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MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

W. KYLE INGLE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

Much to Study...

Much has happened since my last *PEA Bulletin* report (fall, 2016). We witnessed the inauguration of Donald Trump to the US Presidency. We experienced the absurd arguments over crowd size at this inauguration. We heard (and continue to hear) reports of Russian efforts to influence the election and influence US politics and policy. We heard (and continue to hear) attacks on the media for its coverage of said US Presidency. If I were a person who tweets (and I am not), I would have most likely become as equally annoyed with this means of communication as I did with Facebook prior to the election due to its contentious but powerful use in reaching voters. In the divisive US Presidential campaign that was 2016, education policy was, at best, a secondary policy issue. President Trump’s post-election nomination and narrowest of confirmation of Betsy DeVos as the United States Secretary of Education, mirrored the divisiveness of the campaign. Her nomination and appointment was met with bitter objections and public protests from Democrats, teacher unions, and the general public alike. DeVos has signaled greater support for state decision-making power, a trend that began with the most recent reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act—the

PEA Executive Board

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Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) in 2015. ESSA contracted the federal role in education some; specifically educator evaluation mandates. Among other things, ESSA now permits states and districts to develop and implement evaluation systems without proscription from the U.S. Department of Education as to the specific characteristics or measures of effectiveness that states must use in their evaluation systems, but requires that states with evaluation systems make public the criteria used in the evaluations. Secretary DeVos has signaled clearly her intention to expand school choice options through charter schools, school voucher programs, and tax credit scholarships. DeVos' confirmation portends further challenges to public education as we know it.

In my home state of Kentucky, it became the last state in the southeastern United States to adopt right-to-work legislation. This was made possible after the November 2016 elections yielded Republican domination in both legislative chambers and the governor's mansion. Republican Governor Matt Bevin has actively sought the creation of charter schools in one of the last states to take up such legislation, challenged the ways in which university boards are appointed and governed, promised smaller budgets for institutions of higher learning in a state not known for a high college-going rate, and is seeking changes in the way in which universities and colleges in Kentucky are funded, proposing performance-based models. All of this to say that in Kentucky and the rest of the United States, the challenges to the institutions of public education are numerous. Undoubtedly, many of us may be disturbed by these developments, but one thing that does not come as a surprise to members of the Politics of Education Association is that education is political. We have our hands full in terms of the various education policies and policy environments to explore—federal, state, local, and international.

Many to Thank...

I have many people to thank also. First, let me say thanks to my fellow officers for serving on the PEA Board. These individuals are: Katherine Mansfield (Treasurer), Elizabeth DeBray (At-Large Board Member), and Stacey Rutledge (At-Large Board Member). I very much appreciate your serving on the board of PEA and making sure that bills are paid and the organization is well governed.

We also have a number of committees that make sure that the work of PEA is carried out effectively. Many thanks to the committee chairs, committee members, and appointees that make sure that all their important work gets done and PEA members are well served.

First, let me thank the *PEA Bulletin* Co-Editors (Andy Saultz and F. Chris Curran) who are responsible for the document you are reading right now, making sure it comes to fruition each fall and spring. I have served in this role before and very much remember the approaching deadlines and reminder emails to officers and committee chairs; not to mention the formatting and distribution of the *Bulletin*.

At our PEA Business meeting, we will be recognizing high quality doctoral research through our Dissertation of the Year Award and Honorable Mention. The Dissertation of the Year Committee—Rebecca Jacobsen (Chair), Bob Johnson, Melinda Lemke, Elizabeth DeBray, Sarah Butler Jessen, and David Casalaspi had to plough through a number of high quality nominations in order to arrive at what was a tough decision to make: who would win the coveted Dissertation of the Year Award. Thanks to the committee for their hard work and decision-making and to all of you who nominated these promising and gifted scholars. Without nominating faculty members, we would not have an award to give.

Many thanks to our Membership Committee—Jeanne Powers (Chair), Chris Willis, Amanda Potterton, and Dan Quinn—who ensure that our membership remains strong. This is done by outreach efforts at the Boyd Workshop, UCEA, and other conference venues, letting prospective members know about the benefits of PEA membership.

It may come as no surprise to our membership that the PEA is one of the most expensive SIGS in AERA. I would like to think that our members get what they pay for; specifically when it comes to our publications. These include not only the *PEA Bulletin*, but also the PEA Yearbook that is published in *Educational Policy*, the special edition of *Peabody Journal of Education* (published biannually), and the monograph series published periodically by Information Age Publishing in Charlotte, North Carolina. Thanks to our Publications Committee for vetting and

selecting proposals for eventual publication. These hardworking committee members are: Catherine DiMartino (Chair), Katy Bulkley, Cath Lugg, Huriya Jabbar, Sarah Diem, and Rachel White.

We also support the mentorship of emerging scholars through the annual William L. Boyd Workshop. This event, occurring annually since 2008, brings together emerging scholars and established politics of education researchers for a mentoring workshop held in conjunction with AERA. The recruitment of emerging scholars has not been difficult. Indeed, the registration for this event has frequently been cut off in advance of the deadlines due to such high demand. The recruitment of enough mentors has been difficult in the past, but this has been remedied by the valuable co-sponsorship and support (logistical and financial) of UCEA and Division L. Both of these organizations contributed \$1,000 each for the 2017 Boyd Workshop. Many thanks to Dr. Michelle Young, Executive Director of UCEA, and Dr. Lora Cohen-Vogel, Vice-President of Division L for their support of this undertaking.

One of the costs associated with the Boyd Workshop is facilities rental. This year, PEA was fortunate to gain the co-sponsorship of the Great Lakes Center for Education Research and Practice. Its Executive Director, Daniel Quinn, is an alumnus of the Boyd Workshop. We thank him and his organization for their support of the Boyd Workshop by contributing the financial resources necessary for facilities costs in San Antonio. Needless to say, I must thank Dr. Dana Mitra (Pennsylvania State University) and Dr. Lauren Bailes (University of Delaware) for serving as the Co-Coordinator of the 2017 William L. Boyd Workshop. Assisting them was Eric McGinnis, a graduate student at Pennsylvania State University. The coordination of this annual event is no small task. When you have 100+ mentors and 100+ emerging scholars that must be matched by topic or methodological expertise, food and beverages to order, table assignments that must be made, check-in tables to run, etc., etc., it is a lot to do. Last, but not least, thanks to all of you from PEA, UCEA, and Division L who served as mentors for this event.

