

ABSTRACT

BALDWIN, LELA JEAN. The Expansion of Teach for America During the 2013 North Carolina General Assembly Session: A Case Study of State Educational Policy Formation. (Under the direction of Dr. Tamara V. Young.)

Drawing on the Multiple Streams Model and Policy Regime Change Theory, this study sought to identify the political and instrumental factors that influenced the formation of a policy that led to the expansion of Teach for America in North Carolina. Data for this single intrinsic case study were drawn from interviews with organizational leaders, legislators, and the media along with documents (e.g., media accounts, state budgets, and internal documents). Analysis involved a priori codes (developed from the two theoretical frameworks guiding this study) and open codes to identify emergent themes.

The results showed that the expansion of Teach for America in 2013 occurred for purely political reasons. A sweeping change in the composition of the state legislature, coupled with a personal vendetta against an administrator of an existing teacher recruitment program, impacted the formation of this teacher recruitment policy. The suggestion that the expansion of TFA was due to strong teacher effectiveness data was unsubstantiated. Simply, key legislative leaders had no interest in preserving the Teaching Fellows programs and used their influence to place Teach for America expansion on the policy agenda. Without any legitimate opposition, policymakers gave TFA a significant increase in funding and an expanded role in school districts across the state.

This study yields several theoretical implications. Neither framework, multiple streams nor policy regime change, offered a viable model to explain the formation of state educational policy. Simply, the models fail because the policy was outside of the public view, was relatively insignificant when compared to other controversial issues like teacher

retention being considered at the same time, and the major opposing organized coalitions, Teaching Fellows and their advocates, had minimal influence. Most importantly, the study revealed that political events and changes in leadership are sufficient by themselves to lead to state educational policy change; a defined problem for a solution need not exist.

This study offers practical insights for organizations seeking to inform state-level teacher recruitment policy. It is crucial that organizations survey the political landscape to determine next steps, particularly when the majority party is viewed as adversarial. These steps may include redefining the problem for which their solution is necessary or discrediting the alternative policy solution in order to raise their political profile with those in power. At times, organizations are best served by making policy change contentious and by rewriting the policy story. These revisions may include creating a focusing event or refocusing program feedback to bring the issue into public purview which may expand the debate. Future research on the development of state-level teacher recruitment policy should include the development of a theoretical framework that includes how state educational policy formation occurs when there is a lack of public attention, no opposing political force and negative personal relationships exist that impact policy change.

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The Expansion of Teach for America During the 2013 North Carolina General Assembly
Session: A Case Study of State Educational Policy Formation

by
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents, and my sister, Sara, for their endless support and love. I also dedicate this dissertation to my grandparents who left too soon to see me complete this degree.

BIOGRAPHY

Born in Virginia, Lela Baldwin completed her Bachelor of Arts degree in History from Mary Washington College and a Master of Arts degree in Humanities with a graduate certificate in Women's Studies from Old Dominion University. After teaching middle and high school math for five years, she obtained a Master of School Administration degree from North Carolina State University. She has served as an elementary assistant principal and principal. Currently, she is the Director of Elementary Education and Federal Programs for a small, rural school district in North Carolina, a position she has held for the past six years.

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I would like to thank Dr. Tamara Young for her high expectations and support throughout my entire doctoral program. Her direction and insistence that I constantly push myself in coursework and with this dissertation are greatly appreciated.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

North Carolina's population has risen and undergone dramatic changes over the past decade due in part to the state's resiliency during difficult economic times (Bauerlein, 2011). The state's economy is one of the most competitive in the nation, growing by 1.76% in 2012 and remains competitive among other southern states, fully half a percentage point above the region's average (Freyer, 2013). Most of the state's growth in residents came through migration, with the population growing at almost twice the national average during the first decade of the new millennium (Johnson & Parnell, 2012). Between 2000-2010, the state's population grew 18.5%, moving North Carolina to tenth on the list of most populous states (Bauerlein, 2011). The population also became more diverse, with the Hispanic population more than doubling during this time period. Overall, non-White people accounted for 61% of the state's growth. Indeed, five of the state's largest cities are now majority non-White¹, with significant numbers of African-Americans and Hispanics. The state's rural counties also experienced demographic shifts. Sixteen of the state's 100 counties now have a population that is at least 10% Hispanic. The state's most populous counties accounted for nearly three quarters of the population growth; the state's most distressed counties captured less than five percent of this growth (Johnson & Parnell, 2012).

¹ Non-whites, as defined by U. S. Census Bureau 2000 and U. S. Census Bureau 2010, includes: Blacks, Hispanics, American Indians and Alaskan Natives, Asians, Native Hawaiians & Pacific Islanders, and people of two or more races.

The growth in minority populations coincided with the increase in the urbanization of North Carolina. In 1970, more than 50% of the state's population resided in rural areas. Due to the state's growing industrialization and population growth, the percent of the population identified as living in rural areas dropped to 39.8% in 2000 (Michael, 2012; U. S. Census Bureau, 2012). The changes in North Carolina reflect a national trend in movement towards urban centers with rural areas declining as a percentage of the total population.

The growth in North Carolina, coupled with ongoing demographic changes, is reflected in the composition of the state's public schools. Public school enrollment increased by 12.6% between 2000 and 2009 with non-White students accounting for 100% of the net growth in the state's schools (Johnson & Parnell, 2012). Changing statewide demographics, to include the *browning* of the state's population, have a profound effect on the growth in school-age children. *Browning* refers to the role of the non-White immigrant in changing the racial and ethnic complexion of North Carolina (Johnson & Parnell, 2012). Between 2007 and 2019, enrollment in public elementary and secondary schools is expected to increase 36% for students who are Hispanic (Hussar & Bailey, 2011). Also, between 2007-2008 and 2011-2012, the percentage of low-income students eligible for free or reduced lunch in North Carolina increased by 16 percent (Johnson, 2013; Johnson & Parnell, 2012). With 54% of students living in urban areas and 49% of students living in rural areas identified as low-income, North Carolina ranks sixteenth nationally in the percentage of students in poverty. Nationally, a majority of school children in 17 states are low-income with a majority of students enrolled in the South identified as such. While low-income students are often

concentrated in urban areas, 40% or more of all students in suburbs, towns, or rural areas are identified as low-income. Moreover, challenges exist in schools and districts with large concentrations of disadvantaged students; additional resources are often needed to reduce gaps in learning and achievement. Unfortunately, during the same time period, per pupil expenditures increased only 14%, less than half the rate of the growth of low-income students (Johnson, 2013).

Among the many challenges that urban and rural low-income schools face is the recruitment and retention of qualified teachers. For the 2011-2012 school year, North Carolina had a statewide turnover rate of 12.3% (Public Schools of North Carolina, 2012). Turnover among teachers in low-performing schools is often substantially higher. In 2004-2005, the statewide turnover rate was 13%; the rate in schools that often serve low-income students was as high as 57% in Guilford County (SERVE, 2006). Minority, disadvantaged, and academically struggling students are more likely to be in hard-to-staff schools and are less likely to have experienced teachers (SERVE, 2006; Miner, 2008; Rivkin, Hanushek, & Kain, 2005). In addition, effective teachers are far more likely to leave schools serving disadvantaged and underperforming student populations than more advantaged and higher performing populations (Goldhaber, Gross, & Player, 2011). Urban schools, particularly those in large urban areas, have higher attrition rates than suburban and rural schools (Ingersoll, 2001; Lankford, Loeb & Wyckoff, 2002; Murnane, Singer, Willett, Kemple & Olsen, 1991). Simply, as Darling-Hammond and Post (2000) state:

The difference in teacher quality may represent the single most important school resource differential between minority and White children....Disparate educational outcomes for poor and minority children are much more a function of their equal access to key educational resources, including skilled teachers and quality curriculum, than they are a function of race or class. (p. 128)

Purpose of the Study

The number of families in poverty is growing in the United States (Edwards, 2014). This growth is often seen in urban and rural communities but poverty is now growing at a rate faster in urban than in rural areas (US Census Bureau, 2012). However, rural areas still retain high numbers of the poor, as access to high-paying jobs and other resources is often limited (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2004). Demographic changes impact public schools; the challenge of recruiting and retaining teachers in low-income schools strains many urban and rural school districts. Teach for America (TFA) provides districts with an opportunity to align with an organization that selects highly successful college graduates, provides on-going professional development and support, and maintains a strong network of alumni who often continue to contribute to the mission and vision of the organization (Teach for America, 2014). Many districts have a difficult time recruiting teachers to their urban and rural schools; many districts rely on Teach for America to provide an applicant pool that they might not otherwise access. Despite a decreased North Carolina state budget and the elimination of long-established teacher recruitment programs like the North Carolina Teaching Fellows program, TFA saw an expansion of its state budget allotment and role in

the recruitment and retention of teachers. In July 2013, Senate Bill 402 (State Law 2013-360, Sec. 8.21), or the Appropriations Act of 2013, provided additional monetary support to Teach for America. Funds allocated support: a) the expansion of TFA into Greensboro and other triad cities; b) growth of existing efforts in Southeastern North Carolina; c) targeted subject-specific recruitment; d) and the management of the North Carolina Teacher Corps program, a project associated with Race to the Top and modeled after Teach for America. State support of TFA will reach \$6 million over two years.

This study employed rival theories of policy formation and case study research methods to examine how an issue becomes one of a small number of priority issues that gains the serious attention of policymakers and leads to a change in policy. The purpose of this study was twofold. First, it sought to generate new insights into the processes and politics of state educational policy formation. Although this study explored only one piece of legislation, changes to statewide legislative leadership suggests that new programs or the reorganization of existing programs may occur in the foreseeable future. An additional purpose of this study was that of theory development. By examining two existing theories, links between the larger literature of policymaking were connected to this study of state level educational policy formation (McLendon, 2003). The research question that guided this study was:

- What political and instrumental factors influenced policy formation during the 2013 session of the North Carolina General Assembly that led to increased funding and an expanded role for Teach for America?

Theoretical Frameworks

The purpose of a theoretical framework is to provide a lens through which a study and its results may be viewed (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This study used two rival theories to guide the investigation of state educational policymaking. Applying competing theories to the same phenomenon has two advantages. First, the use of two theories provides a check against the bias of one single interpretation (McLendon, 2003). Second, the collection of sufficient evidence in favor of one theory may successfully rule out alternative explanations. Other researchers have used multiple frameworks to examine a case of policy formation. Ness and Mistretta (2009), for example, combined three theoretical frameworks: advocacy coalition; multiple streams; and electoral connection, to study educational lottery beneficiaries in North Carolina and Tennessee. Integrating the tenets of each of the theoretical models provided the researchers with several options in which to explain the policy formation phenomenon. Walsham (1993) argues, “a good framework should not be regarded as a rigid structure, but as a valuable guide to empirical research” (p. 71). By using multiple theories, a scaffold is provided throughout the research. This scaffold is removed and discarded once the theory has served its purpose (Dobson, 1999). There is no such thing as best theory, only different ways of seeing the world (Walsham, 1993).

The two theoretical frameworks selected for inclusion in this study were: multiple streams (Kingdon, 1995) and policy regime change (Wilson, 2000). Each model suggested a framework for policy formation and share common elements such as identification of a problem for which a solution is needed and an emphasis on the role of national mood and

interest groups. These frameworks were selected because they inform policy change but offer different assumptions and assertions about the phenomenon. Based upon the garbage can model of organizational behavior (Cohen, Marsh, & Olson, 1972), the multiple streams framework was developed by John Kingdon (1995). This framework views the policy process as three streams of actors and processes: a problem stream that consists of various problems; a policy stream which identifies potential solutions to problems; and a politics stream which often includes the national mood, campaigns from interest groups, and legislative turnover (Zahariadis, 1999). These streams act independently until a window of opportunity opens in the political or problems streams and a policy entrepreneur merges the streams.

Policy regime change, the second theoretical framework used in this study, is often cited in international relations literature (McGuinn, 2006b). This approach provides a systematic framework for analyzing the interaction of ideas, interests, and institutions to bring about major policy change. Policy regimes consist of four dimensions: a policy paradigm that refers to how a particular issue is conceptualized; a power arrangement which illustrates the alignment of interest groups and governmental actors; a policymaking arrangement which is the context for making decisions and the implementation process; and the policy itself. Stressors impact the policy regimes and create pressures for change (Wilson, 2000).

Overview of Research Methods

This study used an intrinsic single case study design to explore the formation of a policy that led to an expansion of Teach for America during the 2013 North Carolina legislative session. Yin (2009) defines a case study as “an empirical inquiry about a contemporary phenomenon (e.g., a case), set within its real-world context—especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (p. 18).

When conducting qualitative research using a single case study design, research collection methods must be comprehensive and rigorous. Creswell (2007) states, “The research builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting” (p. 15). It is important to select data collection methods that produce rich descriptions in case studies. “Qualitative methods are first and foremost research methods. They are ways of finding out what people do, know, think, and feel by observing, interviewing, and analyzing documents (Patton, 2002, p. 145). Participants were selected using two purposeful sampling strategies; maximum variation sampling and snowball sampling. These sampling strategies provided the researcher with the opportunity to access varied viewpoints on the topic and to use the expertise of the participants to expand data sources. Data for this study included interviews and relevant documents (e.g., media accounts, memos, etc.). These items were analyzed along with interview data and were used to establish trustworthiness.

Significance of the Study

While this study is significant for several reasons, its contribution to the literature on state policy formation is its primary significance. This study details how an issue gained serious attention and resulted in policy change. Additionally, this study examined whether instrumental or political factors constituted the main effects of this case (Leslie & Novak, 2003). Instrumental factors are defined as “practical objectives for improving the effectiveness or efficiency of state-level governance” (Leslie & Novak, 2003, p. 105). For example, the expansion of TFA may be due to lower costs when compared to implementation of Teaching Fellows. Political factors may arise from “some explicit or implicit need of political elites to consolidate power or thwart interests counter to their own” (Leslie & Novak, 2003, p. 105). The change in legislative and gubernatorial control in 2012, for instance, may have prompted the new majority to promote TFA’s expansion and increased budget. Instrumental and political factors may each assume the primary or secondary role in policy formation.

This study is significant for two additional reasons beyond the study’s primary contribution to the understanding of educational policy formation. This study examines the expansion of a teacher recruitment program that places teachers in high-poverty schools and districts. Additionally, this teacher recruitment option impacts student achievement in low-performing districts that have high percentages of students on free or reduced lunch. The number of children in poverty has increased, and the majority of students in North Carolina’s schools are now considered low-income (Southern Education Foundation, 2013). As the

state's population continues to increase, the number of children in poverty in the state's schools will increase accordingly. For example, in 2009, poor children were five times more likely to drop out of high school than high-income students (Chapman, Laird, Ifill, & KewalRamani, 2011). As a result, students who come from communities of poverty face additional challenges when a high school diploma is not achieved. The lack of a high school diploma impacts future earning potential as people often lack the skills needed to secure higher wages (Chapman et al., 2011). Additionally, teachers often prefer working in schools with high-achieving students from higher income families; teachers who work with more highly disadvantaged students may leave under-resourced schools to teach in lower-needs, more affluent schools within the district (Lankford et al., 2002). As such, providing districts with opportunities to recruit and retain teachers so that all students have access to quality teaching candidates continues to be a challenge facing North Carolina.

An additional area of significance is the attention drawn to North Carolina's teacher recruitment priorities. The Teaching Fellows program was enacted by the General Assembly in 1986. Over the past 25 years, the program recruited high school students to teach in North Carolina schools for four years in exchange for college tuition. However, in 2011, the state began to reduce the program's budget, and students entering college in Fall 2011 were the last to receive the scholarships (Christensen, 2011). Despite efforts by lawmakers, independent organizations and educators to reinstate the program, Teaching Fellows received no funding in the 2013 state budget. However, Teach for America experienced an expansion

in the state budget, as some lawmakers touted the program. Contrasting the models of Teaching Fellows and TFA, NC Senate Leader Phil Berger states:

Teaching Fellows was trying to identify those potential leaders in high school. It's our belief that allowing kids to move through their college experience and present them with the opportunity to go into the classroom would be a better model for making sure we move kids into teaching positions. (Dewitt, December 19, 2013)

Additionally, when purporting TFA efforts cost less than the implementation of Teaching Fellows, Senator Berger continues, "I think, overall, the expense is going to be less. And I think the results are, obviously, we don't have as full a body of data as we do for Teaching Fellows, but the preliminary results are very promising" (Dewitt, December 19, 2013). This study further explores the relationship between two teacher recruitment programs, Teaching Fellows and Teach for America, and the North Carolina Legislature.

Limitations of the Study

There were several limitations to this study. The first limitation of this study was that I am a former Teach for America corps member, and I remain active in the organization. I strove for objectivity during data collection and analysis as I may be inclined to portray the organization and its work in a positive manner. However, qualitative researchers need not hold objectivity as the ideal; there is an inherent subjectivity in data collection and interpretation (Toma, 2006). As the researcher, I monitored data collection, data processing, data review, and data interpretation. Additionally, I used a journal to record my thoughts and

observations and to reflect on my efforts to maintain objectivity. Finally, I provided all participants with the opportunity to review the study's findings through member checking.

A second limitation of this study was access to those persons who best know how the policy was formed. Many of the potential participants were organizational leaders or legislators who may not see the benefit of recounting the events that led to the expansion of Teach for America. In addition, these events took place at least one year prior to the scheduled interviews. To offset recall bias, I carefully articulated the research question to all participants. Anticipating potential bias in the early stages of research is an important factor in planning for recall bias elimination (Hassan, 2005). The delay in collecting data may impact the level of detail in the interviews. I also designed interview questions that were specific and cumulative in order to gain the greatest amount of information and detail.

Finally, case study research was a limitation. Case studies often have a limited sample. This study was limited in that it only describes how one case of state educational policy was formed. This study also lacks transferability, a trait most relevant to qualitative research methods like case studies. Transferability invites readers to make connections between the research and their own experiences. However, because this study examines only one case of state educational policy formation, it is difficult to generalize the results to other situations. Further, in case studies, the researcher is the primary agent of data collection and analysis. This opens the study to researcher bias. Guba and Lincoln (1981) refer to this opportunity as "unusual problems of ethics. An unethical case writer could so select from among available data that virtually anything he wished could be illustrated" (p. 378). Both

the readers of case studies and the authors themselves need to be aware of biases that can affect the conclusions of the study.

Definition of Relevant Terms

Teach for America: A non-profit organization whose mission is to recruit a group of recent college graduates with a history of achievement to teach for two years in a low-income community. Founded in 1990 with just 500 corps members, nearly 33,000 participants have now reached over 3 million children in urban and rural schools. The organization originally began in six regions across the country; in 2012-2013, 46 regions partnered with the organization (Teach for America, 2014).

Corps Member: A term used by Teach for America to identify those persons who join the organization and teach in low-income schools in identified regions, both urban and rural, throughout the United States (Teach for America, 2014).

Political Factors: A term used to identify events that may arise from “some explicit or implicit need of political elites to consolidate power or thwart interests counter to their own” (Leslie & Novak, 2003). For instance, the change in legislative and gubernatorial control in 2012 may have prompted the new majority to promote TFA’s expansion and increased budget.

Instrumental Factors: A term used to identify “practical objectives for improving the effectiveness or efficiency of state-level governance” (Leslie & Novak, 2003). For example, the expansion of TFA may be due to lower costs than when compared to implementation of Teaching Fellows.

Chapter Summary

This chapter provided an introduction to the topic of teacher recruitment by highlighting the recruitment challenges schools in under-resourced areas often. This chapter also provided a problem statement indicating that this study sought to understand how a specific piece of legislation was formed that resulted in additional funding and responsibilities for Teach for America in North Carolina. Chapter two, the literature review, describes the two theories of policy formation used to answer the study's research question, the history of Teach for America, studies of the organization's effectiveness, and growth in other areas of the United States. Each section provides a survey of relevant literature and concludes with how the literature is interrelated.

Chapter three summarizes the research methodology used to answer the research question. In this chapter, I discuss my rationale for selecting an intrinsic, single case study research design to answer the research question. The strategies used to gather and analyze the data, and steps used to ensure reliability and validity, are also discussed.

In chapter four, the findings of the study are presented. The story of policy formation is told and the data are mapped onto the theoretical frameworks. The political and instrumental factors that influenced policy formation are also revealed. Finally, chapter five summarizes the main findings and implications of the study. Some general conclusions are made about how the findings relate to the literature review. Additionally, implications for future research are discussed along with recommendations for policy actors.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The purpose of this study was to identify the political and instrumental factors that influenced the formation of educational policy in North Carolina that led to an increase in funding for Teach for America during the 2013 legislative session. By reviewing relevant documents and interview transcripts of those who had knowledge of the policy's creation and passage, I sought to describe how and why Teach for America was expanded in 2013.

