

Business Not as Usual: Understanding Factors for Organizational Change after a Crisis

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Abstract

Drawing on the Crisis Management Cycle (CMC) framework, this study examines school systems' organizational adjustments in response to the COVID-19 pandemic, focusing on the implementation of High Impact Tutoring (HIT) to address the pandemic's academic impacts. Analyzing 112 interviews across ten local education agencies, we identify three post-crisis organizational change pathways: stagnation without learning, change through learning, and stagnation after initial learning. Critical to navigating these pathways are stakeholder alignment, external partnerships, access to expertise, effective resource allocation, and organizational readiness for adaptation. Our research highlights how these factors collectively determine an educational institution's resilience and capacity for long-term structural adjustment post-crisis. By elucidating the mechanisms that enable or impede organizational learning and change, this paper contributes insights into overcoming entrenched practices, thereby enhancing schools' preparedness and response capabilities for future crises.

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Introduction

Organizational and systems-level conditions affect school systems during crises, including during the COVID-19 pandemic, which impacted student's academic achievement and well-being (Ingzell et al., 2021; Donelley et al., 2021; Meherali et al., 2021). Existing literature addressing organizations' responses to crises highlights the importance of internal factors including organizational culture and leadership (Deverell & Olsen, 2010; Bowers et al., 2017) and external factors including resource availability and policy trends (e.g., Hillman et al, 2009; Diehl & Golann, 2023). This article extends prior research, which emphasizes immediate responses, by identifying factors that enable schools to adjust organizational structures in order to mitigate long-term harm and provide better educational opportunities to their students in the future. We focus on instances where organizations learn from crises, work to fortify themselves for challenges presented by future crises, and use changes to improve educational offerings.

The adoption of High Impact Tutoring (HIT) in the three years following the pandemic provides a useful case study because of the approach's popularity for addressing challenges to academic progress faced by schools. Drawing from a dataset of 112 interviews across ten contexts, we analyze the implementation of HIT to identify key conditions for organizational change in response to crises and contribute insights for crisis preparedness. We identify three distinct post-crisis organizational pathways: one of organizational change and two of organizational stagnation. We find an organization's initial trajectory is determined by alignment of stakeholders, availability of external partnerships, and access to relevant expertise. The effective allocation of resources and organizational readiness to direct their personnel's efforts determines the organization's ability to sustain positive change they pursue.

Policy Context

Given that school districts saw an average reduction of .23 years of learning between spring 2019 and spring 2022 (Fahle et al., 2022), educators faced the daunting task of remediating and accelerating learning. HIT held the promise of addressing both post-pandemic challenges and ongoing concerns about inequities in student achievement (Robinson & Loeb, 2021, Nickow et al, 2020). Essential features of HIT include substantial time each week for tutoring with a consistent tutor during the school day, close monitoring of student knowledge and skills, high quality instructional materials, and oversight of tutors to assure quality (NSSA, 2020). HIT is useful for studying change in response to crises because it requires shifts in resource allocation, particularly in personnel and time. School systems also need to build a pipeline of tutors, such as by partnering with local higher education institutions, or contract with tutoring companies; and district personnel need to oversee and coordinate tutoring efforts, and often need to change master schedules in order to fit tutoring in the school day. These changes are notoriously difficult (Conley & Enomoto, 2005), requiring substantial local capacity (Authors, Forthcoming).

School systems can implement HIT with fidelity if they have access to a wide set of support and resources. Federal funding, state policy initiatives and local investments of time and personnel facilitated implementation in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. Congress allocated nearly 190 billion dollars, collectively known as the Elementary and Secondary School Emergency Relief Fund (ESSER). ESSER dollars were restricted to certain spending categories such as school facilities, academic remediation education technology, and summer and afterschool programs. Districts could fund HIT through 28 billion dollars earmarked in the American Rescue Plan to address learning loss.

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State policies leveraged the federal funding. In Texas, House Bill 4545 mandated that students who did not pass the annual state examinations in grades 3-8 receive individual accelerated learning plans, the majority of which included HIT. Local districts had autonomy in their approach, with the Texas Education Agency providing high-level guidance. Many states and districts without direct tutoring requirements also pursued HIT. For example, Guilford County Schools in North Carolina offered 12,000 students 300,000 tutoring sessions during the 2022-2023 school year.

