Responding to a Paucity of Educational Policy and Leadership Research on Human Trafficking

Melinda Lemke[1]

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2015), there are 65.3 million people forcibly displaced around the world. This includes both those who have crossed international borders and those who are internally displaced persons (IDP) and constitute a growth in the multitudes of the "left behind." Locked within precarious legal statuses, minors under the age of 18 constitute half of all those currently displaced (UNHCR, 2015). Forcible displacement occurs for many reasons including war, political upheaval, identity-based violence, natural disaster, and the movement of individuals for commercial exploitation and trafficking.

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MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

W. KYLE INGLE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

Little did I know when I joined the Politics of Education Association as a doctoral student in 2005 that I would one day be elected as President of this fine organization. What began as a suggestion to join from one of my faculty mentors led to a meaningful membership that has been sustained up to the present day. So what made it meaningful for me? Certainly the shared interest in educational policy and politics was key, but first and foremost, it was the individual members of PEA that I met who were friendly, approachable, and supportive of me and my research interests as I began a career in academia. PEA has remained meaningful and supportive since my membership began. For that I am grateful and I am honored to serve as your president for the 2016-2018 term. So let me give you a little update on what has been going on since my term began at AERA 2016 in DC.

William L. Boyd Workshop

The 2016 William L. Boyd Workshop, which was held in Washington DC went very well. I very much appreciate the panel of invited speakers who participated. They were: Stacey Pelika, Director of Research at the National Education Association, Deborah Temkin, Research Scientist at Child Trends, and Jacob Gross, Assistant Professor of

Higher Education Administration at the University of Louisville. The panelist discussed the various pathways that they took to careers in educational policy analysis. Having seen the exit survey results, the responses to the panel, and to the workshop in general, were overwhelmingly positive. Dr. Dana Mitra (Pennsylvania State University) and Dr. Lauren Bailes (University of Delaware) are now serving as the Co-Coordinators of the 2017 William L. Boyd Workshop, which will be held in San Antonio. Having been a Co-coordinator for numerous Boyd Workshop previously, Dr. Mitra will provide a measure of consistency in planning for the event. Dr. Lauren Bailes is former participant in Boyd Workshops when she was a doctoral student. She also served as a volunteer at the Boyd Workshop. On behalf of PEA, I thank the both of them for assuming the leadership of this annual event. Furthermore, we cannot thank all of the mentors enough for giving their time and expertise to emerging scholars. If it were not for these individuals, the Boyd Workshop would not be possible.

I am pleased to report that in addition to having UCEA continuing to co-sponsor the Boyd Workshop, we have also garnered the support of another co-sponsor—Division L of AERA. Many thanks to Dr. Lora Cohen-Vogel, Vice-President of Division L for this valuable support. We are already seeing an increase in the number of mentors volunteering. This is important because the number of available mentors determines the capacity of how many emerging scholars we can accommodate. The 2017 Boyd Workshop will be held on the first afternoon of AERA's annual meeting in San Antonio. If you are interested in serving as a mentor, please complete the electronic form even if you have served as a mentor at previous Boyd Workshops. This confirms your commitment to serve and the responses are used to match mentors to emerging scholars. Drs. Mitra and Bailes will open registration for emerging scholars right after UCEA's annual meeting. At that time, the notifications for AERA 2017 acceptances will have been sent. This mitigates the number of individuals cancelling because their proposals were not accepted.

2017 Day on the Hill
In April 2017, representatives of UCEA and PEA met with majority and minority staffers from the House Education and Workforce Committee and the Senate Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee. What emerged from these meetings was the identification of needs and strategies to facilitate policy advocacy; specifically, a need for long-term strategies for engaging policymakers, building relationships at multiple levels, a quick turn around when legislative issues arise (as there is often a short window of opportunity for input), and a need to present research in a form policymakers can easily consume. For those who participated, we recognized the tension between federal and state advocacy efforts and that our organizations have much to offer in bridging theory and practice. The Day on the Hill efforts provides a segue into my discussion about our upcoming activities at the annual UCEA meeting.

PEA Breakfast Meeting at UCEA 2016 Conference (Detroit) and Special Session on ESSA.
The date and time for the annual Breakfast Meeting at the 2016 UCEA Conference in Detroit has been set. Our breakfast meeting will occur on Friday, November 18 from 7:00 am to 9:10 am at the Detroit Marriott at the Renaissance Center, Floor 5 - Brule B. After breakfast, socializing, and a brief reporting from the officers and committee chairs that are present, a special session will be held immediately following and in the same room. The session will focus on *The Implications of ESSA for Educational Leadership Preparation & Practice.* Participants will discuss the implications of the new ESSA legislation for the preparation and practice of educational leaders. Unlike previous iterations of ESEA, the roles, responsibilities, and development of educational leaders are given explicit attention in ESSA. How states implement the new legislation, however, will significantly impact, if not determine, the opportunity to develop and support high quality educational leadership through ESSA. Dr. Michelle D. Young, Executive Director of UCEA will serve as the facilitator of the session. Participants will including Ed Fuller (Pennsylvania State University), Janie Clark Lindle, (Clemson University), Steve Gross (Temple University), Sheneka Williams (University of Georgia), and myself.

Many thanks to Katherine Mansfield, PEA Treasurer and faculty member at Virginia Commonwealth University, for budgeting the money for our business meeting/breakfast and placing the order. I also want to thank Lieve Pitts of UCEA for ensuring that our PEA Business meeting and ESSA special session were scheduled for the same location and back-to-back. Please join us at these events if you are attending the UCEA meeting in Detroit. We would love to see you.

Publishing Opportunities

Another feature of PEA that makes membership so attractive is the publications that our members receive as part of our membership dues. These include the PEA Yearbook/special edition of *Educational Policy,* the special edition of the *Peabody Journal of Education*, and the PEA Book Series with Information Age Publishing. As you will likely hear from Catherine DiMartino, Chair of the Publications Committee, there are some exciting publications that will be coming forth in 2017 and 2018. The publications committee is currently taking proposals for the PEA Book Series with Information Age Publishing. The deadline is December 15, 2016 and the call is available online at http://www.infoagepub.com/series/Politics-of-Education.

Communications

The document that you are reading now, the *PEA Bulletin*, is the official newsletter of the Politics of Education Association. It is published two times per year—once in the fall in advance of the UCEA annual meeting and once in the spring in advance of the AERA annual meeting. Many thanks to Dr. Andrew Saultz of Miami University of Ohio and Dr. Chris Curran of the University of Maryland, Baltimore County for serving as Co-Editors. They encourage you to submit essays on topics of interest in education policy and politics to them for consideration. The co-editors and I want the *PEA Bulletin* to continue to be a useful means of communication to our membership.

As President, I want to ensure that our members are kept apprised of relevant upcoming events, publication opportunities, headlines, job postings, etc. I have thus far kept the communication consistent and limited to Fridays in my efforts to find a balance between too few emails and too

many emails. As stated in my weekly list-serve emails, please forward any announcements, such as job postings, recent publications, calls for proposals, conferences, to me at william.ingle@louisville.edu. I hope that you have found these weekly emails useful in some way and not overly burdensome to your inbox.

Lastly, Dr. Tamara Young, immediate past president of PEA, established a new webpage for PEA, which can be found at http://www.politicsofeducation.org/ . Take some time to review the website if you have not already. Many thanks to Tamara for all of her work in making this happen prior to the end of her term.

I hope that your 2016-2017 academic year has been a positive one thus far. I look forward to working with you.

-Kyle Ingle

Over the last two decades, human trafficking developed as a significant international, United States, and 50 state policy issue. The product of complex sociopolitical and economic dynamics that are beyond the scope of this article, the International Labour Organization (ILO, 2012) estimates that 20.9 million people annually are commercially exploited, wherein 55% of all trafficked individuals are female and 26% are under 18; ninety-eight percent of sex trafficked victims also are female making trafficking a highly gendered phenomenon. Profits from trafficking are estimated at $32 billion, with a combined U.S. and European share of half that amount (ILO, 2008). Like other nations in the Global North, its wealthy consumer base makes the U.S. a top-ranked destination nation. Specifically, the U.S. has a culturally tolerated commercial sex industry (Kotrla, 2010) and labor laws designed to protect immigrant workers from commercial abuse often are not enforced (Chacón, 2006).