Much to Do...

This brings us to the upcoming annual meeting of AERA, which will be held in San

Antonio. I want to call attention to some specific events that will be held in San Antonio. First of all, there is the aforementioned ***William L. Boyd National Educational Politics Workshop***, which will be held on April 27, 2016 from 3:30pm to 6:00pm in Room 4 of the Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center. Please note that this event is for registered attendees only (mentors, emerging scholars, guest speakers, and co-coordinators). If you are one of these individuals, we look forward to seeing you on the 27th at this event.

I also want to call attention to the ***Donald H. Layton Memorial Symposium: A View of Half a Century of Politics in Education***. This symposium will be held on Sunday, April 30, from 12:25 to 1:55pm, in Room 210A of the Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center. This event is open to all. Many thanks to Janie Clark Lindle, Enrique Aleman, Curtis Brewer, Bryan Duarte, Leslie Lewis, Samantha Paredes Scriber, and Eric James Shaver for making this memorial session come together in honor of a true luminary and leader of PEA.

Lastly, I want to remind you that we will be holding the ***PEA Business Meeting*** on Sunday, April 30 from 6:15 pm until 7:45 pm in Room 217C of the Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center. In addition to officer reports, committee reports, we will also be giving away the Dissertation of the Year Award and an Honorable Mention Prize. I look forward to seeing you all there!

Redefining the Federal Role in Public Education:
The first quarter of the Trump “Insurgent” Presidency
Ken Wong¹

On the cover of *The Economist* on February 4, 2017, the bright red headline reads “An insurgent in the White House.” It shows a picture of President Donald Trump wearing a business suit with a red cap that displays his campaign theme, “Made America Great Again,” while holding a Molotov cocktail in his right hand. The “insurgent” President wasted little time to set a new policy tone during the first few weeks in office. His executive orders aim to ban individuals in several countries with Muslim majority population from entering the U.S., empower law enforcement agencies to implement immigration policy, and foster greater state autonomy on domestic affairs. On January 30, 2017, the President issued an executive order that requires federal agencies to eliminate two existing rules for every new one. In his first budget submitted to Congress in mid-March, the President proposed major cuts in discretionary funding in the Departments of Education and Energy and the Environmental Protection Agency. President Trump’s actions clearly aim at disrupting the federal role across all policy areas.

In this context of an insurgent presidency, K-12 education is subject to a critical reassessment in the Trump White House. This critical reassessment comes as no surprise given the electoral realignment that has deeply shaken the two major political parties (Burnham 1986; Mayhew 2004). Our understanding of Trump’s policymaking can be informed by various policy frameworks, including unilateral presidential politics (Howell 2003), policy streams and window (Kingdon 1995), regime change (Manna and McGuinn 2013) and policy entrepreneurs (Mintrom 2000), among others. To be sure, the Trump administration is only in its first quarter and unanticipated political dynamics and policy changes will occur throughout his term. In this early review, I will rely on publicly accessible information, such as the administration’s announcements,

Congressional hearings, and preliminary analyses conducted by policy researchers. I also relate the Trump policy initiatives to the broader context of federalism and education policy, governance and politics. As the administration launches its K-12 initiatives, new and robust studies will contribute to our knowledge base.

The Insurgent Presidency attempts to Scale Back the Federal Role

In K-12 education, Trump’s White House signals its intent to significantly repurpose the federal role. Taken as a whole, the administration aims to dismantle key initiatives that are associated with the Obama Administration. It remains to be seen whether the Trump administration plans to fundamentally reconstruct the terms of federal engagement in public education since the Great Society era of the Johnson administration (Peterson, Rabe, and Wong 1986). The first quarter of the Trump Presidency suggests several key education policy initiatives. Among these include:

- Scale back federal direction and shift substantial decision making to state and local government
- Propose substantial budgetary reduction that may result in a reduction of one-fourth of the employees in the U.S. Department of Education, such as programs in college and career access, arts, health, after school, and technology
- Expand federal support for a broad portfolio of school choice, including charter schools, vouchers for parents to enroll their children in public and private schools, federal tax credit scholarship program, and magnet programs (Heritage Foundation 2016).
- Ease possible entry of for profit providers in K-12 education, as indicated by the administration’s effort to restore for profit providers in correctional facilities
- Place limits on federal capacity to promote equal education access, such as taking actions against families of illegal immigrants and limiting the scope of Title IX enforcement
- Reduce investment in data and research infrastructure. Currently, less than 1% of

¹ Brown University, March 14, 2017

the total federal education spending devotes to research.

President Trump's proposed initiatives constitute a critical reassessment but do not yet amount to an all-out dismantling of the federal role in K-12 as embedded in the long-established "marble cake" federalism. The growth of federal grants-in-aid system since the Great Society era of the Johnson administration has ensured a more activist federal role in addressing issues of inequality and accountability in public schools (Wong 2013). The federal redistributive focus is clearly supported by major categorical programs that use funding and programmatic rules to provide supplemental services to well-defined eligible populations or high needs communities. In her March 13, 2017 letter to the chief state school officers on a revised consolidated state plan for ESSA, Secretary DeVos highlighted the administration's commitment to "maintaining essential protections for subgroups of students, including economically disadvantaged students, students with disabilities and English learners." In the budget proposal for FY18, the Trump administration maintains the federal funding for several long-established categorical programs for high needs student, such as Title I and IDEA. It remains to be seen if other categorical programs may be dismantled or replaced by block grants with less redistributive focus. More importantly, policy analysts will need to pay close attention to Trump's efforts to reverse the long established federal involvement in equity, accountability, and research and development.