This chapter reviews the literature relevant to the research question guiding this study. As this study's primary significance lies in detailing policy formation, this chapter begins with a review of the two theoretical frameworks used in this study: the multiple streams model and the policy regime change model. A comparison of the two frameworks is also included in this section. Next, an introduction to and history of Teach for America as a national organization is included as well as a description of the organization's presence in North Carolina. This chapter also examines the literature on corps members' impact on student achievement. Possible factors influencing TFA's relationship with state policymakers are also included. A review of recent educational events in North Carolina, and an explanation of recruitment and retention issues often present in low performing, urban and rural schools, are also provided. A discussion of political activities specific to Teach for America in other states, particularly Tennessee and Mississippi, is shared as it highlights the interactions between TFA and other states. Finally, this chapter concludes with a summary of the key ideas presented.

The Formation of Policy

In describing public policy making, Gerston (2004) says public policy is “much more than a bunch of elected and appointed officials and their respective offices; rather it is a loosely structured (and sometimes convoluted) environment of conflicting conditions and complex solutions, almost all of which are in a constant state of flux” (p. ix). Gerston (2004) asserts that public policy is often the result of compromise, as “decision makers often merge conflicting objectives into acceptable outcomes” (p. 3). Two parts of the policymaking process that occur prior to enacting programs or delivering services are agenda-setting and policy formulation. These components are crucial as they establish the parameters within which any consideration of policies will occur (Peters, 2010).

Agenda setting is a process in which certain problems are identified and defined, and specific solutions are generated, considered and attached to the problems (Kingdon, 1995; Liu, Lindquist, Vedlitz, & Vincent, 2010; Peters, 2010). Used as a term in the process of policymaking, agenda setting refers to the processes by which an issue moves from obscurity to become a priority issue that gains the attention of policymakers and is positioned for action by government (McLendon, 2003). Often, a limited amount of time is available for items on the agenda to be considered; the list of problems and solutions is typically very short (Kingdon, 1995). Stakeholders outside of government may suggest issues for the policy agenda, but lawmakers must become involved in the process for an agenda item to be formally addressed as policy. “The items which make it to the agenda pass through a selective selection process, and not all problems will be addressed. Inevitably, some will be

neglected, which means that some constituency will be denied” (Hardee, Feranil, Boezwinkle, & Clark, 2004, p. 14). Policy formulation is the part of the process where proposed actions are conveyed, debated, and drafted into language for policy (Peters, 2010). The process of policy formulation narrows the items included in the agenda and list of possible solutions. How a problem is defined and framed determines inclusion on the agenda and the consideration of possible solutions (Peters, 2010). Policy formulation includes setting goals for the proposed policy. These goals and objectives may be narrow in scope, but should articulate the activities and indicators by which the policy is measured (Hardee et al., 2004). This study, exploring Teach for America’s expanded role in the 2013 North Carolina General Session, used two theoretical frameworks to frame the study’s findings. These models, multiple streams and policy regime change, explain policymaking as the merger of identified problems with possible solutions within a political context.

The Multiple Streams Model

The multiple streams model is one of the most cited theories of policy formation, yet remains widely underutilized in the study of education policy (Cohen-Vogel & McLendon, 2009; Peters, 2010). At the heart of Kingdon’s focus is a conceptual model that explains agenda setting and how some issues move to a position of prominence while others do not (Kingdon, 1995; McLendon & Cohen-Vogel, 2008; Cohen-Vogel & McLendon, 2009; Stout & Stevens, 2000). Through multiple case studies of federal policy making, Kingdon (1995) developed a theory of how issues rose to the top of an agenda that challenged conventional understandings. McLendon and Cohen-Vogel (2008) suggest that Kingdon’s (1995) work is

distinctive because of its emphasis on decisions made prior to the policy process, its reliance on organizational structures to conceptualize policy change, and its depiction of agenda setting as a random process with no predetermined order. This theory focuses on policy actors and distinguishes between the problems and solutions that receive serious attention from policymakers. Policy change arises from the combination of policy entrepreneurs and solutions to problems that promote change.

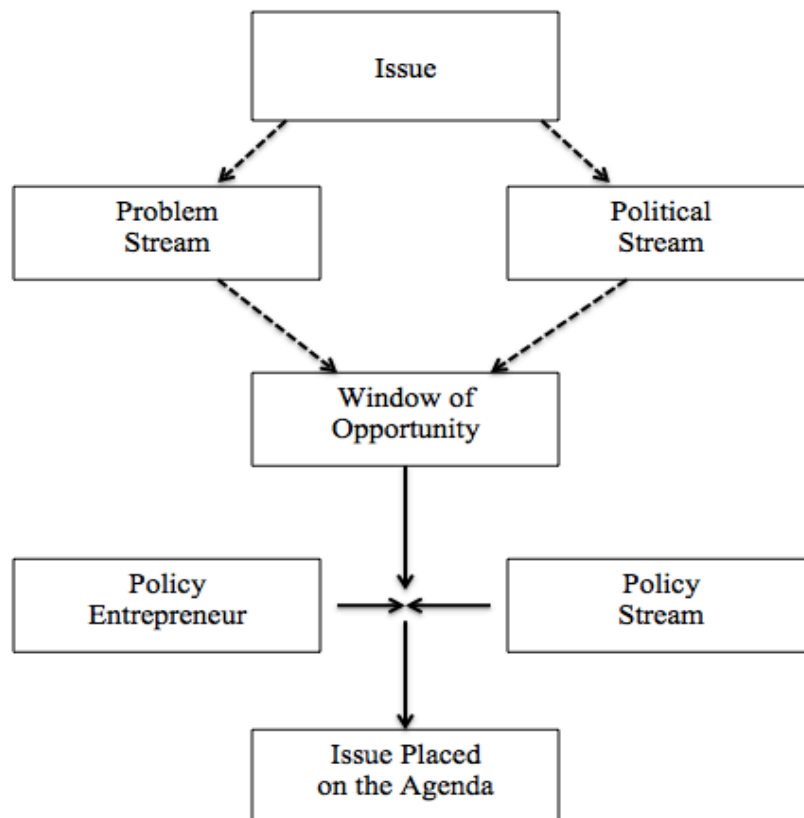


Figure 1

The Multiple Streams Framework

According to Kingdon, policy change is divided into three “streams” or separate, simultaneous activities (Kingdon, 1995). Figure one illustrates how the streams work together to place an issue on the policy agenda. The *problem stream* consists of those conditions that policy makers have chosen to interpret as problems. Conditions become problems when policymakers learn about the conditions and the ways in which these conditions are defined (Kingdon, 1995). Problems capture the attention of policymakers in one of three different ways: indicators used to assess the existence and magnitude of a condition; dramatic and focusing events; or feedback from existing programs that showcase concerning conditions (McLendon & Cohen-Vogel, 2008; Zahariadis, 1999). Indicators are evidence that problems often gain attention because of systematic indicators, which demonstrate that a problem exists. As such, decisions makers use indicators in two major ways: to assess the magnitude of a problem and to become aware of the changes in the problem (Kingdon, 1995). Any change in an indicator is viewed as a problem.

Focusing events also reside in the problem stream (Kingdon, 1995). Problems are often not apparent by indicators and need a push to gain consideration by policymakers. This push can come in the form of a crisis or disaster that draws attention to the problem. Focusing events may include a powerful symbol that captures attention or the personal experience of a policy maker. Issues that arise in the problem stream as a focusing event must be a real crisis—one governmental decision makers cannot ignore because conditions must deteriorate to the point that they cannot be ignored. The personal experiences of policymakers are occasionally important but rarely influence placement of an issue on the

agenda. Often these experiences reinforce something else or are added as factors that enhance a seemingly marginalized problem. Like the experiences of policymakers, symbols typically do not act on their own; they are used to reinforce an event that is already taking place. Rarely, does a focusing event take a condition to an issue of prominence on the agenda. It needs to reinforce the belief that a problem already exists or focus attention on a problem that was already mildly present.

Feedback is the final indicator that brings problem to attention (Kingdon, 1995). Existing programs receive feedback when programs are not working as planned, implementation does not match the intent of the program, the cost of the program is unacceptable, or there are unintended consequences of the policy are present. Feedback provides information on the current performance of an existing program that may or not reflect the original intent of the policy.

The second component of Kingdon's model is the *policy stream* (Kingdon, 1995). This is the area where solutions to problems reside. Policy alternatives are floating around in a "policy primeval soup" where "they bump into one another, they combine with one another; some survive, some die out, and some survive quite different from their origins" (Kingdon, 1995, p. 131). A large assortment of policies is present at any given time. Interest groups, lawmakers, academics or researchers generate these ideas. Policy entrepreneurs advocate for their preferred ideas and solutions while other ideas never receive much attention because they are affiliated with marginalized groups; other proposals are combined with more viable policy ideas, and some just disappear. Policy entrepreneurs are willing to

invest time, energy, money, and reputation into an effort to gain a future return if their preferred solution lands on the agenda. Preferred policies advocated by entrepreneurs are those that promote personal interests or values. At times, entrepreneurs are just policy groupies and enjoy the work associated with getting a policy solution placed on the agenda (Kingdon, 1995). Policy entrepreneurs meet with members of the policy community in order to introduce them to new ideas and build acceptance for their preferred proposals. Moreover, policies that are costly or those that do not conform to the party in power usually are not presented for adoption.

Ideas selected for inclusion in the policy streams are based on three different criteria: *technical feasibility*; *value acceptability*; or *anticipation of future constraints* (Kingdon, 1995). Technical feasibility refers to the feasibility of implementation of the idea to address the problem. This criteria consists of a makeshift checklist where it is determined if the proposal is “ ‘worked out’, ‘staffed out’, ‘worked through’, or ‘ready to go’.” (Kingdon, 1995, p. 131) Value acceptability describes the compatibility of the idea with the values of those policymakers responsible for selection. The theme of equity is often present in ideas considered in the policy stream. Proposals gain prominence when they address inequities, imbalances, or unfair practices (Kingdon, 1995). Anticipation of future constraints are those ideas that are selected while considering the budget, changes in politics, and public opinion (Zahariadis, 1999). Specifically, policymakers need to be convinced that the cost of the program is acceptable, there is reasonable chance that approval is imminent, and that the public will accept the solution.

Lastly, the *political stream* defines and describes how the system accommodates an issue so that it may move through the agenda setting and policy process (Kingdon, 1995). The author suggests that there are three components of the political stream: the national mood; campaigns from interest groups or organized political forces; and administrative or legislative turnover. People in government are keenly attuned to the national mood. The national mood is the idea that a large number of people in the country think along common lines and that these changes are easily distinguished. Organized political forces are more likely to provide the impetus for change when interest groups are moving in the same direction. When consensus among groups does not exist, the forces must work together to find common ground before an issue can be placed on the agenda. Finally, changes to key governmental personnel often shifts legislative priorities. These shifts can occur when those in authority modify their priorities and bring new items onto the agenda (Kingdon, 1995). After turnover occurs, new ideas rise in prominence on the agenda; meanwhile, other items may not rise as the new administration denies an opportunity for agenda consideration. Changes to these three areas may precipitate the issue's movement up or down on the agenda. Policymakers are sensitive to these changes and can either promote or demote an issue's place on the policy agenda. Additionally, policymakers may anticipate an issue's level of support or expect opposition to organized political forces. Overall, issues within the policy stream are the result of persuasion; items in the political stream are a result of bargaining as coalitions are built and members are afraid that a lack of participation could result in being disenfranchised (Kingdon, 1995).

These three streams interact to promote policy formation. An issue gains traction when two conditions occur: coupling and policy windows or choice opportunity. An issue attracts the attention of policymakers when the three streams align, or couple, with a choice opportunity. This window of opportunity becomes opened by an event in either the problem or political stream. This is the single most important event in Kingdon's model (Kingdon, 1995). Officials wait for moments when the problems and solutions that interest them the most have the greatest likelihood of movement along the agenda. As Kingdon (1995) notes, officials "lie in wait in and around government with their solutions in hand, waiting for problems to float by to which they can attach their solutions, waiting for a development in the political stream they can use to their advantage" (p. 165).

Seizing an opportunity during an open window is done with the assistance of policy entrepreneurs (Kingdon, 1995). Entrepreneurs must have certain characteristics to experience success. First, they must have a claim that demands attention. This claim is a result of expertise, ability to speak for others, or the ability to make decisions. Second, the entrepreneur must have political connections. Third, the entrepreneur must be persistent. Expertise and political connections are not sufficient; the entrepreneur must be tireless when promoting their policy solution. Persistence conveys that the entrepreneur is willing to invest large amounts of time and resources during the brief window of opportunity.

Proponents of this model suggest that it deepens the understanding of the relationships between the problems, policies, and politics by actually describing the causal linkages among the streams (McLendon & Vogel, 2008). There are several challenges to the

model for those who wish to understand policy formation. The first is that the streams may not actually be as independent as Kingdon suggests (McLendon & Vogel, 2008). In addition, the concept of the policy window is loosely defined; at times the window is open during the problem stream; at other times it opens during the political stream. Zahariadis (1999) argues that it depends on where the window opens: if in the problem stream policymakers want a solution to fit a problem; if in the politics stream, policymakers want to find a problem to attach to their preferred solutions (Zahariadis, 1999). Lastly, others suggest that the model is more descriptive of how a policy is formed rather than offering predictive indicators (McDonnell, 2009).

Multiple Streams in educational policy research. The multiple streams model is frequently used to describe how an educational issue gains prominence on the policy agenda and moves into a policy formation cycle (DeBray-Pelot, 2007; Lewis & Young, 2013; McDermott, 2005; Rohan, 2003; Weiner, 2011). Educational policies detailed through Kingdon's model include Minnesota's Multicultural and Gender Fair Curriculum Rule (Stout & Stevens, 2000), the need for greater inclusion of information literacy as a policy priority (Weiner, 2011), and the growth of teacher education on the federal policy agenda (Lewis & Young, 2013). Frequently, these studies are used to understand the events of policy formation at the state rather than federal level. Other topics include higher education (McLendon, 2003); teacher tenure (Elrod, 1994); gifted education (Holderness, 1990); school reforms (Lieberman, 2002); reading policy (Young, Song & Shepley, 2010) and international education (Chow, 2014). These studies use the explanatory power of the multiple streams

model with a single-case study methodology (Cohen-Vogel & McLendon, 2009). The simplicity of the model allows the researcher to readily separate the events of each stream. Additionally, windows of opportunity are often easy to identify. Each of these studies detail their respective issue, explain the multiple streams model, and describe the policy's movement along the agenda and path to policy formation. In the next section, I describe two studies in detail to demonstrate how the multiple streams model can explain how an issue rises along the policy agenda.

Stout and Stevens (2000) used the multiple streams model to explain the failure of Minnesota's diversity rule, which held school districts accountable through the submission of a local inclusive education plan. This rule sought to hold districts responsible for minority student achievement by transforming the curriculum to be less Eurocentric and committing to more culturally relevant and responsive teaching. Using a case study methodology, Stout and Stevens provide a chronology of the failed diversity rule that was adopted in 1988 and enacted in 1990. This rule required districts to demonstrate multicultural curricula, form a diversity committee, and develop a plan that was submitted to the state every six years. At the same time, there was an expansion of actors in the policy arena. A State Multicultural Education Advisory Council was formed to advise the state board of education on the diversity rule. Recommendations from this council included an expansion of the rule to include desegregation, particularly in Minneapolis and St. Paul. Additionally, beginning in 1996, a series of events focused more attention on educational policy: the first statewide minimum competency tests, an opinion piece in the Minneapolis Star Tribune, the state board

of education's lack of response to the opinion piece, public hearings, and the governor's request to the state board to "stop implementation of the proposed diversity rule...because the proposed rule is not in the best interest of Minnesota children" (Stout & Stevens, 2000, p. 346).

The results of the study revealed the elements of the problem stream to include districts' noncompliance with the existing diversity rule and a gap in achievement between White and minority students. Problems rise on policymakers' agendas for three reasons: indicators, focusing events, and feedback (Kingdon, 1995). Noncompliance with the diversity rule is an example of feedback and the gap in student performance is both an indicator and a focusing event (Stout & Stevens, 2000). Within the policy stream, more than one solution emerged for addressing the problems previously identified. The diversity rule and the graduation rule were both active in the policy stream, and both became linked to concerns over the achievement gap. While these solutions can be construed as separate policies, they addressed the same problem. The logic of the multiple streams model suggests that these solutions become competitors for the same resources and advocates (Stout & Stevens, 2000). Finally, in the political stream, the findings suggest that the issue diverged somewhat from Kingdon's (1995) political stream that includes the national mood, elections, and interest group pressure. Multiple players including the governor, state board of education, and legislature influenced the diversity rule's demise. Additionally, the policy window is an important factor in determining when a policy gets enacted. All actors agreed

that the state board of education took too long, and lost momentum and credibility (Stout & Stevens, 2000).

Rohan (2003) explored whether the class size reduction policy promoted during Bill Clinton's presidency corresponded to Kingdon's (1995) multiple streams model. Rohan posits that two of Kingdon's (1995) streams, problem identification and policy alternatives, flowed for many years around the issue of class size but a change in the political stream created a window of opportunity that placed class size reduction on the agenda. As the three streams came together, policymakers addressed class size at the federal level; this action resulted in a policy change in 1999 (Rohan, 2003). Through enrollment data, average class size, teacher-pupil ratio, and national perceptions, the research explored the extent to which class-size is an issue (Rohan, 2003). A review of relevant journal articles examined the policy stream. Additionally, an examination of the national mood regarding class size reduction and educational reforms through newspaper articles addressed the political stream (Rohan, 2003).

Using school enrollment data from 1950-1998, Rohan (2003) explored whether significant changes in school enrollment created a crisis or disaster to become a determining factor in the placement of class size reduction policy on the agenda. The author concludes that no dramatic changes occurred in school enrollment during that time period. Additionally, class size averages also did not rise during the same time period (Rohan, 2003). When national perceptions were explored, the issue of class size was not mentioned until the 1989 issue of the annual Gallop Poll published in Phi Delta Kappan. This survey was

conducted annually beginning in 1976 (Rohan, 2003). After reviewing the data, Rohan (2003) concluded that when evaluating the stream of problem identification as it relates to agenda setting, there is insufficient evidence that “new problems were identified, that systemic indicators change in unexpected or alarming ways, that events, crises, or disasters occurred, or that feedback from the operation of existing programs propelled the class size issue to the agenda” (p. 30).

To test Kingdon’s (1995) policy stream, Rohan (2003) reviewed research on class size reduction to see if policy alternatives existed and were waiting for an identified problem to propel the class size issue on the agenda. Using article abstracts from Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) from 1970 to 1988, the author found that the research is mixed on whether class size reduction is effective in improving education. Further, the author asserts that if policy approaches were the key to moving the issue of class size onto the agenda, research on class size reduction and its impact on improving student achievement would be readily available. However, the research had no dramatically new confirmations on class size importance; instead, the movement was small and steady. The author concluded that policy alternatives did not propel the issue of class size to the agenda (Rohan, 2003).

Rohan (2003) explored the politics stream by reviewing newspaper articles and press releases to determine the national mood of the class size issue. Of 826 articles identified for review, a sample of articles indicated that the vast majority was favorable toward reducing class size throughout all years’ studies. Few articles were opposed to class size reduction, and if they were, it was based on the cost associated with additional staffing. Citing several

polls and articles, the author highlights the contrast between lowering class size and vouchers. In a February 1998 article, the American Federation for Teachers suggested, “lower class size trumps even the most generous results from the highly contested research on vouchers” (Rohan, 2003, p. 33). Characterizing class size and vouchers as competing alternatives captured and focused the national mood on supporting smaller class size.

Class size legislation was passed in the 1998 Omnibus Spending Bill. The class size reduction policy is an example of Kingdon’s (1995) multiple streams model. Class size was a waiting problem with an identified solution that was coupled with a political threat to schools. These examples demonstrate the usefulness of Kingdon’s (1995) multiple streams model when describing how an issue rises along the policy agenda.

The Policy Regime Change Model

The policy regime model of policy formation grew out of work within the international relations community (McGuinn, 2006b). This model presents a systematic framework for analyzing the role of ideas, interests, and institutions when policies are formed (Cohen-Vogel & McLendon, 2009; McLendon & Cohen-Vogel, 2008). This model is often organized around specific issues like the environment, civil rights, or education. This study used this framework to explore education policy through the lens of teacher recruitment policy.

Two schools of thought exist on how amenable the American political system is to major policy initiation and reform (McGuinn, 2006b). The stasis school suggests that the system can resist major change for many years; the dynamic school suggests that inertial

forces are eventually overcome and form a new regime. The policy regime framework draws from both schools of thought. As McGuinn (2006b) explains, “The policy regimes framework draws from the American political development literature’s study of political regimes to argue that individual policy regimes are less stable—and change, which occurs, less rapid—than the “policy monopoly” model would suggest (p. 206).