A coalition of think tanks and nonprofits also facilitated HIT as sources of implementation expertise. The New Teacher Project, Saga Education, and the National Student Support Accelerator developed policy briefs about HIT and advised school districts nationwide on implementation. Philanthropies such as the Walton Family Foundation and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation made substantial investments in HIT. Given this context of policy momentum and wide implementation of HIT, studying HIT's implementation allows us to investigate the importance of both the external environment and internal conditions in post-crisis organizational restructuring. This work contributes to broader understanding of organizations in crises and, specifically, to what factors prompt schools to overcome stagnant practices.

Background

Structural Changes in Schools

Discontent with American schools fuels cyclical reform efforts (Cuban, 1990), but often little change to schooling structures. Schooling tends to follow established scripts as schools strive for perceived legitimacy (Metz, 1989). Isomorphism, an organizational process of convergence, can cause schools to look similar despite differences in social contexts because of common external pressures and social structures (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). The systems that

govern schools are often described as “loosely coupled”, meaning the layers are often partially autonomous and non-responsive to one another (Weick, 1982). This makes it difficult to disrupt the classroom practices and student-teacher interactions that are essential to school improvement, what Elmore (1996) calls the instructional core of schooling. While schools have resilient structures, they do incorporate new practices and policies to meet mandates from local, state, and federal authorities (Diehl & Golann, 2023). Organizational change is, thus, a dynamic process affected by discretion and existing circumstances.

Organizational Readiness

A strand of organizational theory identifies conditions that enable organizations to change. Weiner (2009) defines organizational readiness as a multilevel construct that consists of both the organization’s members’ willingness to change, and the organization’s ability to implement changes effectively. Scholars have applied theories of organizational readiness to studies of healthcare systems (e.g. Weiner et al., 2008), but rarely to schools.

Large-scale social disruptions often create windows for changes to occur. Historically, scholars have viewed crises as policy windows allowing for larger structural reforms (Friedman, 1962; Klein, 2011). Crises can be either a *sudden crisis*, which arises unpredictably, or a *smoldering crisis* which compounds over a longer period due to negligent management (James & Wooten, 2005). Much of the political rhetoric around public education in the United States suggests American schools are in a smoldering crisis, as critics take issue with achievement (Klein & Rice, 2014), equity (Noguera, 2009), and governance (Chubb & Moe, 1990). Because of American federalism and the decentralized education system, crises are often localized where disaster or mismanagement occurs, though there can be common issues across the nation’s schools, such as racial and socioeconomic inequality (Reardon et al., 2014).

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Policy activists and scholars have framed the pandemic – a global sudden crisis – with its many interrupted schooling processes (transportation, instruction, school meals, etc.) as a moment to re-evaluate public education and the structures taken for granted (Orellana et al., 2022; Tesar, 2021; Woulfin & Spitzer, 2023). As districts sought to implement HIT, they faced making structural changes from a crisis state that either facilitated or hindered these changes.

The Crisis Management Cycle

The Crisis Management Cycle (CMC) delineates the stages in which an organization experiences and responds to a crisis. It has five distinct phases, two of which precede crisis onset:

- **Mitigation:** efforts taken before a crisis to avoid or reduce crisis impact
- **Preparedness:** efforts taken to produce crisis management plans and reduce the impact of unavoidable crises

After a triggering event for the onset of a crisis, an organization engages in:

