative and pushed them further so as to begin to think about how one could transform entire schools and school systems, exposing more teachers and students to these ideas as well as bringing more partners into their restructuring efforts.

VIII. GOALS, COHERENCE, CONSISTENCY

Outward Bound has a history of adapting its philosophy and methods to the needs of diverse people. They have adapted wilderness courses to serve juvenile offenders, substance abusers, corporate executives, and differently abled people--often making these adaptations in collaboration with those being served, shifting the focus and metaphors to match issues their clients face. In the Urban/Education Initiative, Outward Bound's first sustained effort to address the needs of urban youth, they have retained an experiential focus and such fundamental Outward Bound tenets as challenge, adventure, cooperation, and service. In so doing, the Initiative has sought to apply Outward Bound pedagogy on multiple levels: individually, by directly serving disadvantaged youth; institutionally, by promoting change in youth service agencies and schools; and in professional development, thereby affecting youth over a long period of time. Given the difficulties that have beset school restructuring efforts to date, such an adaptive and multi-dimensional strategy to urban school reform seems logical.

The problems inner city youth face are complex and there are no clear answers to meeting their diverse needs. The Urban/Education Initiative has encouraged individuation and adaptation to meet diverse needs in varied settings. Each program has been designed and implemented by different people with varying areas of expertise, with different degrees of exposure to Outward Bound ideas, and who operate within different institutions. Speaking to the need for local interpretation, the New York City Outward Bound Center noted:

> Since we make an effort to be as responsive as possible to the needs of individual schools, each of our school-based programs is somewhat

> different. For example, at South Bronx, where dropout rates are high and academic achievement low, our focus is on using Outward Bound programming to stimulate an interest in school and improve academic performance....[A]t South Shore High School...race relations have been problematic [so] the focus is on using our program activities to promote inter group understanding and cooperation....[A]t George Washington High...we established an Outward Bound "house"...as part of the school's overall restructuring effort...[to] reduce some of the alienation and anonymity that exists in a school with nearly 4,000 students by breaking that large student population into several smaller communities (New York City Outward Bound Center n.d.: 4).

In contrast, the Expeditionary Learning Project has adopted a different strategy. Characterizing the goals of Expeditionary Learning, Meg Campbell, Director of the Expeditionary Learning Outward Bound Project, said, "We're not saying to schools, 'Let a thousand flowers bloom.' We're promoting the design principles. So if you agree to them, lets do it together ."

A. The View From the Public Schools

The Urban/Education Initiative, and Expeditionary Learning in particular, promote teacher development as the means to develop ownership and sustainability of the goals initially identified by the Initiative. For teachers to design and implement their own expeditions, they must understand the philosophy and methods of Outward Bound and apply these in a school setting. While this emphasis is consistent with the Initiative's goal of effecting change in teacher beliefs in a sustained way, the current level of understanding of the Initiative, and commitment to the associated philosophy, varies. Some teachers can articulate the ideas clearly and readily see translations to a school setting. Still, in many settings Initiative projects were one of a multitude of reform interventions, a common tendency in urban schools that are willing to embrace whatever additional resources and expertise they may be offered. As one teacher in an Expeditionary Learning school stated, "I feel totally supported by members of my team. I'm not sure about the other teachers in the school, though." Further, while some view the Initiative's goals and practices as "revolutionary," others say, "We've been doing this all along." As one teacher noted with regard to the Expeditionary Learning Project:

> Expeditionary Learning is really old stuff that good teachers have done for a long time--cooperation, group work, drawing inferences, making new ideas, incorporating different curriculum areas, direct instruction, emphasis on a good product. The 'unit' is repackaged as an 'expedition.'

Further, while some teachers view Expeditionary Learning as "the framework that draws all of our reform efforts together," others see it as an addition to existing reform efforts from which they can selectively take elements that fit their needs. One teacher, for instance, indicated that while she and her colleagues appreciated

Outward Bound support and agreed with the goals of the Initiative, she felt that it was important to adapt these ideas to each setting:

> We don't want a canned, labeled package. We like our tradition, but are always looking at new ideas and ways to interweave them. We decided that some components of learning expeditions work and some don't, so we pick and choose. We have had numerous other programs here, and we take the best and weave it into our school. Our school is a living thing, that's why it is working. We all challenge each other. It's not one thing. It doesn't have a name.

In many schools, teachers knew what Outward Bound offered, but did not understand the broader implications of the Initiative. For the most part, teachers' schedules were so intense that they had little time during the normal school year to reflect--either individually or as a collective--on the philosophical underpinnings to their work. Nonetheless, it is clear that the greatest advocates of the Initiative's goals and practices are those who have experienced Outward Bound directly and on more than one occasion, through various professional development opportunities. Quite simply, the more that they have experienced, the more receptive they are to these ideas as well as the more sophisticated their understandings tend to be.

As with teachers, administrators exhibited a range of commitment and understandings of the Initiative and its goals. Not surprisingly, there seems to be a correlation between administrators' views of the Initiative and Expeditionary Learning and their teachers' views. And once more, administrators who had more exposure to Outward Bound and Expeditionary Learning professional development opportunities tended to be the most supportive of these ideas and to understand them thoroughly.

Understandings of the Initiative's goals and Expeditionary Learning, and the ability to articulate the philosophy, also varied among students. In many sites, students were unable to describe Outward Bound or Expeditionary Learning. In Dubuque, however, where teacher development has been extensive and highly systematic, students described Expeditionary Learning in terms of active learning, connection to the community, doing quality work, and helping each other. In some of Dubuque's expeditions, the design principles were used to write essays assessing the expeditions, and in all schools the design principles were prominent. Again it seems logical that the greater the understanding of the adults involved, the more articulate they were in expressing the goals and purposes of Expeditionary Learning, thus the more able students were to articulate the philosophy.

Helen Fouhey, Program Director of the Thompson Island Outward Bound Education Center in Boston, has said that kids often don't fully understand learning expeditions because they have never been on an adventure expedition. As such, why should they make the connection between a package of certain elements to an understanding of the expedition concept? Her point makes an interesting parallel

with teachers: Those who have done an expedition are more likely to appreciate and support the power of the concept; those who haven't, tend to be less committed. As we emphasize throughout this report, exposure to Outward Bound outdoor and wilderness experiences appears to have a strong socializing component.

B. The Outward Bound Staff Perspective

The Outward Bound staff members who are directly involved with these efforts tend to see the Urban/Education Initiative in a broader light than school personnel. They speak less about curriculum impact and more about their hopes for Outward Bound's influence on the development of character, community, and self-esteem. Themes of challenge, service, relationships to nature, and social change were often articulated by Outward Bound staff. One HIOBS staff member, for instance, epitomized what we hard from many Outward Bound personnel when he described the role of Outward Bound in the Urban/Education Initiative:

> What I love most about Outward Bound is what gets applied to learning anywhere. First, it's that strong sense of self, that you are more than you know. If we can just be made to see it we will settle for nothing less. And then of course, helping young people build on success....With the help of the group you can succeed. That creates an interest in learning that you can't extinguish. Enterprising curiosity, tenacity....all those Outward Bound tenets absolutely apply to education in any form.

As with teachers and administrators, Outward Bound personnel seem to cover a range of beliefs and commitment to the Initiative. And as noted in the "coordination and management" section, the understanding and involvement of local Outward Bound personnel in the Initiative is, in many sites, limited. (Explicitly "urban" Centers, such as Atlanta and New York City, and Thompson Island being exceptions.) In Portland and Colorado, for example, involvement by Outward Bound Schools in Initiative efforts was primarily the responsibility of a single individual. To some extent, the limited involvement of Outward Bound personnel in Initiative programs reflects the differing perspectives many Outward Bound personnel hold regarding the goals of the Initiative. Many instructors and administrators believe that a wilderness experience and extended contact is essential to maintain the integrity of the Outward Bound experience. Others maintain that the experience can be translated to the urban setting and have a dramatic impact in a short contact time. Even School and Center staff who are active in translating Outward Bound practices to urban settings vary in their commitment and ownership of Initiative goals. In reference to the Expeditionary Learning Project, an Initiative advocate with a long Outward Bound history said:

> [Outward Bound staff] don't understand Expeditionary Learning. There's little communication between the various sites....[Expeditionary Learning] is a shift for Outward Bound that not all instructors support. Some buy into NASDC because of the potential income. Without the

money, there'd probably be no support. Some staff couldn't care less but they'll be supportive, in part, because of the money.

A related question that emerges from this tension concerns whether a wilderness experience is essential to develop the understanding necessary to realize the objectives of the Initiative. As a Dubuque principal said, "Not all teachers are going to go camping, so Outward Bound needs to find some other way to deliver their message." This statement contrasts sharply with a Boston principal who said, "Teacher's need to have done [an expedition] to see the value of it, to bring the design principles into the classroom."

Clearly, in developing the understanding and ability to implement the goals of the Initiative in public schools, teachers and administrators benefit from Outward Bound experiences. To facilitate this development, Initiative efforts would benefit from connecting more directly with Outward Bound Schools and Centers so that these persons fully understand what the Initiative seeks to accomplish. Indeed, just as Expeditionary Learning school personnel feel that they benefit immensely from the opportunities for professional development provided them through sharing days, so might Outward Bound personnel who work most closely with Initiative efforts benefit from more opportunities to come together and share their experiences, with the intent of advancing the quality of their work. It also seems that doing more of this would promote more of a "shared," and therefore consistent, understanding of what Outward Bound's role should be in Initiative efforts.

C. Consistencies in Initiative-Related Work

While multiple strategies have been employed to realize the overarching goals of the Initiative and projects have been designed by various persons, there are consistent aspects to how these ideas have been put into practice. In all programs, there is an emphasis on sustained interventions (to varying degrees), whether it is a week-long summer workshop for teachers with follow-up reunions in the course of the school year, or an ongoing effort to work directly with students in urban schools, or the creation of a school designed to implement the educational ideals of Outward Bound. Second, the programs all seek to foster active learning, cooperation, and community service. This commitment can be seen both in programs designed for students and in professional development work with teachers. Third, and again to varying degrees, these efforts have attempted to influence various dimensions of school life and sought to create a "critical mass" of informed participants at involved schools.

With specific regard for the Expeditionary Learning Project, here too, despite variations in understanding and level of commitment, there are common structural and institutional changes. Active learning, for instance, has been commonplace--as students built teepees, created earthquake simulations, presented oral reports, planned overnight trips, mapped sections of their city, and climbed ropes. There was also a focus on real-life challenges--from raising money for

community service projects, to creating oral history projects, to addressing environmental issues. *How* people were accomplishing their tasks, if they were, was a topic of regular reflection at the Expeditionary Learning schools we visited. In addition, much of the work at these schools was interdisciplinary, blending, at various times, science, social studies, literacy, art, English, and math. And a concern for values permeated much of what occurred: At the Rocky Mountain School, there was a discussion of stolen property and its effect on the school community; in Portland, teachers and students discussed the right of all persons to express their views; and the value of service was a topic of discussion and debate in community meetings at various Expeditionary Learning schools.

At these schools it was also revealing as to what we *didn't* see. In contrast to many American classrooms, there were no pre-packaged worksheets. Classrooms were not dominated by teachers standing in the front of the room dispensing all relevant information and dominating the class. Students did not spend most of their time absorbing information. Rather, they worked both collaboratively and individually, and their teachers provided assistance and feedback on their performance. And *the* classroom was not always *a* classroom. Apparently, it was assumed that learning could occur in many contexts.