As noted by Wilson (2000), the policy regime framework offers an alternative to the punctuated equilibrium model detailed by Baumgartner and Jones (1991,1993). Punctuated equilibrium posits that policymaking experiences long periods of stability and continuity but is often disrupted by short but intense periods of instability and change. Additionally, Wilson (2000) asserts that every aspect of the policy regime framework contributes to long-term stability. This framework is organized around specific issue areas and consists of four dimensions: *power arrangements*; *policy paradigms*; *organizational arrangements*; and the *policy* itself. With the help of one of the five stages of regime change, these dimensions support and influence decision-making which leads to policy formation.

The first dimension is the arrangement of power (Wilson, 2000). These arrangements include the presence of one or more interest groups supporting the policy regime. There are several different patterns of power arrangements. These arrangements can include a single interest group; a few interest groups that benefit from the policy; several interest groups with competing interests; a coalition with no opposition; or a few well-appointed interest groups with no opposition. In this dimension, the state may also participate in the policy process.

The second dimension, policy paradigm, shapes how problems are defined, their cause and severity, and how they are solved (Wilson, 2000). The paradigm serves as the lens through which information is filtered and attention is focused. Within this dimension, the assumptions about the problem contained in the paradigm are made. These assumptions include: its cause; the seriousness of the problem; its pervasiveness; those responsible for the problem and those responsible for fixing it; and the government's response. Also, the paradigm contains images meant to target the population most impacted by the policy. These images help to shape the way others see and define the problem that will shape the solutions to the problem. Policy paradigms are created by various parties, like researchers and intellectuals, and are often constructed by interest groups and organizational leaders who are promoting a particular policy solution. Paradigms are shared through the media.

Organizational arrangement is the third dimension of policy regime change (Wilson, 2000). This dimension contains the organization within the government, the policymaking arrangement, and the implementation structure for the policy. While the organizational arrangement provides the institutional context to explain how policies are created and implemented, the policymaking arrangement details how policies are developed and maintained. The implementation structure identifies the agency responsible for the implementation of the policy and may include the assistance of state or local agencies. These arrangements may range from closed triangles to more open networks. Finally, the fourth dimension is the *policy* itself. The policy reflects the goals of the policy regime.

Additionally, the policy will reveal the problem or issue, potential solution, the institutions that influence policy making, and the goals of the policymakers (McGuinn, 2006).

Each of the dimensions of the model contributes to the stability of the policy (Wilson, 2000). Power arrangements are often stable, but policy paradigms are dynamic because of the influence of the media and public opinions that convince others that the issues and conditions identified as the target of the policy are rational (Cohen-Vogel & McLendon, 2009). Organizational arrangements often resist change, and these changes may occur gradually “when regimes become stressed, alternative policy paradigms arise, legitimacy crises occur, and shifts in power become evident” (Wilson, 2000, p. 266). Changes to the regime do not occur spontaneously. The policy paradigm contributes to long-term stability. The paradigm suppresses the emergence of alternative policy definitions and solutions. It also promotes the belief that existing policies are rational and any alternative is impossible. The paradigm gives legitimacy to the current regime and contributes to long-term stability.

Regime change does not occur spontaneously or without the assistance of some type of stressor or enabler; these stressors impact the regime and create conditions favorable for change (Wilson, 2000). Regime change occurs in stages: stressors; paradigm shifts; power shifts; legitimacy crises; and organizational and policy change. These stages fail to occur in any particular order and may happen at the same time. However, these stages are not well defined.

Stressors may come in the form of demographic changes, shifting public opinion, or changes in leadership (Wilson, 2000). As the first stage in regime change, stressors change organizational arrangements and undermine the policy paradigm. This change creates advantages for those groups promoting an alternative policy. Stressors weaken policy regimes, create conditions favorable for change, and act as a catalyst for change. At times, stressors support a reevaluation of existing arrangements and a consideration of alternative solutions. Stressors and policy paradigms often interact, which raises issues of legitimacy. Stressors may come in the form of international events, natural disasters, mass hardships, demographic changes, or scandals. The spillover effect, another type of stress, occurs when changes at the state level impact both policy and policy level regimes (Wilson, 2000).

Stressors alone cannot automatically change policy regimes (Wilson, 2000). They create the conditions in which change is most likely to occur. The second stage of regime change, paradigm shifts, occurs when events arise that are inconsistent with the dominant policy paradigm. These shifts involve a process that discredits the existing policy paradigm and offers an alternative policy that draws little attention or credibility. These paradigm shifts are reflected in additional media coverage about the issue, a sharp increase in articles that present the alternative paradigm or by the way policymakers tell the stories about the issues. These shifts occur when alternative paradigms are created, shared through the media, and convince others of their validity. In successful shifts, political leaders articulate and promote the new paradigm.

Stressors may also interact to create a legitimacy crisis (Wilson, 2000). This third stage of regime change happens when people lose confidence in the old regime. Political leaders exploit stressors, question the authority of the old regime, and promote alternative policy solutions. Leaders act as policy entrepreneurs as they work to expand the issue, capture media attention, and raise the issue to other venues away from the established policy communities. Those outside of the government create a legitimacy crisis when they plant a seed of doubt about the stories and authority of the established regime.

Power shifts are the fourth stage of regime change (Wilson, 2000). Power shifts can occur in many different ways: the absence of a faction of the dominant paradigm; mobilization of a grassroots effort; dissolution of old coalitions and the creation of new ones; the emergence of new sources of powers; and consolidation within the dominant class. Power shifts may occur when changes in state leadership happen and are often aided by other stressors or paradigm shifts. It is during this stage that changes in state roles and leadership may lead to the dissolution of old coalitions and assist in the formation of new coalitions. Shifts in power encourage opposition groups to challenge the existing regime, gain leadership skills, organize to effectively push their ideas, and gain additional resources.

The final stage of regime change is organizational and policy change (Wilson, 2000). The expansion of the decision-making arena and the increase in opportunities to affect policy change “generally culminates in the reorganization of the policy implementation structure. This reorganization is accompanied by changes in policy goals, shifts in the policy paradigm, and changes in power arrangements.” (Wilson, 2000, p. 265) As a result, four

types of non-incremental regime change are identified. These changes are:

dissolution/recreation of the policy; consolidation of the policy; internal reorganization; and new policy creation. All of these changes occur as a result of power and paradigm shifts.

Regime changes occur when existing regimes are threatened. When this happens, alternative paradigms arise, a crisis in legitimacy occurs, and a shift in power ensues. The process of change involves the five stages of regime change and the participation of political leaders who advocate for the new policy, promote the solutions, and push the solutions through the policymaking process. Policy change results when new policies emerge and new goals are implemented (Wilson, 2000).

The strengths of the policy regime model lies with its simplicity (Wilson, 2000). Additionally, this model allows for the synthesis of literature on policy formation. Weaknesses of the model lie within the definitions of the four dimensions. The current definitions have weak boundaries, and it is unclear where one dimension ends and the other begin (Cohen-Vogel & McLendon, 2009; Wilson, 2000). This ambiguity may make it difficult to discern how policy actors, the problems and solutions, and the environment of policy creation interact.

Policy Regime Change in educational policy research. The policy regime change framework is used to detail how policy change occurs; however, its application to educational policies is limited. Frequently, these studies are used to understand the events of policy formation at the federal rather than state level. Educational policies that utilize the policy regime change model include the exploration adolescent literacy policies (Hauptli &

Cohen-Vogel, 2013), charter school and school finance legislation (Gittell & McKenna, 1999), and federal education policy (McGuinn, 2006a, 2006b). All of the aforementioned studies examine policies over an extended period of time and detail the creation of new education regimes and the policy actors that influence and inform policy formation.

Using the policy regime change model, Hauptli and Cohen-Vogel (2013) examined the federal role in adolescent literacy from Lyndon B. Johnson's administration through the Reading for Understanding grants of 2010. The authors seek to understand the policy paradigms that surround adolescent literacy and determine if the key actors and issue specialists who are routinely part of the reading education policy regime have changed over time (Hauptli & Cohen-Vogel, 2013).

Using a case study approach, Hauptli and Cohen-Vogel (2013) gathered data from federal legislation, presidential speeches, testimony from congressional hearings, newspaper articles, and editorials to understand the federal government's role in adolescent literacy policy. After a first round of coding for the problems federal policy was intended to address, the goals of federal policy, and the policy instruments developed, the authors determined that for more than forty years, federal policy addressed adolescent literacy indirectly through initiatives such as book distribution programs and volunteer tutoring programs. Preliminary data revealed that beginning in 2002 with the implementation of No Child Left Behind (NCLB), a shift began to occur. A second round of coding was added to determine whether policy regime changes help explain the policy shift following NCLB. This additional set of

codes identified the “policy actors, policy paradigm, implementing agent, and stressor” that might explain the policy shift (Hauptli & Cohen-Vogel, 2013, p. 382).

Two major changes to the regime preceded the adoption of NCLB. Within the policy paradigm, Hauptli and Cohen-Vogel (2013) determined that there was a gradual shift in how the problem of adolescent literacy was defined and how it should be solved. The findings suggested a shift over time from an equity paradigm during the federal government’s early involvement to a paradigm that demanded accountability and results. This gradual shift in paradigms is indicative of the gradualism often associated with policy regime change (Hauptli & Cohen-Vogel, 2013). Additionally, a change in policy actors emerged in the 1990s as the power arrangement shifted from professional educators toward state agencies and researchers who promised significant school change with the implementation of scientifically-based research methods. Finally, Hauptli and Cohen-Vogel’s (2013) analysis of the federal role in adolescent literacy reinforces new approaches to policy formation that

Represent policymaking as neither an incremental process constrained by inertial forces in the American political system nor a dynamic one ever responsive to changing public demands. Instead, the case we present suggests that policy-making is best described in synthetic terms, capable of both long-term policy stability and policy bursts. (p. 399)

Gittell and McKenna (1999) used the policy regime model to frame their three-year, nine state comparative study of state education policy-making regime and the roles of various stakeholders within each regime. Focusing on two policy issues, charter school legislation

and equitable school finance legislation, the authors revealed that most governors were influential in steering the direction of education reform in their states, despite resistance from the legislature and unions (Gittell & McKenna, 1999). Governors joined forces with members of the business community and religious groups to form new education regimes during the 1990s. During this period, governors in all sampled states “gained new formal powers over education, formed coalitions with powerful interest groups, and overcame resistance of other interest groups” to replace a policy orientation focused around equity to one focused on standards, choice, and efficiency (Gittell & McKenna, 1999, p. 289).

Comparing Multiple Streams and Policy Regime Change

Both theories guiding this study detail policy formation have important similarities and differences. Components of the models that overlap strengthen a conclusion to the study’s research question (McLendon, 2003). Differences in the two theories suggest that one framework may offer a more accurate model of how state educational policy was formed. Both models used in this study are comprised of separate streams or dimensions that either merge or remain independent through the policy formation process. One component of policy regime change, the policy paradigm, is unique in that it captures aspects of all three streams in Kingdon’s (1995) model. The policy paradigm includes how problems are defined along with their cause and severity; this is similar to the problem stream of the multiple streams model. Specifically, the policy paradigm also contains possible solutions to the identified problem. The policy stream of Kingdon’s (1995) model also includes possible solutions. Finally, the policy paradigm considers the national mood of the country when

identifying reasons for policy formation. This mirrors the inclusion of national mood in the political stream of the multiple streams model. An additional component of policy regime change, power arrangements, while not identical to the political stream, does include the important role of interest groups in policy formation.

Both models also rely on the work of policy entrepreneurs to advocate for a preferred solution (Kingdon, 1995; Wilson, 2000). Policy entrepreneurs are individuals who introduce and promote their ideas in many different venues and invest time and energy to increase the chances an idea is considered as a policy solution. Kingdon's (1995) inclusion of these political actors is more explicit than the policy regime change model. In multiple streams, the political stream and problem stream merge with the policy stream during a window of opportunity assisted by the policy entrepreneur.

The primary difference between these two models is that multiple streams offers a framework for agenda setting; policy regime change details issue attention and policy change. While each model serves a different purpose, the insights offered by both frameworks highlights the events that influenced policy formation. Both are crucial components of policy formation. In addition, policy regime change is comprised of three independent dimensions. Decisions are made and policy change is realized only when the five stages of regime change occur. Otherwise, the dimensions do not interact. This model offers a sharp contrast to the multiple streams framework. In Kingdon's (1995) theory, the problem and political stream may merge independently or together with the policy stream during a window of opportunity.

The frameworks used in this study offer an agenda-setting policy change model to explain state educational policy formation. Each model offers a different perspective on how teacher recruitment policies are formed. Additionally, each model reinforces the importance of the context or environment in which policies are offered and created. Finally, these theoretical models provide a framework in which to determine if patterns exist in how state teacher recruitment educational policies are created and implemented.

History of Teach for America

Founded in 1989 by Wendy Kopp in her undergraduate thesis at Princeton University, Teach for America recruited its first cohort of corps members in Fall 1990 (Teach for America, 2014). TFA recruits recent college graduates to teach for two years in low-income urban and rural communities. The organization does not seek traditionally trained teachers but heavily recruits students who have demonstrated success in academics and service. The goal of TFA is for corps members to make a long-term commitment to reducing educational inequity in the United States by either remaining in the classroom or continuing to work towards the organization's mission once they leave their original placement school.

In the first year of the organization, TFA placed 500 teachers in six regions around the country (Teach for America, 2014). Eastern North Carolina (ENC) was one of the original placement sites. In 2013, TFA received 57,000 applications and placed 5,400 corps members (14% acceptance rate because of high selectivity) in 48 urban and rural areas in the United States (Teach for America, 2014). Among current corps members, 53% identify themselves as persons of color or persons that grew up in low-income communities.

North Carolina's relationship with Teach for America began in 1990 when 30 corps members were placed in several northeastern rural counties (Teach for America, 2014). Warren, Vance, and Northampton were among the first counties to receive corps members. As of August 2013, 294 corps members worked in ENC. Approximately one-third of corps members work in a high school setting. The eastern North Carolina region of TFA expanded in 2013 to include southeastern counties such as Sampson and Duplin. The region also maintains a large pool of alumni with nine former corps members serving as school leaders (Teach for America, 2014).

TFA's presence in North Carolina expanded beyond the eastern region of the state in 2004 when the organization began placing teachers in Charlotte (Teach for America, 2014). During its first year, 40 corps members taught in Charlotte schools. In 2013, 230 corps members reached 15,000 students in Charlotte's most needy schools. Most corps members are clustered in schools in west Charlotte; in some instances, 10 to 20 corps members are placed in the same school. The majority of TFA placements in Charlotte are in a middle school setting (Teach for America, 2014). Despite the expansion of the organization, one school district, Durham Public Schools, moved in August 2014 to end its relationship with TFA beginning with the 2015-2016 school year (Childress, 2014). Currently, 12 first and second-year corps members work in Durham. Among the concerns raised by school board members is the program's use of inexperienced teachers in high-needs schools. "It feels like despite the best intention and the efforts, this has potential to do harm to some of our neediest students," said school board member Natalie Beyer (Wagner, 2014, p. 1).

All TFA corps members participate in the Teaching as Leadership model that serves as a framework for professional development (Harding 2012). This road map to enhance practice begins when corps members receive their acceptance letter and follows them until the completion of their two-year commitment. In 1999, Ball and Cohen proposed a practice-based theory of professional development (Gabriel, 2011). This model would end fragmented professional development and instead provide a comprehensive approach to teacher development. The Teaching as Leadership framework promotes a similar practice-based theory of professional development. The framework's rubric describes a trajectory of development that focuses on the elements of excellent teaching. The rubric is used in coursework and reflections even before the teacher enters the classroom (Gabriel, 2011).

Professional development for all corps members begins in the spring prior to arrival at the five-week summer institute (Harding, 2012). During this time, corps members study key concepts and watch videos of excellent teaching; observe teachers of excellence, and reflect on the traits the teacher possesses that enhance student achievement (Harding, 2012). The summer institute is built around a collaborative model instead of the traditional student teacher-cooperating teacher model. With coaching and support from experienced teachers and TFA staff, corps members plan lessons, create assessments, and reflect on their teaching and learning. Teachers receive feedback based on the Teaching as Leadership rubric. Once corps members arrive in their region, all support is specific to the teacher's grade level and content area. Teachers are supported through in-class coaching, rich professional development, collaborative sessions that are usually held monthly, and an extensive online

community (Harding, 2012). Overall, Teach for America has designed a professional development model

That builds content pedagogy and general pedagogy in much the same way effective teachers build any complex skill with their students within differentiated, one-on-one, small group and large group instructional settings that are responsive to the individual and group needs and interests, and by incorporating technology that connects learners with wide communities of practice. (Gabriel, 2011, p. 984)

Teach for America's presence in North Carolina and across the country is expanding. The following section highlights research studies conducted by several organizations on the overall effectiveness of teachers placed in classrooms through Teach for America.

Research on TFA Corps Member Effectiveness

Teacher quality is one adjustable input in education that can impact student outcomes. Rivkin, Hanushek, and Kain (2005) suggest a one standard deviation of teacher quality (as measured by prior performance) to be as effective as reducing class size by 10-13 students. Further, achievement gains are systematically related to observable teacher characteristics. An effective teacher demonstrates success with all levels of students regardless of initial achievement level while ineffective teachers have poor gains among all students (Sanders & Rivers, 1996). Students in classrooms with effective teachers following a year with an ineffective teachers will make academic gains, but will not catch up or make up for lost time (Wright, Horn, & Sanders, 1997). The Measures of Effective Teaching Project launched in 2009 by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (2013) tests new approaches to measuring

teacher effectiveness. Initial findings from the study indicate that a teacher's history of value-added data is among the strongest predictors of students' achievement gains in every grade and subject. Teachers with high value-add data promote deeper conceptual understanding and have larger effects on math achievement than on achievement in reading, as measured by state assessments (Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, 2013).

Teach for America partners with many school districts to staff under-resourced urban and rural schools. Many policymakers and organizational leaders favorable to the TFA model cite the organization's effectiveness as a reason for expanding into other districts (Dewitt, December 19, 2013). Critics, however, see TFA as a short-term solution to the long-term problem of staffing low-income schools with a "highly-trained, highly skilled, and stable teacher workforce" (Vasquez Heilig & Jez, 2014, p. 1). It is important that studies of TFA's effectiveness are reviewed as those who support the program as well as those who disagree with the program's approach often refer to data to promote or criticize the organization. This section reviews some studies of the organization's effectiveness and impact on student achievement. The studies discussed will fall into one of two categories: those that show causal relationships and those that cannot infer causality. Causal inference is the process of drawing a conclusion about a cause based on the effect of the occurrence (Pearl, 2009). In order to draw a causal link between a cause and an effect, all plausible alternative causes must be eliminated. This is a high bar to meet. In contrast, descriptive methods derive associations between a cause and an effect, but are unable to rule out plausible alternatives. The occurrence of two things at the same time does not imply a cause-

and-effect relationship. Those studies that suggest causal relationships are discussed first (e.g., Bastian & Patterson, 2014; Boyd, Grossman, Lankford, Loeb, & Wyckoff, 2006; Clark, Chiang, Silva, McConnell, Sonnfeld, Erbe & Puma, 2013; Darling-Hammond, Holtzman, Gatlin, & Vasquez Heilig, 2005; Decker, Mayer, & Glazerman, 2004; Noell & Gansle, 2009; Strategic Data Project, 2012; Tennessee State Board of Education, 2012; Turner, Goodman, Adachi, Brite & Decker, 2012).

Causal studies of corps member effectiveness. Mathematica Inc. conducted the first national study of corps member effectiveness (Decker, Mayer, & Glazerman, 2004). When compared to a group of teachers who were less prepared than TFA corps members, TFA teachers' students showed gains as measured by the Iowa Test of Basic Skills, similar to those of comparison teachers in reading and had higher gains in mathematics; however, overall students scores remained low. While TFA teachers were more likely to hold regular or initial certification, a positive relationship was only found for those TFA teachers who obtained training and certification in the second year in the classroom. First-year TFA teachers did not have a positive impact on student achievement in either mathematics or reading.

Two studies examined corps member effectiveness in New York City. However, one demonstrated a causal relationship while the other implied a non-causal interaction. Boyd, Grossman, Lankford, Loeb, and Wyckoff (2006) examined the effectiveness of teachers who entered the classroom through various teacher preparation pathways. The study found that when compared to those who had traditional teacher preparation, students of TFA corps

members scored significantly lower in reading and about the same in mathematics. These results were similar to those from other non-traditional routes. Once corps members received additional training and experience, the negative effects disappeared for elementary math and middle school reading. However, corps members continued to experience difficulty achieving positive results in elementary reading. By the time corps members had three years of experience, students did show a significant increase in math achievement (Vasquez Heilig & Jez, 2010).