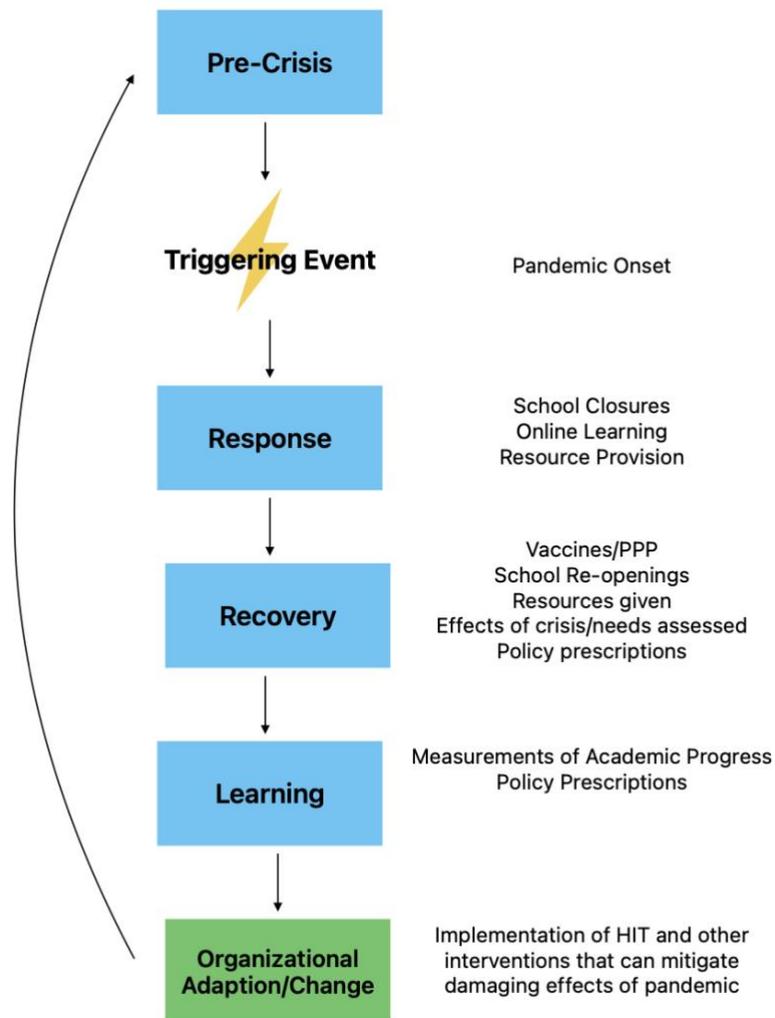
- **Response:** efforts taken to contain and control the damage of a crisis
- **Recovery:** efforts taken to address needs that continue to arise post-crisis
- **Learning:** efforts taken to reflect on data and feedback gathered during prior stages to improve future crisis response efforts

After a crisis recovery process, organizations then re-enter the pre-crisis phase to await future crises.

In Figure 1, we apply the CMC to describe school system responses to the pandemic and implementation of HIT. The initial response included closures and establishing systems of virtual learning, as well as efforts to ensure that free school meals were still available to families in need. During the recovery period, schools worked to re-open safely and began to assess ongoing

effects of the pandemic on students and stakeholders. In the learning stage, school leaders and policy makers began to make larger scale policy decisions about pandemic recovery, including the provision of ESSER funds and passing of laws requiring schools to address learning loss through coordinated academic remediation.

Figure 1: The Crisis Management Cycle, COVID-19 and Schools



This study focuses on the learning phase and the organizational changes that can result to determine what factors facilitate post-crisis change. The learning phase is a potential window for organizations to commit to organizational change. These changes can then fortify school

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systems, adding to their resilience when faced with future crises. In non-crisis times, positive changes implemented post-crisis can continue to impact the trajectories of students and the working conditions of educators. Past scholarship on the learning stage emphasized the importance of leaders reflecting intentionally on their decisions for the sake of the organization's future approaches to crisis (Grissom & Condon, 2021; Fener & Cevik, 2015). We add to this scholarship by applying an organizational-level lens to decision-making to discern what conditions facilitate structural change to schools. Understanding these conditions allows for a conceptualization of crisis management that is more inclusive of organizational and systems-level capacities.

Organizational Responses to the COVID-19 Pandemic

The COVID-19 pandemic presented a common set of challenges for schools with uneven impacts across geographies and social groups. During the pandemic, low-income students and students of color were less likely to have stable access to the internet (e.g. Patrick et al., 2021), available parental support during virtual schooling (e.g. Lee et al., 2021), and consistent attendance (e.g. Santibañez & Guarino, 2021). Widening disparities in standardized test scores (Fahle et al, 2024) animate the policy discourse around pandemic recovery efforts. During recovery efforts, policymakers used the concept of “learning loss” and “unmet learning” to summarize the effects of the pandemic on academic achievement (e.g. Engzell et al., 2021.). Though these constructions are contested for their validity and unidimensional emphasis on standardized testing (e.g. Robbins & Cipollone, 2023), educators and policymakers have broadly oriented themselves on accelerating learning to regain the perceived loss of students' development.