D. Service and Reflection

In a number of sites, teachers praised the effectiveness of Initiative interventions but pointed out that two key Outward Bound components, service and reflection, were largely missing. Teachers who felt that they understood these concepts stated on several occasions that they thought service and reflection were vital to learning, but they simply did not have time for service projects or reflection. This is not surprising. For one thing, few teachers are familiar with the subject. It certainly is not part of many teacher education programs in the country. Also, service does not fit easily into the structure of a school. While service projects may entail considerable amounts of time, it is not clear how such work would be graded. There are few textbooks on service. Many view any connections with "real learning" as tenuous. The constraints of schedules, transportation, and relationships with community agencies further complicate the matter. Yet service learning fits neatly with the philosophy and methods promoted through the Initiative, which emphasizes interdisciplinary learning, project-based assessment, authentic assignments, and student-centered classrooms.

Even given these constraints, teachers in Hickory (NC), in concert with Outward Bound staff, received a National Service Learning grant. And in Dubuque, schools have sought to connect with such resources as the Service Learning National Network as a source for ongoing development through national conferences and the Service Learning National Clearinghouse. In addition, Outward Bound has been involved with designing and running training programs for staff of the AmeriCorps Leaders organized by the Corporation for National Service.

Reflection is another element to Outward Bound philosophy that seems to have received limited attention, in classrooms as well as in school-wide forums related to reform. Still, such a process seems key to identifying inconsistencies between belief and action, a critical dimension to any attempt at change. The ability to frame an experience with useful concepts, and to reflect on an experience with thought provoking questions which integrate and apply knowledge also varied dramatically from one expedition to the next. In conversations with faculty, it was clear that some had developed these abilities, as both teachers and principals raised such questions as: Are quiet hallways and classrooms essential for learning? Does math need to be taught in a structured sequence? Does cooperative learning truly address the range of student abilities better?

Moreover, one consistent request from teachers is that they would like more time to assess and refine expeditions. This time is difficult to find in very hectic schedules, but it is critical. A central tenet of Outward Bound is that learning is enhanced through reflection on experience. Teachers need this time. This reflection component will play a large role in moving teachers along the continuum of understanding, in further refining the method, and in identifying discrepancies between belief and action.

E. Summary

The goals of the Urban/Education Initiative were written with a broad focus on improving the lives of urban youth and on addressing their needs on multiple levels and over time. In order to carry out this goal, Outward Bound initiated a variety of projects, taking many structural forms, focusing on differing issues, and playing different roles within the organizations with whom they worked. While these individual projects are quite diverse, there are consistent features in the translation of Outward Bound pedagogy: active learning, challenge, cooperation and service; sustained contact with youth; and a professional development component to promote long-term benefits.

Within the Expeditionary Learning network, there is considerable variety in the level of understanding and implementation of Expeditionary Learning. Commitment to the design principles also varies, as does the degree of teachers' adoption of the principles. Nonetheless, it seems important to acknowledge a general level of excitement and acceptance and to note that there is a clear relationship between the amount of exposure to Outward Bound type experiences and the level of commitment and understanding. In schools where more professional development has been undertaken and support is given to teachers, the level of advocacy and efficacy in implementation is higher. Finally, while Expeditionary Learning has been in existence for a relatively short period of time, there is progress in teachers' development along a continuum of greater understanding.

Expeditionary Learning has also promoted some consistent structural and institutional changes. These include block scheduling, increased partnerships with

the community, a shift toward authentic assessment, multi-age groupings with the same teachers for multiple years, teaming of teachers, and interdisciplinary, project-based curricula. Many teachers and administrators also noted an improvement in the climate of the schools, with more excitement, commitment, and support.

IX. COORDINATION AND MANAGEMENT

A key aspect of Outward Bound's strategy of forming and maintaining multiple partnerships involves the ability to coordinate and manage these partners so that all players are working to maximize the potential of the Urban/Education Initiative. When it comes to having non-Outward Bound partners, such as Project Adventure, help support the Initiative, it seems largely an issue of coordination. Because Outward Bound is a collection of fairly autonomous individuals and organizations linked in a confederacy, in situations where multiple Outward Bound partners are working in the same geographic area, issues of management and coordination become more critical. In this section we first present a brief historical perspective to frame the activities and issues that we discuss. Next, we review some mechanisms designed to coordinate various aspects of the Urban/Education Initiative. We then discuss some tensions related to coordinating and managing a variety of partners. We should also add that in certain respects this discussion of coordination and management touches upon issues raised in the sections on "working partnerships" and "goals, coherence, and consistency."

Historically, the locus of control for most of the work undertaken by Outward Bound Schools and Centers has been lodged in the Schools and Centers themselves; Outward Bound USA was primarily conceived as a way to ensure program safety and quality and as a means to coordinate marketing efforts and such logistical matters as insurance coverage. When DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest funding was obtained to support the Urban/Education Initiative and NASDC funding was secured to create Expeditionary Learning/Outward Bound, the historical arrangement between the wilderness Schools and Outward Bound USA shifted, as Outward Bound USA was empowered to review and approve Initiative-related funding proposals and thereby to shape the nature of this reform effort. Further, Expeditionary Learning/Outward Bound and by association, Outward Bound USA, not the wilderness Schools, are primarily responsible for the implementation of the NASDC proposal. Consequently, as Outward Bound USA conceived the Urban/Education Initiative, has assumed a "gatekeeper" role for dispersing Initiative and NASDC funds, and has overseen the implementation of the various programs, the nature of the relationship between Outward Bound USA and the Schools and Centers has changed.

A. Coordinating Mechanisms

There are several mechanisms in place to help coordinate activities and purposes throughout the Urban/Education Initiative, one common mechanism being to bring together those Outward Bound staff working with Initiative-

sponsored programs to share information and insights related to their work. For instance, during the first two years of the Initiative, such meetings were convened two or three times each year so that staff involved with Initiative projects could exchange information and develop and refine program models related to such areas as teacher development, service, and minority staff development. The New York City Outward Bound Center sponsors semiannual meetings that bring together the Center's various partners--including representatives from schools and community-based organizations--to share and reflect upon their Initiative-related efforts. In Colorado, the PEC/School Renewal Project brought together its school-based partners for "reunions" three or four times each year so that teachers could see how their colleagues from other schools were implementing active learning and service into their curricula and to consider how they all might adapt some of these ideas. Management team meetings among program directors from the Outward Bound Schools and Centers are another form of coordination, although Urban/Education Initiative issues are only one piece of their discussions.

The previously discussed shift in the influence of Outward Bound USA as the partner who reviewed Initiative proposals also constitutes a form of coordination and management. That is, the goals of the Initiative are fairly specific--focusing on teacher development, promoting active teaching and learning, creating sustained and systemic reform in urban schools. With these overarching goals in mind, Outward Bound USA has encouraged the Schools and Centers to frame their proposals, monitored the resulting projects, and has evaluated the proposals along these lines. It also financed exchanges between staff at the various Schools and Centers to promote a shared awareness of emerging developments related to these projects.

However, some Outward Bound Schools and Centers, who have traditionally enjoyed more control over their programs, have been put off by having to apply to Outward Bound USA for funds, and occasionally suffering rejection from the National Office. For instance, at first Outward Bound USA funded two youth leadership programs undertaken by COBS. Yet, over time as teacher development assumed greater prominence within the Initiative, these programs which had no teacher development component, were denied funding. In this case, the loss of funding proved especially troublesome because COBS had already received matching funds to support one program and felt compelled to continue at some financial loss. In other cases, schools felt that Outward Bound USA was telling them to "shoot the moon" in their proposals when the National Office did not plan to fund them at the level requested. From the National Office perspective, this was intended to help Schools and Centers think about their proposals and programs in a long-term and integrative sense and to view Initiative funds as one piece of a more broadly funded program strategy. Some schools, however, felt that they were investing time and personnel unwisely, since Outward Bound USA's goals and intentions were not clear to them. While linking funding to Initiative goals seems to have been an effective method for coordinating the various partners and

ensuring consistency of purpose, if communication is unclear, it also may alienate those crucial to fulfilling the Initiative's promise.

The Expeditionary Learning Project has spawned its own mechanisms for disseminating its vision (the design principles) and coordinating activities among various partners. *The Web*, Sharing Days, and electronic mail (e-mail) all serve to spread information and raise issues about the trials, tribulations, and accomplishments of the Expeditionary Learning Project. For the most part, all of these services appear to help teachers and administrators in the various sites learn from one another. *The Web*, for instance, is a newsletter produced by Expeditionary Learning which includes articles written by Expeditionary Learning staff and school personnel and is designed to provide members of the network with guidance about such educational concerns as standards and assessment, learning expeditions, and administrative issues in Expeditionary Learning schools. However, it seems reasonable to ask whether a newsletter can effectively inform its readers about such complex ideas as those embodied in the design principles, as well as whether its readership finds it useful. This is not to say that Outward Bound should stop publishing *The Web*; rather, *The Web* has likely received enough exposure at this point to conduct a "reader survey" to ascertain whether, as presently constituted, *The Web* is promoting the goals for which it is intended, as well as assessing such factors as the degree of readership, the type(s) of articles practitioners find useful, and suggestions for future directions of the newsletter.

The Sharing Days serve a similar purpose as *The Web*, although in a more intensive and experiential (a la Outward Bound) fashion. These mini-conferences, usually two or three days long, have been held in several Expeditionary Learning sites and provide opportunities for teachers and administrators from Expeditionary Learning schools to meet and learn from one another. These gatherings also offer Expeditionary Learning national staff opportunities to spread new ideas or to address any misconceptions that arise at school sites. At most Sharing Days held during the 1993-94 school year, for example, Outward Bound staff ran workshops on such issues as standards and assessment, conducting initiatives, or implementing learning expeditions. While participants generally perceived the benefit of these experiences in terms of their own needs and interests--perhaps the most common being that they served as sources of professional rejuvenation--there was also a consensus that these opportunities to hear from and collaborate with colleagues from other sites helped advance the project as a whole by clarifying and elaborating the objectives of their work.

The Expeditionary Learning/Outward Bound e-mail network, as presently designed, serves as a link among Expeditionary Learning staff, school administrators, and Outward Bound personnel, offering people a way to communicate with colleagues in different sites and thereby to draw on their collective wisdom. Most teachers, however, do not have computers in their classroom and most schools do not have phone lines with data capacity to link classrooms. Teachers who want to connect to e-mail generally need to use a

computer in their administrator's office. While many teachers have taken this step, the Expeditionary Learning Project may want to assess the value of this communication mechanism and seek funding to make such technology more widely available so that teachers and students can connect with their counterparts at other Expeditionary Learning sites without having to leave their classrooms.

In addition to the formal mechanisms for coordinating Initiative-related efforts, informal connections among participants can be an effective means of communicating and coordinating activities. As one Outward Bound veteran from TIOBEC said, "You can go to any Outward Bound School and I think you would find people who are similar; it's a culture." This shared vision, experience, and respect among many Outward Bound personnel has allowed informal networks to supplement the more formal mechanisms for coordinating the Initiative. For example, in Boston, Helen Fouhey, Program Director at TIOBEC, reported that she learned a great deal about the NASDC proposal and the design principles as a result of her friendship and informal visits with Diana Lamm and Meg Campbell (two of the proposal's principal authors), not through any formal Outward Bound mechanism.