The most recent national study was conducted with 136 math teachers in 11 districts across eight states (Clark et al., 2013). Using middle and high school TFA math teachers with randomly assigned students to estimate the impact of TFA teachers in comparison with non-TFA teachers, the results indicated that students of TFA teachers scored 0.07 standard deviations higher in math than students of non-TFA teachers. Students in these two teacher groups scored similarly in reading. The authors of the study equate this impact to an additional 2.6 months of mathematics instruction. While Vasquez Heilig and Jez (2014) question the study's findings due to a limited sample, its small effect, and unusual results relative to other peer-reviewed research, the What Works Clearinghouse of the U.S. Department of Education (2014) states that this research meets group design standards without reservations and is a "well-executed randomized controlled trial with low levels of sample attrition" (p. 1).

A regional study was released from the University of North Carolina in 2014 (Bastian & Patterson, 2014). Using data from 2011-2012, the study examined the distribution,

effectiveness, and persistence of individuals entering the teaching profession with different forms of teacher preparation. Using a value-added model, when compared to teachers prepared through the University of North Carolina system, Teach for America corps members were more effective in secondary grades and STEM tested subjects and received higher ratings from their principals. However, corps members persist at lower rates than UNC system teachers. Using teacher value-added data from elementary and middle grades as well as high school, Bastian and Patterson (2014) state:

TFA Corps Members are the most effective early-career teachers in the state, outperforming UNC system prepared teachers in elementary mathematics and 5th grade science, middle grades mathematics, reading, and 8th grade science, and high school mathematics, science and social studies. (p. 3)

The practical significance of these results is limited since TFA corps members comprise less than one percent of the state's teacher workforce. Additionally, the 2014 study finds that TFA corps members are least likely to persist in the classroom for three to five years. This study corroborates many of the findings from 2012 when the achievement scores of 30,000 novice teachers were examined (Henry et al., 2012). These results also indicate that students of corps members did as well as, or better than, those taught by traditionally trained teachers from the UNC system. Middle school math students received the equivalent of an additional half-year of learning in corps members' classrooms.

Additional regional studies were conducted in Louisiana, Tennessee, and Texas. Through a longitudinal study, Noell and Gansle (2009) found that TFA teachers

outperformed all other new teachers in math, science, language arts, and reading. However, when compared to experienced teachers, corps members neither underperformed nor outperformed others. The Tennessee State Board of Education (2012) examined the student achievement results from 5,000 traditionally and alternatively certified teachers from 40 different programs. After reviewing the value-added data, the Board concluded that corps members were among the most effective teachers in math, science, and social sciences for grades four through eight. Additionally, TFA teachers outperformed other Algebra I and English teachers in high schools. While corps members outperform other novice teachers, mixed results were reported when comparing results to experienced teachers. Finally, a study conducted in Texas using a model of treatment of one group compared to another group with no treatment concluded that students of corps members had larger gains in middle school math than students of non-TFA novices in schools with corps members (Turner et al., 2012). Moreover, TFA alumni had higher gains in reading and math in middle school than non-corps members.

Not all studies of TFA corps member effectiveness suggest a positive impact on student learning. Using a longitudinal study design conducted on fourth and fifth grade teachers in Houston, Darling-Hammond, Holtzman, Gatlin, and Vasquez Heilig (2005) found that uncertified TFA teachers were less effective than teachers who were certified. However, once these teachers become certified, usually in the second or third year of teaching, corps members performed about as well as other certified teachers.

Non-causal studies of corps member effectiveness. In an Arizona study, Laczko-Kerr and Berliner (2002) selected almost 300 certified and non-certified teachers from five low-income districts and compared the achievement test scores of elementary school students. Findings from this study indicate that TFA corps members did not perform significantly different than other non-certified teachers; students of certified teachers outperformed students of non-certified teachers. In reading, math and language arts, the students of certified teachers outperformed their peers taught by non-certified teachers by approximately four months on a grade equivalent scale in reading, three months in mathematics, and three months in language arts. However, this study did not control for factors like prior-year achievement at the individual student level.

A second study using the same New York City database as previously mentioned compared teachers by different categories: initial pathway into teaching and certification status (Kane, Rockoff & Staiger, 2008). This study found that students of first-year teachers from Teach for America, NYC Teaching Fellows, and other uncertified teachers did not perform as well as those students of first-year teachers who were traditionally trained and certified. However, unlike the prior study, this study did not suggest a causal relationship between Teach for America teachers and student performance. In addition, these authors found that negative effects were generally reduced or eliminated as all teachers finished their training and certification.

Originally published as a report in 2009, Xu, Hannaway, and Taylor (2011) examined whether having a TFA teacher instead of a non-TFA teacher affects the academic

performance of high schools students. This study analyzed data from 23 North Carolina school districts that had at least one TFA teacher. The authors used a statewide database of standardized end-of-course tests administered to all North Carolina high school students. The study measured effects by comparing test scores of students taught by a TFA teacher to test scores from the same students in classes not taught by TFA teachers. The findings indicate that TFA teachers improved student performance in math and science by about one-tenth of a standard deviation. However, the What Works Clearinghouse at the U.S. Department of Education (2008) was critical of the study since students may be placed in a course because of their ability in the subject rather than their general math or science ability. Additionally, the study does not directly link corps members to students' performance. Instead, the study matches students to teachers based on test proctor and classroom demographics. Matching errors could result in misleading results.

An additional regional study was conducted in Los Angeles. The Strategic Data Project (2012) found that TFA teachers outperformed other new teachers in math, science, and language arts. However, when compared to experienced teachers, corps members' performance was similar. In Los Angeles for two academic years, 2004-2005 and 2006-2007, TFA corps members outperformed other novice teachers in math by an amount equal to one to two months of additional learning for students.

Evidence of Teach for America corps members' effectiveness is met with some pushback regarding the organization's model for recruiting and retaining teachers. Critics often cite a five-week summer training program as insufficient and suggest a destabilization

of schools due to short-term teacher placements (Darling-Hammond et al., 2005). Recent efforts by those who criticize the organization include a letter circulated to corps members encouraging them to resign, and the Governor of Minnesota Mark Dalton's decision to veto state funding for TFA in May 2013 (Strauss, 2013). The California Commission on Teacher Credentialing now requires non-credentialed Teach for America teachers to receive more training in how to teach English language learners and to get weekly mentoring and supervision (Baron, 2013). And while some studies tout the improvement in achievement with corps members in the classroom, the Houston Independent School District (2011) found mixed results in the passing rate of state-mandated tests by students taught by TFA teachers compared to the passing rate of students taught by non-TFA teachers.

Much of the criticism TFA receives concerns staffing instability in many low-performing schools where corps members only commit to remain in the classroom for two years. Using survey data from TFA alumni, Donaldson and Johnson (2011) determined various factors and patterns in corps member retention. The study concluded that 60.5% of corps members remain in the teaching profession beyond the two-year commitment; the retention rate for corps members in their original placement school beyond two years is 43.6%. This analysis also found that out-of-field or multiple grade assignments were also more likely to push teachers to leave the profession, older novice teachers are more likely to continue teaching, and Latino teachers exhibit different patterns of entering and remaining in teaching. However, most studies indicate that retention remains an issue. Raymond (2002) reported that at the end of two years more than 60% of TFA teachers had left teaching in

Houston compared to 45% to 50% of other new teachers in the district. More recently, a 2006 study found that between 10% and 15% of each TFA corps cohort leaves before completing their two-year commitment (Boyd et al., 2006). The high turnover rate among these teachers may undermine student achievement gains at the schools where they are placed. As teachers increase their experience in schools, the knowledge of pedagogy and practice impacts student achievement. Retention also reduces the costs that many low-performing and often under-resourced districts must incur by reducing the need to constantly recruit and mentor new teachers.

As Teach for America continues to grow throughout the country, the number of studies investigating the effectiveness of the organization's corps members is certain to increase. These studies may highlight both positive and negative aspects of the organization. As states like North Carolina expand the presence of TFA, other organizations and states may evaluate the program's effectiveness to determine whether or not expansion is a viable option. However, evidence of effectiveness may not be sufficient to expand the program in some districts or states. As we know from the literature on program evaluation, there are other factors that contribute to the expansion, reduction, or elimination of programs (Rossi, Lipsey, & Freeman, 2003; Weiss, 1993). This study seeks to underscore those other factors. In doing so, the political process, which involves the interests, motivations, and actions of policy actors as it relates to state policies addressing Teach for America, is more fully understood.

Education and North Carolina

North Carolina has a long history of innovation in public education. From Governor Terry Sanford who proposed a three-cent tax increase in the 1960s with proceeds going to fund education to Governor Jim Hunt's Smart Start program to prepare students for kindergarten in the 1990s, North Carolina is frequently praised for its efforts with public schools. To understand the legislative context of TFA during this time frame, education policies concerning schooling options for parents and students, changes in accountability, and other legislation relevant to low-income schools, passed through the NC General Assembly from 2010-2013, are reviewed in this section.

It is important to note that any recent changes to education policy regarding low-income students and under-resourced schools are done within the context of *Leandro v. State of North Carolina*, [488 S.E.2d 249](#) (1997). This lawsuit was filed against the State of North Carolina by parents, children, and school districts in five low-wealth rural counties (Hoke, Halifax, Robeson, Vance, and Cumberland). The plaintiffs argued that despite higher than average tax rates, schools in these districts received lower than average tax revenues. Therefore, schools did not have the resources necessary to provide an equal education for their students. Specifically, the primary argument of the case was that the quality of a child's education should not be dependent upon the wealth of the family or the community in which the family resides. The North Carolina Supreme Court held that all students had a constitutional right to the "opportunity to receive a sound basic education." Additionally, the

State of North Carolina, not local school districts, had the ultimate constitutional obligation to deliver every child's *Leandro* right (Almeida, 2004).

The court defined what constitutes a sound basic education. Those things that every child needs to become a successful adult include:

- Ability to read and write, knowledge of fundamental math and physical science,
- Knowledge of history, geography, and basic economic and political systems to enable the student to make informed decisions about their state, nation, and world,
- Academic and vocational skills needed to access post-secondary education or vocational training, and
- Academic and vocational skills necessary to compete on an equal basis with others in formal education or the workplace (Almeida, 2004).

Subsequent educational policy made after *Leandro* must meet the requirements of the ruling. Efforts to improve educational opportunity for students, particularly those in under-resourced schools and districts, are now discussed.

During the 2010 legislative session, lawmakers enacted a new plan to reform low-performing schools across the state (State Law 2010-1). Local education agencies have four options to reform schools identified as low-performing according to the state accountability model. These four models are: transformation, restart, turnaround, and school closure. The turnaround model provides for a change in school leadership if the principal has been in place for more than three years and the reassignment or dismissal of up to 50% of the staff (Public Schools of North Carolina, 2014). Other legislation relevant to this study includes

the directive by the legislature to the Department of Public Instruction to continue the More at Four program to prepare four-year old students for kindergarten (State Law 2010-31, Sec. 7.5), modifications to the state's dropout prevention grants (State Law 2010-31, Sec. 79), and the requirement that the State Board of Education establish a growth model for the state's four-year graduation cohort rate (State Law 2010-111, Sec. 1). This model is used to establish short and long-term goals for school districts.

The 2011 session of the NC General Assembly was remarkably different than other legislative sessions within the past 100 years. In November 2010, Republicans seized control of both houses of the NC legislature for the first time since 1898 (Bonner & Biesecker, 2010). Riding a wave of discontent due to high unemployment rates, Republicans also benefitted from a successful fundraising season (Bonner & Biesecker, 2010). However, Senate and House leaders still had to work with Governor Beverly Perdue, a Democrat. During this first Republican majority session, the state legislature acted on educational issues of parental choice, changes in accountability, or issues directly impacting low-income schools. State Law 2011-164 removed the statewide charter school cap of 100 and allowed for 20% growth of charter schools each year. This law also gave the State Board of Education the authority to grant final approval of charter schools meeting state requirements. Additionally, policy makers directed four districts to implement a three-year dropout recovery pilot program (State Law 2011-259). These districts were required to partner with outside non-profit agencies to develop plans to encourage students in traditional and charter schools to return to school.

Changes to the overall school program constituted much of the focus of the 2012 legislative session. The Act to Improve Public Education, State Law 2012-77, contained several components that impacted teacher certification and improvement plans for at-risk students. Also during this session, the state passed legislation to improve literacy in kindergarten through third grade. Known as the Read to Achieve Act (State Law 2012-142), students must demonstrate proficiency on third grade reading standards or face possible retention (Public Schools of North Carolina, 2014). Students who are not proficient must attend a summer reading camp taught by teachers with demonstrated success, or value-added data, in reading instruction. Additionally, all schools will receive a numerical score along with a corresponding letter grade to indicate how students performed on state assessments, college and workplace readiness scores, and graduation rates (State Law 2012-142, Sec. 7A.3). Finally, the 2012 session also created the NC Teacher Corps. This Corps recruits and places recent graduates and mid-career professionals in hard-to-staff schools (State Law 2012-142, Sec. 7A.7). Further changes to the NC Teacher Corps came during the 2013 session when a historical shift in governance occurred.

In November 2013, the state elected its first republican governor in 20 years, Pat McCrory (Frank, 2012). Coupled with a republican legislature elected in 2010, North Carolina had its most conservative elected statewide government in over 100 years (Frank, 2012). Many anticipated ideological shifts in the way the state is governed. Public education was impacted by many of the shifts beginning in 2010; this impact was reinforced in 2013.

The expansion of charter schools was at the forefront of 2013 education legislation. The NC Charter School Advisory Board's role was amended so that it now makes recommendations to the State Board of Education on charter schools applications and renewals; previously, the State Board appointed the Board and had final authority over applications and charter renewals (State Law 2013-355). In addition, charter schools are no longer accountable to the local education agency (LEA), only 50% of the charter's teachers must be certified, and LEAs must transfer an amount equal to the per-pupil rate times the number of students attending from the LEA within 30 days of receipt from the state. Furthermore, the charter school advisory board must consist of members who "shall have a demonstrated understanding of and a commitment to charter schools as a strategy for strengthening public education" (Hui, 2014). Additional charter school legislation detailed specifications regarding enrollment. According to State Law 2013-359, charter schools must make reasonable attempts to have a student body that reflects the ethnic and racial makeup of the LEA. This law also gives charters the ability to add one grade level per year without asking the Advisory Board for approval. The two pieces of charter schools legislation passed in 2013 marked a significant change from when the democratically-controlled General Assembly approved the first charter school in 1996 but limited the number of charters to 100.

Teach for America's role in North Carolina also expanded during the 2013 legislative session of the NC General Assembly. The formation of policy that led to this expansion is the focus of this study. Senate Bill 402 (State Law 2013-360, Sec. 8.21) requires TFA to use a portion of the funds available during the 2013-2015 fiscal period to recruit, train, support,

and retain teachers to work in North Carolina's public schools. Specifically, the legislation calls for:

- TFA to establish a program in the Triad region of the state and to expand its current program in the southeast region of the state so that the total number of corps members in the northeast and southeast regions of the state total at least 175 candidates,
- TFA to establish a new program, Teach Back Home, to increase the recruitment of candidates who are from North Carolina,
- TFA to establish two new programs, Teach Beyond Two and Make it Home, to increase the number of candidates who remain in the classroom beyond their two-year commitment by developing innovative programs to extend the service commitment,
- TFA to increase the number of candidates with backgrounds in STEM-related fields, mid-career and lateral entry industry professionals, and veterans of the US Armed Forces.
- TFA to report yearly to the Joint Legislative Education Oversight Committee on how recruitment efforts are progressing, and
- TFA to administer the NC Teacher Corps Program beginning in 2014-2015.

Coupled with the expansion in programs, Teach for America also received an increase in state funding (see Appendix E). TFA's allotment from the state totals \$5.1 million in each of the next two fiscal years (total state funding for TFA will be \$6 million annually), a sharp increase from the \$900,000 previously allotted.

The shifts in gubernatorial and legislative control in the NC General Assembly coincided with shifts in laws surrounding charter schools and their expansion and alternative teacher certification. North Carolina is one of a few states that has partnered with Teach for America to codify the organization's work within the state. The next section of this review highlights the role of Teach for America in Mississippi and Tennessee, like North Carolina, where the role and budget of TFA was expanded by the respective state's legislature. An examination of these states provides context and comparison.

Teach for America's Growing Influence

TFA's presence and influence is growing across the country. In the 23 years since the organization's inception, the number of districts where corps members are placed has grown from six urban and rural sites to 48. The Teach for America network now includes 11,000 corps members and 32,000 alumni working in education and other sectors. As the organization's reach expands, its influence in state and national politics follows. Nationally, TFA is gaining additional traction with Leadership for Educational Equity (LEE), a political arm of the organization. This group is focused on providing leadership development in the areas of policy, advocacy, organizing, and elected office (Dewitt, December 19, 2013; Simon, 2013). The only prerequisite is that you must be a TFA alumnus to take advantage of the support. In 2012, LEE provided \$20,000, gathered from TFA and donors, to support the candidacy of two TFA alumni who ran for the Board of Education in Nevada. Currently, LEE boasts a budget of \$3.5 million and a staff of 60.

TFA's influence is also felt in states across the country. In Mississippi, Teach for America places more corps members in the Delta region than anywhere else in the country. Currently, 400 first and second-year teachers call this region home. Corps members make up just two percent of the teachers statewide, but constitute a large portion of first-year teachers, especially in the Delta (Teach for America, 2014; "Teach for America," 2013). The need in this region of the state is large; 25 of the state's 27 schools with the most critical needs are located in this region.

Mississippi's long history with the organization, coupled with the growing number of corps members teaching in the Delta, helped propel a 2012 state budget proposal for increased funding. An effort to provide TFA with \$12 million in state funding was spearheaded by Claiborne Barksdale, a prominent Mississippian who gifted the state \$100 million to start a statewide reading initiative (Gilbertson, 2012). The state's governor, Phil Bryant, also supported the \$12 million request (Gilbertson, 2012). However, the state legislature only approved \$6 million. At the time, this was the largest amount any state legislature had ever awarded to Teach for America (Gilbertson, 2012). In total, taxpayers are providing 60% of the organization's operating expenses in Mississippi ("Teach for America," 2013).

Tennessee also has seen growth with Teach for America since the organization came to Memphis in 2006 and Nashville in 2009. Currently, the chief state school officer, Kevin Huffman, is a TFA alumnus. After working for years with TFA in the national office, Huffman was appointed by Tennessee's governor in 2011 to assume the state's top education

role (“Kevin Huffman of Teach,” 2011). Huffman became the first TFA alumni to head a state education agency.

Since arriving in Tennessee, the role and influence of Teach for America in Nashville and Memphis has grown. Recently, the Nashville school board approved \$750,000 in Race to the Top funds to be spent on 75 new corps members for the metro Nashville area (Bundgaard, 2013). Memphis corps members are likely to be included in a new state initiative to work with the most needy schools in the city and state (Rich, 2013). In addition, Tennessee removed schools with the lowest scores and graduation rates from all local control in 2012. These schools, 80% of which are in Memphis, are now part of a statewide system called the Achievement School District. Modeled after programs in New Orleans and Michigan, Achievement will emphasize frequent testing and data analysis. Many of the schools are operated by charter school organizations and about one-fifth of the district’s new teachers come from Teach for America.

Teach for America’s growth may be credited to the increasing need for teachers in low-income urban and rural schools. Recent data detailing corps member effectiveness when compared to other new teachers who come through traditional certification programs (e.g., Antecol, Eren, & Ozbeklik, 2013; Bastian & Patterson, 2014; Noelle & Gansle, 2009) also helps in the organization’s expansion. North Carolina solidified its membership in the list of states supporting Teach for America’s efforts with legislated expansion and an increase to the state’s contribution to the organization.

Chapter Summary

This chapter reviewed the literature relevant to the study's research question. The two frameworks guiding this study, multiple streams and policy regime change, were reviewed, relevant educational studies that utilized the frameworks were highlighted, and a comparison of the two models were included. This chapter also provided a review of the history of Teach for America, research on corps member effectiveness, recent educational initiatives in North Carolina, and the influence of Teach for America in other areas of the country. All of these areas provide the context in which the change in policy that led to expansion of Teach for America in North Carolina in 2013 is explored. The following chapter outlines the methodology used in this study. It includes descriptions of participant selection, data collection and analysis and methods used to ensure trustworthiness.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The previous chapter reviewed the two theories of policy formation; empirical and theoretical literature on Teach for America; the organization's effectiveness and growing influence; and recent developments in the NC legislature on some educational issues. This chapter reviews the purpose of the study and the methods used for this intrinsic single case study. In addition, the chapter addresses how data was collected and analyzed. The steps used to ensure trustworthiness and the subjectivity statements are also described.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was twofold. First, it sought to generate new insights into the processes and politics of state educational policy formation. Additionally, this study sought to contribute to theory development. While examining two existing theories, links between the larger literature of policymaking were made to the study of state level educational policy formation. The research question that guided this study was: What political and instrumental factors influenced policy formation during the 2013 session of the North Carolina General Assembly and led to increased funding and an expanded role for Teach for America?

