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Abstract

Qualitative evidence from action networks is used to answer the research question, How do leaders of successful networks manage collaboration challenges to make things happen? This study of two urban immigration coalitions in the United States found that their leaders developed practices as a response to two paradoxical requirements of network collaboration: managing unity and diversity when doing inward work and confrontation and dialogue when doing outward work. By illuminating how leaders responded to these complex demands inherent in action networks, the authors open up the black box of managing whole networks of organizations and underscore the role of leadership in interorganizational collaboration.

Keywords

networks, collaboration, paradox, qualitative research, networks

The Immigrant Policy Network[1] is a powerful urban coalition of more than 150 organizations. The network's leaders recognize that the more accurately its membership reflects the range of organizations committed to issues of immigration policy, the stronger and more effective it can be. They work hard to recruit large service providers with a strong urban presence as well as smaller, less prominent grassroots organizations that focus on responding to

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what happens on the ground. The board includes highly respected national leaders as well as local community activists. Although representing both types of organizations makes the network strong, it can also generate power dynamics that could threaten the network's capacity to unite its members against a potent external actor. Tensions can produce disunity and preclude member collaboration, so it is necessary for network leaders to develop strategies to neutralize the effects of diversity in size, real or perceived external clout, or differences in ideological perspectives.

The network's executive director illustrates such a strategy with a story about a board meeting debate over term limits for city officials. A respected national leader argued on the side of the city council's proposal to end term limits. The leader of a small grassroots immigrant group resisted, pounding the table with her fist: "No, this is democracy! We've been working for so long to tell people that this is a democracy and that their votes matter. How can we tell them now that their votes should be overridden and that term limits should be ignored?" In this argument about how to best promote democracy and protect the power of immigrant voters, her voice was heard. The network's leadership had taken steps to ensure that all network members had an equal voice, not only at the board table but also in working groups, advocacy campaigns, and other projects. For the executive director, the board's subsequent decision to follow the grassroots leader and support the continuation of term limits signaled a shift in the power dynamics of the network's board.

The executive director and other network leaders had developed strategies that honored the contradictory demands for both unity and diversity. Their work ensured that the outcome of the board meeting exchange was not a divisive power play but instead concerted support for the majority decision. Scholars in the network management and conflict resolution literatures describe this deliberate leadership work as an effective way to create conditions for collaboration (Agranoff & McGuire, 2001; Huxham & Vangen, 2000; Innes & Booher, 1999; Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004; Mandell, 2000; O'Leary & Bingham, 2007; Provan & Kenis, 2008; Ring & Van de Ven, 1994). In this article, we document how leaders of organizational networks use various practices to help manage the demands associated specifically with the inherently paradoxical nature of networks as organizational forms. This empirical study thus advances recent scholarly interest in the relationship between collaborative work and paradox (Connelly, Zhang, & Faerman, 2008).

The findings are part of a study about how leaders in successful networks like the Immigrant Policy Network address challenges to the collaboration that is essential to the network's ability to make things happen. This question

is framed within a theoretical perspective that views leadership as a collective achievement rather than the property of individuals (Drath, 2001; Ospina & Sorenson, 2006). From this lens, studying the leadership of networks implies linking the behaviors of leaders to the collective constructions that emerge and shape action as leadership is called forth in pursuit of the network's common purpose and its organizing needs (Drath, 2001; Hosking, 2007). We used qualitative interpretive research to illuminate these dynamics in a particular type of action network in a particular policy environment, immigration. Following the premises of narrative inquiry (Dodge, Ospina, & Foldy, 2005; Reissman, 2002) we drew on stories from two successful urban immigration networks in the United States.

The inquiry illuminates how leaders of the coordinating units in these networks promoted the network's goals while advancing collaboration through two types of work: first, inward work among network members, and second, outward work between the network and external actors, including work to influence a given target (Shortell et al., 2002). While giving simultaneous attention to inward and outward work, leaders confronted the inherent tensions associated with addressing contradictory but necessary requirements of network collaboration. Management scholars have defined these tensions as paradoxes (Ford & Backoff, 1988; Lewis, 2000; Ofori-Dankwa & Julian, 2004; Smith & Berg, 1987). We explore how specific network activities that have been empirically identified before as key to network management (Agranoff & McGuire, 2001; Huxham & Vangen, 2000; Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004; Mandell, 2000) can be seen as a leadership response to the paradoxical requirements of network collaboration. Our contribution is to connect these collaborative practices to the demands of the unity and diversity paradox when doing inward work and of the confrontation and dialogue paradox when doing outward work.

Given their popularity as governance mechanisms (Agranoff & McGuire, 2001), and the accepted notion that network failure is a function of poor management (Meyer, 1999), the growing, but generalized, scholarly interest with the challenges of interorganizational networks establishes the relevance of further studying their management, leadership, and governance (Ebers, 1997; Provan & Kenis, 2008; Ring & Van de Ven, 1994). Only recently has the network management literature started to focus on *how* inherent challenges and tensions associated with the nature of networks are managed successfully (Huxham & Beech, 2003; Isett & Provan, 2005; Milward & Provan, 2006; O'Leary & Bingham, 2007). Paradox is well studied in organization science (Ford & Backoff, 1988; Lewis, 2000; Poole & Van de Ven, 1989), and the relevance of managing tensions is well documented in collaboration

scholarship (Huxham & Beech, 2003). But systematic empirical attention to the role of paradox in interorganizational collaboration is scant (Connelly et al., 2008; Faulkner & de Rond, 2000; Huxham, 2003). This underscores the urgency of exploring the dynamics between network collaboration and paradox.

The article is structured as follows. We first define our object of study—interorganizational action networks—and discuss the relevance of our research question within the limited empirical work about the links between collaboration and paradox in the management of networks. Next we describe the methodology and research sites, followed by the findings. These are organized to show how network management activities previously associated with collaboration in the literature emerge in response to the need to address the paradoxical demands associated with the inward and outward work of action networks. Finally, a discussion and a conclusion highlight the promise of systematically linking paradox and collaboration to better understand network management, and we suggest steps for future research. Because our findings on paradox emerged inductively from the data, and we used only two networks, both of which are successful cases of collaboration, the resulting propositions are tentative and require future exploration, a theme we address in the conclusion.

Paradox in the Management of Interorganizational Networks

Managing interorganizational networks is an inherently difficult task, whether within the public or private sectors or across them (Human & Provan, 2000). They are complex, so the risk of failure is high (Park & Ungson, 2001). An estimated 50% or more of the efforts to build and sustain business alliances fail (Kelly, Schaan, & Jonacas, 2002; Park & Ungson, 2001). Although failure rates are not available for public or nonprofit networks, their difficulties are documented (O'Leary & Bingham, 2007). For example, interorganizational collaboration often succumbs to what Huxham and Vangen (2000) call "collaborative inertia." Research suggests that these difficulties stem from the complex, dynamic, and ambiguous nature of a key requirement for network success: collaboration (Huxham, 2003).