Research on schools' responses to the COVID-19 pandemic has focussed primarily on how school leaders navigated decision-making in the early days of the crisis and the variation in decisions to return to in-person instruction (e.g. Fotheringham et al, 2022; McLeod & Dulsky, 2021). Local political conditions highly predicted of the timing of school reopenings where schools in localities that skew Republican were more likely to reopen for in-person instruction in the fall of the 2020 school year (Grossmann et al., 2021; Harris & Oliver, 2021; Hartney & Finger, 2021; Houston & Steinberg, 2022; Marianno et al., 2022), and districts with strong teachers' union presence were less likely. While reopening decisions were often framed as a tension between "politics and science" (Marianno et al., 2022). Singer et al. (2022), found that decisions are more nuanced than binary framings due to the diverse set of stakeholders that district leaders engaged during decision making.

Much of the policy made at the state level during the first stages of the crisis was concerned with preserving the continuity of structures rather than changing these structures (Menefee-Libey et al., 2023). Though states made large-scale short-term adjustments, such as suspending standardized testing, these changes often preserved structures in the longer term. We examine district-level implementation of HIT, applying the CMC Framework, in order to understand how organizations might structurally sustain positive change after a crisis.

Methods

We conducted 112 interviews with 90 participants, including school district administrators, tutoring program administrators, teachers, tutors, and umbrella organizations (i.e. nonprofits and government agencies supporting HIT implementation). We used a distinct protocol with each stakeholder group, designed to provide insights on the implementation and scaling of HIT in ten diverse districts and one charter operator across the US. Each of the

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included LEAs implemented and expanded HIT programs during the 2021-2022 school year. Interviewees provided detailed information about the implementation of district-led tutoring initiatives. Interviews lasted approximately 45 minutes. A verified service transcribed interviews.

Coding

We developed an a priori coding scheme grounded in the theory of action aligned with HIT (e.g., Robinson & Loeb, 2021) and existing research documenting prior attempts to implement and scale tutoring in school districts in the US (e.g., Burch et al., 2007; Heinrich et al., 2010; Jacob et al., 2015). Our initial coding scheme consisted of 20 parent codes, including enabling conditions for tutoring implementation within and external to the district, program design, stakeholder responsibilities, distribution of services, costs, and instruction. We expanded this initial framework to include emergent codes from the data. The final coding scheme included nine parent codes and 33 sub-codes. See Appendix 1 for a comprehensive list of parent codes and a description of our interrater reliability.

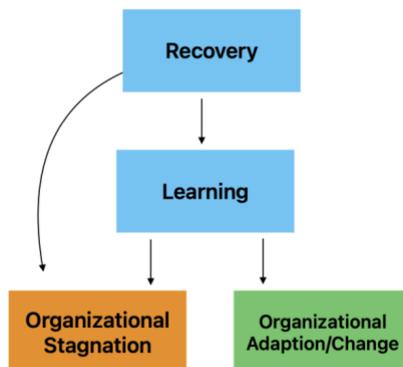
Findings

Overview

We identified factors both before and during implementation that shape the success of organizational changes essential to the successful implementation of HIT programs, in order to understand organizational change in crisis. We defined three specific pathways that organizations take after the initial response period: a path towards organizational stagnation without learning, and two paths through learning, one towards organizational change and the other returning to organizational stagnation, as shown in Figure 2. We found that organizations can take a path of organizational stagnation if they do not take on the work of post-pandemic learning or reflection. They can also take a path towards stagnation after learning if the costs and barriers of

implementing changes are too high. Alternatively, learning can create a pathway to sustained organizational change when an organization can overcome implementation challenges. These changes can make an organization more resilient to future crises and can impact educational practices affecting student development in non-crisis times.