Research Design: Intrinsic Single Case Study

This study sought to understand and describe Teach for America's expanded role and an increased budget received during the 2013 North Carolina General Assembly session. Qualitative research was the most appropriate research design to answer this study's research

question. Qualitative methods allow the researcher to gain additional information to describe with rich detail what happens in natural settings and emphasizes multiple realities of the same phenomenon (Creswell, 2007). It allows the researcher to explore individuals or organizations, relationships, or programs (Yin, 2009). The collection of interpretations gained during data collection allows the researcher to identify patterns to determine the themes that may interpret the phenomenon (Creswell, 2007). Because this study sought to understand how a piece of legislation moved along the policy agenda, the experiences of those who participated in the expansion was critical to this understanding this phenomenon. Creswell (2007) defines qualitative research as “assumptions, a worldview, the possible use of theoretical lens, and the study of research problems inquiring into the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to social or human problems” (p. 37). Qualitative research allows the researcher to act as a key instrument to the study. Qualitative researchers use “the collection of data in a natural setting sensitive to the people and places under the study, and data analysis that is inductive and establishes patterns or themes” (Creswell, 2007, p. 37).

This study utilized an intrinsic single case study design. A case study is a qualitative approach where the researcher explores a case over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information and presents a case description and case-based themes (Creswell, 2007). Case study research involves the examination of an issue within a bounded system. The bounded system is used to illustrate the issue being examined. For this study, the bounded system was 2013 legislative session for the State of North Carolina.

An intrinsic single case study was used because this study sought to understand a particular case, in this instance, an understanding of how a policy was formed (Stake, 1994). An intrinsic case study was not undertaken because it represented other cases or because it illustrates a particular trait or problem. Instead, the uniqueness of the case is what made the study compelling.

Data Sources

The strength of case study research is the use of multiple data sources (Yin, 2012). This strategy also enhances the internal validity of the study (Patton, 1990). The purpose of a case study approach is to gather comprehensive, in-depth information about the case. Data sources may include interviews, documents, observations, or focus groups. In case study design, data from multiple sources are combined to provide a rich description of the phenomenon. This convergence of data contributes to a deeper understanding of the case. “Understanding the case in its totality, as well as the intensive, holistic description and analysis characteristic of a case study, mandates both breadth and depth of data collection” (Merriam, 1998, p. 134).

Participants were selected using a purposeful sampling strategy. Purposeful sampling is the selection of individuals and sites that can provide different perspectives and understandings of the research problem and the study’s phenomenon (Patton, 1990). The power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study. Purposeful sampling is “based on the assumption that the researcher wants to discover, understand, and

gain insight, and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned (Merriam, 1998, p. 61).

The two types of purposeful sampling used in this study were maximum variation sampling and snowball sampling. In maximum variation sampling, the selection of participants and programs that represent the widest variety enriches the details provided about the research topic (Patton, 1990). When the researcher maximizes the differences in participants at the beginning of the study, any common patterns that emerge are of particular interest. Also used in this study, snowball sampling is an approach to locate information-rich informants who may contribute to the study (Patton, 1990; Teddlie & Yu, 2007). The process begins by asking key informants “Who knows a lot about this topic? Whom should I talk to?” “Those people or events recommended as valuable by a number of different informants take on special importance” (Patton, 1990, p. 176).

Since no membership list of relevant policy actors exists for this study, a four-step process guided the selection of participants (cf., Young, Lewis, & Sanders, 2010). First, the researcher identified key elected officials and important educational interest groups concerned with Teach for America and teacher recruitment and retention. Potential informants included members of the legislature, staff at Teach for America, representatives of state organizations like the North Carolina Association of Educators, and members of the press. Second, the researcher reviewed public documents related to Teach for America and teacher recruitment and retention to identify other prospective policy actors. Informants reviewed the lists of potential participants and made suggestions about those who may

provide additional information for the study. Finally, using snowball sampling, each participant was asked to suggest other potential interviewees who might contribute to the study. This strategy stopped when saturation was reached. These alternate viewpoints enhanced the description of the phenomenon and contributed to a balanced examination of the issue.

Data Collection

A qualitative study allows the researcher to explore or describe a phenomenon using multiple data sources in order to provide a detailed and comprehensive description (Yin, 2012). Creswell (2007) offers four types of data for case study research: observations, interviews, documents, and audiovisual materials. Yin (2009) proposes six types of data sources in case study research: documents, records, interviews, direct observations, participant-observations, and physical artifacts. Data collected for this study included interviews and relevant documents. Creswell (2007) explains that a case study is a qualitative approach where the researcher explores a phenomenon through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information. Data collection is a cyclical process in which gathering data from one source may lead to subsequent sources of data. Patton (1990) states:

Multiple sources of information are sought and used because no single source of information can be trusted to provide a comprehensive perspective....By using a combination of observations, interviewing, and document analysis, the fieldworker is able to use different data sources to validate and cross check findings. (p. 244)

The opportunity to collect multiple sources of data contributes to the strength of a case study design. However, it is crucial that the researcher not be overwhelmed by extensive data that requires analysis. Maintaining a data collection system that allows for organization and future data analysis assists the researcher throughout the data collection phase.

After receiving IRB approval, the researcher developed a preliminary list of potential interviewees. Table 3.1 lists the data collection activities used for this study. Then, the researcher contacted each informant by email or phone, explained the study to each person and requested permission to meet at the location of his or her choice. At the meeting, the study was explained in detail. The researcher emphasized that the results would be confidential. Each participant signed informed consent forms (see Appendix for consent form).

Table 3.1

Summary of Data Collection Activities

Interviews	Documents
Organizational Leaders	Media Accounts
State Representatives (House of Representative or Senate)	2013 State budget documents
Members of the Media	Organizational Memos

Interviews

The main source of data for this study was interviews. A total of 14 interviews were conducted during the data collection phase of this study. Interviews are described as conversations that are used to gather information that cannot be observed (Merriam, 1998). These conversations may include a participant's feelings, interpretations or descriptions of events (Merriam, 1998). As the primary source of information for this research, interviews were guided conversations rather than overly structured queries. After developing my preliminary list of potential interviewees, I contacted a participant and scheduled a time to interview. Each interview took place in the location of the interviewee's choice or by phone and last approximately 45 minutes.

This study used semi-structured interviews with all participants (see Appendices B, C, or D). To create the interview protocols, I used elements of the theoretical frameworks, specifically *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies* (Kingdon, 1995). I selected questions that allowed for open-ended responses and provided participants with the opportunity to provide me with as many details as possible. The final question in the protocol offered participants the opportunity to suggest other potential interviewees in the research. Rubin and Rubin (2011) suggest that an interview is a relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee that imposes obligations on both sides; a semi-structured interview protocol allows for additional conversation that may not be anticipated by the researcher. A semi-structured interview begins by asking participants questions that are predetermined prior to

the interview (Merriam, 2009). However, the largest portion of the interview consisted of the researcher exploring issues that may arise during the interview.

An additional consideration for this study is that many potential interviewees were regarded as elite respondents (Goldstein, 2002). This key group of informants required details about how the interview data would be reported and where it would appear. Finally, many elite respondents are familiar with common journalistic rules of data collection (Goldstein, 2002). As the interviewer, I was prepared if the respondent requested that they were not quoted or identified as the source of information.

While conducting the interviews, it was important that an accurate account of the conversation was audio-recorded. The researcher electronically audio-recorded the interviews so that all details were captured. A second recording device was available in the event that the first device failed. Also, in the event a respondent requested that the conversation not be recorded, I transcribed the interview as it was conducted. In this instance, field notes were even more important because the field notes allowed me to capture the thoughts and reactions of the interviewee that were missed in an audio recording or transcription. I also recorded field notes on the interview protocol in the event that the electronic recording did not work. Additionally, field notes allowed the researcher to reflect on and record thoughts, ideas, questions and concerns regarding the interviews. A colleague of the researcher transcribed two interviews while the researcher transcribed all other interviews. Transcriptions were used for data analysis. The researcher conveyed appreciation

to the participant for their time and willingness to contribute to the study by sending a note of appreciation immediately upon completion of the interview.

Document Analysis

A secondary source of information for this study was the collection of documents relevant to the research. Documents can take multiple forms: written, oral, visual, or cultural artifacts. The strengths of this source of data lie with the fact that the documents already exist in the situation and that they are used to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources (Yin, 2009). Documents are not “dependent upon the whims of human beings whose cooperation is essential for collecting data through interviews and observations” (Merriam, 2002, p. 13).

I collected available documents from some interviewees that contributed to this study. Documents collected include correspondence between agencies involved in the legislation, budget documents, briefs from Teach for America, and media accounts. Furthermore, at the time of the interview, I asked participants if they had any relevant documents that were willing to provide to me. These documents added additional details to the information shared by interviewees. Moreover, documents were evaluated for trustworthiness and contributed to thick descriptions in presenting the results.

Data Analysis

Data analysis in qualitative research consists of preparing and organizing the data, reducing the data to themes through coding, and then presenting the results (Creswell, 2007). “Data analysis is one of the few facets, perhaps the only facet, of doing qualitative research

in which there is a preferred way” (Merriam, 2009, p. 171). Data analysis should be simultaneous with data collection. Ongoing analysis ensured that collected data were focused on the study’s research questions. Concurrent collection and analysis allowed the researcher to make adjustments when necessary and test emerging concepts or themes against subsequent data. It also prevented the researcher from feeling overwhelmed by the data. Data continued to be collected until no new or relevant information emerged. When the researcher believed that enough data were collected to answer the research question, saturation was achieved because failure to continue to collect information until saturation may result in an unbalanced representation of the data and the answer to the study’s research question may be incomplete (Given, 2008).

The management of the data began the process of data analysis (Creswell, 2007). The researcher completed the transcription of all audio-recorded interviews with the exception of two interviews; a colleague of the researcher completed the transcription for those two interviewees. All interview transcripts and documents were read line by line to identify themes in the narrative. The researcher utilized electronic data analysis software, NVivo (NVivo, 2014), to locate, code, and annotate findings within the collected data. Merriam (1998) describes the process of data analysis as being a complex action of moving back and forth between data and concepts, between description and interpretation; using both inductive and deductive reasoning.

The primary analytic strategy used in this study was a priori, or deductive, coding in which data patterns were matched with key terms derived from the rival theories for the

purpose of determining how well each theory explained the phenomenon (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This deductive analysis tests whether or not data are consistent with the selected theories. Often, researchers employ both deductive and inductive strategies when coding. Once data were initially coded deductively by using the terms from each model, the researcher selected an additional set of codes of emergent codes that represented different categories within each of the models' key terms. The addition of the inductive codes allowed the research findings to emerge from frequent and dominant themes found in the raw data. Codes were sorted, compared and contrasted until data saturation was reached. Finally, classifying codes into categories and themes during analysis supported the researcher in determining "naturalistic generalizations" that best answered the study's research question (Creswell, 2007).

Trustworthiness

In order to ensure the trustworthiness of this study, several steps were undertaken. First, internal validity of the study was maximized through the triangulation of the data. The use of multiple data sources enhanced triangulation because it gave the researcher the opportunity to corroborate evidence (Creswell, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). This study used data obtained from interviews and documents to answer the study's research question. Yin (2009) suggests that construct validity is also enhanced with data triangulation as the multiple sources of data provide multiple measures of the same phenomenon. If a researcher can substantiate various data sets with each other, the conclusions drawn from them are likely to be trustworthy (Carlson, 2010). The variation of data sampling, interviews and

documents, also strengthens internal validity (Merriam, 2002). Finally, member checking was also used in this study. Lincoln and Guba (1985) consider this technique as the most critical step toward establishing credibility. For this study, member checking occurred at the end of the study when I shared with each participant my key findings and asked them if my interpretation was an accurate representation of their thoughts. If the participant did not agree to the brief summary of findings, the researcher contacted the interviewee to discuss concerns and disagreements. One participant had feedback about the findings and provided additional clarification that enhanced chapter four. All other participants agreed with the interpretations.

The external validity of this study was strengthened through thick descriptions of the findings. Also known as transferability, external validity is concerned with the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations (Merriam, 2009). These thick descriptions provide readers with information to determine if the information can be transferred or generalized to other settings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Hence, the reader or user of this study should determine external validity of this research. Additionally, the reliability of this study was enhanced with a protocol for comprehensive data collection procedures (Yin, 2009). Reliability suggests that if a later researcher conducted the same study all over again, they would reach the same findings and conclusions. It is crucial that this case study is well documented and an in-depth case study database is developed (Yin, 2009). Conducting interviews with people who represented a variety of organizations and interests relative to this study allowed the researcher to gather information from multiple

sources with varied perspectives. Additionally, the collection of documents relevant to this study added additional data to this study. These data collection steps minimized errors and potential biases in the study. Finally, the data collection system utilized confirmed the study's findings through member checking.

The final test for trustworthiness is objectivity. In a qualitative case study, it is important that the researcher observes and describes the phenomena without affecting the outcome. Objectivity is enhanced when the researcher frequently monitors data processing, data review, and data interpretation. As the researcher, I acknowledged my potential biases and how it impacted the outcome of this study. Throughout the data collection process, I used a journal to record my thoughts and observations so that I would reflect on my biases and how they may have impacted this study. The trustworthiness of this study was strengthened when the steps described are established at the beginning of the data collection process.

Subjectivity Statement

This study used a qualitative case study design to describe the process of policy formation that best illustrates how and why Teach for America's role was expanded and how the organization's budget was increased during the 2013 legislative session of the General Assembly. As the researcher, I collected all data and analyzed it for themes in order to answer the study's research question. Because I am a former Teach for America corps member, it is important that I share my personal and professional experiences and how they relate to this study.

I entered the teaching profession over seventeen years ago as a Teach for America corps member in eastern North Carolina. Since 1997, I have remained active with the organization even after my two-year commitment to the classroom ended. I served as a Corps Member Advisor in the summer of 1998 where I worked with sixteen new corps members at TFA's summer institute in Houston, Texas. I have presented at Teach for America conferences and attended multiple state and national meetings. In my current professional role, I serve as the school district's liaison with TFA, where I help coordinate the hiring of new teachers and advise district officials of the organization's mission and goals.

With the exception of four years, my entire professional education career has been in low-income, high-needs districts served by Teach for America. I am committed to the work of the organization but have a particular interest in the expansion of TFA's role and budget given NC's fiscal difficulties. As a TFA alumna, I have knowledge of the organization that others may not have; my knowledge of the organization was a relative strength as I had access to informants, and I am familiar with the nuances of the organization.

As I reflect on my role as researcher, it was important that I acknowledged some of the biases I brought to the study. First, I welcomed the expansion of Teach for America into other areas of North Carolina. As someone who works with low-income schools, I am aware of recruitment and retention issues that face many schools and districts. Second, I know some of the interviewees because of relationships I formed with them through my work with TFA. I believe this provided me with easier access to some participants, but I knew that I had to

establish a researcher relationship with them for the purposes of this study. Additionally, I reported the findings of this study regardless of how they may reflect on TFA and the organization's work. As described in the section on trustworthiness and limitations, several steps were taken to minimize researcher bias.

Ethical Considerations

All necessary IRB forms provided by North Carolina State University were completed, submitted, and approved before any data were collected. Participants were asked to sign a consent form stating his or her willingness to participate in the study. Participation in the study was voluntary, and participants could have withdrawn at any time. I maintained the confidentiality of participants and their positions by using vague descriptions of the interviewees, their titles and organizations. However, the researcher cited individuals who made statements in public media outlets, such as newspapers and legislative proceedings. All collected data, to include transcribed interview tapes, were secured in either an online file system accessible only by password or in a locked and secure location. Backup copies of all computer files were made to prevent data loss.

Chapter Summary

This chapter explained the methods used to answer this study's research question. Using a qualitative intrinsic single case study design, participants were selected using two purposeful sampling methods: maximum variation and snowball sampling. Data were collected through interviews and document analysis. Using a priori and open coding, data were analyzed to identify emergent themes in order to identify the political and instrumental

factors that impacted TFA expansion in 2013. The limitations of the study, steps taken to ensure trustworthiness, and positionality of the researcher were also included in this chapter. The next chapter, grounded in the study's two theoretical frameworks, presents the study's findings and describes how TFA expansion occurred and why policy change happened.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

This chapter briefly reviews the purpose of the study, the methodology used, and details the findings. The findings begin with a description of how the policy that led to TFA expansion was formed. Next, the findings are situated within the two theoretical frameworks to answer the study's research question. The results demonstrated that political factors alone explained the expansion of Teach for America in the 2013 legislative session. In particular, a shift in legislative control, coupled with a personal vendetta against the administrator of a former teacher recruitment program, led to Teach for America's expansion. Instrumental factors had a negligible impact on policy formation.

Review of Purpose and Methods

The primary purpose of this study was to understand: What political and instrumental factors influenced policy formation during the 2013 session of the North Carolina General Assembly and led to increased funding and an expanded role for Teach for America?

Participants were selected using a purposeful sampling strategy. Purposeful sampling is the selection of individuals and sites that can provide different perspectives and understanding of the research problem and the study's phenomenon (Patton, 1990). The two types of purposeful sampling used in this study were maximum variation sampling and snowball sampling. In maximum variation sampling, the selection of participants and programs that represent the widest variety enrich the details provided about the research topic (Patton, 1990). When the researcher maximizes the differences in participants at the

beginning of the study, any common patterns that emerge are of particular interest. Snowball sampling is an approach to locate information-rich informants who may contribute to the study (Patton, 1990). Both sampling strategies were used in this study. A total of 14 people were interviewed. Once saturation was reached, the researcher stopped collecting additional interview data.

Several elite respondents participated in this study and measures were taken to protect their identity. In particular, each interviewee was identified in vague terms so that the reader could not discern their identity. Specific details about the organizations represented by the interviewees were also intentionally vague with limited details. Background information that could identify participants was not included in this study. However, the researcher did cite individuals who made statements in public media outlets, such as newspapers and legislative proceedings.

An intrinsic single case study design was used to explore the formation of a policy that led to an expansion of Teach for America's role and budget in the 2013 North Carolina legislative session. Data were gathered from interviews and documents. Interviews were conducted in person or via telephone in the setting of the participant's choice. Documents, such as newspaper accounts and state budget details, provided additional details. Transcripts from all interviews were coded using a priori and open coding techniques to identify themes related to the research question. The next section of this chapter provides context for the study's findings by examining Teaching Fellows and Teach for America in North Carolina. This section also contains an account of how TFA expansion occurred in 2013.

The Expansion of TFA in North Carolina: The Personal is Political

In the 2013 North Carolina state budget, Teach for America received a significant increase in allocated state funds and an expanded role in the recruitment and retention of teachers in some of the state's most under-resourced school districts. This study sought to understand the life cycle of this budget item. Briefly, the data revealed that political factors influenced the formation of policy. Additionally, the data indicated that an existing teacher recruitment program, Teaching Fellows, was further marginalized as a result of TFA's expansion. This policy cannot be explicated without a discussion of one of TFA's chief competing policy solutions, Teaching Fellows. They are intertwined because both programs required state dollars to recruit teachers and TFA was framed as an alternative to Teaching Fellows. This section tells the story of policy formation while highlighting these two programs.

Teacher Pay: A Non-Issue in the Story of TFA Expansion

It is impossible to examine Teach for America's expansion without exploring the climate in which this event occurred. North Carolina's public schools face numerous challenges that impact teacher recruitment efforts across the state. Teachers demand higher wages, under-resourced urban and rural districts struggle with recruitment and retention efforts, and the state's colleges of education are frequently criticized. Teacher pay and dissatisfaction with the state's teacher preparation programs are loosely related to TFA expansion. Furthermore, teacher attrition and questions about the quality of teachers

graduating from the state's colleges of education impacted the expansion of the teacher recruitment alternative.

At first glance, the issue of low teacher pay appears to have little influence on the expansion of TFA. However, lower teacher pay can lead to higher teacher attrition and create additional problems for schools trying to staff classrooms. Often, districts with higher teacher turnover rates, particularly those districts with high percentages of students who receive free or reduced lunch, rely on recruitment organizations like Teach for America to access teaching candidates. One member of the media explains:

Well, I would say that given what is going on in NC when it comes to teachers, I think that the concern is more about teacher pay and how that it affects teacher quality. So teacher pay is pretty low and the state ranks 46th in the nation in teacher pay. Are teachers leaving? Are good teachers leaving? Do they have more mobility to leave? Are they able to go to places in the state that offer higher salary?

Meanwhile, some state officials have worked to increase teacher pay and once proposed a differentiated pay scale. A member of an elected official's staff referenced the work of Governor Pat McCrory and his attempt to develop career pathways for teachers. These pathways would provide leadership opportunities for teachers that would lead to increased pay; the goal was to encourage teachers to stay in the classroom by providing additional responsibilities with an accompanying increase in salary. This new pay scale would reflect leadership roles, student achievement, and curriculum work. While a differentiated model was not approved, new teacher pay scales were adopted during the 2014 legislative session

that was a response to the 2013 session; however, additional pay for teachers with master's degrees failed to gain support and approval. Dissatisfaction with the pace of salary increases prompts some teachers to leave the profession. Teach for America is often filling the recruitment gap in schools and districts where teachers are most likely to leave (Teach for America, 2014).