In addition to major international policies like the U.N. Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (2000), the U.S. enacted the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA, 2000) and runs multiple federal anti-trafficking programs. Now in its fourth reauthorization, TVPA's continued criminalization approach is criticized for failing to effectively fund and address victim needs. Other legal critiques center on how neoliberal push-pull factors and the state contribute to structural inequalities that drive individuals into exploitative situations in the first place (Loftus, 2011). Yet, in the search for the credible victim, policies also render marginal bodies invisible to legal protections (Chacón, 2006). Still others highlight how various forms of labor exploitation do not meet the threshold for trafficking protections (Shamir, 2012), as well as how strict anti-trafficking frameworks either construct normatively biased understandings of victimhood (O'Connell Davidson, 2011), or altogether ignore how economic migrant, refugee, and trafficked identity is collapsible within the new global economy (United Nations Women, 2012).

The policy review done for this study found that all fifty states have trafficking laws and increasingly are focused on multisector, local level programming efforts. For example, thirty-nine states have task forces dedicated to trafficking policy development and implementation; six states, including Idaho, Ohio, Massachusetts, Missouri, Washington, and Texas, specifically target the educational sector in such efforts. Eleven states also have what are called safe harbor laws, which divert youth from prosecution for prostitution to child protection proceedings. Victims have multiple needs ranging from law enforcement protection to medical screenings and mental health assessment for depression and post-traumatic stress disorder (Nsonwu, Welch-Brewer, Cook Heffron, Lemke, & Busch-Armendariz, et al., 2015), which make such policies and programs essential.

So what does all of this mean for the field? In addition to looking at three levels of policy development, the literature review done for this study found that multiple non-governmental and educational organizations, as well as diverse academic disciplines have augmented emphasis on addressing human trafficking. Yet, educational policy and leadership research has been silent on trafficking and the various youth groups vulnerable to broad-based commercial exploitation. Moreover, despite the increased saliency of trafficking as a social science research topic and clear trends within multi-level policy and programmatic development, there is no educational research on state efforts like those underway in Texas, the focus of this study. Aside from the sheer policy and research implications, at a practitioner level this is striking given the indispensable role teachers, counselors, and educational leaders play in intervening on behalf of marginalized and potentially exploited students.

The Texas Case

In 2013 the 83rd Texas Legislature passed House Bill 1272 (HB 1272). HB 1272 mandated the development of deliverables including among other things, a comprehensive and standardized youth trafficking prevention curriculum for protective services, health services, and K-12 educational sector personnel. Charged with policy development and implementation, the Texas Human Trafficking Prevention Task Force (Task Force), which is run by the Office of the Attorney General (OAG), created the deliverables in concert with other state agencies. To fulfill the requirements of HB 1272, the OAG utilized a three-tiered workgroup structure that included an

Education Workgroup for the education component. Although HB 1272 required protective and health services personnel be trained on the curriculum, HB 1272 only required the development of educational curriculum as opposed to mandating training for educators. Thus, the purpose of this study was to examine the policy context, discourses, actors, and resultant implementation of HB 1272 (2013). In doing so, this study had two primary research questions:

1. What political and normative dynamics shaped the policy discourses found in HB 1272? (RQ1)
2. What organizational, political, and normative dynamics influenced the early implementation of HB 1272 by the Task Force Education Workgroup? (RQ2)

HB 1272 made for an important research case. First, HB 1272 was a first of its kind in Texas legislative history and was unique by comparison to other state efforts in that it mandated new policy for three public sectors. Second, a number of factors tied to state political and normative context were in play. Between 2008 and 2013 for example, thousands of women and children, many of whom were documented as experiencing or at risk for trafficking, fled Mexico and the Northern Triangle nations of Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras in search of refuge at the U.S.-Mexico border (Amnesty International, 2010; UNHCR, 2014). Once in Texas, these same individuals encountered xenophobic hysteria and a detention system sharply criticized for improper screening procedures and poor living conditions (Robinson & Santos, 2014). In 2011 Texas also enacted legislation that cut Planned Parenthood from the Texas' Women's Health Program. This prompted a massive closure of women's health clinics (The Texas Policy Evaluation Project, 2013) – the same clinics that survivors and their children might utilize for basic health care.

Theory and Methodology

As a mechanism for challenging the narrow theoretical scope of traditional policy analyses, Young (1999) articulated multifocal theoretical analysis as a way to reveal a fuller portrait of the research phenomenon. To understand how educators were to be brought into the fold of trafficking prevention, I drew from critical and critical feminist educational theory focused on capacity, will, and elite policy actors. Since commercial sexual and labor exploitation primarily affect females who either can be trafficked into or already live in the U.S., I used critical and transnational feminisms to consider how power transcends institutions, policies, and spatial borders. Finally, I employed critical legal theory to identify distinctions and overlap between trafficking and immigration policy.

This University of Texas at Austin funded and Institutional Review Board approved study was located within the feminist research tradition (Anzaldúa & Keating, 2002; Harding, 2004; Hawkesworth, 2006; Mohanty, 2003) and utilized a two-part qualitative feminist critical policy analysis structure (Marshall, 1997; Marshall & Rossman, 2015). Looking to offer an interpretation of the research phenomenon, this structure involved the qualitative process of crystallization (Ellingson, 2009; Richardson, 2000). Crystallization relies upon iterative and multiple forms of analysis, as well as pushes the researcher to problematize positionality and claims about knowledge. Based on identified critical legal concerns, at all levels of analysis I was attentive to how policy can be "open to normalization (and pathologization) in terms of political identities it recognizes, the kinds of claims that can be made politically, the sorts of activities that count as political, and the modes of political analysis that are validated" (lloyd, 2005, p. 69). Such techniques permitted an underscoring of the significance of HB 1272 for public education, while also critically examining how a conservative state context might shape official educator knowledge about a major human rights violation.

Methods and Analysis

To answer RQ1, I used document analysis and in-depth interview strategies. Document analysis involved iterative reading and memos on HB 1272 and 21 publically available policy texts. Template analysis of these documents focused on policy language, expectations, fiscal notes, committee analysis, and amendments. Analysis was used to construct themes about the Texas legislative policy context to be situated alongside interviews. The ten legislators who contributed to HB 1272 were contacted for interviews, whereby in-depth interviews were done with five legislators and two legislative staff members who accepted invitations.

One informal, non-tape recorded interview also was conducted with a staff member, for a total of eight interviews. Respondents were asked 15 semi-structured interview questions and up to seven probing questions, which resulted in an average interview length of 30 minutes.

To answer RQ2, I used participant observation, document analysis, and in-depth interviews. After fully disclosing my academic background and intentions for wanting to join the Education Workgroup, I was invited to participate in year-long implementation processes. Field observation involved participating in the three meetings that were used to create the trafficking curriculum. My direct participation in these meetings and assistance in construction of the curriculum afforded me a unique insider-outsider status with the Workgroup. I collected 58 contextual documents, including field notes, agendas, timelines, directives, and emails (used for reference purposes only). In addition to these materials, I collected 66 curriculum documents that were not analyzed for this study. Document template analysis and participant observation allowed me to focus on key contextual and policy implementation sticking points such as the internal organizational processes of the OAG and Task Force, and discrepancies between HB 1272 and actual implementation.

To guarantee that respondents had sound knowledge of HB 1272 and the Workgroup structure, in-depth interviews were conducted with eight purposefully selected Workgroup members based on the number of meetings attended. Respondents were asked 15 semi-structured questions and up to 27 probing questions, which resulted in an average interview length of 50 minutes. While legislative interview topics included things such as bill history, funding, and policy, Workgroup interviews focused on organizational mission, structure, and curriculum content. Iterative theoretically-driven template coding was used for both legislative and Workgroup interviews. This strategy prompted additional *in vivo* codes, thematic maps, and eventual findings. All study materials were contained within an audit trail, which was reviewed several times by my Dissertation Chair.

Findings
The Legislative Context

Document analysis revealed an expedited, uncontested, and bipartisan enactment of HB 1272. However, legislative interviews revealed a more nuanced HB 1272 policy creation narrative, which pointed to political and normative dynamics at work. Respondent interviews demonstrated clear legislative support for the purpose and goals and HB 1272. Legislative policy actor consensus also was found regarding the importance of involving educators, who regularly were described as being on the "front line" and being key to "multisector" statewide trafficking identification and prevention efforts.

An inconsistent legislative knowledge base about state trafficking policy and key trafficking dynamics also was found. A few legislative respondents were adept at discussing trafficking policy history, HB 1272 motivations, trafficking dynamics, and expected implementation outcomes. Yet, others not only did not feel comfortable discussing the policy as co-authors or co-sponsors, declining my interview invitation on such grounds, but certain legislative respondents offered limited or normatively skewed information about trafficking policy and trafficking victimhood.