Figure 2: Potential organizational pathways after recovery



We found that factors present pre-implementation and those arising during implementation affect districts' pathways. As shown in Figure 3, in the pre-implementation learning period the following factors facilitated a organization's decision to commit to implementing HIT programs and how these programs would take shape::

- *Alignment*: agreement among stakeholders of the problem and an appropriate solution
- *Partnerships*: external organizations which provide support, structure, and information to school districts seeking to implement HIT
- *Expertise*: specialized skills and knowledge relevant to enacting a implementation-specific tasks

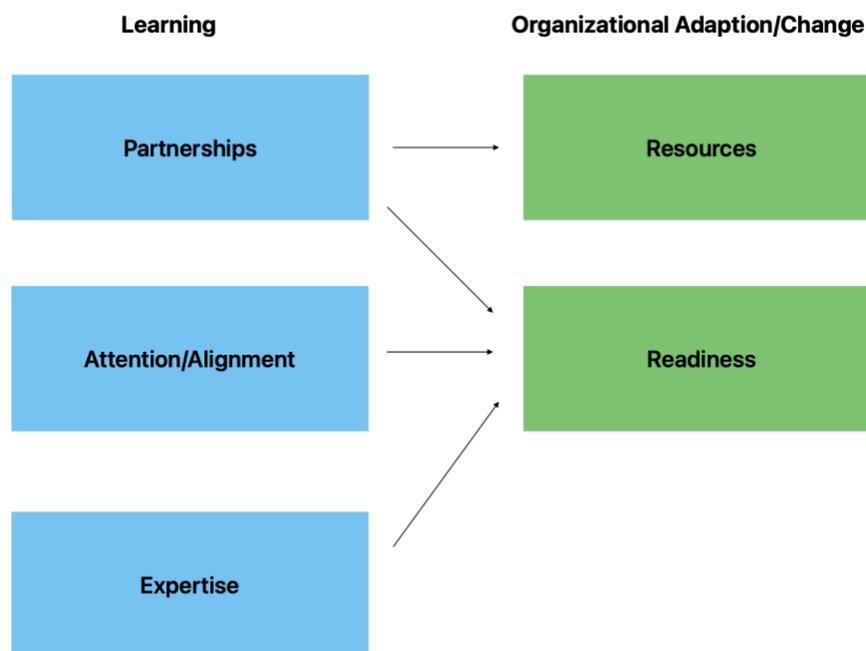
The above factors facilitated an organization's decision to embark on HIT efforts that require structural change. During implementation, these factors were consequential for the success and sustainability of these endeavors:

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- *Resources*: the availability of money, materials, staff, and other assets and the ability to leverage those assets towards organizational aims
- *Organizational Readiness*: the presence of mindsets and motivation necessary for pursuing organizational goals

These factors determined the constraints organizations navigated and their persistence in navigating them.

Figure 3: Factors that enable organizational change



Not All One Pathway

The pandemic brought about unprecedented disruption to schools, followed by unprecedented resource investments in schools. These resources were accompanied by the hope that schools would address students' interrupted learning through a range of both proven and innovative practices. HIT programs, in particular, expanded widely – as of November 2023, 16

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states had passed tutoring policies, and 40 states provide funding for tutoring (NSSA, 2023). But, they expanded unevenly. Some districts did not embrace tutoring at all; others did so as add-on programs that could easily be terminated when ESSER funds ran out; and others used the new resources to affect structures in schools that could lead to sustained change.

The variation in the utilization of ESSER funds is one indication that not all school systems are engaged in the learning processes. In a study focussed on California districts, FutureEd (2023) found that though most of California's districts reported spending at least 80% of their ESSER three funds, approximately 60 LEAs had not spent any of their funds through March 2023, and another 108 had spent less than 10 percent. Given the variety of ways that ESSER funds could be used, the lack of utilization likely signals a lack of direction about pandemic recovery.

While some districts chose not to engage in HIT at all, many others did. Among those who turned to HIT, some approached it as a temporary add-on while others sought to leverage the available funds for HIT as a longer-run improvement strategy. According to a survey conducted by IES in December of 2022, 83% of public schools provide some form of tutoring. Of those schools providing tutoring, 37% were providing tutoring that could fall within the criteria of HIT (NCES, 2023).

Engaging in learning is essential to yielding positive organizational change after crises. Below we detail determinants of an organization's path, specifically looking within LEAs that have made a concerted push for HIT. Within these localities, school leaders have engaged in a learning process about the pandemic's effect on student achievement and chose HIT as a potential solution to address these effects. By examining how our participants explained

challenges and successes in their pursuit of implementing HIT, we isolate the factors that contribute to an organization's trajectory towards post-crisis change.