In North Carolina communities where TFA partners, over 50,000 students live in poverty. One organizational leader confirmed that teacher shortages in poor rural and urban schools “Have a very real impact on whether or not kids have a high quality teacher in front of them on day one.” However, only three interviewees thought that staffing high poverty schools was a significant reason for TFA expansion; recruiting teachers to high-poverty schools went unmentioned by all other participants. This finding eliminates at least one potential instrumental factor—placing teachers in high-poverty schools. This finding also suggests that TFA would like to explain that their expanded role in the state was a result of the organization's mission. This was not the case.

The influence of the state's teacher preparation programs. North Carolina's colleges of education are frequently under attack. These attacks had a minor role in this study. Three organizational leaders suggested that general dissatisfaction with the state of teacher preparation programs within the state's college and university system impacted the expansion of Teach for America. While one leader, who works primarily with public school teachers, referenced the need for some reformation of the student teaching component, two others were more explicit about the lack of confidence many in the state legislature have in

the state's colleges of education. These sentiments include the thoughts of one organizational leader:

There was this other underlying theme, and I'm not sure how many people subscribe to it, but the current legislature, especially the Senate folks were not very happy...and in some feuds with the colleges of education in the state. Some of the more political lines in the legislature thought it was a breeding ground for the NEA. They put a bunch of provisions in the budget in 2012 or 2013 where they to go back and do evaluations on the colleges of education to make sure that the teachers they produce are ready for the classroom.

The effectiveness of teachers coming from the state's colleges of education concerned some policymakers as well. Some were not convinced that the state's colleges and universities are producing a very good product, or that the licensure process is rigorous enough "to separate the wheat from the chaff". Still others believed that legislators had stopped trying to work with the university system to improve schools of education.

There was an effort when Erskine Bowles became the President of the UNC System. One of his main ideas was to improve schools of education. He was unable to do so. And if Erskine Bowles was unable to do it, then I don't think there's much hope of anyone doing it. So, I think that they've given up on schools of education, and alternatives are more appealing to them. And TFA is one of those alternatives. And that would also explain, by the way, why they wouldn't want to fund Teaching Fellows.

While the state's colleges of education are not directly related to the expansion of Teach for America, dissatisfaction with schools of education and their connection to the Teaching Fellows program served as a catalyst for frequent critiques and a shift in policy priorities. The next section provides an overview of the two programs viewed as options to state legislators: Teach for America and North Carolina Teaching Fellows. The similarities and differences in these two programs provided advocates of each with an opportunity to argue that their program offered the best solution for the state's recruitment and retention challenges. A review of Teaching Fellows follows since Teach for America provided a policy alternative to the previous teacher recruitment program supported by the state.

North Carolina Teaching Fellows: The Death of a Program

It is important to examine a previous teacher recruitment program in North Carolina to understand how Teach for America expansion occurred in 2013. These programs were competing solutions and the dissolution of one initiative provided additional insights into the expansion of the other. Teaching Fellows was a teacher recruitment program that awarded high school seniors with four-year scholarships to attend state colleges and universities. Established by the North Carolina General Assembly in 1986, students awarded scholarships agreed to teach for four years in a North Carolina public school. Beginning in 2011, Teaching Fellows fought to maintain a share of the state's education budget. These challenges occurred as legislative leadership was undergoing an historic shift in control. Considered a staple of the Democrat's educational agenda, programmatic concerns and tenuous personal relationships between key lawmakers, particularly those in the State Senate,

and a program administrator, led to the loss of funding for Teaching Fellows in 2012.

Funding for Teaching Fellows was included in the House budget of 2012 and 2013.

However, the funding for the program failed to make it through conference budgets.

When provided with a policy alternative, many compared and contrasted Teach for America and Teaching Fellows to determine which program best met the state's needs. In doing so, some questioned the mission of Teaching Fellows. Several interviewees suggested that the mission of Teaching Fellows was flawed or outdated because the program did not target placement in the state's under-resourced schools where need is often greatest. One participant offered:

Then there were some probably fundamental issues that came out in that review process to really understand what Teaching Fellows is and how it works and what are the kinds of things that we as the policy makers expect to meet in the future. It was probably a more focused look by some of the legislators do we really want to ...is a 25 year program that really hasn't changed much going to do anything for education? Are we still able to take a kid who is going to graduate from high school and make them a successful teacher by providing a scholarship to them over a 4-year period and a college degree?

Additionally, a few informants addressed programmatic issues with Teaching Fellows and suggested that these concerns contributed to the program's elimination. The cost of the program was high and no longer met the needs of a state with changing demographics and additional career options for college graduates. Unlike Teach for America, Teaching Fellows

were not required to work in hard-to-staff schools and Fellows had more flexibility when seeking employment in the state. A lack of transparency in the program was also cited. For example, during a review of Teaching Fellows programs across the state, of the approximately 50-60 Fellows at Western Carolina University, 30-40 majored in music education. This information contributed to policymakers' concerns about the cost and mission of a program that may not address the state's greatest teacher staffing needs. One lobbyist suggested:

I think there were some lawmakers who viewed the organization and the Public Forum as not necessarily friendly to where they were headed. I think it came down to a 25-year old program that is expensive. Some lawmakers thought there was a better and more efficient way to get the results they were looking for.

In addition, the link between Teaching Fellows and the state's colleges of education was enough for one respondent to question the effectiveness and goals of the program.

They were not real happy that even if you spent this money on Teaching Fellows and gave everyone this scholarship you may be running through a system that they come out in the end and may not still be ready for the classroom. And so all those pieces fit together. Should we be spending all this money for a program that we aren't sure is producing in the university systems?

Questions about the mission of Teaching Fellows were coupled with a lack of strong legislative support and the absence of a reliable statewide constituency committed to the organization's efforts. Some interviewees expressed disappointment that the program no

longer existed; still others readily confessed that the program was disliked by members of the Senate, possibly because of the ties to the colleges of education and potential links with the North Carolina Association of Educators, an associate organization of the National Education Association.

Additional feedback on Teaching Fellows compared the cost of this recruitment program to another alternative teacher recruitment option, Teach for America. Teaching Fellows proponents argued that their teachers are retained at greater rates than those recruited through TFA. However, only one legislator referred to TFA's retention rates as a programmatic concern. When compared to the state and local costs to recruit and support TFA candidates, the high yearly costs associated with a Teaching Fellow resonated with some legislators, especially those in the Senate. Rising costs in a tough budget season, coupled with general apathy towards Teaching Fellows, propelled policy makers towards a recruitment alternative. The movement toward Teach for America accelerated when negative personal feelings between key members of the state legislature and the Public School Forum, the organization responsible for Teaching Fellows' administration grew.

Almost all interviewees shared that it was impossible to examine Teaching Fellows without looking at the program's leadership and the tenuous relationship that existed with some policymakers. One member of the North Carolina House of Representatives offered a startling opinion:

There were some influential people on the Senate side that had some personal issues with JoAnn Norris and the Public School Forum. They would not be satisfied with

anything other than elimination of Teaching Fellows. I don't really think it was partisan but was personal.

The Public School Forum is an educational advocacy organization often associated with the North Carolina's Democratic Party. As the organizers of the Teaching Fellows program, many of the Forum's leadership had close Democratic ties. Some informants suggested that the elimination of the program was a "purely partisan attack" for questioning the caucus' platform and priorities. A House member suggested that the relationship between the Senate leadership and Norris, in particular, was strained for some time. One legislator stated:

You know, over a career, people say and do things that may come back to haunt them. There certainly was no love lost with Senate leadership and Teaching Fellows. I think someone had a personal experience with Teaching Fellows and they were bound and determined to end it.

It is impossible to overstate the impact the negative personal feelings had on the future of Teaching Fellows. The animosity between legislative decision makers and Teaching Fellows ended the program's 25 year run in North Carolina.

Teach for America in North Carolina: The Chosen One

Teach for America has existed in North Carolina since 1990 and has received state funding since its inception. The eastern region of the state was one of the organization's original national placement sites. Over the past 25 years, TFA has assisted in teacher recruitment efforts in some of the states most under-resourced districts. Informants offered general opinions about the program and provided minimal programmatic feedback.

According to one organizational leader, Teach for America is perceived at the state and national level as a successful innovation with great teachers who get great results for children. Some credit this sentiment to the program's mission of staffing under-resourced urban and rural schools with highly successful recent college graduates. In contrast, others suggested that while successful college graduates are in classrooms, the TFA model was never designed as a long-term solution to create lifelong teachers; some regard corps members as low-cost change agents placed in hard-to-staff schools on a temporary basis. Despite this concern, a robust recruitment, preparation, and competency model defines success of the program; this framework rapidly prepares corps members to enter the region's schools and communities.

Uninformed data decision-making. Only a few legislators mentioned the data purported by proponents of Teach for America as a key factor for the organization's expansion; additionally, these accounts were vague and only referenced one specific study, the UNC Teacher Portal Study (Henry et al., 2012). This study reported strong teacher effectiveness data for Teach for America corps members when compared to other new teachers. One informant suggested that the expansion was due, in part, to the fact that corps members have "some statistically significant effect in certain subject matters and certain grades over other teachers." However, only two participants referenced any data, with both suggesting that TFA was "the most effective of the various sources of those teaching in NC." The legislator that cited data from the UNC Teacher Portal Study (Henry et al., 2012)

went on to suggest that the data were used and misused for the purposes of expansion.² Additionally, the member asserted that the legislative majority took the data “off of TFA” and extrapolated it to say if corps members were doing well in the classroom then the legislature needed to find a way to keep them in the state. Organizational leaders suggested that legislators praised the organization based on available data. However, there is no evidence that data compelled policymakers to expand Teach for America. Simply, those who made this state educational policy decision cared little about the data. The UNC teacher portal study (Henry et al., 2012) was the sole source of any data shared by legislators and these references were vague, at best. Terms like “incredible”, “great”, or “strong” were used to describe classroom results. Clearly a disconnect exists between what legislators reported and what organizational leaders perceived.

All negative feedback about TFA centered on the organization’s inability to retain corps members beyond the two-year commitment to the program. Currently, only 40% of corps members enter a third year of teaching in their original placement school. If retention concerns are not addressed, the organization will face additional scrutiny, suggested one legislator. Critiques about the retention of TFA corps members are met with additional concerns about the intentions of those who join the organization. In addition, one legislative member reinforced concerns about corps member retention; he went on to state that the function of TFA is to place high-quality people in high needs areas for only two to three

² The referenced study examined multiple recruitment and training pathways for novice teachers in North Carolina. On over 90 measures of effectiveness, the study showed that TFA was the source of the most effective new teachers in the state when compared to other beginning teachers.

years which is quite different than preparing a teacher to stay in the classroom for multiple years. The member continued by suggesting that the expansion of TFA served as a substitution for existing teacher preparation programs; expansion reduced the cost of teacher preparation and annual salaries since most corps members were recent college graduates that receive the lowest pay according to the state teacher pay schedule. Another informant suggested that TFA is “a check box on a form, an application for a job, or a resume builder” or that the organization is “a little bit flashier” than other teacher recruitment programs and serves recent graduates well when seeking future employment. Several interviewees believed that TFA was promoting a method of “staffing up with cheap labor” or “providing a band-aid” to the difficult issue of teacher recruitment and retention. Ultimately, some organizational and legislative members reinforced the belief that Teach for America was never designed to be a long-term staffing solution; despite some unease with program expansion, the action of the General Assembly in 2013 shifted TFA from a temporary solution to one that required additional funds for prolonged sustainability.

The possible future of TFA. Finally, many respondents addressed the future of TFA in North Carolina and the organizations’ influence beyond the classroom setting. In addition to political organizations like Leadership for Educational Equity (LEE), corps members are running numerous charter schools in the state. One organizational leader wondered if this program offered a model that may transform the lateral entry program in North Carolina for those without traditional teacher preparation training. The state’s economy may ultimately decide TFA’s future. If the economy remains strong, more career options for recent college

graduates will exist; TFA recruitment could suffer. TFA must manage the requirements of expansion as included in the budget bill. If successful, most believe TFA will continue to expand its scope and influence within the state. There are no indicators that movements towards alternative teacher programs like Teach for America are going to be short-lived. Study informants, even those who were not in favor of TFA expansion, readily acknowledged that the organization is likely to experience expansion. The organization will continue to have a strong presence in the state as long as Republicans control the state legislature. Further, even if Teach for America does not meet the targets set forth in the budget bill, decreasing numbers of teachers coming from the state's colleges of education, resulting in part from the elimination of Teaching Fellows, will necessitate an alternative teacher recruitment option. Teach for America is situated nicely in a climate of educational reform movements.

It was important to review the two teacher recruitment programs in North Carolina. The events that immediately preceded the adoption of the 2013 North Carolina state budget tell the story of this policy's formation and movement on the legislative agenda. Positive and negative feelings about both programs, in addition to a new legislative majority, impacted the issue's movement through the state legislature and eventually led to the expansion of Teach for America in North Carolina.

The Formation of Policy: A Tale of Two Programs

In the previous section, I discussed Teaching Fellows and Teach for America and how the two organizations connect. The movement of Teach for America along the policy

agenda in 2013 was the result of several separate actions that all worked together to undermine the state's previous teacher recruitment program, Teaching Fellows. These circumstances propelled TFA towards expansion. A negative personal history between Teaching Fellows and some members of the new Republican majority in the General Assembly, particularly a few members of the State Senate, provided the foundation for the expansion of Teach for America. The Public School Forum, the administrators of Teaching Fellows, recognized efforts to dismantle the program and hired a lobbyist for the 2012 and 2013 legislative session to cover and review all educational issues. This person was selected because of his ability to work with members on both sides of the legislative aisle. He was tasked with meeting with members in both parties to determine if Teaching Fellows had a future in the state.

While the lobbyist hired by Teaching Fellows worked the halls of the legislature, one House Democrat pursued a compromise that she hoped would generate broad appeal and convince those not who did not support the continuation of Teaching Fellows to give the program a second chance. Representatives of Teaching Fellows and Teach for America met and designed a model that would allow the two organizations, along with the North Carolina Center for the Advancement of Teaching (NCCAT), to work together to provide professional development to Teaching Fellows and TFA corps members. Additionally, the model would promote retention strategies for Teach for America and stronger teaching pedagogy and strategies for Teaching Fellows. The document (see Appendix E) was presented to House and Senate budget leaders; the proposal failed to gain broad support and was ultimately

disregarded. NCCAT remained in the state budget and Teach for America received a significant increase; funding for Teaching Fellows was not reinstated. One legislator suggested that the Senate had all the budget negotiation power in the 2013 session and Speaker of the House, Thom Tillis, spent his time on other budget priorities, specifically the focus on eugenics compensation. The retention of the Teaching Fellows program was no longer a legislative priority for many policymakers.

One leader's influence. President Pro Tempore of the North Carolina State Senate, Phil Berger, wanted to promote his own teacher recruitment and preparation program. His desire, coupled with Teaching Fellows' failure to regain support and a lack of interest in merging teacher recruitment programs in order to benefit all, was realized. Using federal Race to the Top funds contained in the Excellent Public Schools Act of 2012, Senator Berger's program manifested as the North Carolina Teacher Corps (NCTC). However, the program experienced little success. The first cohort had fewer participants than expected and was widely considered a failure. Unwilling to discontinue the program, Senator Berger inserted the NCTC into the 2013 budget and gave implementation duties to Teach for America (See Appendix F). Some participants suggested that Senator Berger's favor with Teach for America is grounded, in part, in his selfish desire to continue the fledgling program. This initiative is discussed further when exploring Teach for America's efforts to expand the organization in the state. In addition, two informants reported that a staff member of a prominent state lawmaker had a negative experience with Teaching Fellows as a college student. They suggested that this experience, if shared with the legislator, influenced the

decision to discontinue the Teaching Fellows program in lieu of another policy alternative. The staff member was removed from the Teaching Fellows program due to an inability to meet the minimum academic requirements of the university. The staff member's dismissal from Teaching Fellows followed since an affiliation with a state college or university was required. Once dismissed, the staffer was required to reimburse the state \$5000 for the tuition covered through the Teaching Fellows program. However, it is impossible to know if the legislator was aware of the staffer's dismissal.

Meanwhile, as support for Teaching Fellows was withering, TFA grew as a viable policy solution, in part, because the organization capitalized on friendly relationships with legislators. The organization had powerful champions in the legislature. This support included frequent conversations about TFA expansion. Stewardship visits, or brief meetings with House and Senate members to discuss policies relevant to the visiting organization, were conducted in the short session preceding the 2013 budget bill and helped to establish or re-establish existing relationships between TFA and lawmakers. One legislator stated, "Power in the legislative environment is defined as the ability to control the agenda." TFA clearly had access to those in power which provided the organization with opportunities to influence the policy agenda. TFA formed relationships with members, particularly Senator Phil Berger, and won support from the more aggressive of the two legislative chambers, the North Carolina Senate. There were members in the House and Senate, however, who did not support the expansion in the 2013 budget. An organizational leader suggested there was "surprising alignment" when it came to educational opportunity and "everyone supported

TFA expansion.” Conversations with several lawmakers refuted this claim. This further demonstrates that instrumental factors had little to no impact on policy change.

TFA seized the opportunity to promote the organization and partner with leaders to increase funding and role during the 2013 session. For the first time since reconstruction, Republicans controlled both the state legislature and the Governor’s office. With the support of existing relationships, TFA recognized an opportunity to promote their policy alternative. By targeting those who received additional powers due to sweeping changes in the legislature, the organization set meetings with staff and promoted its mission by sharing a long-term vision for TFA in North Carolina. This vision could only be realized with additional funding and an increased presence in the state. One legislator, against the expansion of TFA, offered this summary:

Hats off to TFA because they seized an opportunity and Republicans were going to give in to them. I think it was TFA seizing an economic opportunity and trying to transform themselves into an easier way to get a lot more teachers into TFA. The state is trying to save lots of money on teachers by substituting veteran teachers with much younger teachers.

With the help of a number of key actors, TFA moved quickly and decisively at the state level to influence decision-making while promoting the mission and vision of the organization.

Furthermore, Teach for America had the internal staff necessary to support the policy alternative. Each of the executive directors from Eastern North Carolina and Charlotte are registered lobbyists and have established relationships with legislators who influence or

control decisions about educational policy. One journalist suggested that the Executive Directors of TFA in North Carolina frequently had access to Senator Berger and often had conversations with him or his staff about TFA's presence in the state; this level of access is not afforded to many people or organizations. The Executive Director of TFA-Charlotte, as suggested by one legislator, has a political background that is not typical of the progressive profile often associated with TFA. His strengths lie in working with a Republican legislature. These skills aided the organization during the 2013 budget cycle.

As an illustration of TFA's commitment to expansion, beginning in 2012, the organization partnered with Moore and Van Allen, a public affairs law firm based in Charlotte, North Carolina, to build a strategy to secure additional state funding. To assist TFA, the lobbying firm identified key legislators, scheduled meetings with those members, and assisted in the preparation of informational materials for distribution. Coincidentally, current North Carolina Governor, Pat McCrory, began working for this same firm in 2010 after leaving Duke Power and before becoming Governor of North Carolina in 2012. While describing TFA's efforts to promote themselves, one organizational leader noted, "It is interesting that TFA would come in and see either an opportunity or a need to take a direct lobbying approach with some outside help to get to the funding levels they wanted." Teach for America was aware of the political capital afforded to them if expansion was approved. TFA benefitted from being the only teacher recruitment option as Teaching Fellows was already eliminated and had little chance of reemerging. In addition, Teach for America had key advocates at high levels of state government. State Representative Rob

Bryan is a Teach for America-Los Angeles alumnus and Eric Guckian, Governor McCrory's Education Advisor, served as a corps member in New York City and Executive Director of Teach for America-Eastern North Carolina. Representative Bryan is a conservative Republican who is involved with Leadership for Educational Equity (LEE), the political arm of TFA that has a goal of encouraging TFA alumni to seek elected office so that they may influence educational decision-making. One journalist suggested, "Bryan is a 'sort of' lieutenant in the educational reform movement in North Carolina. He has a very strong positive feeling about TFA and is using it in a way to change some policies." Guckian, along with two other TFA alumni, advises the Governor on statewide education issues. Participants suggested that neither Guckian nor Governor McCrory had any impact on TFA expansion.