Moreover, despite the existence of bipartisan support for HB 1272, symbolic policy processes were identified. Slippage was found for example, in nonexistent funding for HB 1272 and in respondent concerns about local education control. Respondents discussed the specific ways Tea Party member support would have dissipated if bill funding was allocated. Further, while there was the expressed desire to leave decisions about training to local districts out of concern for teacher "voting constituencies," others raised the possibility of increasing "accountability" over schools if state "monies" were to be used for curriculum training.

Finally, respondents pointed to normative dynamics that intertwined with identified political issues in ways that might impede local level implementation of HB 1272. This notably was demonstrated in legislative respondent concern about unintended policy consequences. For example, some respondents expressed concern that if poorly constructed or implemented, the curriculum could support problematic views about female victims. Others discussed that educators

might misunderstand the policy intentions behind the curriculum given the recent influx of refugees at the Mexico-U.S. border. Some specifically highlighted how the training might be used as a "vehicle for policing" immigration status in schools and using the curriculum and the "child as a means of getting at the adults in the child's world, to see if they're here illegally."

The Education Workgroup Context

Echoing legislative interviews, Education Workgroup respondents were enthusiastic about HB 1272. Workgroup consensus was found regarding the importance of involving educators in prevention, with one respondent describing education as key to increased public awareness and giving "student victims a voice." Unlike legislative findings, Workgroup actor knowledge about Texas trafficking policy history and respective dynamics was consistent and vast. The majority of respondents had worked in the international and/or U.S. trafficking victim advocacy sector for multiple years. Yet despite this knowledge base and as found in the literature, respondents skewed toward discussing elements of sex trafficking over that of labor trafficking.

Similar to legislative findings, symbolic policy processes were identified during implementation of HB 1272. Though on the surface it appeared as if implementation involved diverse constituencies, document analysis and participant observation of Workgroup processes revealed a different narrative. Aside from my participation, slippage was found for example in the lack of overall educator participation.

There also was disproportionate OAG influence over Education Workgroup processes and construction of the final version of the trafficking curriculum. This included what respondents described as a selective OAG "cherry-picking" of Workgroup members and "non-transparent," "behind-the-scenes" curriculum processes. Thus, respondent interviews pointed to the Workgroup as an elite implementation community due to member knowledge and access to various stages of implementation. Yet, even within this elite community, hierarchy existed as implementation processes were rooted in compromise between a limited number of stakeholders and the OAG. While members could offer input, one respondent said, "at the end of the day what ended up in the curriculum is what the OAG wanted."

Despite viewing the curriculum as a gain in multisector trafficking efforts, Education Workgroup respondents identified normative roadblocks that could impede long-term implementation. Document analysis and observation illuminated how the OAG scaled back or eliminated content it deemed controversial, such as limiting content on structural problems like poverty and not including race and queer identity as relevant to trafficking dynamics. Workgroup members also pointed to how the lack of sex education and inability to say the word "sex" in many Texas schools, would limit the curriculum's reach. As one responded stated, "there's a ton of censoring that goes on in Texas... if a child makes outcry, it might not be recognized because educators don't know this topic or language."

Research Considerations

Considerations related to study context and qualitative dimensions are worth noting for those interested in understanding a topic new to our discipline and profession. First, this study yielded findings on a specific education policy that also was confined to a singular state context. Second, while deep emersion did not occur within the Texas legislative research setting, a unique insider- (Workgroup member)- outsider (researcher) status (Naples, 2003) did help establish trust with interview respondents. Direct access to Workgroup members meant that I needed to place increased scrutiny on evolving Workgroup dynamics, relationships, participant feedback, and the interview setting. Finally, Workgroup members might have offered "politically safe" information since interviews were done during a statewide election. For example, respondents from both contexts commented on the overwhelmingly conservative political context, with some Workgroup members indicating concern that their organization's funding might be affected if political actors could identify them and be displeased with provided information. Squaring critical feminist praxis with elite policy actor spaces thus was found to be a key sticking point throughout the research process. Given the small participant pool and ease with which participants might be identified, all respondent information was blinded.

Discussion

Utilizing feminist critical policy analysis and multifocal theory helped to identify who HB 1272 works for and why. This study goes beyond mere technical policy considerations, which would not have been possible if a singular method or theory was employed. First and foremost, findings point to consensus about the importance of public education within "multisector" statewide trafficking efforts. Legislative respondents of both political parties, as well as Education Workgroup members agreed that educators played an important "front line" role in identifying and preventing trafficking. They all thought that schools operated not only as a mechanism in the fight to end youth trafficking, but as medium for broad social change.

Yet, we know from Malen (2006) that "formal and informal arenas in which actors interact and influence policy developments are not neutral" (p. 86). Indeed, findings buttress critical policy research that demonstrates how policy actors are influenced by power dynamics, resources, and contextual norms. Legislator concern for local control of educational curricula led to a weakened mandate wherein training was not required of educators. HB 1272 was an unfunded mandate that did not deliberately engage (Mansbridge, 1990) educators in Workgroup processes or the focus group that reviewed the curriculum. Finally, there was an overall tailoring of curriculum content to fit the messaging desired by the OAG.

Oppressive identity hierarchies can work via policy processes to enact violence against individuals who are the so-called intended beneficiary of policy (Mohanty, 2003). Thus, findings validate critical feminist and transnational feminist concerns about how actor understandings of policy and within a hierarchical state structure can have unintended consequences for marginal groups. This was identified most prominently in legislative respondent discussion of curricula being used for other agendas, such as advancing conservative views of victimhood and reproductive health, as well as policing for immigration status. As a newly created state policy (Odden, 1991) in some ways HB 1272 represents symbolic policy comprised of limited will to actually use education to tackle human trafficking. Yet, it also is significant that normative beliefs are shaping Texas trafficking policy designed for education, and these policies appear to be attached to other policy agendas.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it was important to understand whether a landmark education policy was designed to live up to its promises, and based on that answer, what that means for Texas K-12 education and trafficking policy more generally. This study lays a foundation for those in the field of educational policy and leadership who are interested in conducting research in this area. It also should have import for practitioners who are affected by HB 1272 or similar state legislation.

Given the paucity of research and issues raised by this study, more educational research on state trafficking policies, programs, and curricula that target education is essential. Before additional policies are enacted, it would be helpful to know how teachers and educational leaders actually understand and perceive social policy issues like trafficking. There also are a range of intersectional factors such as youth dating violence, homelessness, interactions with police, and immigration and refugee status, which are missing from extant trafficking research.

Findings on the political, normative, and organizational dynamics of Texas trafficking policy designed for educational settings, highlight problems with ensuring that educational policies secure the safety, rights, and agency of marginal youth. Chief among the recommendations to come from this study is that practitioners working in this area and researchers who examine trafficking must be keen to address "implementation gaps" between policy intention and outcomes in practice. Taking up this recommendation will buttress a more ethically-minded, critical, and inclusive approach to addressing trafficking and other forms of commercial exploitation and forced displacement.

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Federal Policy to Promote Teacher Equity: An Examination of State Plans

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(Co-Authored Research with Gary Sykes)

This brief considers federal policy as a means of increasing equitable access to high quality teachers between and within states. In 2014, the U.S. Department of Education requested that each State Educational Agency submit a plan describing the steps it intends to take to ensure that "poor and minority children are not taught at higher rates than other children by inexperienced, unqualified, or out-of-field teachers," We analyzed a sample of these plans, looking at the strategies states proposed.

We expected that many states might attach initiatives already underway in response to past federal policy, even if the fit between strategy and problem is tenuous. This is a sensible response from one angle, but might not be robust response in relation to the problem.

Research Methods

To inventory and quantify states' proposed strategies we coded a representative sample of 30 state plans. Descriptive codes revealed common and innovative strategies. Evaluative codes indicated relevance, targeting, and commitment, three features we propose as hallmarks of effective approaches. We also rated the plans for overall quality, based on a set of indicators. The ratings form a normal distribution skewed somewhat to the lower tail of the distribution. We profile several exemplary plans in our report.

Selected Empirical Findings

A larger number of plans were minimally responsive to the federal mandate. In these cases, we hypothesize that the salience of the issue of teacher shortages superseded the equity problem. In

particular, states facing overall shortages of teachers were less engaged in the equity issue. Filling positions takes precedence over equitable distributions.

Most states offered responses associated with two approaches that we defined as "raising all boats" and "closing gaps." The first operates on the assumption that if all districts are improved, then that will improve access to capable teachers in all locales. The second operates more closely in relation to the federal mandate, addressing gaps in distributions. The plans contain a mix of these approaches with a significant number aimed at general or overall improvements in some teacher-related aspect of education. Such emphasis sidesteps the basic equity question, which turns on the distribution of educational goods regarded as unfair. Achieving equity means altering the conditions that result in advantages for some districts, disadvantages for others. We found that 60% of all the strategies mentioned sought to improve some aspect of general access to high-quality teachers, while 32% of the strategies, generously conceived, aimed at closing equity gaps.