Interorganizational Action Networks

Empirical knowledge about interorganizational networks is uneven, and can be mapped around the broad topics of formation and structure, process, and

management (Faulkner & de Rond, 2000).[2] Process and management—that is, what helps address collaboration challenges and how networks are managed—has only recently become the focus of scholarly attention (Bingham & O'Leary, 2006; Ebers, 1997; Milward & Provan, 2006; O'Leary & Bingham, 2007; Ring & Van de Ven, 1994). Our study focuses on a specific type: "action networks" (Agranoff, 2003). These use interagency adjustments and formally adopt collaborative courses of action, particularly regarding policy advocacy. Action networks are network structures (Keast, Mandell, Brown, & Woolcock, 2004) with a formal, centralized network management unit, a coordinating unit or "network administrative organizations" (Milward & Provan, 2006). Action networks carry out joint action, as opposed to informal information-sharing networks. Their members pursue at the same time a common objective, and their own independent objectives. They are, by definition, explicitly committed to interorganizational collaboration. Despite the popularity of interorganizational solutions to address wicked social problems, we need to know more about their effective management.

Ambiguity, Complexity, and Tension in Network Management

Four broad research streams address topics of network management in various degrees of depth: the public and policy networks field (Agranoff & McGuire, 2001; Bingham & O'Leary, 2006; Keast et al., 2004; Kickert, Klijn, & Koppenjan, 1997; Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004; Milward & Provan, 2006), the public–private partnerships field (European Commission, 2003), the collaboration management literature (Gray, 1985; Huxham & Vangen, 2000), and the business alliance and network literature (Dyer & Nobeoka, 2000; Gulati, 1998). Independent of approach, the literatures agree that network management is difficult and that interorganizational collaboration is full of challenges. There is also agreement that the ambiguous and complex nature of collaboration in networks generates tensions for their management. But there is scant work about how these tensions are addressed.

Insights from the literature indicate that collaborative efforts often arise to solve complex problems in dynamic social environments (Agranoff & McGuire, 2001; Borzel, 1998; Castells, 2000; Gray, 1996; Mandell, 2000) and that these efforts are usually complex themselves. We also know that complexity characterizes the nature and management of network features such as membership and size. For example, membership structure is ambiguous and dynamic, given that the same persons may represent different organizations in different arenas (Huxham, 2003). There is also ample evidence of the tensions associated with the complexities of setting goals (Huxham,

2003; McGuire, 2002) and defining success (Provan & Milward, 2001). For example, studies suggest that members of interorganizational collaborations may hold diverse views about how to define and measure success (Mizrahi & Rosenthal, 2001).

Only recently have scholars explicitly associated these tensions with the paradoxical nature of collaboration in the context of network management (Connelly et al., 2008). The collaboration literature points to an inherent tension in networks: the potential for collaborative advantage depends on the ability of each member organization to bring different resources to the network. This diversity of member resources is a function of the difference in member purpose, which in turn challenges their ability to collaborate (Huxham & Beech, 2003). Much can be learned by exploring how effective leaders in the coordinating unit of action networks manage challenges associated with facilitating collaboration in a context full of ambiguity, complexity, and tension.

Managing Challenges to Collaboration in Networks

Network management studies find that managing an organization *located in a network* requires specialized strategies. These include interacting with other organizations, creating infrastructures for collaboration, attracting and supporting potential partners, building and sustaining legitimacy, and capturing resources and support for the network (Agranoff & McGuire, 2001; Huxham & Vangen, 2000; Keast et al., 2004; Mandell, 2000). Studies also document how member organizations must manage the games in which partners exchange resources and coproduce activities (Agranoff & McGuire, 2001; Kickert et al., 1997; Klijn & Teisman, 2000; Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004).

These important insights are about managing in a network context but despite some exceptions (Mandell, 2000; Milward & Provan, 2006), these studies tend to focus on the behavior of leaders in each member organization of the network rather than on how leaders *at the network level* address similar demands for the whole network as an independent organizational form.

This gap in understanding has been recently addressed by the literature on collaborative governance (Ansell & Gash, 2008; Tang & Mazmanian, 2008). Of particular relevance is the effort to translate research findings into guidelines to assist public managers in the use and leverage of policy networks and in reducing conflict among network members (Agranoff, 2003; Milward & Provan, 2006; O'Leary & Bingham, 2007). This literature has begun to cast light on the complex nature of collaborative work in a network context, and

identifies specific leadership skills, processes, and behaviors required for successful network management. Only a few studies however recognize and address paradox as inherent in these issues, and then only tangentially. O'Leary and Bingham, for example, make note of the ubiquitous presence of conflict as a paradoxical factor affecting network management and that particular models of conflict resolution contribute to enhance collaboration. Connelly et al. (2008) identify several paradoxes of collaborative management in networks and suggest that managers must embrace these as they work both within and outside the network. Yet the empirical question of how network managers address the paradoxical demands of this organizational form as they try to develop collaboration at the network level has not been explored.

Method

This study used narrative inquiry as its primary methodology (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Ospina & Dodge, 2005; Reissman, 2002) to answer the research question, How do leaders in successful networks manage collaboration challenges to make things happen? We collected stories about interorganizational collaborative work from interviews with organizational members of two action networks in large urban centers of the United States. Their publicly acknowledged achievement of effective change in the immigration policy domain qualifies them as successful cases of action networks.

Study Design

The chosen networks represent a theoretically driven sample drawn from 20 organizations participating in a leadership recognition program during 2001 and 2002.[3] All were nonprofit, social-change organizations (Chetkovich & Kunreuther, 2006) working with particular disadvantaged populations to address systemic inequities, combining strategies of service delivery, organizing, advocacy, and community building. Given the rigor of the program's selection process and criteria, these organizations represent exemplars of success and therefore, suitable sites to explore our research question.[4]

We chose to focus on two similar interorganizational action networks that operated within the policy domain of immigration. Our interest in a topic for which there is scant empirical research indicated an exploratory inquiry that would afford cross-comparisons as well as in-depth exploration of the challenges of collaboration in each particular network context.

The cases are comparable along two key dimensions: policy domain (immigration) and location (large urban centers). Their governing bodies are also similar: a core coordinating unit with an executive director accountable to a board of directors with membership representation. This enhances the comparability of the units of analysis in the study but produces findings that could not be generalized to collaborative work in networks from other policy areas and jurisdictions and with other governing structures.

There are also key differences between the networks. Although they share a federal context, their local and state policy contexts differ. Despite comparable annual budgets ($1.3 million and $1 million, respectively), their funding sources differ slightly.[5] The networks also differ in their size (20 and 150 members), their membership structure, and the complexity and size of the staff working in the coordinating unit (9 and 17). Their age (5 and 15 years) suggests different life-cycle stages, one relatively young and maturing (Rainbow Network) and the other well established (Immigrant Policy Network).

The emphasis on leadership challenges around collaboration for the whole network demanded a primary focus of attention on the networks' coordinating units. Nevertheless, the level of analysis was the network as a whole, which represents the case we are exploring to answer the research question (Ragin, 1992).

Data Collection and Analysis

We collected stories via two rounds of in-depth interviews of individuals and groups made during site visits to the offices of both the Immigrant Policy Network and the Rainbow Network, also known as the network coordinating units. Individual leaders from the coordinating unit were interviewed first. Then they joined structured group conversations with selected representatives of stakeholder group members (such as other staff from the coordinating unit, representatives of the board, representatives from network member organizations, clients, funders, allies, and public officials). Interview protocols around relevant dimensions of the network's work elicited stories about how the network had achieved successful milestones as well as instances of conflict, obstacles, and failure. The interviews followed a narrative, interpretive technique, allowing participants to describe their experiences freely and encouraging story telling (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

Conversational interviews with these stakeholders yielded about 500 pages of transcripts and represent the basic linguistic corpus constructed to engage in narrative analysis (Gaskell & Bauer, 2000).[6] These interviews were complemented by additional documentation from the leadership

program (such as analytical memos from prior research, participant applications, and other program documents).[7]

Data collection and analysis focused on organizational strategies and activities revealed in the stories, including evidence of challenges to collaboration. We coded in two stages. The stories were first organized in categories from the reviewed literature corresponding to dimensions associated with the nature of interorganizational networks. These included motivation to join, relationships, the scope of work, and successes.[8] Second, "grounded" codes reflecting ways to address the challenges of collaboration emerged from identified stories. Themes like inclusion and participatory process, as well as the need for unity and the value of diversity, emerged from the stories. Appendix A documents the coding scheme.