These coordinating mechanisms--reunions, funding proposals, Sharing Days, *The Web*, e-mail, and informal networks--appear fairly effective at coordinating activities and understandings between Expeditionary Learning and its partner schools. Outward Bound should, however, continually assess how effectively these systems, especially e-mail and *The Web*, are achieving their goals (although to date, the focus on *The Web* and the e-mail network understandably have been to simply get them up and running). We should add that Expeditionary Learning has been doing precisely this during the Sharing Days through participant evaluations. In the following section, using the Boston/Cambridge region as a case study, we explore coordination and management issues in this site and how they have influenced the implementation of the Initiative.

B. The Boston/Cambridge Case

The increase in funding for the Urban/Education Initiative--from both DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund and NASDC--has enabled Outward Bound USA to insert new players, such as Expeditionary Learning and the Harvard/Outward Bound Project (HOBP), into regions where pre-existing Schools or Centers had been the sole representatives of Outward Bound. In doing so, a tension has arisen: On the one hand, the Urban/Education Initiative would seem to have the best chance for creating systemic change and improving the delivery of services to urban youth in regions where public schools can draw on the resources and expertise of Expeditionary Learning staff, Outward Bound Schools, and higher education institutions. In this regard, Boston/Cambridge is unique in that it is home to the Expeditionary Learning office and the Harvard/Outward Bound Project, in addition to the Thompson Island Outward Bound Education Center. On the other hand, if the partners are not acting with a consistency of purpose and

vision, they may operate inefficiently, or worse, could undermine each other's efforts.

To examine the tensions that can arise in settings where the power and programmatic dynamics have shifted due to the introduction of new entities, we focus on the Boston/Cambridge case, a setting in which a series of partnerships have been formed to draw on the unique resources and expertise of the various collaborators. We begin by describing the key Urban/Education Initiative players in Boston/Cambridge and then examine the tensions that have arisen when several Outward Bound-related entities operate in close proximity. While this discussion focuses on tensions related to issues of shared vision, finances, and territorial prerogatives in Boston/Cambridge, we feel that the same tensions and possibilities exist with any site where there is an Outward Bound School or Center, an Expeditionary Learning school, and the potential for making connections with one or more post-secondary institutions (e.g., Colorado, Portland, and New York City).

1. Thompson Island Outward Bound Education Center

Thompson Island is the largest Outward Bound Center/School in terms of total annual expenses and revenues and the second largest Urban/Education Initiative Center. At TIOBEC most of the DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund resources for the past three years were spent on six projects: the Middle School Leadership Initiative, Project Island Discovery, leadership training for City Year participants, Island School, Harbor Conservation Corps, and the Environmental Leadership Program. TIOBEC offers many other urban/education programs not directly supported by DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund, although some funding for such programs as "Connecting with Courage" have been leveraged as a result of the DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund support.

One of the key features of these programs is that TIOBEC has developed relationships and formal partnerships with a variety of organizations. As expected, many of these partnerships, such as Project Island Discovery, the Middle School Leadership Initiative, and the High School Outreach Program, have been developed with public schools for the benefit of their students. But other youth-serving programs, such as Island School, City Bound, Connecting with Courage, and the Harbor Conservation Corps, have helped to create and foster relationships with agencies other than public schools. For instance, Island School, designed to build character and academic capacity for Boston middle school students, is run in collaboration with the Unitarian Universalist Urban Ministry at the First Church in Roxbury. Similarly, City Bound, a year-round residential program for at-risk, special needs boys, is conducted with the Robert F. Kennedy Action Corps, Inc. and Compass, Inc., agencies that specialize in residential treatment for at-risk youth. In contrast, Connecting with Courage, a program to help develop "physical and moral courage" in adolescent girls, has been developed through a partnership with the Harvard/Outward Bound Project.

With regard to the Expeditionary Learning Project, TIOBEC's role appears to be less well-defined than in other Initiative projects, where they are primarily responsible for implementing specific programs. During this first Expeditionary Learning year, TIOBEC's role was seen primarily as providing "wilderness settings and experiences" to Expeditionary Learning schools in Boston. Many staff members from Expeditionary Learning and the Harvard/Outward Bound Project and other partners saw TIOBEC as providing resources and services directly to Expeditionary Learning schools. For example, TIOBEC staff offered initiatives early in the year to help build group cohesion among Hernandez School staff and regularly tried to enrich the field work associated with learning expeditions. Ian Lipson, Thompson Island's liaison to the Expeditionary Learning schools last year, spent as much as one day per week in each of three Boston schools. At first, both Ian and school staff seemed uncertain as to how his expertise should be integrated into the life of the Expeditionary Learning Schools. By the end of the year, Ian was working mostly with the physical education teachers to develop their skills at running ropes courses and initiatives. This form of staff development--working with one or two teachers and modeling Outward Bound pedagogy--may be an effective way to institutionalize Outward Bound in the public schools. Nevertheless, doing so requires shifts in thinking for all involved and most likely, funding to support this person, and some degree of structural change as well.

2. The Harvard/Outward Bound Project

The Harvard/Outward Bound Project is part of an interesting dynamic in terms of developing partnerships in the Boston/Cambridge region. Not only is the Project concerned with forming and maintaining partnerships with Outward Bound entities, public schools, and other youth-serving agencies, but in order to become established at Harvard, they have directed much of their energy toward forming a sustained relationship with the University itself. HOBP gained a foothold at Harvard through the efforts of the late Paul Ylvisaker, former Dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education (HGSE), who invited Outward Bound to come to Harvard as a representative of the experiential education movement. Having the strong support of the former Dean was an important political feature of Outward Bound's residence at Harvard.

Furthermore, HOBP still has many influential supporters on the current graduate school faculty, including the new dean, Jerry Murphy, who experienced Outward Bound on an invitational trip. Nonetheless, HOBP's position at Harvard is precarious, and without the funding from Outward Bound USA, they might have trouble surviving. Quite frankly, it appears that HOBP has a way to go before being accepted by many HGSE faculty. To this end, Harold "Doc" Howe--Senior Lecturer at HGSE, former Commissioner of the U.S. Department of Education, and Chair of the HOBP Advisory Committee--has been working to promote the integration of the Harvard/Outward Bound Project with other HGSE outreach projects. For instance, projects such as the Principals Center and the Teachers Network appear to have philosophies that are compatible with Outward Bound, and Howe believes that these projects, as well as the students and educators they serve, would benefit from

operating under an umbrella organization which he has termed the "Public Service Groups," programs that combine research, teaching, and most importantly, service to the Boston/Cambridge community.

Doc Howe is a tremendous supporter of HOBP, largely because he shares their views about what he calls "active teaching and learning." Through numerous memos and short papers he has enumerated many suggestions as to how Outward Bound could become more firmly connected to the HGSE mainstream. For example, at a major research institution, the foci of faculty research agendas is a good sign of what is valued, and for this reason, Howe suggests developing the "connection between Outward Bound and the research interests of Harvard faculty and students." He also suggests having HOBP institutionalized and having service learning "developed as a serious arena of emphasis in both HGSE and the rest of Harvard University." In spite of these possibilities, according to Howe, there has been "a lot of talk, but not a lot of action about coordinating all of the service activities at the Ed School." Further, another HOBP source commented: "It's not that the Ed School lacks community, but they talk a whole lot more about community than they model." To further complicate this effort, while working to secure its place at Harvard, HOBP is trying to play a role in the school reform effort that spawned Expeditionary Learning.

While the Harvard/Outward Bound Project is supported, in part, by Initiative funds through Outward Bound USA, its specific relationship to other Outward Bound entities is somewhat unclear. In part, the NASDC proposal came out of the HOBP office and the design team drew, to some extent, on ideas generated at the Harvard Graduate School of Education and many people from both Expeditionary Learning and Harvard refer to HOBP as the "think tank" for Expeditionary Learning. While key intellectual leaders such as Doc Howe, Eleanor Duckworth, and other Harvard faculty serve an important advisory function, there appears to be little day-to-day involvement between Expeditionary Learning and HOBP, although the Executive Director of Expeditionary Learning Outward Bound, Meg Campbell, is Co-Director of HOBP. While devoting much of her time to Expeditionary Learning, she also chairs the Active Learning in the Middle School summer institute and other Expeditionary Learning personnel serve as faculty for the institute. Additionally, many Harvard faculty serve on the Expeditionary Learning Advisory Board which Doc Howe chairs. This cross-fertilization between Expeditionary Learning and HOBP seems to be an effective means for coordinating and communicating the activities of both organizations.

Still, not everyone involved with Outward Bound in the Boston area feels that Harvard is the best place for Outward Bound's higher education connections. TIOBEC staff, for instance, question whether Outward Bound should pursue this relationship with Harvard, when, in their view, other institutions, such as Northeastern University, might also welcome Outward Bound. Since finding people with both Outward Bound experience and teacher education backgrounds is difficult, TIOBEC staff suggest that Outward Bound should work with colleges

committed to teacher education that will prepare teachers versed in Outward Bound pedagogy, including staff for Expeditionary Learning schools. Similar to concerns raised by Doc Howe, people questioned whether anyone at HGSE had made Expeditionary Learning or experiential education a focus of their research, whereas according to some at TIOBEC, several people at Northeastern had.

When these concerns were presented to Doc Howe, he suggested that Outward Bound's presence at Harvard offered Outward Bound credibility that other institutions could not provide. Others associated with Expeditionary Learning and HOBP felt that because of Harvard's non-traditional program and strong reputation, it has attracted Outward Bound field instructors into education programs, thereby helping to create a pool of educators familiar with the philosophy and practices of Outward Bound.

A key coordination issue that HOBP has struggled with is how operational or programmatic they can become without competing with TIOBEC. HOBP, for example, regularly gets calls to provide services which, currently, they almost always refer to TIOBEC in order to avoid any appearance of crossing into "TIOBEC's territory," thereby steering clear of conflict with TIOBEC. Yet, by doing so, the Harvard/Outward Bound Project may be foregoing income sources and connections that could help to secure its institutional viability. While HOBP staff never addressed this issue explicitly, their comments suggested some ambivalence. While wanting to respect TIOBEC's interests, they were seeking institutional security. As Steve Truitt, Co-Director of HOBP noted when reflecting on this internal struggle:

> One of our challenges is to, in a sense overcome the expectation in Outward Bound that we will continue to be only an academic think tank. We are attempting to become part of this Harvard Ed community, sharing our gifts--which means a little bit of program, a little bit of operation [i.e., Outward Bound, as an organization, is used to conducting programs and not acting like academic researchers], not that we're going to have a ropes course or boats.

In fact, this struggle is more than a worry about organizational security, it appears to be a deeper concern about HOBP's identity as an Outward Bound organization. For instance, running programs is how Outward Bound Schools and Centers generate much of their revenue. If HOBP becomes more operational, the program could affect the interplay of Boston's Outward Bound partners. In order for the interplay among partners to be productive and not divisive, the respective roles and responsibilities of these partners will need to be clarified.