Discussion

Strategies to address the equity problem have to pass two screens—feasibility and efficacy. Here, we note a basic dilemma, identified by Baker and Weber (2016), that the agencies responsible for developing the teacher equity plans have little or no control over policies and practices likely to exert the greatest influence on such inequities, such as school funding formulas.

The policy space for strategies that are both feasible and effective is relatively small. The most powerful policies likely to redress inequities, which might include attention to school finance and to desegregating schools are beyond the reach of most state education agencies absent statutory attention. Meliorist strategies such as improved mentoring and induction programs are evident in the state plans and offer some likelihood of marginal improvement.

High need schools face complex problems in attracting and retaining teachers. Inequalities in teacher distribution are nested at all levels of the system (Goldhaber, Lavery, & Theobald, 2015). Studies have zeroed in on the problem of retention, noting that faculty "churn" creates problems over and above the loss of capable teachers (Guin 2004;

Ronfeldt, Loeb, & Wyckoff, 2013). Studies now also show that teachers transfer or exit from schools largely in response to working conditions, not student characteristics (Simon & Johnson, 2013). Reducing teacher attrition in general, but particularly in schools serving concentrations of disadvantaged children appears to be a worthwhile policy goal. Consistent with the strongest plans in our study, we note that selective recruitment incentives, improved human capital management at the district level, well implemented mentoring and induction programs, and improved working conditions including placement of capable principals provides some prospect for improving access. But underlying conditions remain a significant barrier. In many states, salary differences across districts support the status quo in which both advantages and disadvantages cluster. The federal policy raises consciousness about the problem and impels states to address it. Improvements are likely to unfold on a long time scale but a start has been made.

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The University Council for Educational Administration Annual Conference
November 17-20, 2016
Detroit, MI

Conference Theme:
Revitalizing Education in Complex Contexts: Re-envisioning Leadership, Refreshing Practice, Redefining Student Success

American Educational Research Association Annual Conference
April 27-May 1, 2017
San Antonio, TX

Conference Theme:
Achieving the Promise of Equal Educational Opportunity

DISSERTATION AWARD COMMITTEE REPORT

REBECCA JACOBSEN
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

CALL FOR NOMINATIONS-2017 POLITICS OF EDUCATION OUTSTANDING DISSERATION AWARD

This call is for the 2017 award for the best dissertation in the politics of education. It is designed to foster and support graduate student research and publication on political processes and outcomes in organized education grades preK-16, from the United States and abroad. One aim is to highlight and reward scholars studying political issues in education, as distinct from the interdisciplinary approaches taken by policy studies.

The PEA Dissertation Award Committee welcomes any nominated dissertation that addresses the politics of education, including, but not limited to, those that focus on questions of democracy, voice, governance, inequality/equality, power, authority, political accountability, interest group interactions, coalitions and agency at any level of analysis (federal/national, state/provincial, local). Acceptable methods include, but are not limited to, comparative political analysis, case-study analyses of broad trends and reform efforts, qualitative studies, political history and biography, primary and secondary data analysis.

The Award: A $250 cash award, editorial and stylistic suggestions for publication from the PEA Dissertation Award Committee, and recognition at the annual business meeting of PEA held at the annual meeting of AERA and the opportunity to have their work featured in the *Politics of Education Association Bulletin,* an official publication of the Politics of Education Association (PEA) and is published two times per year.

The Review Process: Completed nominations received by midnight December 1, 2016 will be reviewed by the PEA Dissertation Award

Committee. Four to six finalists will be selected for further consideration by January 2017. Finalists and winners will be announced in the spring *PEA Bulletin* and honored at the annual PEA business meeting at the regularly scheduled AERA meeting in 2017.

Eligibility and Application Process: Dissertations from students who have successfully defended a dissertation for either an Ed. D. or a Ph.D. in political science or education between June 30, 2015, and July 1, 2016, are eligible for nomination.

The nomination process involves submitting a scholar application form (see attachment) including a four-six page (1,200 word maximum) abstract of the dissertation, which describes the topic and any conceptual underpinnings, details the methods of data collection and analysis, and briefly describes the findings and the conclusions. In addition, a nomination form from the dissertation sponsor is required. The sponsor's nomination should describe why the dissertation is exemplary and assess its contribution to the politics of education field. It also verifies that the doctoral degree was earned between June 30, 2015 and July 1, 2016. No incomplete nominations will be considered.

Completed applications and nomination forms are to be emailed by midnight December 1, 2016 to Dr. Rebecca Jacobsen at **rjacobs@msu.edu** . Emailed applications will receive a brief confirmation of receipt.

Many thanks to the Dissertation Award Committee. They are:

Rebecca Jacobsen*, Michigan State University
Bob Johnson, University of Alabama
Melinda Lemke, University at Buffalo, SUNY
Elizabeth DeBray, University of Georgia
Diane D'Amico, George Mason University
Sarah Butler Jessen, Bowdoin College
David Casalaspi, Michigan State University
*Chair

2017 WILLIAM L. BOYD NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL POLITICS WORKSHOP:

A CALL FOR PARTICIPANTS

The Politics of Education Association, the University Council for Educational Administration, and AERA's Division L: Education Policy and Politics invite its members to serve as mentors to current doctoral students and/or recent doctoral graduates. The Boyd Workshop aims to connect doctoral students and recent graduates with mentors in order to share their expertise and experiences in the discipline. Please note that volunteering will require attendance at a 2 1/2 hour workshop held on the first afternoon of AERA's annual meeting in San Antonio. If you are interested in serving as a mentor, please complete the electronic form (link found below)—even if you have served as a mentor at previous Boyd Workshops. If you have any questions or concerns, please contact Dr. Dana Mitra (Boyd Workshop Co-Coordinator) at dmitra@psu.edu

Electronic Application Form:
Call for Mentors: William L. Boyd National Educational Politics Workshop

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Association for Education Finance and Policy (AEFP) Annual Conference

*Call for Proposals
Through November 11th*

http://www.aefpweb.org/conferences/call-for-proposals

The PEA Publications Committee encourages PEA members to submit proposals for the Information Age Publishing and PEA Book Series and Edited Volumes. The deadline for submission is December 15, 2016.

PEA - IAP BOOK SERIES

Call for Proposals

Under an arrangement with Information Age Publishing, PEA will publish authored and edited volumes for the Politics of Education Association Books Series. Its purpose is to promote and disseminate original theory and empirical research related to politics of education. PEA is pleased to invite proposals for the 2018 PEA Book Series with IAP. Volumes can be a monograph by a single or multiple authors, or an edited collection of chapters by various authors. Proposals should include a 5-8 page description of the proposed volume, including its:

(a) tentative title
(b) author(s) in the case of an authored book and editors in the case of an edited volume
(c) rationale—which describes in more detail the proposed theme, its salience, theoretical perspectives and an indication of current trends and research in the field
(d) scope—planned number of papers and range of topics, and timeline. In the case of an edited volume, at least six agreed upon authors or sets of authors should be listed along with a concise description of each chapter.

Also, note we will have an initial review process of the proposal by the Series Editorial Board, and then once authors have been invited (or open call) to write full chapters and submitted those chapters, they will undergo peer review which will be facilitated by the volume editors. Edited volumes are encouraged to have a diverse set of contributors and promote collaboration between junior and senior scholars.

The deadline for final submission will be set in consultation with the PEA Series editor and IAP—depending on whether it is an edited volume or a research monograph based on a dissertation.

General Guidelines
● To allow for sufficient exploration of a concept, chapters published in a volume should be longer than those traditionally published in journals
● Content should be rigorous and relevant to the politics of education
● Proposals will be reviewed by a subcommittee of the Editorial Board
● In the case of an authored or co(authored) book based on a dissertation, author(s) are encouraged to revise the manuscript considering guides that provide advice on how to transform a dissertation into a book.

Due: December 15, 2016 to Catherine DiMartino (dimartic@stjohns.edu)

PEA – IAP Edited Volumes

Call for Proposals

Under an arrangement with Information Age Publishing, PEA will publish authored and edited volumes for the Politics of Education Association Books Series. Its purpose is to promote and disseminate original theory and empirical research related to politics of education. We will endeavor to publish one volume per year. In rare cases, we may submit more than one if the pool of manuscripts is high quality and important to the field—with approval and support from IAP—and not recommend any for publication when the pool of manuscripts are deemed substandard.