Once coded, within-case and cross-case matrices were developed, and the analysis searched for patterns within and across organizations. Then a conceptual interpretation of the results linked the tables to complementary research material, including analytical memos developed in earlier stages of the research program. What emerged as an unexpected but determinant finding to answer our research question was that the network's activities to address the challenges of collaboration responded to the need to manage the paradoxical demands associated with both their inward and outward work.[9]

The Cases: Work, History, and Accomplishments

Each action network studied supports the immigrant community of a large U.S. city and its surrounding urban area. On the East Coast, the Immigrant Policy Network includes roughly 150 organizations representing most segments of its city's immigrant population. Rainbow Network operates in a large Midwest city, with a diverse membership of 20 immigrant groups. Communities represented range from Mexican, Dominican, eastern European, and Chinese immigrants to newcomers from other parts of Latin America, as well as Africa, South Asia, and the Middle East.

The central goal shared by the networks is to improve local immigrants' quality of life and to provide a forum for their voices and collective action. Their focus includes civic, community and technical education, advocacy, and policy analysis. They work to influence education, health, and welfare institutions that affect the quality of life of immigrants and consider their local, state, and federal immigration agencies to be key institutional targets. Appendix B presents their missions and brief descriptions of their programs.

The seeds from which many of the member organizations and the networks themselves grew were planted when significant changes resulting from the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) altered the demographic landscape of much of the United States, including the urban areas of the studied networks. Three million undocumented workers and their families became eligible for legal status, increasing demand for services and the necessary collaboration among organizations to provide them (Federation for American Immigration Reform, 2003; Moran & Petsod, 2003). The Immigrant Policy Network was created in 1987 through the efforts of a small group of immigration reform advocates. The new locally based network of immigrant advocacy organizations offered support for immigrants and new citizens, while responding to the IRCA's goal to deter illegal immigration to the United States. In 1996, influenced by the antiimmigrant implications of the 1996 Federal Welfare Reform initiative and in search of a way to make themselves heard, a small collection of immigrant groups in a Midwestern city coalesced around poverty and an unresponsive local Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS)[10] office. In 1998, a foundation grant supporting their search for solutions transformed an ad hoc and reactive collection of groups into the formal and proactive Rainbow Network.

The success of these networks within the dispersed and isolated immigrant communities in two of the largest urban areas of the United States is an achievement in itself, as is their sustainability, the stability of their staff and boards, the size of their budgets, and the strong reputation and public credibility they enjoy.

The networks have received prestigious awards that recognize their work as effective, systemic, strategic, and able to sustain results beyond individual efforts.[11] They also have a record of mission-specific achievements. For example, Immigrant Policy Network enrolled more than 60,000 families in an immigrant voter education and mobilization campaign for the 2000 elections, resulting in the registration of more than 200,000 new voters. Its advocacy campaigns to expand legal services and English classes for immigrants have earned millions of dollars of city and state funding. In the Midwest, Rainbow Network's petition campaign for INS reform collected more than 19,000 signatures, helping to ensure the creation of an Independent Monitoring Board to act as an INS watchdog group. By 2000, approximately 800 documented cases had been sent by the Independent Monitoring Board to members of Congress and the INS, documenting the INS backlog and its effect on immigrants and refugees.

The scale of the results achieved by these two networks reflects the success of their leaders' work in managing the interorganizational collaboration

essential to attain their network's goals. They serve as excellent sites to study how their leaders manage the paradoxical challenges of collaboration in networks.

Findings: Addressing Collaboration Challenges by Managing Paradox

In exploring the challenges of collaboration, we distinguished between the inward and outward work of network leaders (Shortell et al., 2002). Inward work refers to the explicit effort to build, nurture, and maintain the network and to coordinate network members, that is, the task of building community. Outward work includes task-oriented behaviors to achieve the network's goals independently or through its members. As leaders tried to make things happen, they were confronted with managing paradoxical realities in both the inward work of collaboration among network members and also in the outward work of influencing target organizations. In this work, they found the means to ensure that both sides of the paradox were honored by addressing demands that appeared contradictory on the surface. In the process, they engaged in effective collaborative management.

Our inductive analysis of how leaders of the Rainbow Network and the Immigrant Policy Network managed competing demands in both their inward and outward work yielded six collaborative practices. An exploration of the implications of the practices for effective network management focused on their direct association to paradox. The collaborative practices represent the means by which the network leaders helped the members find direction, alignment, and commitment to advance their collective work (Drath, 2001; McCauley & Van Velsor, 2003). This view of leadership as a relational process by which groups engage in shared meaning making to achieve their collective purpose represents novel thinking in the leadership field (Drath, 2001; McCauley et al., 2008; Ospina & Sorenson, 2006; Uhl-Bien, 2006) and is more helpful in illuminating the dynamics of network management than are traditional leadership models derived from more hierarchical organizational forms.

Managing Paradox to Facilitate Intranetwork Collaboration: Honoring the Competing Demands for Unity and Diversity

Network leaders had to both manage and maintain diversity, as a fundamental characteristic and the starting point of their networks. Leaders had to engage in deliberate work to build community in different ways. A shared

"immigrant" identity was not enough to overcome all the differences. Areas of diversity within the member organizations of each network are consistent with those documented in the literature (Mizrahi & Rosenthal, 2001), including differences in goals, in ideology, in expected outcomes, in power, in levels of commitment, and in demographic composition or social identity (class, gender, race). These typical differences were amplified by the networks' defining focus and common cause—immigration—with its variety and multiplicity of member organizations responding to the needs of groups distinguished by ethnicity, religion, culture, or linguistics.

Immigrant Policy Network included service providers as well as organizations focusing on organizing or advocacy. Rainbow Network's members were all service providers, but the variety of their specialization ranged from health and aging, to serving the unique needs of individual immigrant communities, to responding to very specific problems such as HIV. Rainbow Network had member organizations with a couple of thousand clients, and others with as many as 20,000 clients a year, whereas Immigrant Policy Network included some organizations that annually had more than 800,000 Latino clients.

The advocacy director at Immigrant Policy Network recognized the potential for conflict, saying, "All of them don't really get along [but] they're all together because there is a strong consensus, you know, on the agenda, as it really brings people together." At Rainbow Network, the training director argued, "There's a lot of politics among the [CBOs] and to get everybody to agree [is] not easy." The diverse characteristics, strengths, goals, and resulting priorities of the organizations that constituted the network members made it hard to find the common ground that encouraged collaboration. Leaders' stories emphasized the network's need for a sense of community.