In summary, the expansion of Teach for America in 2013 cannot be attributed to one specific event or person. Key legislative decision makers had previously killed Teaching Fellows and had no interest in reviving the program. However, given the state's teacher recruitment challenges, lawmakers still needed to embrace or expand an alternative teacher recruitment program. Personal and programmatic concerns with Teaching Fellows jeopardized the program's future prior to the 2013 budget adoption. Teach for America took advantage of existing relationships with those in power and offered up the organization as a strong alternative to the state's teacher recruitment and retention challenges. This organized effort by TFA emphasized teacher effectiveness data; however, this effort did not play out among those who make policy decisions. The organization relied on the efforts of a

powerful lobbying firm to sell program expansion across the state legislature. Teach for America's efforts were successful and the organization received its largest state budget and role in the program's 25 year history in the state.

The next section of this chapter reviews the dimensions of each of the two theoretical frameworks used in this study: multiple streams and policy regime change. The components of each framework are reviewed and the findings of the study are situated within each theory in order to answer the study's research question. Finally, the political and instrumental factors that influenced policy formation are discussed explicitly.

The Multiple Streams Framework: Setting the Policy Agenda

Two theoretical frameworks were used to guide this study's findings. The first framework, multiple streams, views the policy process as three streams of actors and processes: a problem stream that consists of conditions that are interpreted as problems; a policy stream that identifies potential solutions to problems; and a politics stream which often includes the national mood, campaigns from interest groups, and legislative turnover (Zahariadis, 1999). These streams act largely independently until a window of opportunity opens, policy entrepreneurs intervene, and streams merge for policy formation.

The findings indicate that there was no one specific event or person solely responsible for the formation of policy that expanded Teach for America in 2013. The convergence of multiple factors over a short period of time created what Kingdon (1995) refers to as a coupling of the streams or the opening of a policy window that allowed for a solution to merge with identified problems in a political climate that propelled the issue along the

agenda. Table 4.1 provides an overview of the factors in the multiple streams model that influenced the formation of policy. Organized by the components of Kingdon's (1995) framework, the findings of this study are presented within the context of the multiple streams framework which details how an issue lands on the policy agenda.

The Problem Stream

The *problem stream* consists of those conditions that policy makers choose to interpret as problems (Kingdon, 1995). Conditions become problems when policymakers

Table 4.1

Factors Contributing to the Formation of a Policy Expanding Teach for America-Multiple Streams

Stream	Primary	Secondary
Problem		
• Indicators		
• Dramatic/Focusing Events		
• Feedback		X
Policy		
• Technical Feasibility		X
• Value Acceptance		
• Anticipation of Future Constraints		X
Political		
• National Mood		
• Campaigns from Interest Groups		
• Legislative Turnover	X	

learn about the issues and the ways in which these issues are defined. There are three methods officials can use to interpret a condition as a problem: through indicators used to assess the existence and magnitude of a condition; by dramatic and focusing events; or through feedback from existing programs that highlight concerning conditions (McLendon & Cohen-Vogel, 2008; Zahariadis, 1999). It is during the problem stream that policymakers compete for attention and position on the agenda.

Indicators assess the magnitude of a problem and bring awareness to changes within a problem (Kingdon, 1995). A change in an indicator suggests that a problem exists. In this study, possible indicators include teacher pay, the difficulties school districts face in staffing high poverty schools, and concerns with North Carolina's colleges of education; however, the results show none of these issues were significant to the formation of a teacher recruitment policy. While teacher pay continues to be an issue addressed by those in the teaching profession, some professional education groups, and members of the state legislature, compensation was not used to assess the existence and magnitude of a problem that led to TFA expansion.

Difficulties faced by under-resourced school districts to recruit and retain teachers also failed to gain official attention by policymakers. Organizational leaders, friendly to either Teaching Fellows or Teach for America, typically made references about the challenges some districts face recruiting and retaining teachers. However, minimal attention was given to the issue of teacher recruitment in under-resourced schools and districts. The dissatisfaction with North Carolina's schools of education was also indicated as an issue but

failed to draw attention from those interviewed. When taken as a single event, or condition, the issues with colleges of education did not draw attention from policymakers. However, when dissatisfaction with the state's schools of education was examined within the context of Teaching Fellows, the issue gained minimal attention. In short, there was no relevant indicator in the problem stream that affected agenda setting.

The second method used by officials to identify a condition as a problem is dramatic or focusing events (Kingdon, 1995). Focusing events, like a crisis or disaster, reinforce a preexisting perception of a problem and affect problem definition. It is also within this area that the personal experiences of policymakers reside or the presence of powerful symbols exists. There were no dramatic events or crises that led to the placement of TFA expansion on the policy agenda. No powerful symbol compelled lawmakers to take action. Evidence suggested that a powerful lawmaker may have known about negative personal experiences of a staffer with the Teaching Fellows program. However, this experience did not personally impact the legislator; moreover, these experiences are only occasionally important and rarely influence placement of an issue on the agenda.

Lastly, feedback from existing programs may bring attention to an issue (Kingdon, 1995). Existing programs receive feedback when the program is not working as intended, implementation does not match program intent, costs are unreasonable, or unintended consequences are present. Policymakers provided feedback on both Teaching Fellows and Teach for America. Both programs were not working as originally intended. Teaching Fellows was criticized for having high numbers of students as music education majors at one

school of education. Teach for America was critiqued for having low retention rates and failing to offer a long-term solution to teacher recruitment challenges. However, implementation with Teaching Fellows and Teach for America still met the original intent of the programs. The cost of the Teaching Fellows concerned some informants. However, no one mentioned costs associated with securing TFA corps members. Finally, no unintended consequences, those things that have major impacts that are not anticipated, existed for either program.

Overall, the problem stream of Kingdon's multiple streams framework fails to support the placement of a teacher recruitment solution on the policy agenda. The problem stream triggers a search for a solution because a problem exists. However, issues identified were not related to TFA expansion, had no impact on the assessment of a condition that warranted attention, and failed to become an indicator. Also, there were no dramatic events that identified a condition to draw the attention of policymakers. Finally, while feedback was available for both Teaching Fellows and Teach for America, these reflections suggested that both programs were not working as originally intended, implementation was as expected, the cost of Teaching Fellows was a concern, and no unintended consequences existed for either recruitment option. In brief, Teach for America expansion was not placed on the policy agenda because of the identification of a compelling problem within the problem stream.

The Policy Stream

The policy stream contains a set of solutions that provide alternatives to the current condition of an issue or initiative (Kingdon, 1995). Policy entrepreneurs advocate for a

specific solution and push the solution along the agenda or hinder its acceptance by policymakers. These policy alternatives are floating around in a “policy primeval soup” where “they bump into one another, they combine with one another; some survive, some die out, and some survive quite different from their origins” (Kingdon, 1995, p. 131). Generated by many, a large number of policy alternatives may be present at any time. Ideas are selected based on three criteria: technical feasibility; value acceptability; or anticipation of future constraints. Neglected programs are also present in the policy stream as a lack of agreement on solutions or proposals may propel alternative ideas further along the policy agenda.

Only one policy solution for a teacher recruitment problem was considered for inclusion on the agenda; Teaching Fellows was no longer an option as it was defunded in a prior legislative session. Teach for America expansion as a teacher recruitment solution was considered, in part, because of the solution’s ability to minimally meet the criteria within the stream. Technical feasibility is the feasibility of implementation of the idea designed to address the problem. TFA has a strong national network of TFA placement sites in the United States and in North Carolina; these sites can lend support to the new districts included in expansion. In addition, a strong national organization can provide the resources necessary to address the other initiatives included in the budget bill. These initiatives include the North Carolina Teacher Corps, the recruitment effort started by Senator Berger. Ongoing retention concerns with TFA could mar the perception that the organization is equipped to handle the initiatives included in the budget bill. While the reasons above could contribute to expansion, no participant discussed program feasibility.

The compatibility of an idea with the values of those policymakers responsible for selection is value acceptability (Kingdon, 1995). The expansion of Teach for America did not meet this criterion as all policymakers were not in favor of expansion in 2013. However, TFA had the support of Senator Berger; this was sufficient for the solution to land on the policy agenda. His penchant for the program was demonstrated in his comments and entrustment of the North Carolina Teacher Corps to TFA. There was evidence that some lawmakers supported the Teaching Fellows program; however, the values of those who had the power to influence decisions and promote policy were more clearly aligned to Teach for America. However, despite the opportunity for TFA to gain agenda status due to the organization's mission and focus on equity issues, which is often embedded in this criterion, there is no evidence that value acceptability was influenced.

The final criterion that determines if a solution is considered is anticipation of future constraints. Ideas are considered based on constraints such as budget, changes in politics, or public opinion. Teach for America's budget increased from \$900,000 to \$6 million as a result of the 2013 budget bill. While expansion required additional state funds, the elimination of Teaching Fellows offset some of the additional expense. Additionally, changes in the composition of the state legislature favored additional support for TFA. The public's acceptance of the solution was never considered; this issue was outside of the public's purview.

Teach for America existed as a policy alternative prior to the 2013 North Carolina state budget. TFA expansion, acting as a teacher recruitment solution, existed, in part,

because the program minimally met the criteria detailed in the policy stream. No other policy solution existed as TFA's primary competitor, Teaching Fellows, was already eliminated. The policy stream only minimal supported TFA expansion.

The Political Stream

The political stream defines and describes how the system accommodates an issue so that it may move through the agenda setting and policy process (Kingdon, 1995). There are three components to the political stream: the national mood; campaigns from interest groups; and administrative or legislative turnover. Changes in the political stream have a powerful effect and may precipitate the issue's movement up or down on the agenda. It is also in this stream that powerful political groups exert their influence over policy alternatives.

National mood refers to the idea that a large number of people within a state or nation reflect a common belief or think similarly about a topic (Kingdon, 1995). There was no indication that national mood had any impact on the formation of policy that led to TFA expansion. TFA served as their own promoter during their quest to expand and is the only true political force, outside of official policymakers, in this research. There were no other interest groups that hastened or impacted the expansion of TFA in North Carolina.

The most notable element in the political stream is legislative turnover. This action alone propelled Teach for America expansion along the agenda at a rate that allowed for little discussion from non-supporters and negated any other teacher recruitment policy options. Prior to the passage of the 2013 state budget, alliances existed between those who advocated for the continuation of Teaching Fellows and those who sought the elimination of Teaching

Fellows and the expansion of TFA. When Democrats lost majority control of the state legislature, Republicans seized an opportunity to drive the educational policy agenda. Turnover of key personnel in the General Assembly had a significant impact on the programs viewed as the foundation of the Democratic Party's educational platform. Senator Berger's leadership was strengthened with the change in majority, and little happened in the state legislature without Berger's support. Despite the belief that leadership is shared between the Senate and the House, Senator Berger obviously is the most powerful and influential member of the state legislature.

The Window of Opportunity

An important event in the multiple streams model is coupling, or a window of opportunity (Kingdon, 1995). These are fleeting moments when advocates of proposals have the opportunity to push their preferred solution. In this case, the election of a new legislative majority opened the window of opportunity. The lack of a compelling problem from the problem stream did not deter placement of the policy option on the agenda; legislative turnover that occurred in the political stream was sufficient to move the solution along the agenda. When windows open in the problem stream, coupling is often consequential, or problems are invented for an already existing solution. When windows open in the politics stream, coupling is likely to be doctrinal, or problems are found for a given solution (Zahariadis, 1999). In this case, legislative turnover allowed the new majority to promote a solution for which a problem did not exist. A problem need not exist for this study. The will

of the legislative leadership, to dismantle Teaching Fellows and expand Teach for America, was enough to ensure consideration of the policy.

Policy entrepreneurs seize opportunities during an open window (Kingdon, 1995). These individuals invest “time, energy, reputation, money—to promote a position for anticipated future gain in the form of material, purposive, or solidary benefits” (Kingdon, 1995, p. 179). During a window of opportunity, entrepreneurs act quickly to initiate action on their preferred solution. If they are slow to act, entrepreneurs may lose the opportunity and must wait for the next window to open. Teach for America served as policy entrepreneurs by providing legislators with a solution during the window of opportunity.

Policy entrepreneurs must possess certain characteristics to experience success (Kingdon, 1995). These characteristics include: a compelling claim that demands attention; political connections; and persistence (Kingdon, 1995). Teach for America possessed the qualities necessary to successfully support their preferred solution during the window of opportunity. The organization’s claim that they had a viable teacher recruitment solution resonated with those in power. Teaching Fellows was no longer considered; TFA had claim to the alternative teacher recruitment option. TFA also had strong political connections. The organization had the ability to secure direct talks with Senate leadership, partner with a powerful lobbying group, and rely on the support of prominent members of state government to help promote the program statewide. In addition, Senator Berger placed responsibility of the North Carolina Teacher Corps squarely on the shoulders of TFA. Finally, Teach for America was persistent and eager to extend their influence within the state. The organization

has a large network to support and promote their work. Multiple resources to support a national strategy that promotes the long-term vision for the organization are available state-level leaders.

Using Kingdon's (1995) model to describe how the budget and role of Teach for America was expanded in the 2013 state budget, evidence revealed that TFA achieved agenda status because of events that occurred within the political stream. These events merged with a policy solution created for no discernable problem. Strong policy entrepreneurs from Teach for America, at both the national and state level, guided legislators to a solution during a brief window of opportunity. The political proclivities of TFA were set aside in order to take advantage of this narrow window. Changes in state leadership and a network of policy entrepreneurs supported the inclusion of TFA expansion on the policy agenda.

Policy Regime Change: Reflections on Policy Change

The second theoretical framework used to guide this study, policy regime change, provided a systematic framework for analyzing the interaction of ideas, interests, and institutions to affect major policy change. This framework was used to explore state educational policy formation by examining a specific sub-area through a teacher recruitment lens. This model consists of four dimensions: an arrangement of power which illustrates the alignment of interest groups and governmental actors; a policy paradigm that refers to how a particular issue is conceptualized; an organizational arrangement which is the context for making decisions and the implementation process; and the policy (Wilson, 2000). Each of

the dimensions contributes to the stability of the policy. Table 4.2 provides an overview of the dimensions in the policy regime change model that influenced the formation of policy.

Arrangement of Power

The arrangement of power is defined as the alignment of interest groups and policymakers, or those than can influence policy (Wilson, 2000). These actors include those that benefit from the policy. They may be members of the government or representatives of single-issue or multi-issue interest groups. Teach for America was a single interest group that supported regime change and worked with state representatives to develop a policy that benefitted the organization. This alignment between TFA and the state created a power arrangement that influenced decision-making.

Table 4.2

Factors Contributing to the Formation of a Policy Expanding Teach for America-Policy Regime Change

Dimension	Primary	Secondary
Arrangement of Power	X	
Policy Paradigm		
Organizational Arrangement		

Two events occurred to demonstrate how TFA and policymakers were aligned to promote policy. The first was TFA's recognition that an opportunity existed for the

organization to spread its influence across the state. Teaching Fellows was no longer considered as a teacher recruitment policy option. Teach for America capitalized on existing relationships and created new alliances with members through stewardship visits. Additionally, a lobbying firm hired to promote expansion provided TFA with additional manpower to build a cadre of strong supporters in the state legislature. This resource helped TFA develop and maintain powerful relationships with key policymakers. It is impossible to overstate the influence of the national organization on TFA's ability to align with state leaders. Strategic and monetary support from the national organization provided the state organization with the tools and resources needed to engage policymakers in the conversation about TFA expansion. Additionally, strong support from Senator Berger all but guaranteed TFA that their recruitment policy solution would gain attention and support.

Power arrangements include the presence of interest groups that benefit from the policy regime. Teach for America was the only interest group in this teacher recruitment conversation. Teaching Fellows was already removed from the list of policy alternatives; there were no competing solutions. As such, TFA worked with the state in the policy process to promote a solution that was free from the influence of any other interest groups with competing interests. An arrangement of power did exist within the policy regime change framework. Its presence suggests that strong relationships exist between this interest group, TFA, and members of the state.

Policy Paradigm

The second dimension of this framework is policy paradigm (Wilson, 2000). This dimension shapes how problems are defined, their cause and severity, and how problems are solved. It is the lens through which information is filtered and attention is focused.

Assumptions are made about the problem in this dimension. Assumptions include: its cause; seriousness; pervasiveness; persons responsible; and government response. This paradigm also contains images meant to target the population most impacted by the policy so that public opinion is affected. Shared through the media, these solutions are often created by those who would most benefit from policy adoption. Unlike Kingdon's (1995) policy stream, this dimension is unique in that the problem and the solution are tied within one dimension of the framework.

There were no clearly defined problems that led to the solution created by Teach for America and its supporters. Minimal attention was given to the teacher recruitment challenges faced by some districts. However, these recruitment challenges were minor and did not influence policy formation. As such, the assumptions made about the problem are difficult to assess. It is impossible to determine the problem's cause, seriousness, pervasiveness, responsible party, or government response when no identifiable problem is presented. Without the presence of a problem, it is impossible for images, used to compel public opinion, to exist. In addition, this dimension did not contain the media images necessary to convey a potential problem and its perceived solution.

A solution was available for which no problem was presented. Teaching Fellows, once a teacher recruitment solution in North Carolina, lost funding and support in 2012. Teach for America quickly emerged as the teacher recruitment policy solution; the organization's primary competing force had failed to continue. Those interviewed provided no rationale for program expansion. Some suggested strong teacher effectiveness data influenced decision making while others simply stated the program was a suitable alternative to Teaching Fellows; both reasons were unsubstantiated. Still others suggested that expansion occurred because of a personal vendetta against an administrator of the Teaching Fellows program.

This dimension is incomplete; there was no definable problem that led to policy formation. However, there was a solution that gained the support of those in power. That solution exists within this dimension. Additionally, there were no public images created or used during this dimension to impact public opinion. This dimension failed to fully convey why a teacher recruitment policy was enacted because of its lack of a problem or issue for which a solution was necessary. This component of the policy regime change framework is lacking and suggests that a fully-developed policy paradigm is absent from this story of policy formation.

Organizational Arrangements

The third dimension of the policy regime framework is organizational arrangements (Wilson, 2000). This dimension provides the institutional context and the policymaking arrangement of the policy, in addition to its implementation structure. Organizational

arrangements often resist change; but when change does occur, shifts are gradual. When regimes are stressed, alternatives to the current policy arise. These alternatives question the legitimacy of previous solutions and shifts in power become evident.

With the dissolution of the Teaching Fellows program, the state still needed to attach itself to a teacher recruitment program to offset potential criticism about the recruitment challenges faced by many school districts. The expansion of TFA satisfied this need. Teach for America was already present and operating within the state. The organization had a long history working with school districts and replication of the organization's model was easily accomplished. The policy that ensued addressed a primary teacher recruitment concern—recruiting teachers to under-resourced schools and districts. However, it is difficult to determine if the goals of the policy regime were met. Without the identification of a specific problem, the solution may or may not address targeted teacher recruitment needs. Policymakers were more concerned about policy adoption than they were explaining why the solution was necessary.

Regime change occurs in stages (Wilson, 2000). These stages do not occur in any particular order and may happen simultaneously. Table 4.3 shows which stages had a primary or secondary impact on policy change and the expansion of Teach for America. The first stage, stressors, may come in the form of demographic changes, shifting public opinion, or changes in leadership. Regime change did not occur because of demographic changes or shifting public opinion; the public was unaware of this policy solution. However, changes in leadership certainly impacted regime change that led to TFA expansion. Other indicators of

stressors include international events, natural disasters, mass hardships, or scandals. None of these affected the organizational arrangement.

Table 4.3

Stages of Regime Change that Contribute to the Formation of a Policy Expanding Teach for America

Stages of Regime Change	Primary	Secondary
Stressors	X	
Paradigm Shifts		
Legitimacy Crisis		
Power Shifts	X	
Organizational and Policy Change		

Paradigm shifts, the second stage of regime change, occur when current events are inconsistent with the dominant paradigm (Wilson, 2000). These shifts discredit the existing policy paradigm and are reflected through media coverage, scholarly research, or the stories told by policymakers. The elimination of Teaching Fellows removed the existing dominant policy prior to the budget bill of 2013. Media coverage and additional attention for the alternative paradigm were no longer necessary; policymakers did not have to articulate a story about Teach for America because they did not have to convince others of the policy's

validity when compared to Teaching Fellows. The state needed a teacher recruitment option; TFA was all it had or needed.

Stressors interact to create a legitimacy crisis (Wilson, 2000). Change happens when the public loses confidence in the old regime. Acting as policy entrepreneurs, policymakers and interest group leaders expand the issue, draw the attention of the media, and expand the issue beyond the original policy community. Leaders instill doubt about the current regime in order to promote an alternative. Teach for America and its supporters expanded the issue in 2013 but did so without a competing policy paradigm. Teaching Fellows was no longer a teacher recruitment policy option. Without competition, a legitimacy crisis was impossible.