Submissions and Review Process

The RFP for volumes may be either (1) an open call—standard PEA RFP (see below), or (2) a commission of a new volume that reflects developments in the field and/or foster a discussion

on an important area that is either misrepresented or underrepresented in the extant literature.

Series Editor (1) --current Publications Committee Chair
● Contact PEA Series Editorial Board to determine if they wish to generate an open call or commission (here commission does not denote renumeration) a new volume on a specific topic
● Solicit and accept proposals for review
● Facilitate review
● Notify corresponding volume editors/authors of decisions
● Based on reviews, recommend suitable manuscripts for publication
● In some instances, at the editors' discretion, editors may submit the feedback to the volume editors and recommend that they resubmit during the next cycle
● Serve as the major point of communication among editorial board members, volume editors/authors, and the PEA Executive Board

Volume Editors (varies)
● Volumes can be a monograph by a single or multiple authors, or an edited collection of chapters by various authors.
● Volumes can be themed individually but must be related to the politics of education.
● Volume editors are responsible for one volume only.

Series Editorial Board (11)
Comprised of 11 members, including series editor (who is the publications committee chair) , Ex-Officio Member (full privileges) Current PEA President/Chair, Ex-Officio Member (full privileges) Past PEA President/Chair, Ex-Officio Member (2) Current (elected) At-Large Members, Members (6)
*Appointed by PEA President/Chair to serve 4 year terms (3 in even years, 3 in odd years)*
● Monitors developments in the field and makes recommendations for new volumes
● Agrees to review submissions
● Promotes the series at conferences, respective institutions, newsletters, list serves, etc.

● Assists contributors when necessary

Due: December 15, 2016 to Catherine DiMartino (dimartic@stjohns.edu)

Committee Members:
Katy Bulkley, Montclair State University
Sarah Diem, University of Missouri
Huriya Jabbar, University of Texas at Austin
Catherine Lugg, Rutgers University
Rachel White, Michigan State University
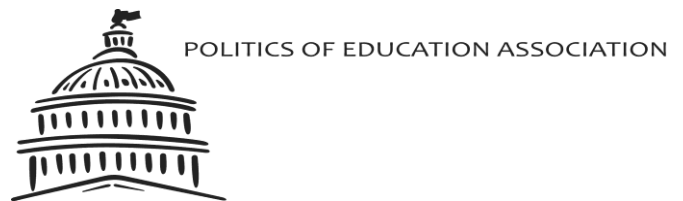
POLITICS OF EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

TREASURER REPORT

KATHERINE CUMINGS MANSFIELD
VIRGINIA COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITY

Currently, we have 218 members with 52 of those being new members. In addition, we have 135 lapsed memberships. We are reaching out to current and former members to encourage them to renew their memberships. We anticipate that most renewals will occur in December-January time frame.

When compared with the year prior, we seem to be in a healthier place financially. For example, the September 2015 Ending Balance was $4,772 compared with this year's $7,055. Even so, we are striving to be good stewards of our resources. For example, this year we aim to spend less than one-third on the UCEA breakfast than we did last year, while still providing for a satisfying experience for our members and visitors. The financial statement for our AERA account is listed below.

AERA SIG Politics of Education Association Financial Statement

Description	Beginning Balance	Month-to-Date	Year-to-Date	Ending Balance
Membership Dues Income		$60.00	$3,000.00	
T. Young Award Plaque			($137.43)	
A. Potterton Travel Award			($150.00)	
A. Tichnor Travel Award			($150.00)	
T. Young Website			($129.60)	
T. Young Web Domain			($104.85)	
SIG Management fee (07/16-06/17)		($300.00)	($300.00)	
SAGE Postage			($2,175.00)	
RCL Marriott Marquis			($2,509.76)	
	$7,295.52	($240.00)	($2,356.64)	**$7,055.52**

As we move forward, we anticipate the following expenditures and sources of revenue over the next 6 months:

A. Breakfast meeting at UCEA 2016
B. Business meeting at AERA 2017
C. Student Travel Awards AERA 2017
D. Dissertation Awards (AERA 2016 & 2017)
E. William L. Boyd National Education Politics Workshop at AERA 2017

Revenue from membership fees paid from November 2016-April 2017

F. Chris Curran, UMBC School of Public Policy, recently published:

Curran, F.C. (2016). Estimating the effect of state zero tolerance laws on exclusionary discipline, racial discipline gaps, and student behavior. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis.*

Curran, F.C. & Kellogg, A. (2016). Understanding science achievement gaps by race/ethnicity and gender in kindergarten and first grade. *Educational Researcher*.

Kevin Dougherty, Columbia University, recently published a new co-authored book entitled *Performance Funding for Higher Education*. Seeking greater accountability in higher education, many states have adopted performance funding, tying state financial support of colleges and universities directly to institutional performance based on specific outcomes such as student retention, progression, and graduation. Focusing on three states that are regarded as leaders in the movement—Indiana, Ohio, and Tennessee—the book presents the findings of a three-year research study on its implementation and impacts. Drawing on extensive interviews with government officials and college and university staff members, the book describes the policy instruments states use to implement performance funding; explores the organizational processes colleges rely on to determine how to respond to performance funding; analyzes the influence of performance funding on institutional policies and programs; reviews the research literature on the impacts of performance funding on student outcomes; examines the obstacles institutions encounter in responding to performance funding demands; investigates the unintended impacts of performance funding; and details policy solutions to the obstacles and unintended impacts identified by the book.   The book concludes that, while performance funding clearly grabs the attention of colleges and leads them to change their policies and practices, it also encounters major obstacles and unintended impacts. Colleges subject to performance funding are hindered in posting good results by inappropriate performance measures, the commitment to enroll many students who are poorly prepared or not interested in degrees, and insufficient organizational capacity to cope with these demands. These obstacles help explain why multivariate statistical studies have failed to date to find conclusive evidence that performance funding has a significant impact on student outcomes. These obstacles also help explain why colleges are tempted to resort to weakening academic quality and restricting the admission of less prepared and less advantaged students in order to improve their apparent performance.

Michelle Hall, University of Southern California, has recently begun a post-doctoral fellowship working at USC and the Policy Analysis for California Education. In this role, she is working on a study that is documenting the impact and early implementation of the new education finance system known as the Local Control Funding Formula (LCFF) in California. This study is investigating the ways in which LCFF advances equity and coherence and how districts are implementing the policy's stakeholder engagement requirements, allocating resources, and advancing Common Core standards implementation. She is also working on a study focused on understanding the ways in which new accountability systems including measures of students' Social Emotional Learning and school culture and climate, are being interpreted and implemented for students in the CORE Districts in California.

Catherine Lugg, Rutgers University, recently published:

Lugg, C.A. (2016). *U.S. public schools and the politics of queer erasure*. New York: Palgrave/MacMillan.

Dana Mitra, Penn State University, has been promoted to Professor of Education at Penn State University. Dana has also been chosen as a "Students at the Center Distinguished Fellow" with Jobs for the Future/The Nellie Mae Foundation. Additionally, she has recently published:

Mayes, E., Mitra, D., & Serriere, S. (2016). Figured worlds of citizenship: Examining differences made in 'making a difference' in an elementary school classroom. *American Educational Research Journal, 53*, 3, 605-638 DOI: 10.3102/0002831216648378

Mitra, D., Mann, B., & Hlavacik, M. (2016). Opting out: Parents creating contested spaces to challenge standardized tests. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*. March

Amanda Potterton, Arizona State University, recently published:

Dorn, S., & Potterton, A. U. (2015, October 8). Arne Duncan's legacy: Growing influence of a network of private actors on public education. *The Conversation (US Pilot)*. Retrieved from https://theconversation.com/arne-duncans-legacy-growing-influence-of-a-network-of-private-actors-on-public-education-48790

Potterton, A. U. (2015). Essay review of *The Public School Advantage: Why Public Schools Outperform Private Schools* by C. A. Lubienski & S. T. Lubienski. *Education Review//Reseñas Educativas*, 22. http://edrev.asu.edu/index.php/ER/article/view/1875

Andrew Saultz, Miami University, recently published:

Saultz, A., McEachin, A., & Fusarelli, L.D. (2016). Waivering as governance: Federalism during the Obama Administration. *Educational Researcher, 45(6): 358-366.*

*Aronson, B., & Murphy, K. M., & Saultz, A. (2016). Under pressure in Atlanta: School accountability and special education practices during the cheating scandal. *Teachers College Record,* 118 (14). *Equal Authorship