Creatively managing irreconcilable disagreements was one way to clear the way to common ground, as illustrated in this comment from Immigrant Policy Network executive director:

> We sometimes agree not to take positions on certain things, like I know school vouchers came up as part of our education work. . . . And different Board members made presentations, one in favor of us taking a pro-voucher position, another one in favor of us taking an anti-voucher position, and one in favor of us taking no position. And we wound up taking no position, because several of our groups would have walked. It would have really been a "make or break" issue for them, and we just decided that vouchers wasn't an important enough issue on our agenda for us to lose major players of the network over it.

This illustrates the artful management of inward work to promote collaboration: School reform included the contested issue of school vouchers. Ideological differences within the membership threatened the unity of the network as a whole around a key dimension of their school reform agenda. After carefully discussing all possible alternatives, and giving voice to those advocating each position, network members agreed to take no position, thus upholding the ideological diversity while finding unity in the way the decision was made.

Because conflicting views about vouchers did not get resolved, it could be argued that the outcome in this example was not ideal from a consensus-building perspective (Innes & Booher, 1999) or from an interest-based model of conflict resolution (O'Leary & Bingham, 2007). After all, not taking action on an issue because of the fear of conflict could be viewed as a solution that has considerable costs. However, the outcome did represent a collective achievement when it is associated with the need to address the paradoxical demands for both unity and diversity. Agreeing to disagree over the issue without losing any member after engaging the discussion, and clarifying that vouchers was not at the core of the coalition's work, were important sense-making outcomes of the carefully orchestrated process. Ensuring a process that gave equal airtime to each position meant that even those whose position did not win felt sufficient ownership of the outcome to stay. The process ensured that voice and loyalty would trump exit (Hirschman, 1970).The final outcome of holding the network together was not a trivial achievement, even if the underlying source of potential conflict was not resolved.

Leaders and representatives in both networks praised organizational diversity and highlighted its importance to their work. Their diversity accounted for the network's strength. Rainbow Network's executive director acknowledged this when he said, "Because . . . what you and you [pointing at representatives of two member organizations] bring to the table . . . is what makes us strong. At least I try to foster that. And so far it has worked. . . . (*laughs*) So I think that if we have to take a magic formula, I think that's it." A cofounder of Immigrant Policy Network explained that internal diversity has "been one of the main reasons why the network has been so effective; and has been increasingly more and more effective . . . because whatever the process has been, we've been able for the most part, to bring so many different groups to the table that don't normally advocate together."

Diversity played a strategic role in helping the networks gain the leverage with the external organizations they wanted to target. The executive director of Immigrant Policy Network illustrated this when he related, "We have all

of these different groups coming, you know, with the shared message on these issues, and then they [actors of the target agency] all scratched their heads saying, 'So, Central American Refugee Center is . . . in on this with UJA and with . . . ?' you know, and that's when they realize that they have to pay closer attention."

The need to honor diversity and unity required deliberate and strategic work from leaders in the coordinating unit of the networks. This work was enacted as collaborative practices that helped to manage the network.

Addressing the Demands of Unity and Diversity

Confronted by the tensions that emerged from the demands for unity and diversity, leaders devised ways to generate the needed unity without threatening the needed diversity. To address paradox in the context of work inside the network, leaders in the network nurtured and facilitated member interaction, they paid attention to personal relationships, and they fostered openness and participatory processes.

Facilitating interaction. Members of both networks highlighted the importance of the facilitating role of network leaders in managing member interaction. Setting up a press conference, identifying and proposing immigration-related issues as the source for common work, and setting the structure and processes for interaction are examples of collaborative practices that leaders in the coordinating units used to address the unity and diversity paradox. These tasks signaled to network members that they shared a platform (the network) that embodied unity, or united action. At the same time, network managers were careful to not overshadow organizational members, avoiding a threat to their separate identity, thus guaranteeing the needed internal diversity.

In both cases, the network itself provided a unifying vision to the work of diverse organizations, and their leaders constantly and persuasively reminded network members of the need for interorganizational collaboration. In Rainbow Network, the leader in the network provided structure and took the lead in helping identify and frame the issues. In Immigrant Policy Network, the leader helped get things going and framed the issues appropriately but insisted in letting the members take front-stage in making the case on their own. As a member of Immigrant Policy Network observed about the network manager,

> She never does a press conference by herself. She's always looking for community voices, local community leaders to speak on it and she'll be just doing the emceeing . . . introducing people and just setting up

> the issues, but still setting up the kind of political framework that we want people to have.

We found that nurturing the process was a critical role for the network leaders—bridging the diversity of the network without reducing it. Rainbow Network members were extremely grateful to have someone constantly following up, setting up the stage, and looking after the small details. But more importantly, through nurturing activities, member organizations received a clear message that they were indispensable. As a member explained,

> It isn't that you were just invited, but I think [the network executive director] really nurtured that well, if you're not here, there is going to be something missing. And it started a trend of feeling like you all needed to contribute in order to make something as successful as it turned out to be.

At Immigrant Policy Network, participants appreciated the executive director's constant attention to the process and to facilitating the roles of organizations' leaders within it. A staff person said: "It is less about [the executive director] being a leader than nurturing other leaders and setting up the processes to nurture them." This, in turn, required cultivating relationships.

Cultivating personal relationships. The value of the personal relationships formed between individual members of network organizations is expressed by a Rainbow Network member:

> The wonderful part of Rainbow Network is that I feel so comfortable calling any of the partner directors and saying, you know, "What do you do?" "How can you help me in this situation I'm struggling in," you know, and also, "What can I do for you?" And I think that's very special.

Nurturing relationships required plenty of energy and work, and the network manager played a key role. As one staff member said to the executive director of Rainbow Network, "And when you get a group that's diverse as we are, staying . . . fairly friendly and really not having a tremendous difference of opinion about who did this and who didn't do that, that's pretty good testimony to your ability to keep us all on track." In the case of Immigrant Policy Network, with more than 150 organizational members to manage, the executive director paid personal attention to each, as a network staff related, "She puts the time into building relationships with local [member] leaders." Attention and engagement

through face-to-face conversations or a short personal note sent by mail illustrate this work. The bond created by personalized interaction can be then used as the basis for emotional management in the face of differences, as respect becomes the norm for the individuals involved. This comment by the Rainbow Network executive director points to the consequence of this work:

> I think people show a level of respect acknowledging that we very rarely disagree on policies and positions, but we disagree on our strategies. And so you're able to diffuse the conversation and not have to get very . . . [pause] it's not as loaded a conversation then, because nobody is attacking somebody else for being a sell-out, or for not being politically, you know, committed, which is where all the emotional stuff comes in. And it's much more of a sort of clear-eye, hard-edge conversation about strategy.

Her approach suggests that the nurture of personal relationships simultaneously demonstrates respect for the need to value differences and the need to maintain unity.

Promoting openness and participation. Each network devoted substantial resources to ensure the participation of its member organizations in decision making at every level, showing them respect, giving them a sense of their value to the network, and establishing within the membership a relatively balanced distribution of power. In Immigrant Policy Network's board discussion about school vouchers described earlier, the three positions on the issue were thoroughly discussed in the board meeting before the board as a whole elected to take no position. At Rainbow Network, a member explained, "The way we work together is [we] build consensus among us. And sometimes that takes longer." Indeed, this participatory form of group decision is based on lengthy processes of deliberation, but the outcome was not arrived at the expense of either unity or diversity.