School Choice as a Federal Priority

Trump's White House and his cabinet members will play an instrumental role in his policy insurgency. The appointment of Betsy DeVos as the U.S. Secretary of Education signals a major departure from decades of federal involvement in public education. Unlike her predecessors, Secretary DeVos had to receive a tie-breaking vote from Vice President Mike Pence for her Senate confirmation. During the Senate hearings, DeVos showed her passion on school choice but was not able to address other issues confronting public schools (Klein and Ujjifusa 2017).

Secretary DeVos's reliance on school choice as a primary federal strategy is grounded in her own activism in school choice. She was the chairwoman of the American Federation for Children and provided financial support to a number of school choice initiatives, including vouchers for private schools. In her capacity as U.S. Secretary of Education, DeVos believes that the federal government can play a catalytic role in scaling school choice. In her prepared remarks at the February 23, 2017 Conservative Political Action Conference, Secretary DeVos stated that "the education establishment has been blocking the doorway to reforms, fixes and improvements for a generation." She then announced that, "We have a unique window of opportunity to make school choice a reality for millions of families." In her meeting with leaders of historically black colleges and universities on February 27, 2017, DeVos initially characterized HBCUs as "pioneers of school choice." Further, in his first presidential appearance before a joint session of Congress on February 28, 2017, President Trump asked the Congress to pass an education bill "that funds school choice for disadvantaged youth, including millions of African-American and Latino children." He then went on, "These families should be free to choose the public, private, charter, magnet, religious or home school that is right for them."

To be sure, this is not the first time a U.S. President advocated for school choice. President Ronald Reagan was a strong proponent of school choice but was unable to gain much Congressional support. Further, President Bill Clinton popularized charter schools with federal start up funding, a position endorsed by both Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama. Finally, the Congress enacted a pilot school voucher program for private schools in Washington DC. Unlike his predecessors, President Trump intends to scale up his school choice initiatives with a campaign pledge of \$20 billion in federal funding. It remains to be seen whether the administration is able to promote choice at a much wider scale and broaden the types of service providers. If successful, the Trump administration will elevate school choice to a new level of prominence.

The new governing landscape seems supportive of school choice expansion. First, the administration's push for school choice generally

aligns with ESSA. With broader policy making authority, states can choose to promote a broader portfolio of school choice programs with federal funding. Second, with two-thirds of the states under one-party Republican control in both houses following the November 2016 election, Trump's proposal to expand school choice is likely to receive favorable attention. Currently, several states are actively considering proposals on school choice expansion. Third, charter school as a key school choice strategy has continued to receive steady, favorable preference among parents in minority communities (Kahlenberg and Potter 2016). It was a calculative move on President Trump's part to mention that school choice will benefit African Americans in his first address before the joint session of Congress in February 2017. These facilitating conditions are likely to contribute to school choice growth across several states.

Rebalance the Federal Role in Equity and Accountability

Historically, equity has been a key justification for federal involvement in K-12. Since the Civil rights era and the Great Society Program, federal education programs have been designed to promote equal educational opportunities for all students. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 not only launched the system of federal grants-in-aid in low-income schools, it was also a central part of the president's War on Poverty. President Lyndon B. Johnson's vision was to address poverty with greater access to schooling opportunities, thereby enabling all students to become participants in the work force and full citizen in our democracy. ESEA continues to shape its succeeding legislation and students' low-income status continues to drive federal Title I allocation to local schools.

Since the Presidency of Ronald Reagan, the federal government has broadened its focus from equal access to include performance-based accountability. Reagan entered the White House with the intention of abolishing the U.S. Department of Education, introducing school prayer, and tuition tax credits. None of these became reality. Instead, Reagan became an advocate of the recommendations of his commission that issued the widely cited report, A

Nation At Risk. At a time when the federal role in education was largely measured in terms of funding support, Reagan elevated the importance of school performance. Consequently, the federal government has embraced both equity and accountability since the 1980s.

The Trump administration is ready to rebalance federal-state relationship. The administration can rely on several institutional opportunities. First, the 2015 ESSA constitutes a bipartisan effort to rebalance federal-state relations by granting state control over standards and other policy issues. ESSA has granted states the primary responsibility in defining academic standards, adopting multiple measures of academic performance, identifying schools for improvement, and mapping the scope of turnaround intervention. ESSA has essentially replaced a federally driven regulatory framework to a state-defined agenda of education reform.

Further, the administration, with support from the Republican leadership in both houses, is in the process of scaling back federal direction on accountability issues in ESSA. For example, to enable Secretary DeVos the opportunity to establish her mark on ESSA, the Republican controlled Congress used the *Congressional Review Act* to repeal ESSA regulatory guidance that was completed during the last few months of the Obama Presidency (Goldstein 2017). The Congressional repeal was comprehensive in scope, including the requirement that schools must include at least 95% of the students in the annual assessment, accountability on teacher preparation programs, and other civil rights regulations. Instead, Secretary DeVos has the opportunity to grant even more power to states in implementing ESSA.

Third, the federal government may choose to withdraw from some of the equity-oriented practices. For example, Secretary DeVos is reviewing whether the Department's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) will continue to collect the biennial data on schooling opportunities and quality in public schools throughout the country. The OCR has been compiling the Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC) since 1968. This data set has been used by policy researchers and by states and districts for service improvement for all students (Katz 2017). Likewise, in the negotiated rule making process prior to Trump's election, federal regulation on

“supplement not supplant” has already been loosened for audit compliance. As Secretary DeVos articulated in her letter to the chief state school officers on March 13, 2017, the federal government will require “only descriptions, information, assurances and other materials that were absolutely necessary.” Under Trump’s leadership, audit regulations on federal categorical programs may be further relaxed. In other words, equity and accountability are likely to be revised to align with Trump’s priority on school choice and state control.

Challenges and Opportunities Ahead

The Trump administration has embarked on an ambitious agenda to critically reassess the federal role in K-12 education. While the new governing landscape may facilitate the President’s policy insurgency, the administration’s success in systemic changes depends on several institutional conditions. First, the Trump White House has to reorganize the federal administrative capacity behind a coherent set of policy goals. The administration will need to go beyond its initial focus on school choice and budget cuts. Instead, the President needs to articulate broader federal leadership in key policy areas, such as upgrading the schools’ infrastructure to meet global and technological challenges, ensure schooling quality for a growingly diverse population, strengthen teacher quality, promote student-centered learning, and reduce the achievement gap, among others. For example, the American Society of Civil Engineers has recently issued a D grade for the physical quality of public schools and estimated \$500 Billion of construction and repair to reach a B grade.