3. Expeditionary Learning

Expeditionary Learning is a key link between Outward Bound and the public schools. In fact, Expeditionary Learning was established, in part, for this purpose, whereas other organizations, such as TIOBEC, have responsibilities in addition to their work with public schools. Much of Expeditionary Learning's involvement

with Boston schools is through the work of Scott Hartl, whose efforts have played a critical role in sharing and coordinating Expeditionary Learning pedagogies and curricula with teachers. His background as an Outward Bound instructor and as a public school educator helps him to serve as an effective translator of the design principles for practicing teachers, bringing Outward Bound's message to the schools and helping to keep the Expeditionary Learning Project focused on the needs of urban teachers and students. In his role as a facilitator for local expeditionary planning meetings and for staff development efforts during the national Sharing Days, Scott tries to model Outward Bound pedagogy. He provides gentle leadership, balancing the integrity of the content of the design principles with the teachers' need to construct their own understandings. In fact, because of the novelty of conducting learning expeditions, teachers and administrators at the Hernandez school in Boston seek Scott's "seal of approval" for their work. As the curriculum coordinator, a linchpin in developing expeditionary learning at Hernandez, said, "Scott Hartl *must* come in and validate what we're doing." This type of supportive oversight represents another way Outward Bound liaisons coordinate activities in partner schools.

While designing learning expeditions is new for teachers it is also new for Outward Bound staff members. Much of what is known about learning expeditions seems best understood by members of the design team and Expeditionary Learning staff, those persons most responsible for helping teachers translate this knowledge into practice. Indeed, in virtually every site where Outward Bound staff worked directly with schools, their efforts seemed to make a two-dimensional contribution to the coordination and management of Initiative work: First, their involvement with schools offered a means to ensure that Outward Bound communicated a coherent and consistent understanding of Initiative goals and practices. And second, in so doing, these persons were able to see how the goals of the Initiative were being put into practice at local school sites, providing them with an understanding of how their work might be adapted to best serve the interests of participating schools.

While these persons seem to have been effective communicators of Initiative goals for public school educators, sharing the Design Principles and expeditionary learning methods with other Outward Bound entities may be beyond the scope and responsibilities of their positions. Currently, TIOBEC staff, as well as those at other Schools and Centers, expressed concern with the degree to which the philosophy and practices promoted by the Initiative were understood by field staff, thereby throwing into question the degree to which the Initiative can draw on the skills and expertise of School and Center staff. Furthermore, as we have mentioned elsewhere and will discuss in this section, at various Expeditionary Learning sites there has been some confusion and uncertainty, by national as well as local Outward Bound personnel, as to just how staff from Outward Bound Schools and Centers might be integrated into the life and routine of an Expeditionary Learning school. Of course, there is also an issue of "capacity" here. Educating Outward Bound field staff in the goals and practices of the Initiative will certainly take time and one cannot expect

the Schools and Centers to drop all of their other projects in order to ensure that all field staff fully understand and appreciate the goals of the Initiative.

C. Shared Vision, Finances, and Territory: Some Emerging Tensions

Without effective means for coordinating the work and understandings of all Urban/Education Initiative partners, tensions among the various players can arise. These can emerge as vision tensions, tied to a lack of clarity regarding the mission and philosophy of the project, financial tensions, and especially critical in Boston/Cambridge, territorial tensions. The tension between the Expeditionary Learning Project and TIOBEC regarding the goals and philosophy of the Initiative also seems to reflect a lack of clarity about Thompson Island's role in the Expeditionary Learning schools. Clearly, TIOBEC has responsibilities other than serving Expeditionary Learning, although it is hoped that Outward Bound Schools and Centers staff will play a role in helping to translate the metaphor of an expedition into classroom practice for teachers and students. If this is the case, and it seems to be in Boston as well as other sites, then it is critical that Outward Bound field staff and Expeditionary Learning liaisons are reading from the same page. Yet, according to key TIOBEC staff members, there was no formal means to include the voice of Outward Bound's field staff in the design of Expeditionary Learning, those who could play a critical role in having teachers, administrators and students experience the Outward Bound message.

Moreover, while TIOBEC was instrumental in providing wilderness and other Outward Bound experiences to Hernandez teachers and administrators, beyond that crucial aspect of this partnership, there has been little comparably meaningful involvement by TIOBEC with the Expeditionary Learning Project. The TIOBEC staff member working with the Hernandez School primarily spent his time working with the physical education teacher developing her skills at conducting ropes courses and initiatives. While this was an important contribution to the Hernandez School and reflected the Initiative's goal of promoting sustained staff development, it did not appear to be a fully integrated aspect of expeditionary learning at Hernandez. It was not directly related to learning expeditions and any connections between these initiatives and expeditionary learning more generally were never made explicit. For the most part, teachers and students seemed to view these activities as simply a better gym class. Further, although TIOBEC staff attended most planning meetings to see what resources they could offer the learning expeditions, they were not integral members of the learning expedition planning groups, i.e., contributing to the conceptualization of the expedition.

The issue of having a shared vision also has financial implications for the Initiative. For example, in several sites, Outward Bound Schools were essentially seen and saw themselves as fee-for-service providers, rather than being considered integral partners in a collaborative effort. In Boston, the relationship between TIOBEC and the Expeditionary Learning Project was closer than the fee-for-service model; TIOBEC supported one staff member in the Expeditionary Learning schools three to four days per week. Yet, TIOBEC spends over a million dollars each year to

operate the island--maintaining the buildings, docks, and boats--which creates financial strain. Hence, TIOBEC expends considerable energy securing resources for island maintenance in addition to conducting programs. Because of their constrained financial situation, TIOBEC needed to recover costs incurred as a result of conducting additional programming for Expeditionary Learning schools. There does not seem to be any easy solution to this dilemma yet, again, clarifying the nature and value of Outward Bound Schools' and Centers' role in the Expeditionary Learning Project could help both partners make this a more satisfying relationship.

The Harvard/Outward Bound Project has also faced financial tensions. About a third of its annual funding, roughly $90,000, comes from the Initiative. The Project is also somewhat constrained from pursuing their own external funding because of potential conflicts with TIOBEC. Yet conducting programs seems to be one means for HOBP to secure fiscal stability. However, if they expand their programming, especially into the Boston community, they could compete with TIOBEC. Hints of this conflict are already evident and point to concerns with territory. That is, as a result of financial tensions, HOBP wants to become more operational, conducting more programs, both inside and outside of Harvard, in order to help ensure their security at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, to fulfill their service mission, and to realize more financial resources. However, any increase in programming by HOBP, especially programs outside of Harvard, may cause conflict with TIOBEC, as both organizations are likely to offer comparable (and competitive) services. These territorial issues might not have even surfaced if both of these organizations were not financially constrained. Yet, the financial strain to maintain the island and conduct programs led TIOBEC to be protective of their territory, while HOBP's need to become financially secure has caused it to "flex its muscles" and develop its programmatic base.

Another issue of territoriality concerns TIOBEC's plans for starting their own private school and for aligning themselves with Northeastern University. In fact, TIOBEC admitted its first students in September of this year. If TIOBEC successfully develops this lab school, then it may become a model for the use of Outward Bound pedagogy in school settings and provide TIOBEC with unique insights into effective implementation of expeditionary learning pedagogy. It will be interesting to see how the relationship among the three entities evolves if TIOBEC becomes experienced with implementing Outward Bound pedagogy in its own school. For instance, would TIOBEC continue to provide services to Expeditionary Learning schools if it meant diverting resources from its own expeditionary learning experiment?

Further, according to HOBP and Expeditionary Learning staff, many Outward Bound wilderness leaders, when either changing careers or taking a temporary leave from leading trips, have attended the Harvard Graduate School of Education because of its non-traditional emphasis and excellent reputation. If TIOBEC establishes a relationship with Northeastern University so that students could learn experiential education and service learning theories while gaining experiences as

student teachers in Thompson Island's lab school, then the ties between Outward Bound and Harvard might be weakened. If Northeastern were to become an effective partner, Outward Bound might need to reconsider its relationship with Harvard and its support of the Harvard/Outward Bound Project. In other words, if Outward Bound, through TIOBEC, was accruing all of the benefits of a university relationship through Northeastern, without having to expend funds to support HOBP, one might question how important it would be to maintain the ties with Harvard. While Harvard's name and reputation add credibility to Outward Bound's educational endeavors, no one at Harvard, as one Outward Bound staff member has noted, has made Expeditionary Learning, experiential education, or service learning a centerpiece of their research. Without this crucial evidence of university institutionalization, Outward Bound's ties with the Harvard Graduate School of Education appear somewhat tenuous, especially since the institutionalization of the Harvard/Outward Bound Project ultimately depends on whether Harvard wants to support the Project.

D. Summary __

Any effective system of coordination, especially for a network as that which has been created by the Urban/Education Initiative, is dependent upon clear lines of communication among and within the partner organizations. In certain areas, these lines of communication seem strong, as between the national Expeditionary Learning Project staff and member schools, where there seems to be more of a shared understanding of the Initiative's goals and practices. In other areas, however, such understandings are not shared as widely, as between the Expeditionary Learning Project and Outward Bound Schools and Centers field staff. It appears that Outward Bound is interested in having the expeditionary learning concept inform much of the Urban Education Initiative. As the National Office observed:

> [T]he expeditionary learning idea has also helped shape the strategic and conceptual framework of the larger Urban/Education Initiative. It provides a way for Outward Bound to penetrate the academic curriculum and the schedule of the schools it works with. It gives teachers a framework for making use of their own Outward Bound experiences to revitalize their teaching and their relations with their students. And it allows us to expect and demand more of ourselves and our school and community partners in the whole of the Urban/Education Initiative (OB USA 1992: 1).

However, if Outward Bound wants the expeditionary learning concept to lead and frame the Urban Education Initiative, they would benefit from taking the steps necessary to ensure that the goals of the Initiative are shared and understood by field staff at collaborating Outward Bound Schools or Centers, those who will be conducting Outward Bound experiences for students and teachers. There is no question that the development of these institutional relationships takes time and effort to evolve and that issues of capacity figure into this process, but if field staff at

Outward Bound Schools and Centers are to make substantive contributions to the Initiative, it seems crucial that they have a full understanding of how their work can promote the Initiative's goals and practices.

X. EFFECTS ON EDUCATIONAL THINKING

As we found in our research, the effects on educational thinking have been most pronounced in the order that Outward Bound identified them: first, theory, then practice, and then policy.

A. Theory

The ideas found in the Urban/Educational Initiative are not new for Outward Bound. Kurt Hahn laid the framework for these at Salem and Gordonstoun over a half century ago, and Outward Bound Schools throughout the world have attempted to operationalize them through short courses for three decades. What is new are the now stated goals of developing new schools and transforming existing schools. As a consequence, the very notion of what Outward Bound is has changed. Whereas previously, Outward Bound sought to impact individuals and through them the institutions in which they worked, through the Urban/Education Initiative Outward Bound is promoting systemic, not just personal, change. Whereas for several decades Outward Bound has worked in the therapeutic realm, it has now moved into the broader educational arena, seeking to transform multiple dimensions of school life--the curriculum, teaching styles, and the relations among all persons in the institution. Traditionally, Outward Bound sought personal change through twenty-plus days in the wilderness, it now seeks personal and systemic change through short courses and participation in longer-term "expeditions" over several years. Whereas Outward Bound worked for many years with suburban, white, middle- and upper-income youth and small numbers of scholarship students from the cities, it now seeks to impact inner-city youth. These efforts are not, however, without risk, either internally to the organization or to the broader educational arena into which it has now thrust itself. As John Dewey observed in *Experience and Education*:

> The belief that all genuine education comes through experience does not mean that all experiences are genuinely or equally educative (1938: 25).