Participation created ownership and a sense of adhesion among network members, thus promoting unity. This inward management task of building community therefore was useful in meeting the demands for unity and diversity. Rainbow Network's director was always "very careful about making sure that every single one of the agencies did take part and felt valued at the time," trying to ensure that they would feel comfortable. A staff member at Immigrant Policy Network commented, "It's been really essential for us to show that we care just as much about the Russian, Korean, Chinese, Haitian and south Asian votes as we do about the Latino vote," and as a consequence,

"we've been able to maintain the sense of really, you know, multi-ethnic participation, and our agenda has always been inclusive."

Leaders in both networks made explicit efforts to neutralize the consideration of power in their networks' identity or operation. As a member reflected, "There doesn't feel like a dominance of power in Rainbow Network [so] that one group has more say than the other group." In the case of Immigrant Policy Network, the network manager was able to turn a difference that could produce conflict into a source of strength for the network, thus managing the unity and diversity paradox. She explains, "Instead of trying to take away power or suppress those that are powerful, you just elevate the emerging groups so that they're more on equal grounds. So you don't alienate, you know, some of the more established groups." The inclusive and participatory process kept these heterogeneous organizations together, allowing the added value of their diversity, while generating among them a sense of unity, ownership, and belonging.

The analysis suggests that these practices associated with managing the unity and diversity paradox—facilitating interaction, nurturing interpersonal relationships, and promoting openness and participation—interacted synergistically to create a sense of community, an essential early step toward collaboration. A participatory process needs facilitation and nurturing. Similarly, personal relationships are an outcome of, as well as an input to, participatory processes. In combination, these three collaborative practices helped to foster unity in spite of the tremendous differences among network members, thus creating the fertile soil for effective cooperation.

Managing Paradox to Facilitate External Collaboration: Engaging the Target Agency in Dialogue and Confrontation

Network member organizations spend considerable energy on outward work aimed at influencing institutional targets. Stories from both networks revealed their relationship with the then Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) as the primary focus of their external work.

Their goal of improving immigrants' quality of life required that each network maintain the ability to confront and influence their regional and the federal offices of the INS, a public agency over which they had no direct power. Given its legal mandate and role in implementing immigration policy, the favorable political climate for increased governmental control and the irregular legal status of some of the network's constituents, the INS was a challenging target.

Knowing that an aggressive or confrontational campaign aimed at the federal agency would accomplish little, network leaders found room instead for collaboration with representatives of the INS on strategic issues. The interdependence that developed between the organizations allowed the networks to strategically confront individual representatives or the agency's policies when needed without alienating the INS and ending their dialogue. The advocacy director at Immigrant Policy Network described the engagement strategy of dialogue and confrontation as "Balancing . . . the power that you have and using that to push . . . in a combination of friendly meetings but also public dissing."

Immigrant Policy Network's executive director explained how using dialogue and confrontation helped to balance the ongoing interaction between her organization and its target:

> You're no good to anybody if you're someone's friend all the time. But you're also no good if you're the enemy all the time . . . how do you intelligently and ethically strike the balance between, you know, maintaining relationships being important to people, and at the same time being able to be critical of them, and getting them to do what you want them to do?

In practice, confrontation implied questioning the target agency regarding unacceptable behavior, inhumane policies, or unsatisfactory management of immigration-processing tasks. Rainbow Network would publicly challenge agency representatives by asking them "tough questions" and bringing them "cases" that put the onus on them. However, the coordinator of the Rainbow Network–led Independent Monitoring Board described the Board as "not really anti-INS." Rainbow Network's constant contact with the INS enabled it to build and sustain an informal collaborative relationship. A representative of a Rainbow Network member described this growing interdependence: "[Now the INS's] district director wants to come to our meetings. I think [this] is a sign that, you know, we must be doing something right [so] that he feels it's important to be at these meetings."

Addressing Confrontation and Dialogue

We identified three collaborative practices that leaders in these networks used so as to manage the paradoxical demands of dialogue and confrontation with a powerful target. Leaders addressed paradox in the network's outward

work by maintaining the credibility of the network; continuously acting both at the local and national levels; and promoting a multiplicity of personal and institutional relationships.

Maintaining credibility. Credibility played an important role in using dialogue and confrontation successfully, in two different ways. First, general credibility made the networks more reliable in the eyes of the target organization. The networks' threats were more powerful during confrontation and their offers for collaboration more convincing during dialogue. Immigrant Policy Network's credibility was established as it upheld its original claim to being politically nonpartisan: ultimately interested in defending its constituents rather than pursuing an electoral agenda. The executive director explained:

> Many other groups have gotten into this work saying they're doing it to be non-partisan but then they start to get into it and hitch their star to certain [political] candidates, and I think we really found that just saying [to politicians], "No, sorry. You have to really go out and deal with immigrant communities. You have to figure out what it is they want. You know we're not going to broker this. You know you really need to be there and be relevant to them," made much more of the difference in the work.

Second, as the direct voice of immigrants, the credibility of the networks' representation of their constituents established their trustworthiness. A Rainbow Network founder, currently the director of one of its member organizations, described the potential for dialogue as follows: "We've [the Independent Monitoring Board] demonstrated that we have the credibility. . . . In fact, the INS regional local office director . . . has continuously sought out this body to communicate with . . . because he realizes that we're representing the voices of his customers." Credibility was a form of political capital that allowed networks to engage legitimately in confrontation without being discounted as a potential collaborator.

Multilevel working. Network member organizations tended to focus their work and resources within the urban area that was their home. By extending its members' involvement in local issues into state and national contexts, the network's leaders leveraged the efforts of its membership to earn credibility and gain access to levels where policy was made. A Rainbow Network staffer working in the network's community building project noted: "These organizations, with our help, can put pressure in all the government levels [. . .]

county levels, state levels, local levels. . . . So we can do a really good job over there."

Working beyond the local level gave them a view of their problems within a larger context, providing a perspective on their status in various jurisdictional policy arenas. This was especially useful to the networks in their efforts to keep up with the INS's own multilevel presence and operating arenas. The strategic importance of information multiplied when the sources were broadened, as illustrated in the comment of the director of training and legal service at Immigrant Policy Network: "We were the only group that knew what was going on because of our relationship with people in DC."

The depth and quality of information gained through work at multiple levels allowed these networks to combine the engagement strategies of dialogue and confrontation simultaneously at different levels within the same agency. For example, at one point the Immigrant Policy Network collaborated with its district INS to advocate for them in a policy issue involving the INS Federal office. In this case, the district office could not resolve the problem of a large backlog of immigration cases affecting the city's immigrants because of the lack of necessary support from the federal level. The Immigrant Policy Network decided to take up the issue itself, moving the action to the INS commissioner in Washington, DC:

> We could have done the easy thing of protesting down here [but] we wound up being an advocate for the [regional] district [INS office] right up to the level of the INS commissioner . . . we had already done all of our work with the district office to say, you know, "This is not about you, listen carefully to what we say in the media. We're not going to say that you guys are incompetent. . . . This is about the national issue with the backlog."

Confronting federal officials while maintaining dialogue with the district office represents an excellent illustration of how Immigrant Policy Network engaged simultaneously in dialogue and confrontation with the same agency, hence addressing the paradox. In doing so, they were able to build collaborative capacity vis-à-vis INS district representatives. At the same time, they were able to influence INS behavior.