Further, the President leads within the framework of separation of powers. The executive branch has to work with Congress to pass the budget and authorize new initiatives. It remains to be seen whether Trump’s education initiatives will be hindered by institutional rivalry or fostered by bipartisan collaboration. Finally, federalism takes on its own dynamics. While states and districts engage in competition and innovation, the federal government must address disparity and inequity. These policy challenges await the insurgent presidency to demonstrate its governing effectiveness.

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GRADUATE STUDENT POLICY BRIEF

EXAMINING STATE GOVERNMENTS' DECISIONS TO DEVOLVE OR RETAIN TEACHER EVALUATION POLICYMAKING

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This policy brief demonstrates the wide variation in how state governments approach the education policymaking process through the lens of teacher evaluation policy, a pinnacle policy of recent education reform efforts. With the recent passage of the Every Student Succeeds Act, as well as changes in political party power in the executive branch, state policymakers will likely play an increasingly pivotal role in setting the direction of education policy of their respective states. While research has already demonstrated the wide state-to-state variation in teacher evaluation policy (Steinberg & Donaldson, 2016), very little research has examined *who* is making these policy decisions. As such, this policy brief describes the variation in the extent to which state legislatures and state boards of education (SBEs) enact stringent, comprehensive teacher evaluation policy mandates

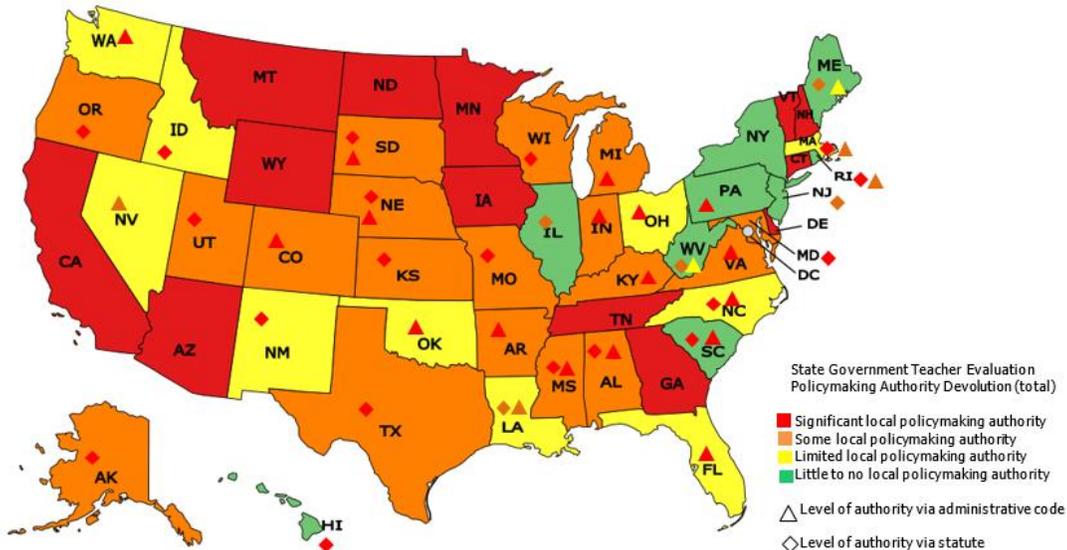
or allow local education agencies (LEAs) flexibility in crafting teacher evaluation policy in their district.

Data & Methods

Using publically available state statute and administrative code related to teacher evaluation in all 50 states collected in the summer of 2015, I developed a teacher evaluation policy authority devolution index that measures the extent to which teacher evaluation policymaking decisions are retained at the state level or devolved to LEAs. To create the index, I followed Anderson, Tremper, Thomas & Wagenaar's (2012) process for measuring law, coding statutes and administrative code for elements that the state legislature and/or SBE mandated all LEAs must incorporate into their teacher evaluations. The process was iterative, with "one or more steps being repeated as discoveries at one stage expose inadequacies of constructs developed at a previous stage" (Anderson et al., 2012, p. 7).

Analysis

To explore the variation in the extent to which state legislatures and SBEs retain or devolve teacher evaluation policy decisions to LEAs, I produce a visual representation (Figure 1) of the variation in teacher evaluation policy authority devolution among all fifty states. In addition to showing the overall level of teacher evaluation policymaking authority devolution for each state, the map incorporates an indicator of the level of authority afforded to LEAs specifically from the state legislature and the SBE, as is represented by the color of a diamond and the triangle, respectively, within each state. States with only one alternate colored statutory or administrative code symbol are those in which either the state legislature or the SBE was the primary driver in limiting the amount of teacher evaluation policymaking authority provided to LEAs. For example, the red triangle associated with Michigan indicates that the SBE provides LEAs with substantial policymaking authority. Because there is no diamond associated with Michigan, this indicates that legislature enacted strict statute that limited LEA policymaking authority to the level that is indicated by the color of the state as a whole. Finally, states with no alternate colored statutory or administrative code symbol are those in which both statute and administrative code



either provide local districts with significant teacher evaluation policymaking authority or with little to no local authority.

Select Findings

As shown in Figure 1, there is substantial variation in the extent to which state policymakers devolve teacher evaluation policy authority to LEAs. While the maximum authority devolution index value was 14.5 units, the national average was 6.5 with a standard deviation of 3.8. Visually, Figure 1 suggests that New England states provided less teacher evaluation policymaking authority to local districts while Great Plains states provided more teacher evaluation policymaking authority to local districts. The Midwestern states display the most variation with some states providing greater teacher evaluation policymaking authority and others providing little to no local authority to local school districts

There is also variation in the proportion of teacher evaluation policymaking authority devolved to LEAs by legislatures and SBEs. For example, while Pennsylvania’s administrative code provides significant policymaking authority to LEAs, state statute substantially limits LEAs’ teacher evaluation policymaking authority. In contrast, Illinois statute provides LEAs with some local policymaking authority but its administrative code limits LEAs’ teacher evaluation policymaking authority. And, oftentimes when statutes and administrative code are combined, LEAs are left with little authority. For example, in Maine, Massachusetts, and West Virginia state statute provides some local flexibility

and state administrative code provides limited local flexibility; thus, when statute and administrative code are combined, local school districts are left with very little teacher evaluation policymaking authority. Similarly, in South Dakota, Nebraska, Louisiana and North Carolina, both state statute and administrative code provide some or limited local authority; however, when both of these laws are pooled together, LEAs are ultimately left with little local policymaking authority.