Dewey, the "father" of progressive education, captures the major question facing Outward Bound and all educators throughout history, namely: Which experiences should we provide children and young people to best help them learn and prepare them for life? One hundred years later, educators and the broader society are still struggling with what experiences inside and outside the classroom are most "educative." Outward Bound, through the educational philosophy and practice of Kurt Hahn, entered the battle over fifty years ago, and now as progressive thought and practice enters its second century, Outward Bound has sought to take a leadership role in the debate through its Urban/Education Initiative.

While stating among their goals, "intellectual rigor," Outward Bound and its partners in Expeditionary Learning did not shy away from laying out a set of principles shared by few other NASDC proposals. While most other NASDC winners emphasized cognitive growth, improved test scores, preparation for college, marketable skills, international competition, and similar goals, Expeditionary Learning highlighted the importance of "character development, social commitment, vision, service, cooperation, caring, intimacy, solitude, reflection, discovery, meaning, diversity, inclusivity, and respect for nature and the environment" (OB USA n.d.b: 1). To have been one of a handful of winners in an era of "back-to-the-basics" is an indication of the power of the expedition metaphor captured by the proposal writers. Throughout this document, we have struggled with how well the Urban/Education Initiative has put into practice these admirable goals. But perhaps the Initiative's greatest contribution to educational thinking has been the "expeditionary" metaphor and experience itself.

Stephen Bacon (1983) in his provocative book, *The Conscious Use of Metaphor in Outward Bound,* asserts that Outward Bound is not only experiential education; "its character-change component is a form of metaphoric education." Bacon states that three of the most critical components of an Outward Bound course are personal development, interpersonal effectiveness and philosophy and values. His book is a detailed discussion of how Outward Bound instructors can "dress the metaphor," "assess the needs of students," and use "archetypes" to help students grow personally and interpersonally. The power of Outward Bound interventions, through the use of metaphor, has led the organization to become a national leader in the business, social service, mental health, substance abuse, and criminal justice systems. Despite several decades of minor incursions into the educational arena, Outward Bound and its countless adaptations have had only a peripheral effect on the schools. Senior seminars, wilderness clubs, weekend adventure courses, occasional individual classes, freshman orientation programs, wilderness teacher practica, and a range of other attempts at infiltrating the educational mainstream have not affected the schools in the way envisaged by Kurt Hahn or many Outward Bound advocates.

The Urban/Education Initiative is the most comprehensive attempt by Outward Bound to have a deep, long-lasting effect on the schools, rather than just the individuals who comprise the system. Expeditionary Learning attempts to draw together, under the metaphor of the expedition, a wide range of educational reforms that are extant in the literature and the schools of the U.S. The following description "dresses" the metaphor:

> True learning is an expedition into the unknown...[it] organizes students' education into purposeful journeys of inquiry, discovery and action...expeditions are journeys undertaken by highly organized groups for a definite purpose, often in the accompaniment of an expert guide...they may vary in length, have a beginning, a middle and an

> end...immerse people right from the start, travel light, and go somewhere...Their destination is new, at least for those on the journey...and they include strong elements of suspense and uncertainty throughout...to succeed, they require preparation, teamwork, courage and perseverance...Expedition members must depend upon one another to fulfill their mission, and their actions have clear, concrete consequences. Because they draw upon high levels of intellectual inquiry and rigor, stamina and service, once completed, expeditions call for recognition, celebration and rejuvenation. Like an expedition, expeditionary learning draws together personal experience and intellectual growth to promote self-discovery and knowledge. It requires the complete reorganization of time, space and relationships among people, disciplines, and technologies of education. And it demands and develops that broad range of human intelligences, individual character and teamwork necessary to undertake and complete the arduous challenge of an expedition. En route, expeditionary learning harnesses students' natural passion to learn and builds the curiosity, skills, knowledge and courage they need to face danger and difficulty, imagine a better world, and work towards realizing it (New York City Outward Bound Center 1993: 3).

We quote this lengthy description of Expeditionary Learning, because it is such a provocative and challenging statement of educational philosophy, a powerful extension of the ideas of Kurt Hahn and Outward Bound philosophy into classrooms and schools. It is still too early to say whether it is "working," and given the fate of other "progressive" philosophies and practices over the past century, one can predict a difficult road before there is wide acceptance. Anything "requiring the complete reorganization of time, space and relationships among people, disciplines, and technologies of education," is revolutionary in the extreme, and educational reform has been at best an evolutionary process. A strong case can be made that the tragedies and challenges of inner-city education make a revolution necessary, but history is not kind to educational revolutionaries. The forces to maintain and improve the status quo are monumental and are represented by our universities, governmental agencies, businesses, and even schools themselves.

The concept of expeditionary learning has begun to change the rhetoric of school reform, and as it becomes more widely known, it is likely that more schools will adopt the metaphor. While numerous other educational reformers have dealt with authentic assessment, interdisciplinary learning, project-based education, character and values education, flexible schedules, team teaching, and many other elements of the expeditionary learning design, only Outward Bound and the adaptive programs it has spun off have seen the power of "risk, challenge and adventure" in the overall learning environment of the school. Expeditionary Learning in the urban environment is an attempt to prove the point of an Outward Bound administrator who said, "We are a software not a hardware house. Outward Bound can take place in any environment." Some in Outward Bound question

whether short-term challenge and adventure in urban settings can equal the effect of extended wilderness expeditions and some teachers are not convinced that challenge, adventure, and expeditions are legitimate forms of learning. As more expeditions are designed, carried out, evaluated and disseminated, and as more "challenge" activities are adapted for use in the school and classroom setting, it will be possible to make a judgment about whether Outward Bound can serve as well in the inner cities of Boston, New York and Atlanta, as it does in the Colorado or Minnesota wilderness or the ocean settings of Hurricane Island.

Practice

With so much of the Initiative's work directed at students and teachers, it is not surprising that many of the more substantive effects on educational thinking generated by the Urban/Education Initiative have influenced the classroom. In looking at the classrooms and teachers affected by this effort, four developments seem noteworthy and rather common:

- Teachers sought to make all aspects of student learning more authentic by bridging disciplines, making connections to the world outside the classroom explicit, and focusing on project-based assessment which, in effect, sought to teach content through process (as opposed to emphasizing more disciplinary-specific, rote forms of learning).

- Closely tied to the previous point, teachers used the metaphor of the "expedition" as a means to re-think what they taught, and not only in the Expeditionary Learning Project but in other projects of the Initiative as well. They stressed challenge, cooperation, and adventure in the projects that they designed.

- Community service, if not service learning, became a more prominent element to their teaching.

- While not always openly expressed, the role of the teacher changed. In addition to their classroom duties, teachers often served in advisory capacities with students and collaborated more with their colleagues, on academic as well as organizational matters.

For the most part, these observations reflect the efforts of myriad Initiative efforts undertaken to promote active learning, service, and challenge among practicing educators. In addition to this work, through the Urban/Education Initiative Outward Bound has targeted some additional programs and projects that seem likely to further promote these same educational practices. For instance, Outward Bound may run a summer institute for Teach for America and thereby expose a sizable number of new teachers headed for urban schools to Outward Bound pedagogy and philosophy. At Harvard, in addition to offering a graduate course on service learning, HOBP is playing a central convening role for Massachusetts institutions of higher education in pursuit of service learning at the

university level. In Dubuque, the Expeditionary Learning schools offered teacher education students from local colleges a sequence of field experiences linked to Expeditionary Learning schools and philosophy, and some students taught in Expeditionary Learning schools this past spring.

Although the impact of various Urban/Education Initiatives on educational thinking varies greatly by setting and level of education, a case could be made that the most powerful impact on educational thinking has been the use of active, experience-based learning inside and outside the classroom setting. If the Urban Education Initiative did nothing but legitimize active learning, it would be a success. While descriptions of such efforts run throughout this report, it seems useful to revisit once more how Initiative efforts have translated into classroom experience, this time with middle school students from Hickory, North Carolina. The following descriptions, which capture many of the components of active, experience-based learning, are from a 6th grade class in geography, who studied the concepts of place, location, human/environmental interaction, and region. Students wrote essays, letters and poems after they had studied the concepts in class and participated in a day-long, Outward Bound led "Expedition to the Grand Canyon," a site near the school in the eastern U.S. This expedition was unique for several reasons: Special education and "regular" student were combined for the first time. Students spent several weeks preparing for the expedition--including making their own compasses, helping plan the expedition, and writing a press release. Geography and literature were linked as students read stories on the topic of "adventure in literature." From student writing, it is possible to see many components of Expeditionary Learning: action and reflection; group process; interdisciplinary subject matter; connections with the real world; the enjoyment of learning; success; adventure and challenge; self-discovery; teamwork; the natural world; and connections with the community. Middle school students in Hickory wrote these for their classroom teachers and to their Outward Bound instructors, who had led them on a one-day learning expedition to a nearby park.

Hike and Write

I observed my silent natural surroundings in awe. I continued on my brief hike. I studied the trees and how each leaf, with it own special form, gave color to the cold, gray world. I listened to the babbling brook as it spoke to the light green moss-covered rocks. I heard the wind whistling to the trees songs of beauty, grace and love. I saw the trees bow down to the glaring sun overhead. I felt the soft earth and grass underneath my silent feet. I knew I was there for I remember it.

Dear H:

Thank you for teaching us. I had a good time. The course was fun. I liked playing the games the best though. I would love to go out and do it again. I think that we had a good group. We all worked together. You

taught us a lot. Thank you for taking us to the Grand Canyon. I love it. It was pretty.

Thanks a lot.

Dear Bruce:

The Mapping and Orienteering course was a lot of fun. I learned how to use a compass and how to orient the map. I also learned about the direction of travel. I didn't know until yesterday how to even use a compass. My favorite part of yesterday was when we went on the course. I like tying in the 5 themes of geography when we got to each point on the map. I also really like writing in the journal that I made. As far as the group I thought we worked together very nicely. I hoped that you all can come back next year and teach the incoming 6th graders what we know now. I thought this was a great experience. Thanks a lot for coming.

Sincerely,

In terms of theory and practice, the Urban Education Initiative has added the metaphor of the "expedition" to the philosophy and practice of American schooling. While the metaphor is not yet fully understood or developed, it contains the seeds of a powerful reform effort. It brings risk, challenge and adventure into the educational reform debate in a manner few, if any, others have done. Through the Initiative, Outward Bound has brought together a wide range of educational reform strategies under one umbrella or, to use the Expeditionary Learning drawing, one tree with many roots and many branches. Whether it is attempting to bring too many ideas and concepts together only time will tell. It has contributed unique concepts, experience and talent to the broader educational reform effort.