Finding 1: Enabling Factors for Organizational Change at the Learning Stage

Organizations emerging from the learning state of the CMC with the resolve to pursue HIT as a recovery strategy had a set of facilitating factors for their decision. Specifically, alignment among stakeholders, external partnerships, and policy-relevant expertise provided capacities needed to learn from the crisis and crisis response to make change.

Alignment

Stakeholder alignment was a crucial enabling condition. Agreement between multiple layers of stakeholders is often necessary to ensure that information and processes flow through decentralized decision-making systems. Implementing HIT required the coordination of tutoring providers, tutors, teachers, school administrators, and leaders. It was more successful with the buy-in from all of these stakeholders. A partner organization describes the alignment between actors in a large district:

“...the superintendent knows what's happening, can speak to its importance ... I think having a senior sponsor... is key. I think support of the principals is huge, and support of the teachers. So I think that's kind of an area where we want to really think about how we help our teachers to think this is the goal of our tutoring.”

Instead of attributing the success of the district's program to a single actor, leader, or decision, this partner describes the layers of agreement necessary for large-scale programs to thrive.

Stakeholders alignment on the importance of HIT and its appropriateness as a policy solution for issues arising from the pandemic created an atmosphere of focus within LEAs. Aligned actors became motivated to take on extra work and work outside of their assigned roles, which was essential to accomplish tasks needed to start HIT programs. A district official discussed how this happens:

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“At one point it was a bit disjointed when we first started because no one knew right what was going on...people were working outside of their areas...I would start the job description. Well, my job really isn't to start a job description. But maybe HR was working over here on this. So let me start the job description, then let me pass it off to someone else to edit it, and then someone else will put the money on it. And so it really was a collaborative effort between the committee that was put together.”

The emergence of the new processes needed for HIT created new tasks, with no pre-assigned person to take them on. Alignment pushed these processes forward.

Alignment around HIT could not be induced simply through policy mandates, though policy mandates fostered new conversations, moving some motivated and resourced organizations towards action. The importance of alignment was clear in the variation in HIT implementation across Texas after the passage of HB 4545. The Texas state legislature passed HB4545 in June 2021, mandating individualized academic remediation for students who perform below grade level on the state assessments. While the policy was uniform across districts, the reaction across and within LEAs was not. HB4545 induced discussion broadly but led to pockets of intense focus where aligned actors created HIT programs at scale. LEAs without aligned actors were less likely to take this path.

Strategic Partnerships

Even aligned local actors often needed partnerships outside of the LEA in order to effectively undertake the complex implementation needed for effective HIT. The passage of HB4545 induced deep uncertainties within Texas LEAs around how to meet the bill's demands. In some locations, community partners stepped in to provide support to these districts in their efforts to implement HIT. One partner describes the pieces of advice and essential questions they provide to districts new to HIT:

“Make sure you have some systems in place before you start trying to scale this. ...4545 is a mandate but you can start piloting [HIT] in a few places to actually like, learn from it and ...build some like systems wide approach...Do you have leadership and dedicated

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resources? Can you start making sure that there's representation across all levels..And then the process mapping, because, when, when the rubber has to meet the road...things get real.”

Partners can give districts starting points when the task of implementation feels daunting.

Partners, in TX but also across the country, transmitted information between policymakers, funders, and practitioners, which helped transcend layers of governance and decentralization. They were able to take on this role because of their broader networks, which allowed them to share information between contexts and layers of decentralization. One partner described how to manage a funder's expectations of a district:

“[T]he role has been ...trying to negotiate between the funders and the sites to say, ‘hey, funders, that's crazy, or they don't have that ... as we're going forward, I'm pushing pretty hard to redefine the kinds of data that we're asking sites for...I'm talking with the funders directly, we're looking at..what's coming in what's not coming in and what the challenges are...that has been hopefully useful to everybody...”

Partners also freed up capacity for districts by simplifying and scaffolding implementation decisions. They described how they advised on issues ranging from effective tutoring vendors to budgeting, program design, and building buy-in. By helping to frame these decisions and offer advice on best practices, partners freed up the district’s capacity to implement these policies, thereby increasing district readiness to implement HIT.

Expertise

In response to the pandemic, districts sought information on how to address student learning needs and those implementing HIT sought information on how to effectively implement. Making those choices required expertise that some districts had or were able to obtain and others were not, leading to poor choices about what programs to pursue and poor choices about how to pursue them. One partner described how the lack of guidance about quality programming lead to poor choices:

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“when there was not a lot of guidance from the state...what happens is out of necessity...They ended up putting students on...some kind of online platform...which in my opinion does not qualify as [HIT].”