Discussion

This brief provides an overview of the variation in who is involved in making teacher evaluation policy and the ways in which their decisions to devolve authority to LEAs vary. Of particular interest are the states of Tennessee and Delaware. These two states were the sole winners of the first round of the federal Race to the Top (RttT) competition, which enticed states to develop a state teacher evaluation system. While, in some cases, federal grant competitions such as these can lead to centralization of policymaking and the limiting of local autonomy, this brief provides evidence that state policymakers can set broad policy parameters while still allowing local voices to be heard in the local policymaking and implementation process. It should also be noted that some state governments have a relatively stringent teacher evaluation policy in place outside of state statute and administrative code, which would not be evident in this analysis. In doing so, states may allow for greater flexibility to alter teacher evaluation systems to new research and evidence.

As state governments become more involved in the education policymaking process, it is increasingly important to understand power dynamics and authority devolution decisions as a component of education policy reform. This brief demonstrates the wide variation in who is making teacher evaluation policy and how decisions to devolve authority to LEAs vary among states, as well as within formal state education policymaking bodies (i.e., legislatures and SBEs). Important questions related to the ways in which state education policymaking influences education policymaking outcomes arise from these findings. First, some states' legislatures are more active in the education policymaking process; in other states, SBEs are more involved. In these complex policymaking environments, vested education stakeholders must understand who is making what education policies in their state in order to have their voice heard in the education policymaking process.

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**The University Council for
Educational Administration
Annual Conference**
November 15-19, 2017
Denver, CO

Conference Theme:
*Echando Pa'lante: School Leaders
(Up)rising as Advocates and (Up)lifting
Student Voices*

**Association for Public Policy
Analysis and Management
Annual Conference**
November 2-4, 2017
Chicago, IL

Conference Theme:
*Measurement Matters: Better Data for
Better Decisions*

PEA SECRETARY ELECTION RESULTS

Election results are in. Please join us in congratulating Dr. Huriya Jabbar, who won the election for PEA Secretary. Huriya Jabbar is an assistant professor in the Educational Policy and Planning program in the Department of Educational Administration at the University of Texas. Her research examines the social and political dimensions of market-based reforms and privatization in education, including school choice and decision-making in K-12 and higher education contexts. Her work has been published in the *American Educational Research Journal*, *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, *Harvard Educational Review*, and *Educational Researcher*. She received three awards for her dissertation, which examined school choice and competition in post-Katrina New Orleans, from the American Educational Research Association's Division L (Policy & Politics), Division A (Administration, Organization, & Leadership), and the Politics of Education Association special interest group. She is also affiliated with the Education Research Alliance for New Orleans at Tulane University, where she continues to study issues related to school choice in New Orleans. She was a 2013-2014 recipient of the National Academy of Education/Spencer Dissertation Fellowship and is a 2016 NAED/Spencer Postdoctoral Fellow, which will support a new study exploring teachers' job search processes, and the role of their social networks, in three charter-dense cities. Dr. Jabbar

received a B.A. in Economics from the University of California at Santa Cruz, an M.A. in Economics from the New School for Social Research, and Ph.D in Education Policy, Organization, Measurement, and Evaluation from the University of California, Berkeley. Dr. Jabbar's term will begin after the conclusion of the 2017 Annual Meeting in San Antonio.

Many thanks to all the candidates who stood for the election.

2017 WILLIAM L. BOYD NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL POLITICS WORKSHOP

On April 27, 2017 the annual William L. Boyd National Education Politics Workshop will host about 100 faculty mentors and 150 emerging scholars in San Antonio. The workshop is held in conjunction with the annual meeting of AERA. The event this year includes a panel of scholars whose work centers on collaborative partnerships with other educational stakeholders and decision-makers. Those partnerships include local school districts, educational agencies, universities, policy makers. The event also provides ample time for faculty mentors and emerging scholars (graduating students and early-career scholars) to converse, discuss their research agendas, and establish productive mentoring relationships. The coordinators of the workshop include Dr. Dana Mitra of Pennsylvania State University, and Dr. Lauren Bailes of the University of Delaware. Dr. Mitra is a former colleague of Dr. Boyd and Dr. Bailes previously served as a Boyd Workshop participant and graduate student volunteer.

In April 2008, the Politics of Education Association hosted the National Educational Politics Workshop in New York City. The workshop, held in conjunction with AERA, provided an opportunity for emerging scholars to interact with leading politics of education scholars. The workshop would eventually become an annual event—renamed in honor of Dr. William Lowe Boyd of Pennsylvania State University, a luminary in the field of educational policy, politics and administration.

Boyd passed away on September 21, 2008. The annual event gained the co-sponsorship of UCEA, which saw it as a means of promoting, sponsoring, and disseminating research; improving the preparation and professional development of educational leaders and professors; and, positively influencing educational policy. Additional sponsorships followed from Division L of AERA, and the Great Lakes Center for Education Research and Practice.

The coordinators wish to express their sincere gratitude to all of the faculty mentors who made time to participate in the workshop as well as to the panelists who gave of their time to enrich the experiences of emerging scholars. The specifics of the Boyd Workshop are as follows:

- Meeting: The William L. Boyd National Educational Politics Workshop
- Date: April 27, 2016
- Time: 3:30pm - 6:00pm
- Hotel: Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center
- Room: Room 4

Please note that attendance at the Boyd Workshop in San Antonio is not open to the general public. Participation is by invitation only. Participants had previously completed online applications, which were confirmed by the co-coordinators.