C. Policy

In terms of the "policy arena," the influence of the Urban/Education Initiative has been much less notable, a not surprising development given the nature of policy formulation as well as the nature of the reforms proposed by the Initiative. That is, designing and implementing educational policies is most often a time-consuming process. (The efforts by the four Colorado school districts to allow for the creation of the Rocky Mountain School represents a notable exception in this regard.) Moreover, while we have described the substantial effects of Initiative efforts in many dimensions of school life, two factors need to be kept in mind when assessing these efforts in terms of policy formulation:

- First, the number of schools involved in these projects is small, even though Outward Bound has increased the number of schools and practicing educators that they have worked with since the Initiative's inception. To have an impact in the policy arena, it helps to have large numbers of schools directly associated with a reform effort.

- Second, the quality of these interventions has not been validated. Many early efforts undertaken through the Initiative were too limited, in time and scope, to generate easily quantifiable signs of "success," the types of data policy makers most welcome. And more recent and systematic Initiative work, such as the Expeditionary Learning Project, are still too new for a conclusive evaluation. Also, to date, no educational researchers have made the Initiative a focus of their work. The philosophical and practical ideals promoted through the Initiative have therefore received limited exposure beyond those immediately involved with these efforts. As such, any "success" experienced by these efforts remains largely anecdotal and qualitative, forms of data that are cumbersome in terms of influencing policy.

While noting these caveats, the Initiative does have a policy agenda. First of all, the Initiative has promoted autonomy at the school site, in terms of budgetary matters, hiring, and programs, for instance. In a related vein, one program focus promoted by Outward Bound has been increased time and resources invested in professional development. In terms of school structures, the Initiative has promoted mixed-ability grouping (as opposed to tracking students), block schedules, and smaller school units. In the area of policy formation, it seems as though the Initiative would most benefit from increased exposure, preferably with a positive bent. There is no Ted Sizer (Chairperson of the Coalition of Essential Schools, recent recipients of sizable sums from the Annenberg Foundation and co-recipient of a NASDC grant) or Howard Gardner (Director of Harvard's Project Zero, also recipients of a NASDC grant) with publication records and national visibility that could promote Outward Bound's strategies for educational reform. Nonetheless, having secured substantial funding through the DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund, having been awarded a NASDC grant, and having submitted numerous proposals for further funding and related projects to various funders, Outward Bound seems poised to make an impact in this arena. To increase its exposure and thereby gain a foothold in the realm of educational policy, we offer two suggestions:

- Outward Bound USA might encourage research at its various sites, perhaps requiring future evaluations or projects funded through the Initiative to allocate a portion of their funds to "disseminating" their findings--be it through journals, meetings of professional associations, or popular news media. Of course, this would require that Outward Bound USA set some guidelines for the nature of the research that would be conducted as well as the dissemination of any findings.

- We also encourage Outward Bound to continue to strategically utilize its "invitational" trips, activities that have effectively exposed persons of influence in the field of education to Outward Bound pedagogies in practice and thereby gained their support. This could include deans and professors from teacher education schools who then could make active and experiential learning a more integral part of their teaching and scholarship, especially in their "teacher

education" courses. It might also include district-level personnel who could promote more field-based professional development activities, supported by specific policies rather then being dependent on "soft funding."

In many respects, the work that they are doing represents ground-breaking ideas. Without adequate exposure, however, their impact on the policy arena will likely be limited.

XI. CHANGE OVER TIME

Reflecting on Outward Bound's involvement with public schools prior to the Urban/Education Initiative, Mitch Sakofs, Director of Special Projects for Outward Bound USA noted:

> Seven or eight years ago, there were Outward Bound instructors working in the field of public education. They brought Outward Bound philosophy and activities into the schools because they thought that these would help the schools. But they worked in isolation and there was no systemic thought about their involvement or how they might share information....These were generally small, local, and personal efforts and the perception was that this work was a liability then because it was so closely tied with charismatic leaders and individuals. Outward Bound was ambivalent about urban education.

In contrast, the Urban/Education Initiative has sought to draw on the strengths of Outward Bound philosophy and practices for classroom teaching and learning, but to do so in a more sustained and systematic fashion. Rather than one-shot efforts at exposing students to the lessons of Outward Bound that originate largely from the interest of individual faculty or administrators, there has been a concerted effort to create more long-term relationships with schools and students and to involve multiple persons from the same school site in their work. Relevant examples are numerous. Project Link in Portland, for instance, pairs "disadvantaged" grade school students with high school students over a period of years as a means to enhance students' educational expectations. TIOBEC 's Middle School Leadership Initiative works with the same group of students for an entire school year to develop students' leadership abilities and then to use these abilities in community service work. Through the New York City Outward Bound Center, Outward Bound instructors, often in conjunction with classroom teachers, offer semester- and year-long courses in various city high schools. In addition, at some sites alumni clubs have been formed with the explicit goal of extending students' contact with Outward Bound. In Colorado, the Colorado Outward Bound School, in conjunction with the Public Education Coalition, worked with the same four school districts over a three-year period to expose teachers and administrators to various aspects of Outward Bound pedagogies and to help leadership teams at these schools enhance their ability to work together.

In addition, rather than having Outward Bound personnel largely design and implement these efforts, there has been a shift toward a more collaborative design and implementation of these interventions (although as noted in the section on "coordination and management," there has been relatively limited input from field staff at Outward Bound Schools and Centers into the Expeditionary Learning Project). The Adventures in Active Learning workshop, for instance, brought together representatives from the Public Education Coalition, COBS, and four participating school districts to jointly conceive and implement this teacher development program. In Hickory, North Carolina, teachers and staff from the North Carolina Outward Bound School designed a five-day wilderness challenge course for approximately 200 middle school students and 15 teachers that involved backpacking, rock climbing, high ropes, solo, group initiatives, a challenge run, and group discussions. In New York City, the Outward Bound Center tries to be receptive to the needs and interests of its partner schools, so that the exact nature of its interventions in City high schools varies accordingly. In Portland, a HIOBS representative worked with administrators and teams of teachers from various schools to determine what services Outward Bound could provide these schools that they would find useful and that would fit within the structure of their schools. It also seems revealing that in the two youth leadership initiatives undertaken by COBS that proved disappointing, there was already a structure in place and COBS sought to "fit" itself into that existing niche, rather than collaboratively designing a program.

The means to promote active learning, service, challenge, cooperation, and community service among urban youth, has also shifted with time. As a general rule, Initiative efforts have been designed to expose students, teachers, and administrators to Outward Bound practices so that they would evolve a sense of their value and applicability in the classroom. Now, there is an explicit emphasis on exposing teachers and some personnel from community-based organizations to Outward Bound expeditions and initiatives as a means to help them develop the skills to implement Outward Bound practices in their own settings, and thereby to reach urban youth. Aspects of this last development have been evident since the Initiative's inception: This is what the Harvard / Outward Bound Project seeks to accomplish in its Active Learning in the Middle School institute; it is what COBS and the Public Education Coalition promoted through the Adventures in Active Learning workshop; it is what Warren Wilson College in North Carolina and the Kurt Hahn Center at NCOBS have collaboratively worked to achieve; and it is what the New York City Outward Bound Center is promoting through the numerous professional development workshops for teachers that it runs and in its work with the directors of community-based organizations. Still, this focus on teacher development is perhaps most prominent now in the Expeditionary Learning Project, where, rather than relying on outside experts, the project itself is predicated on helping teachers develop the ability to design and implement learning expeditions.

Along these same lines, Outward Bound USA recently submitted a proposal to the Starr Foundation that is intended to allow Outward Bound to expand its work in teacher development. In brief, the proposal would allow Outward Bound to create teacher development centers in New York City, where there has been substantial interest in Outward Bound-designed workshops for educators (e.g., 300 teachers applied to participate in a course called "Introduction to Adventurous Learning" that had a capacity of 35), and two other urban sites. In full accord with other Initiative efforts, these teacher development centers would focus on whole school faculties or teams of teachers from schools that are actively pursuing reform agendas. They would seek to make professional development a normal and common part of school routine, increasing the number of professional development days for teachers by four- or five-fold, in part, by helping to secure public funding for increased teacher development. And the centers would be designed collaboratively by Outward Bound personnel and public school educators.

Although we have made the point a number of times, we should add that the Expeditionary Learning Project also represents a sign of change over time for the Initiative. While the goals and methods of Expeditionary Learning are consistent with those of the Initiative--including the ultimate goal of institutional change, a central role for experiential curricula that develop understanding as well as character and motivation, and a long-term perspective in working toward these goals--Expeditionary Learning is more focused and more systemic, as the project involves working with entire schools that are committed to change.

XII. SOME FINAL THOUGHTS ON THE URBAN/EDUCATION INITIATIVE

The Urban/Education Initiative undertaken by Outward Bound is an impressive and inspiring effort. The project has drawn together many knowledgeable, hard-working, and committed individuals--public school educators, staff from Outward Bound Schools and Centers, and their myriad working partners--to improve the lives of urban youth. The philosophy and practices this reform effort promotes are compelling and timely, and have been embraced by students, teachers, and administrators alike. Three years into a ten-year time frame, Outward Bound appears poised to have an impact in the areas of educational theory and policy. Yet, in terms of influencing educational practice--meaning that the educational experiences of significant numbers of inner-city youth are notably changed--Outward Bound still has far to go before active learning, adventure, community service, challenge, and risk-taking are common aspects of American schooling. Certainly, in our discussion of "effects on educational thinking," we noted that the greatest influence of the Initiative has involved educational practice. And that has been true. However, as the ultimate goal of the Urban/Education Initiative is to significantly change the educational experience of large numbers of urban youth, the issue of influencing educational practice becomes far more problematic.

Two critical and interrelated factors will dictate the ultimate outcome of this effort, funding and the institutionalization of Outward Bound practices. Without public funding and/or without a clear sense for how Outward Bound pedagogies and philosophy can be institutionalized, the Initiative's goal of improving the educational experiences of large numbers of urban students will not be realized. Consider, for instance, that at few schools have Initiative efforts endured after private funding ran out. Why should other efforts be different? While this final section of the report examines both the issue of public funding for urban education and the institutionalization of Outward Bound practices in our schools, we begin by discussing funding.

If Outward Bound, and other school reform efforts continue to rely upon the goodwill of private funders, educational reform in urban America will go nowhere. Outward Bound has many of the right ideas for connecting with urban youth, for creating engaging curricula, and for promoting positive personal growth, but without public funding, it is hard to envision that they will amount to anything but a few pleasant experiments in the expanse of urban American education. In a nutshell, Outward Bound needs to "get political."

In looking at educational reform in America, one fact seems incontrovertible: *Urban public schools are needier than most other schools*. Speaking to the issue of funding and school reform, Mark Weiss, Principal at the School for the Physical City in New York and a person experienced in this matter, observed:

> [T]o tell you the truth, I don't know if we can do [school reform] within the budgets we're typically given. Some people would like us to believe that you can take ten percent more money and do it for that. But my own sense--and I've been in administration a long time--is that resources are really important, and money drives what you can do in a school. Sure, a heroic principal can take a minute budget, and find some great people, and bust their chops for five years--and make one great school. But, really, what's so great about that? One great school's not good enough. We can't afford to do that to our kids.