John W. Sipple, Cornell University, has been appointed (2015-2017) by the New York State Commissioner of Education as a State Monitor for the East Ramapo (NY) Central School District. This district of 9000 high need minority students (highlighted in a 2014 episode of *This American Life*) experienced a dramatic shift in school board control and influence when the supporters of 20,000 non-public students (largely ultra-Orthodox and Hassidic) gained majority control. Coupled with the recession, this board change resulted in dramatic cuts to public school program and intense political debate. They are studying options and making recommendations to both the district and state. Additionally, he has recently published:

Casto, H., McGrath, B., Sipple, J., & Todd, L. (2016). "Community Aware" education policy: Enhancing individual and community vitality. *Education Policy Analysis Archives, 24*, 50. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.24.2148

The following list details UCEA conference sessions that included the term "politics" or "policy" in their title:

013. GSS Session 8: Understanding and Tackling Policies and Politics

Graduate Student Summit Paper Session Wednesday 2:25 to 3:30 pm Detroit Marriott at the Renaissance Center: Floor 5 - Duluth B Participants: The Politics of Hungry Students: A Historical Analysis of Paradigm Shifts in School-Based Nutrition Programs. Christine Tran, University of Washington Small Schools Reimagined. Aisha Haynes, New York University Clinical Scholarship: A Tale of Two School Districts, Addressing De Facto Segregation in Montgomery County, PA. Heather Nicole Bennett, Pennsylvania State University The Power of People: How Grassroots Movements Inspire Change. Debra Sue Vance Noelk, Florida Atlantic University Facilitator: Stephen Jacobson, University at Buffalo, SUNY

General Session II: Town Hall: Harnessing the Potential of Educational Leadership Under ESSA.

Facilitator: Ed Fuller, Pennsylvania State University Panelists: Gail Connelly, NAESP Susan Gates, RAND Corporation Abbie Groff-Blaszak, Michigan Department of Education Kelly Latterman, NCSL Janie Clark Lindle, Clemson University The shifting educational landscape under the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) has presented new opportunities and challenges for the educational leadership field. The 2016 Town Hall will explore the new policy emphasis on educational leadership and highlight practical strategies for translating this emphasis into substantive and positive impacts at the state level. As states develop education improvement plans to meet ESSA requirements, educational leadership must be featured prominently. Participants will describe forward-thinking strategies states are using to promote educational leadership under ESSA, critical areas of research, and new doors these strategies are opening for leadership development and practice. A special thank you to The Wallace Foundation for their sponsorship of this session. Session 112 Friday 9:20–10:50 am Floor 4 - Columbus Begin the Town Hall conversation with a light breakfast, compliments of The Wallace Foundation, 9:10–9:30 am.

104. Critical Analysis of State and Federal Policy Initiatives

Paper Session Friday 8:00 to 9:10 am Detroit Marriott at the Renaissance Center: Floor 5 - Joliet A Participants: A Paradox of High-Achievement: Implementing Race to the Top (RTTT) Policies in a High-Achieving School District. Dean L. Ramirez, University at Buffalo, SUNY The threat-rigidity hypothesis suggests that when faced with a threat, organizations may close down, reduce information flow, engage in poor decision making, and limit divergent views. This mixed-method study evaluated Trust, Leadership, and Threat-Rigidity facets in a historically high-achieving school district during a time of change. The results of this study suggest that administrators need to understand the culture and climate of a school district when implementing federal/state policies. Another (Un)Funded Mandate: Lessons Learned From Race to the Top in a Phase 3 Winner State. Anjalé Welton, Yolanda Davis (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) Race to the Top was designed with the assumption that grant "winners" would have the capacity to see their initiatives through. However, we question whether Phase 3 "winners" were actually "winners," given they were faced with implementing the reform with much less financial support to do so. Within this context, we focus on Illinois to understand how district leaders both made sense of and implemented the policy. Colonizing/Decolonizing Policies in Native American Education: Rhetoric vs. Reality in ESSA Title VI. Michael R. Scott, University of Texas at Austin This paper examines the Title VI provision of the Every Student Succeeds Act, which provides additional resources for Native American students, and its application within a school program. By applying the Deleuzian concept of assemblage as a postqualitative method, the policy and the related program operating within a neoliberal and neocolonial framework are interrogated. Promoting the decolonization of students, an engagement with the policy assemblage shows that its performance opposes its intent. What Are We Really Guaranteeing: Ohio's Third-Grade Reading Guarantee Quagmire. Andrew Saultz, Laurie Banks (Miami University) This study analyzes Ohio's Third Grade Reading Guarantee (TGRG) to evaluate how district officials implemented the policy. We build off research that describes how administrators might respond to new demands: bridging and buffering. We use statewide reading test scores and administrative data from one medium-sized district. We find significant evidence that administrators in this district are buffering students and teachers from the TGRG. The Politics of State Testing Policy: Understanding the Opt Out Movement Through Political Spectacle. Michael A. Szolowicz, University of Arizona Some parents are refusing to allow their schoolchildren to take the standardized tests; they are "opting out." This policy-centered case study examines the issues generated in one state legislature from the Opt Out movement's 2-year effort to change state standardized testing law. The study uses the theory of political spectacle as a framework for understanding how certain interests are represented in state policy formation and how leaders can influence state policy. Facilitator: Scott Christopher McLeod, University of Colorado-Denver

116. Teachers' Perceptions on Educational Policy

Paper Session Friday 11:00 am to 12:10 pm Detroit Marriott at the Renaissance Center: Floor 4 - Cartier Participants: Teacher-based Analyses of the Title I SIG Program: Impacts of Time, Timing, and Policy Intentions. Tuesda Roberts, University of Pittsburgh The study represents an interjection of teachers as knowledgeable policy analysts whose direct experiences with the entire span of a policy's implementation and professional expertise position them to meaningfully contribute to sustainable school reform efforts. The findings speak to the multiple and crucial roles of teachers and highlight the need to meaningfully incorporate teachers who have demonstrated a long-term commitment and excellence into decision-making processes about the fit, consequences, and ideological 80 UCEA Convention 2016 consequences of educational policies. Urban Teachers as Educational Policy Analysts: Shedding Light on the Complexities of School Reform. Tuesda Roberts, University of Pittsburgh The teachers' descriptions of misaligned goals and actions, their sympathetic yet critical analyses of school and district leadership, and their description of how the Title I SIG policy impacted their professional efficacy presented a multifaceted view of how the policy implementation practices relate to teacher practices and to the revitalization of underperforming schools. This study's teacher-based analyses "refresh" approaches to school reform leadership by (re)positioning teachers as integral and informed agents in a school's trajectory. Legitimizing the Dilettante: Teach for America and the Allure of Ed Cred. Davis Clement, College of William and Mary The purpose of this study was to describe the initial urge to apply to Teach for America and the implications for conceptions of educational leadership and policy being developed by young, ambitious TFA alums. The phenomenon proposed, ed cred, is a unique conception of legitimacy blending the competitive hero teacher narrative with three new experiential variations: the drive for credibility, the preference for convenience, and the need for a credential. Teacher Perceptions of Whole School Sustainability Practices in U.S. Department of Education Green Ribbon Schools. Tania Lynn McKey, Lisa A. W. Kensler (Auburn University) This study's purpose was to extend the emerging literature related to U.S. Department of Education Green Ribbon Schools by gathering teacher perceptions related to green school practices in these schools. This award represents a national strategy for promoting responsible environmental stewardship, school building occupant well-being, and education for sustainability across U.S. schools, public and private. Findings provide evidence that these schools are trailblazers for the 21st century, leading the way towards whole school sustainability. Facilitator: Janie Clark Lindle, Clemson University.