Association for Education Finance and Policy (AEFP) Annual Conference

Call for Proposals Through November 11th

<http://www.aefpweb.org/conferences/call-for-proposal>

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE REPORT

*CATHERINE DIMARTINO, CHAIR
ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY*

On behalf of the PEA Publications Committee, I am happy to announce the recent publication of the 2017 PEA special issue in the *Peabody Journal of Education*. The editors are Catherine Marshall, Mark Johnson and Ariel Tichnor-Wagner. The title is, "Neoliberal Policy Network Governance and Counter-Networks of Resistance: Actions and Reactions from Across Policy Arenas."

The 2017 PEA Yearbook, which is published as a special issue of *Educational Policy*, will be edited by Lisa García Bedolla, Megan Hopkins and Rand Quinn. The theme of the issue is, "The Politics of Immigration and Education."

The 2018 PEA Yearbook will be edited by W. Kyle Ingle, Ben Pogodzinski and Casey George-Jackson. The theme of the issue will be, "The Politics of Unions and Collective Bargaining in Education."

As a reminder to our membership, the PEA Yearbook is an annual publication, typically published as the January issue of *Educational Policy*. On an **every other year** basis (published in odd-numbered years), the *Peabody Journal of Education* (PJE) publishes an issue dedicated to the politics of education subfield. Please note if you are interested in submitting proposals for the 2019 PEA Yearbook published in *Educational Policy* or the 2019 *Peabody Journal of Education* special issue, the deadline is June 16, 2017. For further inquiries or requests for sample proposals, please contact the Publications Committee Chair, Catherine DiMartino.

All proposals are due on June 16, 2017. Please email your submission to Catherine DiMartino at dimartic@stjohns.edu.

Chair: Catherine DiMartino, St. John's University
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

DISSERTATION OF THE YEAR AND HONORABLE MENTION

The Dissertation of the Year Committee, consisting of Rebecca Jacobsen (Chair), Bob Johnson, Melinda Lemke, Elizabeth DeBray, Sarah Butler Jessen, and David Casalaspi, are pleased to recognize the following award winners:

Dissertation of the Year Award- Marialena Dawn Rivera (Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley) *Inequity and Privatization in School District Facilities Financing: A Mixed Methods Study*, chaired by Dr. Janelle Scott

Dr. Rivera examined the political processes and outcomes in PK-12 school finance, deepening our understanding of the public and private actors involved in the financing of school facilities and how this funding system connects to the larger social, political, and economic movement to privatize education. Dr. Rivera explored how the political environment in California has shaped district facilities financing over time, the sociopolitical dynamics that influence district leaders' interactions with the private organizations that help finance facilities, and how districts' experiences with facilities financing vary, impacting the equity of school facilities. Dr. Rivera drew upon fiscal sociology and critical policy analysis to examine contracting out for public services to the private sector and the increased use of consultants as examples of the growing reliance on new public management strategies in public education. Methodologically, Dr. Rivera combined quantitative approaches, including statistical modeling, with

qualitative case studies and historical document analysis. Dr. Rivera found that California's reluctance to equitably fund facilities and the Governor's plans for impending state disinvestment have allowed for an environment where private actors not only flourish, but also influence the political process. Dr. Rivera revealed the extent to which the public and private sectors have built coalitions to influence facilities funding outcomes. Quantitative findings indicated that financial expertise comes at a high cost, particularly for elementary school districts and districts with lower median household income. Case study analysis of two California districts examined sociopolitical factors including aspects of wealth and racial equity history, power, district capacity, democratic community involvement, interest groups, and governance. Dr. Rivera revealed inequitable facilities outcomes as well as differences in district relationships with private consultants. These disparate outcomes were due to characteristics of district leadership, as well as the involvement of interest groups and community actors such as bond oversight committees and the media. Rivera's research demonstrates how privatization impacts the distribution of power and resources between districts and private actors and affects facilities outcomes, particularly with regard to equity. There remains a compelling need for state action to ensure equity for all students. Rivera concludes that research on the politics of school facilities finance must shift its focus from efficiency and bond election outcomes to a broader consideration of the sociopolitical implications of privatization for educational equity.

Honorable Mention Award- Michelle Hall (Ph.D., University of Southern California) *Education Finance and the Politics of California Policymaking: A Case Study of the Local Control Funding Formula*, chaired by Dr. Julie Marsh

The Local Control Funding Formula (LCFF) reformed California's education system in three substantial ways. First, it decentralized resource allocation from state control to LESBs. Second, the LCFF redistributed funds from categorical funding streams to a weighted student funding formula that allocates additional tax dollars for districts with students who qualify as foster youth, English-

language learners, or members of low-income families. Third, the policy altered the accountability system, requiring districts to create budgets with input from education stakeholders and, in accordance with state-prioritized goals, set local accountability standards for student outcomes. Dr. Hall's dissertation sought to address the following research question: How did this shift take place in a state that was, for so long, the exemplar of centralized education governance? Dr. Hall applied two conceptual frameworks: Kingdon's (1984, 2003) multiple streams framework (MSF) and Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith's (1993) advocacy coalition framework (ACF). Both frameworks point to three similar elements set the stage for significant policy change: the progression of policy change; shifting beliefs and actions of subsystem actors toward the current policy; and, dynamic external changes, including but not limited to societal perceptions, shocks to the system, and socioeconomic conditions. Her qualitative, instrumental case study. Dr. Hall found that policy outcomes aligned with coalition actors' beliefs and learning and that these changes aligned with ongoing evidence provided by the expert community. There was a broader public opinion shift away from the historic and judicial interpretations of "equality," meaning the provision of opportunities is the same among all students, toward "equity," meaning some students need additional resources to overcome obstacles and achieve state-mandated goals. This shift in public beliefs about how education resources should be allocated, along with new political pressures opened a window of opportunity for entrepreneurs to push finance reform into law. The study further identified Governor Jerry Brown as an activist governor who used the open policy window to create policy reforms that decreased the power of the state.

Dr. Rivera and Dr. Hall, as well as their Dissertation Advisors, will be recognized at the *PEA Annual Business Meeting* on Sunday, April 30 from 6:15 pm until 7:45 pm in Room 217C of the Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center.