Cultivating multiple relationships. Having relationships at different layers of an agency and with multiple actors in the environment controlled the risk (using the words of Immigrant Policy Network's executive director) of "burning bridges." The confrontational nature of the work was diffused by the network's credibility and was reinforced by the stability and quality of

personal relationships at the operational level. "We always make sure we have good relationships in a few areas [of work relating to the INS] so that we can talk to senior people and we can say some good things about them," explained an Immigrant Policy Network staff member.

Relationships also guaranteed opportunities to reopen the dialogue regardless of the pressures of confrontation. Moreover, personal relationships countered the inconsistency of professional contacts that characterized the INS and many other government organizations and helped the Immigrant Policy Network maintain its relevance in a political environment characterized by internal mobility. Describing the uncertainty associated with a change of commissioner in the INS, the executive director said:

> There we would draw on our relationships with other groups around the country, the other immigration networks, and our partners nationally. Veronica goes to regular meetings down in DC that a lot of the groups have with the INS.

In sum, building credibility, acting at all jurisdictional levels, and cultivating multiple relationships were practices that network leaders used to strategically manage the paradoxical demands of collaboration with target organizations through dialogue while simultaneously engaging them in confrontation when necessary.

Discussion: Linking Paradox and Collaboration

In our study, paradox is associated with the contradictory demands of the work of networks: network leaders described themselves as solving puzzles around what one of them called "the ironies of the work," what we call here the paradoxical nature of work in networks. Paradox may be defined as "some 'thing' that is constructed by individuals when oppositional tendencies are brought into recognizable proximity through reflection or interaction" (Ford & Backoff, 1988, p. 89). As leaders in the network tried to support the efforts of member organizations to make things happen, and as they supported work to influence the target, they were confronted by contradictory demands inherent in the work of interorganizational management that threatened their ability to collaborate. The nature of these demands required leadership practices that honored both sides of the paradox, while removing obstacles to collaboration. Figure 1 helps to summarize our findings and presents the overall logic of our argument.

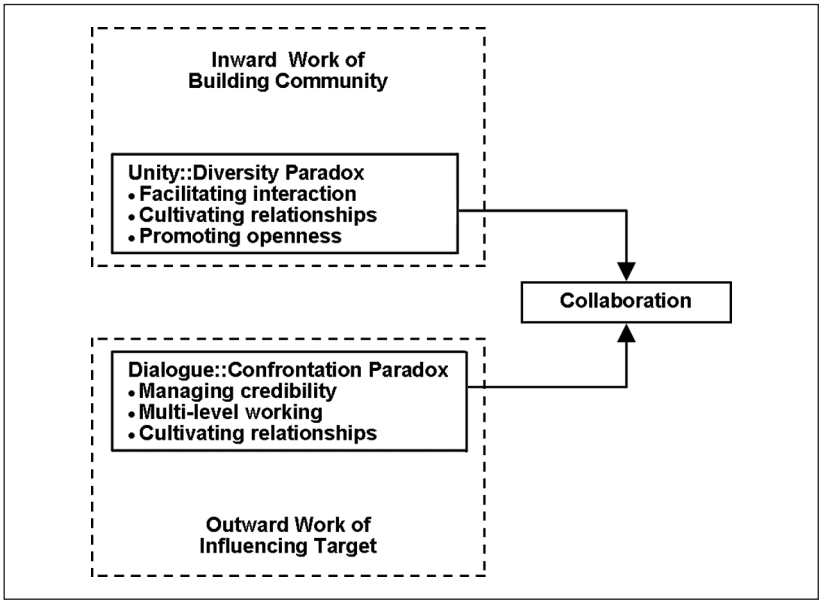

Figure 1. The management of paradox

In answering our research question on how leaders in successful networks manage collaboration challenges to make things happen, we found that leaders devised specific practices that helped them to manage paradoxical demands. The practices were used by network leaders in two contexts of the work where essential collaboration was threatened by conflicting demands: among the network's member organizations, and in the network's complex relationship with target agencies or organizations. Paradox emerged as a key feature of network management and addressing it became a means for network leaders to develop the interorganizational collaboration—inside and outside the network—needed to pursue the networks' goals.

Our research project was not originally about paradox or the paradoxical nature of collaboration in networks. This feature of networks emerged as we analyzed our data within the context of our question: How do leaders in successful networks manage collaboration challenges to make things happen? Although the notion of paradox has gained considerable currency—both theoretically and empirically—in organizational studies (Lewis, 2000; Poole & Van de Ven, 1989), most empirical inquiry has taken place at the micro levels of cognition, individuals, and groups (Smith & Berg, 1987) and at the organizational level (Ofori-Dankwa & Julian, 2004). In contrast, the

paradoxes reported by leaders when discussing challenges to collaboration in their network can be characterized as empirical paradoxes occurring at an interorganizational level. They are "things" or forces whose occurring generates contradictory demands that must be honored in order for *organizations* to be able to collaborate. Research considering paradox at this interorganizational level and in relation to collaboration has been almost nonexistent, although theoretical reflections on its importance have started to appear in the collaborative governance literature (Connelly et al., 2008; O'Leary & Bingham, 2007).

In our study, leaders used six practices in addressing certain paradoxes of network management associated with contexts of either inward or outward work. To address the paradox requiring both unity and diversity within the network, leaders strategically facilitated interaction, cultivated personal relationships, and promoted openness among network participants. To address conflicting demands for confrontation and dialogue with the target, they strategically managed the network's credibility, worked at various levels of action (multilevel), and cultivated multiple external relationships. The inward and outward work was done concurrently rather than sequentially.

Several fields of study have given attention to paradox in interorganizational contexts. The strategic alliance and strategic management fields acknowledge the need to manage contradictory demands or drives. De Rond and Bouchikhi (2004) observe the dialectics between vigilance and trust, between individualism and collectivism, and the simultaneous demands to achieve cooperation and competition in interorganizational relations. Barnett and Carroll (1987) find both mutualism and competition at different levels of interaction among the companies they studied. Similarly, Brandenburger and Nalebuff (1996) use the term *coopetition* to describe mixed strategies of both competition and cooperation. These interorganizational contradictions have been identified, but there has been no study aimed at how leaders address and manage them.

The network management literature has documented the practices we identified in our study, but nowhere in the literature have they been explicitly linked to the paradoxical demands of network management. For example, facilitating interaction has been identified in the literature as synthesizing (Agranoff & McGuire, 2001) and managing the game (Kickert et al., 1997; Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004). This practice has also been linked to the need for leaders to nurture the process to ensure interorganizational collaboration (Huxham, 2003) as well as to internal coalition building (Mandell, 2000). Similarly, cultivating personal relationships has been identified in the literature as helpful in generating common perceptions (Keast et al., 2004;

Mandell, 2000) and shared frameworks (Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004), and also as critical to building trust (Agranoff & McGuire, 2001). Finally, openness is viewed as a key element of network management (Agranoff, 2003). These practices listed in the received literature gain new meaning within the context of our documented activities, which provide a means to address the paradoxical nature of collaboration.

The dynamics of confrontation and dialogue are referred to in Mizrahi and Rosenthal's (2001) observation that collaboration represents one of several possible strategies a network may use to engage its external environment. Choosing collaboration over other strategies is contingent to contextual factors, including the nature of the network's previous relationships with the actors and its assessment of the targets' power and capacity to be influenced (Hardy & Phillips, 1998).