118. Educational Leadership and Policy Targeting Student Learning and Success

Paper Session Friday 11:00 am to 12:10 pm Detroit Marriott at the Renaissance Center: Floor 5 - Duluth B Participants: 81 FRIDAY Direct Versus Indirect Relationship Between Principal Leadership and Student Learning: Considering the Source of Information. Jimmy Sebastian, University of Missouri; Haigen Huang, Miami University; Matthew Phillip Cunningham, University of Missouri In this paper we compare the relationship of instructional leadership with student achievement via mediating organizational when we switch the source of information on leadership from teacher surveys to principals' own ratings. With teacher surveys, instructional leadership is indirectly related to achievement via school climate; with principals' own ratings, the relationship is direct. We discuss implications for direct versus indirect nature of principals' work in schools and the importance of data source in influencing findings. How Principals Bridge to and Shape Instructional Reforms in Crowded Policy Contexts. John Lane, Michigan State University This paper answers questions about how the principal at three middle schools built support for voluntary reforms and how they shaped mandatory reforms. It also examines differences among principals' backgrounds, priorities, and knowledge that help account for their different responses to reform. Finally, it provides evidence that the principals at the three schools played a significant role in determining what both mandatory and voluntary reforms became and the opportunities teachers had to learn about them. Collaborating Across Boundaries: Educational Service Agency Use of Collaboration in Supporting Instructional Reform. Julie R. Freeman, University of Michigan Drawing on comparative case study methodology, this study explores how three educational service agencies used collaboration as they supported their constituent districts in implementing the Common Core State Standards, an example of ambitious instructional reform. My findings suggest there are varying, yet overlapping, ways for these agencies to successfully leverage collaboration to support district and school reform, including providing resources, being the center for "common work," and developing relationships. Facilitator: Jeffrey S. Brooks, Monash University

127. Embracing the Rising Tide of Data Analytics in Educational Leadership and Policy

Symposium Friday 12:20 to 1:30 pm Detroit Marriott at the Renaissance Center: Floor 5 - Brule A This symposium aims to introduce the applications of data analytics in educational leadership and policy research. With the rising tide of big data, this symposium explore how to apply the emerging data analytics to leverage the high-volume, high-variety, and high-velocity data in school leadership preparation, principals' use of a data warehouse, and educational policy. This symposium invites scholars to capitalize on the potential of data analytics where big data, educational leadership, and educational policy converge. Participants: Leaders on the Job Market: An Analysis of Application Patterns & Preferences. Peter Trabert Goff, University of Wisconsin-Madison; Alex J. Bowers, Teachers College, Columbia University How Technology, Strategic Decision Making, and School Context Influence Principals' Use of a Data Warehouse: A Latent Class Growth Analysis. Tim Drake, North Carolina State University Education Policy Research and Big Data: Applying Quantitative Text Analysis Techniques. John Wachen, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Text Mining Social Media Data on the Common Core State Standards: Topic Modeling and Hashtag Co-Concurrence Network

Analysis. Yinying Wang, David Fikis (Georgia State University) Facilitators: Alex J. Bowers, Teachers College, Columbia University Peter Trabert Goff, University of Wisconsin-Madison

136. School Boards- Purposes and Perspectives
Paper Session Friday 12:20 to 1:30 pm Detroit Marriott at the Renaissance Center: Floor 5 - Nicolet A Participants: Documenting the Relationship Between School Boards and School Board Monitors and its Effect on the Community. Joshua Childs, University of Texas at Austin Using interview data collected from two districts in the northeastern and one in the southwestern United States, this qualitative case study is an attempt to detail the relationship that exists between the local school board and the state-mandated monitor that has been placed in the district for management and oversight purposes. School Boards as Springboards? The Future Political Careers of Local School Board Members. Jason A. Grissom, Lam Pham, David Woo (Vanderbilt University) Although previous research has found evidence that the type of political ambition elected officials possess influences their decision to run for higher office, political ambition of school board members has largely gone unstudied. Our study fills this gap in the research by examining how political ambition influences board members' behaviors. Our findings provide some evidence that school boards are not analogous to other political offices in terms of offering a channel to higher political office. Superintendents, School Boards, or Outsiders: Re-Envisioning the Role of District Leaders in Enacting Policy Reform. Samantha E. Holquist, University of Minnesota I propose an analysis to understand (a) how radical education policy reform occurs at the district level and (b) the role of district education leadership in making this reform. I analyze case study findings to ascertain the factors that influenced a radical policy reform's formation and adoption. Findings increase our comprehension of how these reforms occur in district politics. Additionally, they challenge our understanding of the role of district leadership in advancing these reforms. "We're Good! Leave Us Alone!" School Board Sense-Making of Accountability Reporting. Daniella Hall, Northwestern University Federal policy implementation is ultimately in the hands of local educational leaders, who adapt reforms based on their personal interpretations. This qualitative study examines how school board members interpret external messaging regarding NCLB accountability reporting, and how their sense-making shapes their use of reporting on the local level. The study finds board members' interpretations of the purpose of testing only partially aligned with state messaging and was highly influenced by local needs and community context. Facilitator: Andrea K. Rorrer, University of Utah

146. Promise of Urban School Reform
Paper Session Friday 3:00 to 4:10 pm Detroit Marriott at the Renaissance Center: Floor 5 - Duluth B Participants: Leadership and Student Outcomes: Evidence From Teacher Perceptions in Urban Restructured Schools. Angela Lynn Newcomb, Blake Haselton, Marco Muñoz (University of Louisville) This quantitative study examined the relationship between teacher perceptions of teacher and school leadership and student achievement in urban restructuring schools in Kentucky. Multiple regression analysis and MANOVA were used to determine the impact of perceptions of leadership on student outcomes. Discussion will focus on the impact of restructuring efforts used in Kentucky and potential leverage points for school and district leaders. Implications for practice in Priority Schools will be discussed. Making Sense of the Emerging Role of "Specialty Schools" in Urban Settings. Jeff Walls, Sara Kemper (University of Minnesota) Public specialty schools in urban settings differ from traditional schools and serve students who have been unsuccessful in traditional school settings. Our research investigates how teachers at specialty schools, in a range of contexts, define student success and interpret the ways in which external policy factors influence their practice. We find several fissures between schools and district policies, and our research implies room for more focus on the process of quality and equity in education. For Justice or for Profit? Examining Enduring Tensions in Urban School Reform. Craig Peck, University of North Carolina at Greensboro Analyzing major scholarly works and historical and contemporary events, I consider several enduring tensions that have characterized urban school reform since the 1960s. For instance, policies created by distant, delocalized experts have routinely engendered unanticipated local effects and fierce community resistance. In addition, particular school reforms have served simultaneously as means for encouraging social justice for urban students of color and as mechanisms for generating revenue for educational vendors. I close by examining implications. Re-Envisioning Culturally Competent School Leadership in an Urban School District: A Case Study. Gaëtane Jean-Marie, University of Northern Iowa; Bradley W. Carpenter, University of Houston; Tia Dumas, University of Louisville; Daniel D. Spikes, Iowa State University; Lisa Hooper, University of Louisville; Amanda Bowers, University of Louisville As one component of a larger longitudinal research project, this study probes school leaders' understanding of cultural competence as a mechanism to develop an equity responsive climate (ERC) able to enhance teaching and learning, while also increasing the shared understanding of the practices necessary to meet the needs of diverse student learners. ERC, a latent construct, is a triadic process premised on the affective, cognitive, and behavioral domains of cultural competence Facilitator: Kristy Cooper, Michigan State University

163. Locus of Control: State or Local?
Paper Session Friday 4:20 to 5:30 pm Detroit Marriott at the Renaissance Center: Floor 5 - Joliet B Participants: District-Based Reform or State Takeover: Reassessing the Impact on Black Student Achievement. Steven Nelson, University of Memphis This paper evaluates the impact of state takeover of public schools in New Orleans on Black student achievement, aside from achievement on state-based test scores. The paper finds that Black student achievement lags in the Recovery School District when assessing various

non-test-score based indicators of student achievement. The paper concludes by assessing the various possibilities for assuring enhanced academic achievement for Black students. Reform, Revitalization, or Ruse? A Comprehensive Look at the Literature on State Takeover of Schools. Nicola A. Alexander, Samantha E. Holquist (University of Minnesota) Preliminary findings suggest that state takeover has limited impact on student outcomes. The nature of state takeover matters more for revitalization of leadership than student performance. Removal of the elected school board is likely to be more conflict ridden than simply removing district administrators. If local communities initiated the state takeover, there is less conflict and increased 107 FRIDAY potential for positive partnerships between the state and district management personnel, resulting in a more meaningful revitalization of leadership. Return to Local Control: The Policy Context of Charter Schools and Community Agency in New Orleans. Emily Germain, University of Texas at Austin Much of the research on charter schools investigates how market mechanisms function, with little research exploring the impact on community, and particularly community agency. Through content and discourse analysis, this study examines the policy context surrounding Louisiana's SB 432, which returns all of the state-run charter schools to local control, and seeks to decipher whether the bill was sold, intended, and perceived as a mechanism to increase democratic participation among the New Orleans community. The Influence of State Education Governance Arrangements on the Education Policymaking Process. Rachel White, Michigan State University This research examines the implications of recent shifts in state education governance arrangements and the implications they have for those interested in influencing the education policymaking process. Namely, I explore the ways state education governance arrangements influence (a) the education policymaking process, (b) policy responsiveness, and (c) policy outcomes. Facilitator: Wayne D. Lewis, University of Kentucky