Partners sometimes provided expertise; state departments of education sometimes provided expertise; and in some cases districts contracted with companies specializing in tutoring services that provided expertise. Many of our district interviewees described a positive partnership with vendors as essential for their HIT programs; however, they also identified a need to foster internal expertise so that policies could meet desired aims. For instance, a tutoring described how they leverage internal expertise to ensure curricular alignment between tutoring sessions and classroom instruction:

The tutoring department is in the teaching and learning department.. which is our curriculum department. And so we... are very focused on... ensuring that we provide curriculum to students and teachers so that we can also ensure that the equitable outcomes happen...some of those external partners... have their own curriculum that didn't necessarily follow our curriculum. And so we wanted to make sure that whatever was done in the classroom was not being undone in a tutoring session.

In this quote, the tutoring director describes how internal expertise was necessary for ensuring that tutoring partnerships did not undermine any classroom learning because of misalignment. The HIT program maintained coherence with other structures within the district. The activation of this internal expertise allows for tutoring programs to be adopted into local context and to ensure that partnerships are being leveraged effectively.

Finding 2: Enabling Factors for Sustained Change at the Adaptation Stage

After learning about HIT and its potential to ameliorate learning loss, and choosing to implement HIT, successful implementation required both resources and organizational readiness.

Resources

Available funding was a primary driver of the expansion of HIT (NSSA 2023). The ESSER funds, which were not committed to existing programs and had to target learning,

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allowed districts to invest in new programs. However, districts also needed capacity to leverage the funding effectively. School resource allocation often happens through a complex and decentralized process that keeps funding from reaching its intended purposes. Districts needed to establish new processes to spend ESSER funds. One administrator explains:

“This federal funding that came in was so big...It was a struggle...to move it through..., we get the same money every year..And so there's plans and processes in place...I read in the media.. this money is...no strings attached...But that's not entirely true.. the documentation we had to do to show that this program, meeting those requirements took time.”

Accepting, processing, and allocating new financial resources is a policy burden that can impede resources from being effectively spent.

Even though these funds were unprecedented in magnitude, many participants described how the funds were insufficient to support their HIT program fully. Shores and Steinberg (2022) found ESSER funding alone could not offset district spending declines during the pandemic. In response to funding constraints, our participants often reduced the quality of their programming or the number of students served. A district leader described the tradeoffs decisions that they made with ESSER funding when budgeting for their HIT programs:

“I recognized pretty quickly that the ESSER funding was not going to be enough... because I didn't want to compromise our other programs ...[HIT] can't be the only thing that we're doing... because if you think of tutoring as kind of like this silver bullet, then it can actually eat up your whole budget...”

This district eventually received funding from a state-level HIT grant which freed their ESSER dollars for other needs. These additional resources allowed the district to maintain the integrity of their HIT program amongst other recovery demands. Overall, new funding allowed districts to pursue HIT and their capacities to use available funding determined the strength of their programs.

Organizational Readiness

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Given the complex, decentralized structures of school systems, shifting practice requires sustained motivation from organizational actors. The pandemic pushed school leaders to break with routines and structures (Grooms & Childs, 2021), but this task was challenging. Implementing HIT, for example, often required reorganization of the master schedule. The master schedule needs to account for state regulations around instructional time, space constraints, and busing schedules. A partner describes master schedule woes in one large district:

“The...[district leader] understands that unless we have time built into the schedule, there is no way to implement [HIT] during the school day, and allow access to the students who need it the most... but [the district] is averse to a master schedule mandate...Districts have got to say this is a non negotiable.”

From this partner’s perspective, the only way to get around some of the scheduling issues is for leaders to be ready to take a strong stance on HIT that puts it at odds with other priorities.

Organizational readiness combines with organizational alignment to induce empowered actors to remove institutional barriers. One partner described district-level mindsets as related to a commitment to change:

“...in a district the size of [urban district], you've got so many people at the decision making level. And if there's not a shared understanding and a shared vision across all of those people to collectively make it happen, it won't happen.”