The way this paradox is managed in the context of our study points to the subtle but important distinctions Hardy and Phillips (1998) propose for strategies of engagement with targets—collaboration, compliance, contention, and contestation. Our findings suggest that what in their framework would be interpreted as cooptation (via cooperative compliance) instead could be viewed in the context of networks as a more sophisticated strategy of engagement to address the paradoxical demands of outward work. In this case, less powerful actors are able to capitalize on their compliance with the important space it creates for them to negotiate with more powerful actors.

The dialogue and confrontation strategy employed by networks also includes contention and contestation. Network members are willing to collaborate with powerful target agencies and organizations, but they are not "afraid of dissing powerful people"—in the words of one interviewee—when appropriate and effective. The artful management of the dialogue and confrontation paradox represents a very sophisticated form of resistance that in the long run may generate collaborative capacity (Bardach, 1998).

We thus see some coincidence between our findings and many activities previously identified in the network management literature. Our contribution lies in illuminating how the relationship between these collaborative activities and effective network management may be mediated by the paradoxical demands that leaders must address within the context of network organizational forms.

To this effect, scholars in the collaborative governance literature (Ansell & Gash, 2008) have started to examine the importance of complexity and paradox for managing interorganizational relationships given the diversity of stakeholders associated with policy issues in a shared-power world. Innes and Booher (1999), for example, see the emergence of consensus-building

experimentation as the result of the need to "deal with complex, controversial public issues, changing contexts, and uncertain futures in an institutionally and politically fragmented society" (p. 10). O'Leary and Bingham (2007) start from the premise that every collaboration will yield conflict, which itself reflects a paradoxical reality.

Connelly et al. (2008) go one step further to argue theoretically that collaborative management in networks requires addressing challenges that are quite different from those associated with traditional settings, precisely because the demands of paradox that exist in the network setting must be met. They list the challenges of simultaneously addressing the demands of autonomy and interdependence, common and diverse goals, fewer but more diverse groups, participatory and authoritative styles, seeing the forest and the trees, and balancing advocacy and inquiry. Consistent with our empirical findings, these authors argue that managers ought to accept and embrace these paradoxes rather than resolve them in ways that can only be superficial. Their suggestion that these paradoxes are linked with the work both within and outside of networks is also borne out by our research and findings.

Our empirical study thus opens the door to further exploring the relationships between collaborative management, paradox, and network effectiveness. The theoretical lens that we used to examine our original question—How do leaders in successful networks address collaboration challenges to make things happen?—influenced our use of a research framework that could include collective expressions of leadership. Viewing leadership as a collective achievement (Drath, 2001; Ospina & Sorenson, 2006) shifted empirical attention from an exclusive focus on leaders' behaviors to how behaviors were associated with collective constructions of leadership that emerged and shaped actions needed to address the complex requirements of organizing, this time in a network context (Drath, 2001; Hosking, 2007). Directing attention to the work of leadership, this relational leadership lens (Uhl-Bien, 2006) allowed us to notice and explore the unexpected role of paradox in the leaders' efforts to foster collaboration. As leadership scholars argue, new organizational forms in today's work environment, such as networks, require new understandings and enactments of shared, distributed, and collective leadership (Fletcher & Kaufer, 2003).

Finally, the two paradoxes that motivate leaders to find collaborative practices in managing their network appear to be interdependent, in part because network management requires simultaneous attention to inward and outward work. In fact, the collaborative practices seem to support and build on each other. Advancement of the network's agenda depends in large part on the resources its members either pool together or provide separately. It also

depends on the members' willingness and capacity to engage together in outward-oriented work. The effectiveness of outward work may depend on the quality of the internal coordination of the network and on the amount of trust developed via inward work.

In the same way, the complexity of work required for the network to attain its external common goals may influence its capacity to engage the complexity of the internal work necessary to sustain collaboration among its members. Lastly, addressing the external paradox of confrontation and dialogue may nurture or hinder the work to address the unity and diversity paradox: confronting an external actor may help unite network members, because outward conflict is related to internal unity. In the same way, disagreements regarding whether to confront or cooperate may turn into disunity within the network.

More empirical research is needed to further explore these relationships and to confirm our findings that paradox informs the relationship between collaboration and network management. In the meantime, we see the potential of research that more fully explores the role of paradox in illuminating the dynamics of collaboration in the context of networks. One immediate research task would be to deepen our understanding of the two identified paradoxes as they manifest at the analytical level of the network coordinating unit—unaffected by the dynamics of the network's member organizations. How do the poles of each paradox manifest themselves in practice in the context of networks? One would expect different networks to generate unity along different issues, values, and dimensions as well as accommodating different types and sorts of diversity. This may logically have an impact on how the unity/diversity paradox is specifically managed in a network. Equally, dialogue and confrontation may manifest themselves in many different manners and intensities. It is sensible to expect that these differences affect the way leaders would manage this external paradox.

Another important question to advance the proposed research agenda relates to the interconnections of inward and outward work to better understand collaborative management in action networks. If indeed there is a synergistic relationship between the paradoxes associated with each type of work, a possible proposition for future study is: the more successful the internal management of the unity and diversity paradox, the better prepared the network actors—its members, as well as the coordinating unit staff—to address the target organization in a flexible and open way, thus facilitating dialogue and confrontation. The outcome of embracing the tensions associated with holding both unity and diversity inside the network may become an asset to help manage the relationship with the most different actor (and where

potential for conflict is greatest): the target. This represents an interesting area for future research.

Our findings are, of course, preliminary—particularly given the data limitations discussed earlier. Furthermore, we are not certain that the identified collaborative practices are the only ones associated with the artful managing of paradox to facilitate collaboration. There might be others that were not captured in our data. Similarly, we do not know whether the dialogue and confrontation paradox might be specific to the work of successfully managing immigration networks or to the networks' relationship to their target, the INS (with its contextual specificity characterized by tension and contradiction in immigration policy). Additional research using data collected explicitly to explore paradox in this and in other policy contexts can further confirm or challenge these early insights. For now, we offer them as a way to join collaborative management scholars like Connelly et al. (2008) in motivating interest in a research agenda that focuses on the role of paradox in understanding effective collaborative work in network contexts.

Conclusion

Even though they are inherently difficult to manage, networks have become a key organizational form in contemporary society and a popular mechanism of interorganizational governance. The managerial challenges associated with their sustainability and effectiveness are increasingly of interest for both theoretical and practical purposes.

The literatures on networks and collaboration are full of insights that point to the tension-ridden, paradoxical nature of both phenomena. Given the unexpected nature of our findings, it is reassuring that paradox in the context of network management that addresses complex public problems has theoretical relevance, based on received knowledge about collaborative governance now being revealed by scholars (Connelly et al., 2008; O'Leary & Bingham, 2007). More empirical work is needed to apply this rich heritage of theory in real contexts. The current trend in organization and management studies that considers the paradoxical nature of social life (Lewis, 2000; Ofori-Dankwa & Julian, 2004; Smith & Berg, 1987) may offer important insights to shape the empirical work needed to pursue this important agenda. Bringing paradox to the center of the inquiry may indeed help to connect existing theories of interorganizational collaboration that tend to run parallel to one another in the four streams of research identified in our literature review.

The collaborative practices we have identified as ways that help network leaders address the paradoxical demands of inward and outward interorganizational work add nuance to the literature. They help us, for example, better understand the nature of what the existing literature refers to as activities (Agranoff & McGuire, 2001; Huxham, 2003; Kickert et al., 1997) and capacities (Bardach, 1998) of collaboration. Although these activities do indeed foster collaborative management, our findings suggest that they do so through a deliberate engagement aimed to address paradoxical demands inherent in the work of moving network agendas forward. Our findings deepen current understandings of network and collaborative management. More importantly, they illuminate the mechanisms responsible for *how* these collaborative practices address important challenges and tensions, and hence, *why* these practices are so important for effective network management.