170. Critical and Historical Policy Analysis in Education
Paper Session Friday 5:40 to 6:50 pm Detroit Marriott at the Renaissance Center: Floor 5 - Brule A Participants: Organizing With and Against Policy: Crafting Coherence Across Institutional Logics. Rodney S. Whiteman, Indiana University This paper is an ethnographic empirical investigation into ways teachers of a small, newly formed private school navigate a policy context in which school accountability and choice policies may be seen as conflicting. Using the institutional logics perspective, I explore ways various logics are used to craft coherence of a complex policy context. Performing Equity: An Analysis of the Equitable Access to Excellent Educators Initiative. Andrene Castro, University of Texas at Austin In 2014, the U.S. Department of Education enacted Equitable Access to Excellent Educators, a policy initiative that ensures all children have equitable access to high-quality, excellent teaching. This study attempts to problematize notions of teacher equity by examining localized responses to state equity plans. As such, this research aims to unpack the cultural politics of how equity is defined and performed across the federal, state, and local landscape. Revisiting and Extending the Work of Cowen and Fowles: A Historical Analysis of Kentucky Teacher Contracts. W. Kyle Ingle, Richard Aaron Wisman (University of Louisville) Informed by Cowen and Fowles (2013), the authors use New Institutionalism in their historical analysis of teacher contracts over time from the nine Kentucky school districts that negotiate teacher contracts. Have these provisions changed (or not) over time in the face of state and federal education reform efforts? The study provides further evidence that federal and state policies have limited effect on negotiated provisions at the district level. Facilitator: W. Kyle Ingle, University of Louisville

201. Policy, Politics, Choice and Geography: How Place Matters Across the P-20 Spectrum.
Symposium Saturday 8:00 to 9:10 am Detroit Marriott at the Renaissance Center: Floor 5 - Duluth B Educational opportunity in the United States has always been inextricably linked to geography. Disparities of opportunity across zip codes begin at birth and often persist and even expand into K-12 schooling and beyond into college and career. We bring together research examining how different circumstances operate in different geographic contexts (Texas, New Orleans, and Washington DC). Throughout these papers, we focus on how local politics and place affect short- and long-term opportunities of students. Participants: There Goes the Neighborhood: An Analysis of School Leaders' Responses to Gentrification. Terrance L. Green, Emily Germain, Joanna D. Sanchez (University of Texas at Austin) A Decade Later: The Impact of Hurricane Katrina on Racial Segregation in New Orleans Schools. Stephen Kotok, University of Texas at El Paso; Brian Robert Beabout, University of New Orleans; Steven Nelson, University of Memphis Choice Options in the Gentrified Field: How Neighborhood Socioeconomic Trends Relate to Differences in Charter and Traditional Public Schooling Demographics. Bryan A. Mann, Heather Nicole Bennett (Pennsylvania State University) A Mixed-Methods Analysis of the Role of Geography in Community College Students' Decision-Making About Transfer Institutions. Huriya Jabbar, Joanna D. Sanchez, Eliza Epstein (University of Texas at Austin) Facilitator: Erica Frankenberg, Pennsylvania State University

217. Influences of Diversity Policy on School Assignment
Paper Session Saturday 11:00 am to 12:10 pm Detroit Marriott at the Renaissance Center: Floor 5 - Duluth B Participants: Abriendo Puertas Escolares: A Narrative Inquiry of Latin@ Principals Opening New Schools. Patricia Rocha, Yvette Cantu, Eulogia V. Martinez (Texas State University) This paper highlights the lived experiences of Latin@ principals who have experienced the phenomenon of opening a new school in predominantly Latin@ neighborhoods. The study applied the tenets of narrative inquiry to unpack the stories and to identify the narrative threads of the collective experience of these principals. In doing so, the study provides insight into the unique challenges these Latin@ principals faced and offers ways that the two participants found hope and victories.

The Legacy of Leadership: Inequity and Privatization in Two Urban California School Districts' Facilities Programs. Marialena Dawn Rivera, Texas State University I conduct case studies of two urban California districts with active bond programs to address two questions: (a) How do school district leaders affect facilities programs and equity outcomes, and (b) how do outside actors and the broader social context influence school district facilities program leaders? Findings indicate a need for statewide training to prepare educational leaders to oversee equitable facilities programs and navigate relationships with private actors in an era of state disinvestment and rising privatization. One School's Diversity Policy: The Limits of "Site Selection" and "Special Programs" as Reintegration Initiatives. Deena Khalil, Howard University; Elizabeth S. Brown, William Paterson University This paper examines, using critical race theory, one choice school's relocation initiative intended to diversify its population. The relocation racially diversified the student population but failed to reintegrate historically underserved low-income students of color. We propose a theory of diversity dissonance challenging the unary ahistorical criterions used to describe current school demographics and call for leaders and policymakers to address the intersectionality of students' identities when addressing issues of equities. Student Assignment Policies and Segregation: A Spatial Approach to Examining Segregation of School Catchment Areas. Kendra Taylor, Erica Frankenberg (Pennsylvania State University) School attendance boundaries are an important educational policy that can promote integration. By assigning students to attend schools in their neighborhood, patterns of residential segregation are often perpetuated in schools. This study of racial and economic segregation at the school catchment level uses multiple segregation measures along with GIS to explore trends in segregation as well as local spatial patterns of segregation. From this analysis we consider how student assignment policies can further integration. Facilitator: Hollie Mackey, University of Oklahoma

251. School Turnaround: Policy and Practice

Paper Session Saturday 2:00 to 3:10 pm Detroit Marriott at the Renaissance Center: Floor 5 - Nicolet B Participants: Turnaround Policy and its Influence on Student Achievement in Kentucky Priority High Schools. Sarah Hitchings, University of Louisville/Jefferson County Public Schools; Kathryn Nicole Zeitz, University of Louisville; Bradley W. Carpenter, University of Houston This study explores Kentucky's implementation of school turnaround policy at the high school level. The sample includes 19 Kentucky high schools, all identified in the first two cohorts of persistently lowest achieving schools in the state. Student achievement scores were analyzed using the American College Test (ACT) and End-of-Course exams from each of the 19 Kentucky priority high schools over 3 consecutive years of implementation of a federal turnaround model. How State Education Agencies Are Administering School Turnaround Efforts: 15 Years After No Child Left Behind. Bryan A. VanGronigen, UCEA/University of Virginia; Coby Meyers, University of Virginia School turnaround—the rapid improvement of student achievement in low-performing schools—is increasingly a major topic of interest in K-12 public education. Yet, policymakers have divergent views about how to realize turnaround. Federal legislation, especially ESSA, has left varying degrees of school improvement-related responsibilities up to states. This study captures the complexity state education agencies (SEAs) face when administering turnaround and how a majority of SEAs do not lead efforts, but contract with external providers. School Leaders' Readiness for Change: Considerations for Supporting School Turnaround. Cori Groth, Ashley McKinney, Irene H. Yoon, Janice Bradley, Andrea K. Rorrer (University of Utah) School leaders face increasingly complex and intensified demands to turn around low performing schools. As part of an ongoing partnership between a university-based external support team and five schools, this paper examines the perceptions of principals who are leading schools in statemandated improvement efforts using an organizational readiness framework. Based on qualitative data from interviews, this paper focuses on the "human side" of the change process, including leader and organizational readiness for change. A Review of Early Evidence on Principals Successfully Leading School Turnaround. Coby Meyers, Dallas Hitt (University of Virginia) Determining whether real differences exist between effective principals and turnaround principals is increasingly important. But any difference in skill or characteristic remains undefined. We have conducted a systematic review of literature, resulting in 18 studies of principals who led successful school turnaround initiatives. We present the evidence regarding the dimensions of school turnaround leadership—as well as attitudes and attributes—and identify what turnaround principals appear to do differently. Facilitator: Karen R. Seashore, University of Minnesota.

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Meet the New PEA Bulletin Editors

Andrew Saultz, PhD, is an Assistant Professor of Educational Leadership at Miami University. His research focuses on in the interdependence of political science and public policy theories on educational accountability strategy and how federal mandated program changes are interpreted by, a broad range of actors including policymakers, educators, educational leaders, parents and citizens. His recent work has appeared in *Educational Researcher, Teachers College Record,* and *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*. Prior to joining the faculty at MU, he completed his PhD in Educational Policy from Michigan State University. He has experience as a high school social studies teacher and a school board member.

F. Chris Curran, PhD, is an Assistant Professor of Public Policy at the UMBC School of Public Policy. His work focuses on examining policies and practices that can improve the educational outcomes of traditionally disadvantaged groups of students. In particular, he conducts work in the areas of school discipline and safety, early elementary education, and teacher labor markets. His recent work has appeared in *Educational Researcher*, *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, and *AERA Open*. Prior to joining the faculty at UMBC, he completed his PhD in Leadership and Policy Studies with a doctoral minor in quantitative methods at Vanderbilt University. He has experience as a middle school science teacher and department chair.

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