Quite simply, the situation is bad, and too many Americans don't realize this. While need resides in the city, those who hold political power in the United States now largely reside in the suburbs, a result of the "suburbanization process"--the movement of affluent, mostly White persons into the suburbs as low-income, predominantly persons of color, moved into our cities. As a consequence of these divisions within American society, it has become increasingly less likely that low-income residents and persons of color will interact with those more affluent as neighbors--in the communities-at-large as well as in our schools--and develop the kinds of understanding and relationships such associations may engender. Edsall and Edsall alluded to the consequences of such pronounced social divisions:

> The contact between whites and [most persons of color] has routinely violated every standard necessary for the breakdown of racial stereotypes. Most white contact with [low income, persons of color] is through personal experience of crime and urban squalor, through such experience related by friends and family, or through the daily reports about crime, drugs, and violence which appear on television and in newspapers. The news includes, as well, periodic reports on out-of-wedlock births, welfare fraud, drug-related AIDS, crack babies, and inner city joblessness (1991a: 56).

Seeing how interaction (and therefore understanding and empathy) decreased between those more affluent and persons of color and low-income residents, it becomes apparent how the suburbanization process has endangered the very nature of educational opportunity in our country. When dissatisfied middle income residents moved from the cities to the suburbs, these towns could spend liberally on education, recreation, roads, and the general quality of life. While spending freely on local concerns, these persons often represented a political force for fiscal conservatism in state and federal spending, including urban school funding (Edsall and Edsall 1991a, 1991b; Kozol 1991). *Therefore, suburban voters, those whose power increased during the eighties, could overlook concerns of the inner city as they and urban, low-income persons of color were less likely to interact in ways that could promote mutual understanding and empathy--at precisely the time when the numbers of urban needy increased and the cities' ability to address these needs decreased.* To improve urban schools, there is a dire need for increased public support. To gain such funding, there must be widespread acknowledgment of this educational need, something which presently does not exist.

Yet, such a reform strategy makes tremendous sense, on multiple levels. For one, increased funding for urban schools offers a means to reassert our nation's commitment to affirmative action, but does so in a way that honors both our belief in equality and our respect for individual rights. That is, many persons of color have been historically victimized, have had limited opportunities, and they feel that past injustices should be corrected. For them, affirmative action offers a means to promote greater equality. Another segment of society feels that it, too, has been victimized, in this case by special interest-driven coalitions that seeks to right past injustices by enacting similar injustices in the present. Their resentment stems from a sense of egalitarianism that maintains that all Americans should be treated equally. In their view, applying quotas in hiring, promotion, and admission decisions constitutes reverse discrimination. Increased public funding for urban schools would be a public acknowledgment of the additional challenges that confront urban schools and would signal commitment by our government to the ideals of affirmative action and equality of opportunity, without jeopardizing anyone's rights.

Increased funding for urban schools would also address a concern that has emerged in many urban communities when the question of desegregation has

arisen. In the past, educational equality and opportunity in America were defined in terms of racial quotas. Yet, achieving racial balance often diminished a school's sense of community by minimizing neighborhood influence, and left many students feeling alienated in foreign school environments. Moreover, the policy has not achieved its intent; within many desegregated schools, de facto segregation endures, promoted by such common policies as tracking. Instead, many urban residents prefer to have their children go to school in their neighborhoods regardless of racial composition. But they need society to support the needs of those schools, which in urban settings are clearly greater.

To realize the goals that it has set for itself in the Urban/Education Initiative, Outward Bound should think about how to create a consensus for urban school reform. Evidence to support such a stance is overwhelming. Moreover, doing so offers a means to reaffirm a national commitment to affirmative action, as well as providing a means to resolve issues tied to a failed policy of school desegregation. Lacking such a consensus, the lessons learned from the Initiative are likely to benefit small pockets of interested educators, but any effect in the larger arena of American urban education will be minimal. While we urge Outward Bound to undertake this challenge, we must acknowledge that its work to date very much reflects this stance, as Outward Bound has worked with multiple, influential partners to promote urban school reform.

A. "Going to Scale"

With the Urban/Education Initiative, the overarching goal of having a significant influence on large numbers of urban youth has remained consistent. Allen Grossman, President of Outward Bound USA, has considered the implications of this goal for future Initiative-related efforts in a co-authored assessment of "going to scale in the nonprofit sector." Specifically, going to scale involves "the establishment of programs in such magnitude and in such a way that institutions are changed strategically, significant market share is reached, and development occurs which influences social change" (Wegner and Grossman n.d.: 1). To "influence social change" and to acquire "a significant market share," two things are needed: First, you need a means to effect change--something which the Urban/Education Initiative is allowing Outward Bound to do in the arena of educational reform. Outward Bound Schools and Centers and the National Office have adapted Outward Bound practices and brought them to bear in public school settings, and signs are that they are evolving effective models and strategies for change. Second, to acquire a "significant market share," a significant market must exist. As Wegner and Grossman note, "programs like WIC and Head Start seem largely to be the products of an era when a national consensus had been built around the issue of alleviating poverty" (n.d.: 5). This is exactly what Outward Bound and its partners need to do: Rebuild this consensus. The situation warrants it. And what Outward Bound does well is give prominent people an opportunity to experience what Outward Bound is all about, and then work with these persons to achieve the goals Outward Bound has set for itself. This is certainly apparent in the Urban/Education Initiative.

Such a strategy would also allow Outward Bound to address an additional question raised by Wegner and Grossman: "How does an organization measure or evaluate what it is trying to achieve when the outcome defies quantification (and we would add, when America is still so divided as to what our schools should accomplish)?" (n.d.: 5). Speaking to this issue, as well (implicitly) to its resolution, Barbara Volpe, Director of the Public Education Coalition in Colorado, observed:

> It's difficult to conclusively evaluate the "effect" of the Outward Bound experience on teachers. In my soul, I think that it had a major impact on the schools involved. Individuals were profoundly changed and that was what we hoped to accomplish....I feel that it's almost beyond measurement. Outward Bound builds relationships faster and better than anything.

While many people are uncertain about their beliefs "in theory" and wary of "research findings," when they have the opportunity to experience a powerful educational philosophy in practice, the results can be remarkable. While the research being conducted by the Academy for Educational Development (AED) will offer an understanding of what occurs within Expeditionary Learning schools, it seems critical that Outward Bound continue to seek support from influential persons and organizations, those who are visible and likely to help place urban education on the public agenda. Thus far, Outward Bound has enlisted the support of Arthur Sulzberger, Jr., publisher of the New York Times, Arthur Blank, CEO of Home Depot, Dr. Harold Howe, past Secretary of Education, and the list goes on. While Wegner and Grossman note that, "Unlike the private for-profit sector where market place forces dictate action, no apparent comparable forces exist in the nonprofit sector" (n.d.: 4). Yet, if Outward Bound continues to forge alliances with other groups and influential individuals, they might be able to generate such demand.

We would also encourage Outward Bound to be imaginative and resourceful in this regard. At present, there are few influential advocates for urban youth. Creating a renewed commitment to addressing this critical social problem could mean drawing together such groups as the Urban League, the NAACP, Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition, various church and religious groups, the ACLU, and even the Democratic and Republican Parties. Outward Bound might also tap into those businesses that make a great deal of their income in our cities: McDonald's, Burger King, Nike, Reebok, Converse, Star Athletic Equipment, TV and radio stations, record/CD companies, and so on. This is not to say that these groups and persons should fund urban school reform, but that they represent influential persons and organizations who could promote such a reform policy.

While Wegner and Grossman note that, because of limited documentation of these efforts, organizational theorists generally have little idea for how nonprofits have gone to scale, they observe that nonprofits' initial funding structures tend not

to assist nonprofits' acquisition of scale (Wegner and Grossman n.d.: 1). As the authors write: "In most cases, the current donor funding structure does not actively promote their achievement of scale or deal with how a model might affect social change" (Wegner and Grossman n.d.: 3). The authors go on to say, however, that such funding does "favor new, creative, innovative programs which are highly context-specific" (Wegner and Grossman n.d.: 3). One way to read this assessment of going to scale is that Outward Bound is presently designing and developing a strategy to effect significant educational change, and foundation support, at this point, is adequate. For long-term social change to be realized, the funding structure must change.

This also implies that what Outward Bound does must shift as well. As Wegner and Grossman note, citing Hodgkinson and Weitzman (1993), "the structure and function of an organization must change in order for an organization to achieve scale, and...adherence to its original structure and function can inhibit the process" (n.d.: 4). This then suggests that Outward Bound must ask itself: What about our work with the Initiative do we do best? What is our greatest contribution to school reform? To our observation, it is clear that Outward Bound effectively creates working partnerships. They have also been successful in exposing teachers to Outward Bound pedagogies and then helping them integrate challenge, risk, cooperation, service, and so on into their classrooms. Moreover, their efforts have helped motivate teachers and administrators and helped build teams within schools. In any case, it seems that there are certain aspects of school reform in which Outward Bound can make the greatest contribution and, in determining future directions, it seems reasonable to continually assess just what those areas are and to think about how they fit into an overall reform strategy for urban schools.

Clearly, tying a campaign for increased funding for urban schools with Outward Bound's efforts to "go to scale" represents a highly ambitious effort at school reform. A second, related strategy that seems warranted from Initiative work thus far is to determine just how Outward Bound practices can be institutionalized within public schools. In many respects, this is what occurred at Gallileo High School in San Francisco. Here, two faculty members whose work had initially been funded through the Initiative, found themselves without support. Nonetheless, they were able to continue their work by offering an experience-based, outdoor education course as part of the formal curriculum and by making an outdoor club part of the school's extracurricular offerings.

With regard to institutionalization, a few points seem salient: First, the school was willing to make an Outward Bound-based course part of its curricular and extracurricular structure. There was administrative commitment at some level. Second, there were faculty interested in and qualified to staff such offerings. (In many ways, this is similar to the interventions undertaken by the New York City Outward Bound Center in local high schools, although these programs are funded in great part by the Center and raises questions as to the "degree" of change Outward Bound seeks to realize.) While public funding is implicit in such a reform strategy,

it is certainly less a factor in this scenario. Still, such a long-term reform plan has similar implications for Outward Bound, at least on a general level. That is, Outward Bound needs to assess what its most appropriate role and structure should be to support this strategy. Again, teacher development, forging working partnerships, and creating motivation and team building seem linked to this strategy.

In terms of "being political," we would like to discuss other aspects of school reform that relate to the two strategies discussed thus far.

B. School Choice

By participating in the NASDC Project, Outward Bound is ostensibly supporting some notion of "school choice," admittedly a concept with many different meanings. However, theirs is a different version of choice than is prevalent in most public debates over education, it is a conception of choice in which schools are accorded considerable autonomy--or choice--in who they hire, what they teach, and how large they will be. For instance, much as the Urban/Education Initiative crystallized Outward Bound Schools and Centers' commitment to urban youth, the same has occurred with teachers and schools. As Scott Hartl, who works with Expeditionary Learning/Outward Bound in Cambridge, noted:

> My impression is that in this first round the intention of Expeditionary Learning could more accurately be stated as finding some schools that were somewhat predisposed to pieces of this so that we could quickly develop models, exemplars, rather than be involved with every school that wanted to move forward....

A similar perspective on the Initiative was apparent at school sites. As one principal at an Expeditionary Learning school stated, "We were already doing block-scheduling, heterogeneous grouping, community-centered learning, service projects, and multiage grouping....We had also done team-building and conflict resolution as part of the school improvement process." Teachers made comparable observations, noting, for instance, that "the design principles fit with everything that we're doing in the school improvement process." The superintendent of schools in a participating district offered a similar reaction:

> The Urban/Education Initiative and Expeditionary Learning have been critical to enabling change to occur within our schools. They have done this by responding to the visions that teachers and administrators have had regarding what can be and by supporting teachers, administrators, community members and children in making the changes they're prepared to make....[Outward Bound] has avoided coercion....