This partner’s observations describe a strong link between the mentality of organizational actors and their perceived agency. Organizational readiness structured how district leaders perceived the feasibility of HIT and affected their motivation to remove structural barriers for implementation.

Discussion

The Crisis Management Cycle is a well-established framework for understanding how organizations respond to crises. Given the enormity of the pandemic and the challenges it

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presented for schooling, we contributed to this framework by first establishing three separate pathways schools took after recovery. One pathway is when an organization does not engage in post-crisis learning and returns to “business as usual.” These were schools which did not have the capacity or support to engage in meaningful learning. They enter a stage of stagnation before another crisis occurs. The other two pathways occur after a stage of learning. After reflecting about a school system’s vulnerabilities during a crisis, leaders can choose to enact change in their organizations. These changes may be successfully implemented, leading to a path of sustained change or they may fail, leading the organization towards stagnation. We show that post crisis learning and change are not inevitable, especially for complex and strained public school systems.

Grissom & Condon (2021) emphasized the importance of leadership during times of crisis. We find that internal alignment and broader organizational readiness to undergo change are key determinants for pathways towards institutionalizing change during a crisis. We also establish enabling conditions for leaders to implement changes such as partnerships that provide expertise, and the availability of resources as well as the processes to distribute those resources effectively. As we think through how districts manage future crises to ensure that children can experience schooling, we can use the knowledge gained here to create the conditions that allow organizations to emerge from crises more prepared for the next impending crisis. In particular, we need to support districts with how to structure their change processes by providing them with information about promising solutions and also assisting with building sustainable processes and structures.

Word Count: 4998 Words

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Appendix 1

Table A1 List of Interview Codes and Definitions

Code	Use	Sub-Codes
Enabling Conditions - External	Conditions beyond a school district's direct power and resources which influence tutoring planning and implementation. This may include federal and state policy, and resources provided to districts through partnerships with community organization, government, and private orgs. This may also include broader economic and cultural conditions.	Partnerships; Policies; Knowledge
Enabling Conditions - District	Descriptions of the people, policies, and practices within a school district that influence tutoring planning and implementation.	Program Selection; Leadership Support; People and Processes; Coordination with Schools and Providers
Scaling	Ideas, plans, and processes related to how tutoring can be sustained, grow, and improve overtime.	Sustainability; Continuous Improvement
Funding and Costs	Descriptions of the amounts, types, and sources of resources (monetary, in-kind, people, etc.) used to plan and implement tutoring.	Funding Sources and Processes; Budget; Cost Ingredients
Tutor-Related Policies	Descriptions of policies and practices related to hiring, training, placing, and supporting tutors.	Tutor Role, Expectations, and Compensation; Tutor Supply and Recruitment; Tutoring Matching; Training and Support; Retention
Eligibility and Selection	Descriptions of which grade levels, subject areas, schools, and students tutoring programs are designed to target and actually reach.	Program Focus; Student Selection; Take-Up and Attendance
Program Design	Descriptions of tutoring group size, delivery (in-person/virtual), location, and dosage both as designed and as implemented.	Group Size; Delivery; Setting; Dosage
Curriculum and Instruction	Descriptions of the materials and approaches used to teach students in tutoring sessions.	Personalized Approach; Curriculum Materials; Connection to Tier1; Student-Tutor Relationship
Tutoring Goals and Outcomes	Interviewee perspectives on what tutoring should do, the key features a program must have to be successful, and whether the tutoring they've experienced is having the intended impact.	Program Goals; Key Design Elements; Influence on Students; Influence on Tutors

Interrater Reliability

Six research team members participated in a training process in which all raters coded the same transcript excerpts. For research team members to reach initial fidelity benchmarks, they were required to meet a 70% agreement threshold with coding team leaders. To monitor ongoing interrater reliability and guard against rater drift, 15% of all transcripts were randomly chosen to be double-coded by one of the master raters on the project. Overall interrater agreement was 89% across all parent codes with a pooled kappa of .64. After researchers coded transcripts, we searched for themes following Braun & Clarke's (2006) six-step framework for conducting thematic analysis. For this study, we searched for themes within descriptions of the origins of policy decisions to implement HIT, the factors respondents used to explain the successes or failures of their HIT programs, and the challenges experienced during implementation. Team members summarized the findings in initial memos, discussed the findings as a team, and ultimately settled on the findings presented in this paper.