The findings are also relevant to the field of U.S. immigration policy. Public policy on immigration has a history of inconsistency and change. After years of a political climate characterized by restrictive policies and laws and exemplified by the heated 2006 congressional immigration debate, the election of a new president has brought a shift in policy and an opportunity for substantive immigration policy reform. Nonprofit organizations working with immigrant communities will continue to gain relevance as voices in the debate of democratic governance as it exists in today's contested political climate. An understanding of the challenges to collaboration, the strategy that defines and drives networks of immigrant groups, could not be more apropos.

Finally, it is interesting to note that the collaborative practices identified in our findings are quite consistent with the description of relational leadership, an emergent new type of leadership that scholars associate with the challenges of less hierarchical organizations (Drath, 2001; Wheatley, 1999) in a postheroic context (Fletcher & Kaufer, 2003; Tierney, 1996). These new leadership models stand in sharp contrast to the traditional command-and-control model typical of bureaucratic contexts. It might be the case that the exploration of the links between paradox and collaboration will also further illuminate the nature of leadership in the 21st century.

Given the exploratory nature of our research, we cannot offer a fully developed theory of the links between leadership, collaboration and paradox. Instead, we document empirically some of the ways leaders manage paradox and we suggest that there might be a connection to effective collaboration worth exploring to further illuminate leadership in network management. Because our findings about this relationship were unexpected, more research needs to be done. The next immediate task is to study an expanded number of

immigration networks, to explore deductively the proposition that addressing the challenges of effective collaboration involves embracing and addressing the paradoxical nature of networks. If the findings stand, an additional step should develop a new sampling frame that considers different networks focused on other policy areas and eventually different types of networks, with the possibility to deductively test an increased number of cases and formal propositions.

Appendix A

Documentation of the Codes Used for the Analysis

Descriptive codes:

D—motivation to join: Why the network was formed, and what is the "net" gain to the members?
D—relationships: Nature of relationships within coordination unit, among member organizations, between member organizations (and/or network) and external nonmembers, and whether interpersonal or interorganizational and positive or negative, as well as varying in intensity.
D—scope of work: Nature of objectives, activities, and areas of work of the network.
D—success: Successes expressed by interviewed.

Grounded codes:

G—"link" local and national: Capacity to link "their" broader issues to specific experience of other groups and persons (and by so doing attracting their support to "their" issues), and link national policy issues to the interests of local people and groups.
G—member "training" and "education": Member/constituent training.
G—"integrity": Integrity, internal justice, coherent, proper agenda, trust in internal process.
G—"nurturing": Constant and stern following of internal members as well as following up and not giving up on objectives and issues.
G—open and inclusive: Participation and inclusiveness within coalition. Board membership diversity. Transparency and approachability. Information sharing and egalitarianism. Seems to create ownership feelings.

(*continued*)

Appendix A (continued)

G—dialogue and confrontation: Strategic use of dialogue and confrontation with external stakeholders.
G—playing politics: Using contacts, threats, and indirect means to achieve purpose. Both internally and externally.
G—unity and/or diversity: Need for unity (in terms of issues and positioning) but also tolerance for divergence.

Appendix B

Description of the Immigrant Networks' Missions and Work

Immigrant Policy Network
Mission: "to provide a forum for the immigrant community to discuss urgent issues and provide a vehicle for collective action in addressing these issues"

Programs:

- Policy Analysis and Advocacy—focuses on practices, policies, and laws that affect the quality of life of immigrants and their communities.
- Civic Participation and Voter Education—a large-scale voter registration project, with more than 100 voter education events each year, and the recruitment of bilingual poll workers.
- Immigrant Concerns Training Institute—offers workshops and seminars on issues that are important to immigrant communities.
- Community Education—develops educational materials in as many as 12 languages on issues such as immigration law, the citizenship process, school registration, health care access, and voting rights.

Rainbow Network
Mission: "to improve the quality of life for immigrants and refugees and to ensure dignity and respect by organizing and uniting communities through education, leadership development, and direct services and by promoting a voice of community in public policy."

Programs:

- English Literacy and Civics—provides integrated English literacy and civics education to immigrant and other limited-English-proficient population so they may learn how to become active community members.

(*continued*)

Appendix B (continued)

- Community Organizing—develops community groups to work toward social justice for Chicago's immigrant and refugee communities.
- The Independent Monitoring Board—founding and participation in an independent, nongovernmental watchdog to ensure that the [INS] is accountable to the public.
- The Computer Technology Project—bridges the digital divide for its partner agencies.
- The Citizenship and Voter Training School—serves as a "gathering place" where community leaders can join together with others who share their concerns.

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Notes

1. We use pseudonyms to refer to both networks studied.
2. Network performance is rapidly gaining attention as a potential forth area of study.
3. Ospina & Foldy, 2009.
4. The 20 organizations emerged from a rigorous selection process, beginning with more than 1,000 nominations that were screened by national and regional selection committees. Colleagues or supporters nominated candidates. A national committee selected about 250 top candidates, who were then assessed by a regional selection committee using newly submitted essays from each nominee. They selected 5 primary and 4 secondary regional finalists. The 36 national semifinalists hosted site visits. The national committee reviewed visit reports and by consensus recommended 24 finalists, and 17 to 20 made the final cut. The nominee-to-selected ratio was about 50:1. The research team played no role in the selection process.
5. Immigrant Policy Network depends almost entirely on foundation support and does not accept government funding, while Rainbow Network relies on foundations, government, and corporations. The difference in sources of funding reflects differences in ideology.

6. Gaskell and Bauer (2000) argue that in discourse analysis, a broad range of narrative data is more important than the absolute number of interviews for representativeness.
7. Our exploratory research on collaboration was part of a broader research program exploring the work of leadership in the first group of organizations associated with the leadership program. The analytical memos were the result of the following process: Two researchers carefully read through the transcripts of interviews developed as described earlier, and wrote an "analytic memo." It described the organization, its work and policy context, and highlighted key leadership themes. The leaders gave feedback to make sure it captured the spirit of their work, thus enhancing the validity of the analytic process. These memos represent first-order analysis of the data. Our independent analysis of the transcripts for each network produced second-order, more conceptual interpretations about targeted areas of inquiry, in our case, the challenges of interorganizational collaboration.
8. Specific collaboration themes as such were virtually absent because the original protocol focused on capturing general dynamics of leadership rather than specific dynamics of collaboration. This is an important data limitation of this exploratory study. It is counterbalanced by coding stories around dimensions of network management and by the powerful inductive analysis of the stories to infer collaboration challenges. Follow-up research is in process and has incorporated explicit questions about collaboration and paradox, to be reported in a separate article.
9. Organizational and network theorists identify a myriad of paradoxes in the operation of organizations, including the ones described in this paper. That only two emerged from the stories as a concern of leaders in the studied networks does not imply that other paradoxes are absent from their work; our inductive approach does not permit us to consider them.
10. As of March 1, 2003, the former Immigration and Naturalization Service was abolished and its functions incorporated into the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security.
11. For example, both received the prestigious Leadership for a Changing World Award in 2001.

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