TREASURER REPORT

**KATHERINE CUMINGS MANSFIELD
VIRGINIA COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITY**

First, a BIG THANK YOU goes out to Dan Quinn, Director of the Great Lakes Center for Education Research and Practice, Lora Cohen-Vogel, Vice President of AERA Division L, and Michelle Young, Executive Director of UCEA for their sponsorship of the William L. Boyd Politics of Education Workshop. It is only through the generosity of colleagues like you that we are able to continue growing this meaningful mentoring opportunity for graduate students of educational politics, policy, and leadership.

Second, as of early March, we have 190 members, with 47 of these colleagues new to PEA in 2017. Unfortunately, 159 other memberships have lapsed, many of whom have been long-time members. Nevertheless, we are hopeful that as we get closer to AERA registration, our loyal members will renew their membership and pay their dues. If so, we could potentially have a membership of 350 which would make a huge difference in securing additional sessions for AERA 2018 in NYC! If your membership has lapsed, please renew today.

Finally, despite a shortage of renewals, we are still in a healthier place than we were the past few years. For example, the January 2016 Ending Balance was \$10,832.16 compared with this year's \$12,405.52. In addition, our projected balance for June 2017 is \$7,861.12 compared to \$7,155.12 in June 2016. It is important to note that this year we participate in both the *Peabody Journal of Education* and *Educational Policy* special issues. Thus, our postage costs are double that of last year. Our financial statement, including projections for January through June, is detailed below.

AERA SIG Politics of Education Association Financial Statement

DESCRIPTION	BEGINNING BALANCE	TRANSACTION AMOUNT	ENDING BALANCE
JANUARY 2017 STATEMENT	\$10,625.52		
Membership Dues Income		\$1,280.00	
Sponsorship: Great Lakes Center for Education Research and Practice, Dan Quinn		\$500.00	
			\$12,405.52
PROJECTIONS JANUARY-JUNE 2017	\$12,405.52		
Breakfast for bus meeting UCEA 2016		(\$1,314.40)	
Room for Boyd Workshop		(\$500.00)	
Sponsorship: Division L, Lora Cohen-Vogel		\$1,000.00	
Sponsorship: UCEA, Michelle Young		\$1,000.00	
Refreshments for Boyd Workshop 2017		(\$1,500.00)	
Food & Drink for Business Meeting AERA 2017		(\$600.00)	
Postage: PEA/EP Yearbook 2017 (annual)		(\$2,200.00)	
Postage: Peabody Journal of Education PEA special issue 2017 (biennial: 2017, 2019, etc.)		(\$2,200.00)	
Dissertation award plaque 2017		(\$45.00)	
Dissertation award stipend 2017		(\$250.00)	
Dissertation award honorable mention certificate		(\$15.00)	
Revenue from memberships March-June		\$2,080	
TOTAL PROJECTIONS "OUT"		(\$8,624.40)	
TOTAL PROJECTIONS "IN"		\$4,080.00	
			\$7,861.12

MEMBER NEWS

UPDATES SUBMITTED BY MEMBERS

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

Curran, F.C. (2017). The law, policy, and portrayal of zero tolerance school discipline: Examining prevalence and characteristics across levels of governance and school districts. *Educational Policy*. Online First.

Curran, F.C. (2017). Teach for America placement and teacher vacancies: Evidence from the Mississippi Delta. *Teachers College Record*, 119(2), 1-24.

Lance Fusarelli, North Carolina State University, recently published:

Saultz, A., & Fusarelli, L. D. (2017). Online schooling: A cautionary tale. *Journal of School Choice*, 11(1), 29-41.

Dongmei Li, University of Texas, has accepted a post-doctoral research fellow position at Rice University to start in July of 2017.

Jane Clark Lindle, Clemson University, has been appointed dean fellow of regional and state education policy and practice within the College of Education. In this role, Lindle will collaborate with the college's dean on research, analysis, special projects and policy with the goal of developing briefings on policy issues at the regional and state levels. This new role is combined with a new position, Professor of Practice in Educational Leadership with former long-time SC superintendent K. Lee D'Andrea, whose role is to extend university-district partnership in education policy. This appointment is part of a new effort by the college to affect change across the state and nation.

Katherine Mansfield, Virginia Commonwealth University, recently published:

Mansfield, K. C. (2016). The color of giftedness: A policy genealogy implicating educators past, present, and future. *Educational Studies*, 52(4), 1-24. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00131946.2016.1190364>

Mansfield, K. C. & Thachik, S. L. (2016). A critical policy analysis of Texas' *Closing the Gaps 2015*. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 24(3). DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v24.1991>

Mansfield, K. C., Welton, A. D., & Lee, P. L (Eds.). (2016). *Identity intersectionalities, mentoring, and work-life (im)balance: Educators (re)negotiate the personal, professional, and political*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, Inc.

AERA CONFERENCE SESSIONS RELATED TO THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION

The following list details AERA conference sessions that included the term “politics” in their title as well as those sessions organized by the Politics of Education SIG. Note that times and locations may be subject to change, so please check the official AERA program during the conference.

(A)New Politics: Attuning to the materiality of pedagogies for social resistance in times of austerity

Thu, April 27, 12:00 to 1:30pm, Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center, River Level, Room 7A

Achieving the Promise for Indigenous Peoples: Research on the Politics of Storytelling

Fri, April 28, 12:25 to 1:55pm, Grand Hyatt San Antonio, Fourth Floor, Republic A

Timely Topics: State and Federal Policies and Politics Impact on Pedagogy

Fri, April 28, 12:25 to 1:55pm, Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center, Meeting Room Level, Room 206 A

Complex Politics in Rural School and Community Relationships

Fri, April 28, 2:15 to 3:45pm, Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center, Meeting Room Level, Room 217 C

Undertaking and Remaking Identity Politics in Educational Institutional Practice

Fri, April 28, 2:15 to 3:45pm, Grand Hyatt San Antonio, Second Floor, Lone Star Ballroom Salon F

Policy, Politics, Choice and Geography: How Place Matters Across the P-20 Spectrum.