In our view, this is a wise strategy. To date, America has approached school reform with ambivalence. In its reflections on 1993, *U.S. News and World Report* embodied this ambivalence in the headline summary to its story on education: "The public is fed up with the pace of school reform but it is wary of more-radical schemes to energize learning." In addition, more than a decade after the publication of "A Nation at Risk," research suggests that much remains to be learned about changing an individual school, let alone educational systems. In great part, these developments reflect a failure to appreciate the role played by culture in the school reform process--culture being the beliefs and values of the larger society as well as those prominent within our schools and educational systems--although substantial research indicates that belief plays a key role in school reform, for teachers as well as students. For instance, the issue of whether change is even necessary has been an integral factor in stalling many school reform efforts. Further, school-within-a-school efforts at change have proven divisive within schools, in great part, because of how these efforts illuminated previously unspoken differences in belief among faculty members and violated unspoken school norms. In effect, most reform efforts have assumed either (1) that faculty already shared many beliefs about education and the need for reform--thus, there was no need to address issues of philosophical consensus; or (2) that schools would generate a common set of beliefs about education in the process of initiating change.

In our opinion, neither assumption is warranted. Rather, as has occurred with the Initiative, it is far sounder to first identify persons or schools with a commitment to common ideals, and then to help those persons put their shared beliefs into practice. Otherwise, faculty are unlikely to work together effectively and the educational viability of many proposed reforms are never even given an opportunity to be tested as these efforts are undermined by in-fighting and divisiveness.

In terms of school choice, a few issues seem pertinent for Outward Bound. First, any increased funding for urban schools should be directed toward realizing one very logical but often overlooked goal: To extend the school year. This is not to suggest that schools need more time to do more of the same. Rather, an extended schedule would provide teachers with time that would allow them to reconsider the many taken-for-granted constraints that influence their teaching. They could experiment with active research, learning outside the classroom, project-based instruction, collaborative work, and service, among other things. Many of our present reform efforts expect teachers to embrace such changes but provide them with little, if any, time to develop their ideas, and virtually none to assess them afterward. Meg Campbell, Director of the Expeditionary Learning/Outward Bound Project, spoke to this need in an issue of *The Web*: "Teachers comparing and contrasting their own practices and struggles say that they gain a deeper appreciation of their own strengths and areas for growth as a result of school visits. The private sector calls this 'bench marking,' finding out and learning from others' best practices. We think it a simple idea whose time has come" (1994b: 3).

Although teachers enjoy these opportunities, trying to "force" them into the typical school schedule can cause problems. As an administrator at one Expeditionary Learning school explained when discussing the "sabbaticals" teachers experienced:

> The teachers are overwhelmed by it. It's "renewal!" But the problem for me is to have seven substitutes teachers in the school for a week. The kids can't deal with those kinds of changes. They write that week off. But we have no time to do it without substitute teachers.

Another administrator said: "Even if we can find time during the school day to allow teachers to meet, what do we do with the students? It can be very disruptive for the kids."

In addition to providing time for teachers' professional renewal and keeping classrooms productive, extending the school year will allow schools and teachers to have an extended relation with urban kids, a central and critical goal of the Urban/Education Initiative. Instead of giving students a 12-week summer vacation, during which many forget much of what they had learned, that requires extensive review in the fall, a longer school year and more reasonable schedule would allow students and teachers to pick up where they left off a few weeks, rather than a few months, previous.

In considering the issue of school choice, the question arises as to where the effects of Outward Bound philosophy and practices may be most pronounced. While we view our next point tentatively, it does seem that the middle school level may be that part of the educational system that is most receptive to the ideas promoted through the Initiative. Elementary teachers, it seems, are attracted to many of the ideas promoted by the Initiative, as they fit nicely with the developmental stages of their children. But the out-of-school aspects of expeditions are more problematic at that age. At the high school level, there is a concern with college requirements as well as extracurricular activities by students, and faculty are often quite committed to specific disciplines. As a consequence, the comprehensive high school can be a tough institution to transform in terms of Initiative-driven reforms. Yet Outward Bound concepts fit nicely with middle schools as they have developed in recent years: interdisciplinary teaching and curricula, project-based curricula, interdisciplinary teams of teachers, affective and physical as well as cognitive growth, and preparing children for the "real world." As noted by New York City Outward Bound Center:

> Working with middle school students allows us to reach students at a younger age when their values and attitudes are still being shaped and they are particularly in need of the kinds of character and trust-building experiences that Outward Bound can offer. Moreover, there is widespread agreement that middle schools, even more than high schools, are, as presently constituted, simply not meeting students'

> needs, and are in dire need of new and different approaches to teaching and learning. We believe that Outward Bound, with its emphasis on experience-based education, can help to make learning more exciting and alive for students, and teaching more student-centered and personally relevant (New York City Outward Bound Center n.d.: 6).

Further, middle schools represent a level of schooling that has received limited attention and which many are uncertain how to deal with effectively. The middle school/junior high controversy, for example, speaks to this confusion. A district administrator who supports this idea explained:

> The middle school is the most abused level of education. We're all still scrambling to define it. It's out biggest problem. Ten to fourteen years of age is a tender and formative age....Expeditionary Learning seems to have lots of good ideas for that level.

In addition, there are fewer constraints on middle schools--in that athletics and other extracurricular activities don't play such a prominent role in students' lives.

Nonetheless, there certainly are issues still to be addressed if Outward Bound should choose to focus on this level. As one evaluator found:

> In the first year of program operation it became clear to Outward Bound instructors that middle schoolers are quite different from the older adolescent population with which Outward Bound has had more extensive experience. Notably absent in middle schoolers, as commented on by the Outward Bound instructors, has been the ability to engage in reflection, one of the main ingredients of experiential education (Neville 1992: 5).

While this may be true, the key issue would seem to be determining whether this is a developmental issue or whether it's a matter of the degree to which teachers are able to employ the appropriate skills that would allow students to learn how to do just this.

Size of the institution seems to be another critical factor in the implementation of ideas as radical as those proposed through the Initiative, which may explain why it seemed that students and teachers were most receptive at the middle school level. The middle schools observed tended to be in the 150-600 student range, with from 15-50 faculty. Quite simply, the smaller the school, the easier change is likely to be. As we have emphasized throughout this report, the power of Outward Bound practices to transform schools is closely tied to the sense of shared values and goals Outward Bound experiences can promote among participating faculty. As schools become larger, it simply becomes more difficult (and more expensive) to ensure that a sizable percentage of a school has had an Outward Bound experience. In addition, school districts are more likely to allow for

a measure of "experimentation" at a smaller school, at least initially, than they are to do so with a large school (which likely explains why Expeditionary Learning has no traditional comprehensive high schools in its network, although a number of relatively small, alternative schools belong). This is not to say that the reforms promoted through the Initiative cannot work in large schools; rather, it is to acknowledge that the Urban/Education Initiative is but three years old and that, at the moment, what would likely promote their ideas most effectively would be to have a number of truly "transformed" schools and a clear sense for what factors worked to allow such transformations to occur.

With these thoughts in mind, it seems clear that Outward Bound is a proponent for choice: the choice of faculty to work at a school with a philosophy that is compatible with their beliefs; the choice of working with age groups that are most amenable to what Outward Bound has to offer; and the choice to work in schools that are small enough to allow the philosophy and practices of Outward Bound to have a real impact.

C. Change Will Take Time

In looking at the many efforts undertaken as part of the Urban/Education Initiative, one thing is clear: *Change will take time*. For one thing, American secondary schools have remained relatively unchanged--in terms of their structure, predominant pedagogy, disciplinary divisions, and acceptance of "teacher-proof" curricula--for nearly 100 years. During this time forces supporting this status quo have become well entrenched. Even where there are willing participants, the institution of the American school has proven resilient and resistant.

In addition, many aspects of the Initiative must be locally defined if they are to be effective. Speaking to this issue, Margarita Muniz, Principal of the Hernandez School in Boston, explained (in Spanish): "Caminante, no hay camino; se hace el camino al andar." ("Traveler, there is no road; you must make your road by walking.") Consider for example, the efforts of Susan McCray at South Bronx High over a three-year period. Susan's involvement began with a single-period class, called Project Discovery, team-taught with a high school teacher. During that year, she described her efforts as generally "feeling my way around" before deciding which course(s) of action might prove most effective. As the class evolved, Outward Bound involvement expanded and increasingly became a part of the institutional life of the school. As interest among students and faculty grew, the course became a double-period class that involved two South Bronx teachers. The curriculum became formalized as the course came to include four out-of-school field experiences (two backpacking weekends, a rock climbing or alpine tower overnight trip, and an urban expedition), with appropriate classroom-based work that prepared students for these expeditions. Students received two credits for the class, one for social studies and one for physical education. As Susan became even more comfortable with her position, she began working with faculty and staff and ran teacher development workshops and facilitated an all-staff retreat. When

"graduates" of the class still wanted to be involved with Outward Bound experiences, an alumni group was started as an official club.

Even with such a remarkable effort, the experiences of most students at this school were changed very little. Susan's course and her association with alumni involved her with about 70 students each semester, of the thousand students in the school. Some potential dropouts may have been reached. A club was created. Still, *transforming* schools will require many Susan McCrays, many committed teachers and administrators, adequate funding, and even more time.

In addition, time will be needed because of the specific nature of the reforms promoted through the Initiative--in particular, the emphasis on teachers as curriculum developers. As the AED "Interim Report" stated:

> Few [teachers] assessed themselves as having achieved all of their objectives very well, most discussed challenges and failures with candor, and some discussed objectives that were not achieved at all. In short, we found the documentation forms to be a tribute to the teachers' view of their craft as an arena for continual reflection and improvement (AED 1994: 16).

Full implementation of the ideals promoted through the Initiative will also take time because they run counter to American culture. Quite simply, responsibility, collaboration, and "success for all" are notions that have never been promoted in American schools. The difficulties of trying to realize these ideals were apparent throughout our research. At Portland Regional Vocational Technical Center, for instance, two-thirds of the students in an Expeditionary Learning class had mid-term failures because they were expected to keep journals and few did it, or did so appropriately. As the principal explained, "It's a voc school mentality. The kids hadn't written before and didn't expect to." At the Rocky Mountain School, faculty offered students increased responsibility in the classroom through relying on projects as the basis for assessing student learning and leaving much class time unstructured. Consequently, faculty struggled with determining reasonable levels of student responsibility as well as trying to figure out how they could get students to internalize a greater sense of individual responsibility.

Finally, Outward Bound assumes that all can succeed. Yet, schools assume a degree of failure as the norm. And in urban schools failure rates can be as high as 40 to 50 percent of all courses taken. Thus, while Outward Bound's reform platform is timely and focused on the needs of urban youth, they should remember that they are going against many traditional practices and beliefs. It will therefore require time to realize their ideals. And this reality, too, should be part of "getting political." While it is tempting to offer the moon--to funders and potential partners alike--a more reasoned approach is to set realistic time frames for what Outward Bound hopes to accomplish. As such, we encourage Outward Bound to adhere to its ten-year time frame for the Urban/Education Initiative. That should be a start.

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