Sat, April 29, 10:35am to 12:05pm, Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center, Meeting Room Level, Room 215

Division L Politics and Policy Poster Session

Poster Session 8

Sat, April 29, 10:35am to 12:05pm, Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center, Street Level, Exhibit Hall 4

Politics of Education SIG Poster Session

Sat, April 29, 2:45-4:15pm, Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center, Street Level, Stars at Night Ballroom 4

Politics of Education SIG Poster Session

Sat, April 29, 2:45-4:15pm, Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center, Street Level, Stars at Night Ballroom 4

Perceptions and Reactions: Political Responses to Education Policy

Sun, April 30, 8:15-9:45am, Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center, Meeting Room Level, Room 216B

Knowledge Mobilization and the Global Politics of Education Reform

Sun, April 30, 12:25 to 1:55pm, San Antonio Marriott Rivercenter, Third Floor, Conference Room 15

Donald H. Layton Memorial Symposium: A View of Half a Century of Politics in Education

Sun, April 30, 12:25 to 1:55pm, Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center, Meeting Room Level, Room 210 A

Education Policy Analysis (EPA) in the Americas: Policy and Politics about Inclusion and Exclusion

Sun, April 30, 2:15 to 3:45pm, Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center, Ballroom Level, Room 301 C

School Choice: Politics of Opportunity and Identity

Sun, April 30, 2:15 to 3:45pm, Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center, Meeting Room Level, Room 216 A

Power and Politics in State and Federal Policy: Polarized Discourse, Shifting Governmental Arrangements, Subversive Messages, and Influential Policy Networks

Sun, April 30, 4:05 to 6:05pm, Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center, Meeting Room Level, Room 217 B

Neoliberal Policy Network Governance and Counternetworks of Resistance: Actions and Reactions from Across Policy Arenas

Sun, April 30, 4:05-6:05pm, Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center, Meeting Room Level, Room 217C

Politics of Education SIG Business Meeting

Sun, April 30, 6:15 to 7:45pm, Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center, Meeting Room Level, Room 217 C

Red Classroom, Blue Classroom: Examining the Politics of America's Teachers Amid Growing Partisanship

Mon, May 1, 12:25 to 1:55pm, Grand Hyatt San Antonio, Second Floor, Lone Star Ballroom Salon B

Framing Educational Discourse in Contested Political Terrains

Mon, May 1, 2:15-3:45PM, Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center, Meeting Room Level, Room 214B

Politics of Education Association Bulletin is an official publication of the Politics of Education Association (PEA) and is published two times per year. We encourage authors to submit essays on topics of interest in education policy and politics to the co-editors:

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The 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.

Become a member of the Politics of Education Association

Membership Benefits

In addition to its presence on the AERA program, PEA membership provides members with an electronic *PEA Bulletin* (the Association's newsletter), recent publications, and information about upcoming conferences, books, articles, and events related to the politics of education. Members also receive the special double issue of *Educational Policy* (January/March) which serves as the annual yearbook of the Politics of Education Association and a biennial special issue of the *Peabody Journal of Education*. The Association also maintains its own web site <http://www.politicsofeducation.org> ; offers course materials for teaching courses related to the Politics of Education, POETS (Politics of Education Teachers Services); sponsors timely presentations from senior scholars and political insiders; and provides mentoring for new faculty and graduate students.

Join PEA

Since the Politics of Education Association is a special interest group (SIG) of the American Educational Research Association (AERA), you can join PEA when applying for a new AERA membership or renewing your AERA membership.

If it is not time to renew your AERA membership, then you can still join or renew your PEA membership online by:

- >Go to AERA homepage <http://www.aera.net>
- >Login
- >On the left toolbar select ***Member Homepage***
- >Under Profile and Member Benefits, select ***SIG Memberships***
- >Above SIG Memberships, select ***Purchase Additional SIG Memberships***
- >**\$40 (faculty)**
- >**\$20 (student)**

Please note that all SIG memberships will *expire* at the same time the AERA membership expire—generally, at the end of the year.

The Politics of Education Association (PEA) was formed in 1969 as the Politics of Education Society. In 1978, it became the Politics of Education Association, as part of AERA. Interest in educational policy and politics expanded so that in 1987, the Association successfully called for the formation of a new division within the American Educational Research Association. Today, that division is known as Division L: Policy and Politics. The Politics of Education Association continues as a Special Interest Group affiliated with the American Educational Research Association.

Past Presidents of PEA

Tamara Young (2014-2016) North Carolina State University
Bonnie Fusarelli (2012-2014) North Carolina State University
Catherine Lugg (2010-2012) Rutgers University
Lora Cohen-Vogel (2008-2010) Florida State University (currently at University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)
Bruce Cooper (2004-2008) Fordham University
Kenneth Wong (2002-2004) Vanderbilt University (currently at Brown University)
Hanne Mawhinney (2000-2002) University of Maryland, College Park
William Firestone (1998-2000) Rutgers University
Jane Clark Lindle: (1996-1998) University of Kentucky (currently at Clemson University)
Robert Wimpelberg (1994-1996) University of New Orleans (now University of Houston)
Betty Malen (1992-1994) University of Washington (now University of Maryland, College Park)
Catherine Marshall (1990-1992) Vanderbilt University (currently at University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)
William Lowe Boyd (1988-1990) Pennsylvania State University
Michael Kirst (1986-1988) Stanford University
Jay D. Scribner (1984-1986) Temple University (now University of Texas-Austin)
Douglas Mitchell (1982-1984) University of California, Riverside
James G. Cibulka (1980-1982) University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (currently at NCATE)

Past Chairs of PEA

Donald H. Layton (1978-1980) SUNY-Albany
David K. Wiles (1976-1978) Miami University (later SUNY at Albany)
David K. Wiles (1975-1976) Miami University (later SUNY at Albany) (completed LaNoue's 1st term)
George LaNoue (1974-1975 -- stepped down after one year) Teachers College (currently at University of Maryland, Baltimore County)
Michael W. Kirst (1972-1974) Stanford University
Mike M. Milstein (1970-1972) SUNY-Buffalo (later University of New Mexico)
David L. Colton (First President; 1969-1970) Washington University; (retired from University of New Mexico)