The fourth stage of regime change is power shifts (Wilson, 2000). These shifts occur with changes in state leadership and lead to the dissolution of old coalitions. These shifts encourage opposition groups to challenge the existing regime. Changes in state leadership impacted the formation of TFA expansion policy but did so without the characteristics of a policy regime power shift. These shifts occur when a grassroots effort mobilizes, coalitions dissolve, new sources of power emerge, or the dominant class consolidates. Teach for America, if viewed as an opposition group, did not challenge an existing regime and was not forced to mobilize to promote the organization's ideas. A power shift was unnecessary as TFA's primary competition was no longer a policy solution; no organized teacher recruitment policy option existed other than TFA.

Organizational and policy change is the final stage in regime change (Wilson, 2000). . These changes result in the reorganization of a policy implementation structure that is

followed by changes to policy goals and shifts in the policy paradigm. Of the four types of regime change identified, TFA expansion represents an internal reorganization of teacher recruitment policy. The state's alternative teacher recruitment policy was not recreated or consolidated during this period. Rather, an existing program, Teach for America, was reorganized with the program assuming additional roles and responsibilities as detailed in the 2013 budget bill.

Regime change occurs when existing regimes are challenged through a rise in alternative paradigms, a crisis in legitimacy, and a shift in power (Wilson, 2000). Many of the components of the framework are missing in this policy formation story. As a power arrangement was established between TFA and the legislature, the policy paradigm was incomplete as the problem was absent despite the generation of a solution. In addition, the five stages that detail how a regime is changed are not present. The policy regime change framework offers only a partial explanation of the decision making process of how Teach for America was expanded in 2013.

Political and Instrumental Factors: Why Did TFA Expand?

This study examined state educational policy formation by examining a specific sub area through the lens of teacher recruitment. The policy expanded the role of TFA in North Carolina and included a sharp increase in the state's contribution to the program's operating budget. The frameworks used highlight how the issue landed on the policy agenda and resulted in a policy change.

The expansion of TFA occurred neither through a rational, problem-solving process nor as a step in a series of educational initiatives. Instead, this process of policy formation incorporated elements of both the multiple streams framework described by Kingdon (1995) and the policy regime change model. These frameworks describe how the policy landed on the agenda and the process used to make decisions about expansion. For both models, a problem, for which a solution is anticipated, was absent. Instead, varied policy actors, to include Teach for America and state lawmakers, pushed their preferred solution. The previous policy solution, Teaching Fellows, was unable to compete for attention on the agenda. The will of the new legislative majority promoted their preferred policy option. TFA expansion was characterized by an illogical sequence of problem identification and solution generation. The solution TFA expansion offered did not originate as a response to a problem. Rather, the solution was developed independently and in isolation of any problem for which proponents of the solution later claimed it was the answer. Once introduced as a solution, the policy floated around waiting for a political condition to which it could attach.

TFA expansion occurred because of political factors. Legislative turnover, coupled with a delegitimized Teaching Fellows due to a personal vendetta, was the explanation for expansion. Political factors stem from some explicit or implicit need of political elites to consolidate power (Leslie & Novak, 2003). Teaching Fellows was unable to withstand the transfer in legislative authority while TFA was prepared and eager to work with the new leadership. Instrumental factors may be cited as a rationale for change. However, based on data for this study, instrumental factors were inconsequential to this study of policy

formation. TFA expansion occurred because of political reasons only. Some organizational leaders suggested that expansion was a result of strong teacher effectiveness data. Yet, there is no evidence that data compelled policymakers to act.

Chapter Summary

The key findings for this intrinsic single case study were developed from an analysis of interviews and documents. The following question was used to guide this study: What political and instrumental factors influenced policy formation during the 2013 session of the North Carolina General Assembly and led to increased funding and an expanded role for Teach for America? The results were organized into five sections: a review of the purpose of the study and methods used; details of the events that led to policy formation; key findings from each of the two frameworks; and an overview of the instrumental and political factors that influenced the expansion of TFA. The findings of this study indicate that only political factors influenced TFA expansion in 2013. No significant instrumental factor affected policy formation. The next chapter will review the key findings, identify the limitations of the study, describe theoretical and practical implications, and propose directions for future research on policy formation relating to Teach for America.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This chapter highlights the major findings from this study of state educational policy formation which led to the expansion of Teach for America during the 2013 North Carolina legislative session. This chapter also addresses the theoretical and practical implications of this study and specifies the limitations of this study. The chapter concludes with recommendations for future research on policy formation.

Review of the Purpose of the Study

In July 2013, Senate Bill 402 (State Law 2013-360, Sec. 8.21), or the Appropriations Act of 2013, provided additional revenue to Teach for America. Allocated funds supported: a) the expansion of TFA into Greensboro and other triad cities; b) growth of existing efforts in Southeastern North Carolina; c) targeted subject-specific recruitment; d) and the management of the NC Teacher Corps program, a project formerly associated with Race to the Top and modeled after Teach for America. State support of TFA increased from \$900,000 to \$6 million.

This study had two purposes. The first was to generate new insights into the processes and politics of state educational policy formation, particularly in the area of teacher recruitment. The second was to contribute to the body of literature on theory development so that links between the literature on policy-making and state policy formation are drawn (McLendon, 2003). The research question that guided this study was: What political and instrumental factors influenced policy formation during the 2013 session of the North

Carolina General Assembly and led to increased funding and an expanded role for Teach for America?

An intrinsic single case study design was used to answer the research question. Data were gathered from interviews and documents. Interviews were conducted in the setting of the interviewee's choice. Participants were asked about the expansion of Teach for America during the 2013 legislative session and the political and instrumental factors that influenced the formation of policy. Documents, such as newspaper accounts and state budget records, provided additional details. The researcher used a priori and open coding to analyze the data and identify themes related to the research question.

The results of this study revealed the political and instrumental factors that influenced the formation of policy that led to an expansion of Teach for America in North Carolina. Knowing these factors that influenced policy formation allows us to better understand how people, events, and circumstances collide to propel an issue along the state educational policy agenda.

A Story of State Educational Policy Formation

The expansion of Teach for America occurred for political and personal reasons only. Contentious statewide issues like teacher pay and the performance of the state's colleges of education had little impact on the effort to push a teacher recruitment policy into formation. In addition, there was no attention from the public and no competing alternative. An educational initiative that existed in the state for 25 years was no longer a policy alternative.

Changes in the composition of the state legislature created opportunities for the new majority to push their preferred solution rise on the policy agenda.

The North Carolina Teaching Fellows program was not included in the state's 2013 budget. Despite indications in 2011 that the program was in jeopardy, Teaching Fellows leadership had difficulty adjusting to new legislative leadership and failed to gain the support needed for the program to continue. The program was present in the state for 25 years and was viewed as a key element of the Democrats' educational platform. Once new leadership arrived, questions about the program's mission and costs began to arise. The relationships between Teaching Fellows, the state's colleges of education, and the North Carolina Association of Educators made some policymakers uncomfortable. However, the program's ultimate downfall came because of relationships between state leaders and the administrator of Teaching Fellows. Strong negative feelings between the Public School Forum and Republican leaders led to the program's elimination. While mild programmatic concerns were present, a personal vendetta against the administrator of Teaching Fellows marginalized the program while simultaneously promoting another teacher recruitment alternative.

Teach for America's presence in North Carolina began in 1990. While some interviewees associated the program's strength and longevity in the state to strong teacher effectiveness data and overall success in staffing under-resourced urban and rural schools, these comments were more likely to come from organizational leaders than they were lawmakers charged with creating policy. A strong national network of placement sites and affiliated organizations, like LEE, provide additional support to the state-led effort.

Additionally, several key policy actors in the state are Teach for America alumni and promote the organization in their platform. TFA does have its detractors who believe that the organization is merely a short-term staffing solution that does little to improve educational equity in the schools. Weak retention rates beyond the original two-year commitment contribute to the assertions that the program was never intended to be a long-term staffing solution.

Both policy solutions were available as teacher recruitment policy options during the 2013 legislative session, however, Teaching Fellows had already lost legitimacy and influence with state policymakers. Each organization hired lobbyists to generate support for their program in the hopes of retaining their recruitment policy option or gaining additional responsibilities. Legislative leadership rejected a proposal that brought together components of both Teaching Fellows and Teach for America. Any attempt to retain Teaching Fellows, in part or in full, was met with much resistance and further demonstrated that there was no chance of the program reemerging as a policy option. A state senator's pet project also jeopardized the return of Teaching Fellows. Senator Berger's North Carolina Teacher Corps was once a fledgling program; the final 2013 state budget indicates the NCTC was included in the expansion of Teach for America, further indicating positive relationships between the two parties and reinforcing the impact of political factors on the expansion of TFA.

Relationships between state policy actors and organizational leaders, both from TFA and Teaching Fellows, ultimately determined the future of the two programs. Once the shift in state leadership occurred, Teach for America recognized quickly that an opportunity

existed for the organization to expand. Despite its lack of influence, Teaching Fellows still tried to build relationships with those who would determine the program's future; all attempts were unsuccessful. Changes in legislative leadership affected the strategies used by both organizations. Teach for America developed a plan that included stewardship visits, a powerful lobbying firm, and support from the national organization. Teaching Fellows rallied early supporters in hopes that the organization would regain momentum. The new leadership, however, was unwilling to dismiss previous negative interactions with the organization's administrator and moved emphatically toward a new recruiting solution.

The Theoretical Frameworks: Insights into Policy Formation

Two theoretical frameworks, multiple streams and policy regime change, guided analysis. One model provides a structure for how issues land on the policy agenda; the other details policy change. Each theory is reviewed briefly with the findings relevant to each model.

The multiple streams framework consists of three streams: problem, policy, and political (Kingdon, 1995). These streams contain elements that explain how a policy moves along the agenda. The model suggests that when these streams merge, the likelihood that an issue lands on the policy agenda is increased. During a window of opportunity, events in the problem stream or political stream, or both, merge with the policy stream. This blending of streams is facilitated by the efforts of the policy entrepreneur. The problem stream had minimal impact on the placement of TFA expansion on the policy agenda. There were no

identifiable indicators and dramatic events were absent. Some feedback was present but its significance and role in the problem stream was minor.

The policy stream contains the solution considered by policymakers (Kingdon, 1995). TFA expansion partially met the three criteria that determine whether or not a policy is likely to form. In addition, no other policy solution existed since TFA's primary competitor, Teaching Fellows, was eliminated during a previous legislative session. Attempts to revive the program during the session that led to TFA expansion were unsuccessful. The policy stream offered only minimal support to place TFA expansion on the policy agenda. Despite an incomplete policy stream, policy entrepreneurs supported the coupling of the stream with events in the political stream. This is the component of Kingdon's (1995) model that was the most crucial to this story of policy formation. The political stream consists of the national mood, campaigns from interest groups, and legislative turnover. There was no evidence that national mood or campaigns from interest groups strengthened the political stream. The events in the political stream, specifically the turnover in legislative authority, were significant enough to move the policy along the agenda as well as the only compelling factor in policy formation.

The second framework used in the study was policy regime change (Wilson, 2000). This model consists of four dimensions that support policy change and a new policy alternative. The first dimension, the arrangement of power, details how interest groups and policymakers align to influence policy. TFA was the primary interest group in this study and the organization recognized the opportunity they had to exert their impact on teacher

recruitment efforts across the state. This recognition and the work that followed to maintain and build relationships with state lawmakers demonstrated how alignment between the two groups interacted to create an arrangement of power that supported a new teacher recruitment policy alternative.

The second dimension, policy paradigm, shapes how problems are defined, their cause and severity, and how the problems are solved (Wilson, 2000). Images meant to persuade the public are contained within this dimension. Data gathered indicated that there was no clearly defined problem that led to TFA expansion. As such, no images that represented the problem or the solution were shared with the public. A solution was available for which no problem existed.

The third dimension of policy regime change is organizational arrangements (Wilson, 2000). The contexts in which policies are created and enacted fall within this dimension. These arrangements are impacted by the five stages of regime change. Stressors, the first stage of regime change, impact the agenda as they enter in the form of demographic changes, shifting public opinion, or changes in leadership. This policy occurred within the context of a shift in legislative and gubernatorial leadership. These shifts in power created an advantage for TFA as it promoted itself as an alternative policy to the dominant policy paradigm. However, this policy failed to go through all stages of regime change. While stressors and power shifts were realized, decision making based on paradigm shifts, legitimacy crises, and organizational and policy change were absent. This framework reinforces the idea that TFA expansion occurred as a result of political events, primarily due to legislative turnover and

negative personal feelings for the administrator of Teaching Fellows. This framework also lacked an identifiable problem; aspects of the model present in this study reflect relationships created and reinforced as a result of shifts in legislative power.

Political and Instrumental Factors: What Influenced Policy Formation?

This study sought to identify the political and instrumental factors that influenced the expansion of Teach for America during the 2013 North Carolina legislative session. Teach for America's expansion occurred because of political reasons only. Political factors are defined as the events that arise from the need of political elites to destroy interests counter to their own while exerting their power (Leslie & Novak, 2003). The shift in legislative control created an environment in which existing policy options were scrutinized. The new majority took exception to the longstanding Teaching Fellows program and partisan leadership of a program administrator. In 2013, an opportunity existed for the legislative majority to exert their power through the continued marginalization of Teaching Fellows. The program lost its legitimacy primarily because of a personal vendetta against the organization's leader. With the assistance of strong lobbyists and a willing state legislature, Teach for America benefitted from the desire of the majority to redefine teacher recruitment in North Carolina.

Political factors are often combined with instrumental factors to influence policy formation (Leslie & Novak, 2003). However, instrumental factors were inconsequential to this case of teacher recruitment policy. Some organizational leaders suggested that strong teacher effectiveness data compelled policymakers to support TFA expansion. However, references to the data were vague; still, others were unable to articulate any specific data

points. Data did not compel any policymaker to act on the policy. This study's findings suggest that instrumental factors are not necessary when the policy is outside of the purview of the public, strong political factors are present, and a competing policy alternative is lacking.

Theoretical Implications

The findings of this study offer implications for the development of theory related to the formation of state teacher recruitment policy. This study's findings challenge the view that state educational policy formation follows a logical, gradual, and predictable pattern. The multiple streams and policy regime change frameworks attempt to provide clarity to the phenomenon of state teacher recruitment policy formation which led to the expansion of Teach for America in 2013. Each of these models highlights a different component of the policy formation process. The multiple streams model details how an issue lands on the policy agenda. The policy regime change model provides a framework to describe policy change. The nature of this policy, interacting with the political environment, influenced the extent to which these theoretical frameworks were useful. Neither of these models fully captured the details and events of this case of policy formation.

Despite the theoretical differences between the two frameworks, the reasons why the models fail to explain TFA expansion are the same. These models did not work for three distinct reasons. First, both models suggest that agenda setting and policy change occur within the purview of the public. However, this policy was outside of public view and absent of any public opinion. There is no evidence that the public was aware of any teacher

recruitment concerns that led to TFA expansion. Next, other issues related to teachers were receiving more attention than recruitment or possible alternative recruitment options. Much of the attention relevant to teachers was given to teacher pay and tenure; recruitment went unnoticed by most. Lastly, this policy was formed without the presence of a strong competitive organized political force. Teaching Fellows had lost all influence and legitimacy, primarily because of a personal vendetta against a program administrator. The reasons why neither model works for this study confirms the findings relevant to the political and instrumental factors that influenced policy formation. Events within Kingdon's (1995) political stream opened the windows and merged with the policy stream. All three streams failed to merge after the window opened. The policy stream did not exist. In addition, the shifts in power, present in the policy regime change model, were sufficient for policy formation.

Both models offer lessons about how state teacher recruitment policy is formed. Issues can rise on the policy agenda and policy can be changed without an existing problem. Within the multiple streams framework, only one major mechanism of the model, the political stream, was present. The problem and policy stream are either lacking or incomplete and have little influence on teacher recruitment agenda setting. Events within government, especially a change in legislative authority, are sufficient to open a window of opportunity. Likewise, shifts in power present in policy regime change also indicate that changes in state leadership are enough to inform policy decisions.

This study's findings have further implications for the role of the policy entrepreneur in the policy formation process. Kingdon (1995) defines policy entrepreneurs as individuals who introduce and promote their ideas in many different venues as they invest time and energy to increase the chances for an idea to be on the policy agenda. Entrepreneurs are active in both the political and policy stream and may assist in the creation of a legitimacy crisis that may lead to a loss in confidence in the existing regime. A problem is not sufficient for inclusion on the policy agenda. A solution must be available and within the reach of decision makers. Identification of the problem and possible solutions are the results of the efforts of policy entrepreneurs (Guldbrandsson & Fossum, 2009). The findings reveal that Teach for America was skilled as a policy entrepreneur; during a time of legislative turnover, the organization offered their teacher recruitment solution in the hopes of gaining attention. Teaching Fellows no longer had the political capital to promote their solution to a skeptical and unwavering legislative majority.

The final implication involves how advocates advance their agenda before state government. Because policymaking is not always incremental, issue advocates must be creative about the advancement of their pet causes. Endurance and political capital is critical to policy formation (McLendon, 2003). "Having solutions in hand is critical; issue windows are too short-lived for "solutions" to be developed anew" (McLendon, 2003, pg. 510). Successful advocacy of a policy solution begins when policy advocates react quickly once the window of opportunity opens. Teach for America was well-equipped to promote their policy solution.

Practical Implications

This study revealed that multiple factors impacted the formation of policy. Teaching Fellows did not effectively engage other organizations and legislative support during a time of historic change. The organization failed to make connections with new policymakers in order to resurrect the program. As stated by one legislator, “Teaching Fellows did not build a constituency in the legislature or across the populace. It never really resonated.” This study offers three suggestions to others who wish to have their policy solution considered by lawmakers. First, an organization may need to recombine or redefine efforts in order to align with a favored political force in order to garner the support of those in power. More specifically, Teach for America was able to promote a solution for which no problem existed. Teaching Fellows had lost legitimacy and was never able to reinvent itself for an already skeptical legislative majority.

Next, organizations must initiate relationships with policymakers viewed as adversarial, particularly in a time of turnover. When these relationships are established and maintained, organizations will strengthen their support base and are more prepared to respond to challenges when policy alternatives are introduced. Lastly, organizations that cannot participate in a strong self-promotion campaign may benefit from not allowing other solutions to rise to the top of the policy agenda. If an organization cannot determine how to make their solution viable, or float to the top, it may be best served by making the other solution less desirable, or sink to the bottom.

Instrumental factors were not necessary because the issue was outside of the public's view and the policy was not contentious. In order to gain the attention of those charged with making policy decisions, Teaching Fellows could reevaluate their teacher recruitment policy solution by assessing the program against the three criteria within Kingdon's (1995) policy stream: technical feasibility, value acceptability, and anticipation of future constraints. The policy solution they offered would be stronger if these three areas were reinforced. Second, Teaching Fellows could enhance the problem stream by creating a focusing event, changing the feedback on the program, or changing the indicators that demonstrate a crisis in teacher recruitment exists. Finally, Teaching Fellows could adopt the most cited tenet of Teach for America's mission. Providing incentives to work in high-poverty schools may dispel the image of a teacher recruitment program that fails to meet the needs of a changing state demographic.

Throughout this study, participants suggested a number of reasons for TFA expansion and made general statements about the policy process. It is important to address these items here for the reader; assumptions about TFA expansion, if not addressed, may diminish the results of this study. These assumptions included:

- *Equity mattered.* Connections between Teach for America and equity issues include staffing under-resourced schools are overstated and unsubstantiated in this study. The moral imperative inherent in TFA's mission did not impact TFA expansion.
- *Data mattered.* Any instrumental factors, particularly those related to the use of data-driven decisions were unfounded and had no impact on policy formation. While

Teach for America frequently suggested that strong teacher effectiveness data provides a compelling argument for program support, there was no evidence that this compelled lawmakers to act. Few participants referred to the data as a reason for expansion; most references to data were brief and contained few details.

However, personal feedback and anecdotal stories of Teaching Fellows' shortcomings or the successes of TFA were important and meaningful to the story of policy formation.

Additional practical implications of this study reside in the relationships that were revealed. This study reinforced the belief that a strong alliance exists between the Democratic Party of North Carolina and the North Carolina Association of Educators. Republican leaders expressed frustration with the platform of NCAE during recent legislative sessions. Connections between NCAE and the Democratic Party fueled dislike for the organization by the new majority and reconfirmed the partisan activities of both the Democratic and Republican Party.

Colleges of education in North Carolina were also briefly mentioned. General dissatisfaction with the number of teachers graduating from state programs and the overall quality of those teaching candidates were concerns that drew the attention of some interviewed for this study. These concerns offer lessons for the state's teacher preparation programs. First, colleges of education could align themselves with a teacher recruitment issue that draws significant public attention. For example, schools of education could enter the contentious statewide conversation about teacher compensation and teacher tenure. While compensation is related to teacher recruitment, the public is more attuned to teacher

pay than they are alternative teacher recruitment policy. Second, colleges of education could highlight teacher recruitment problems for which their programs are a solution. This may include designing teacher recruitment research studies and publishing the results through statewide media sources. This could change the indicators and redirect the teacher recruitment conversation. Additional recommendations for colleges of education include offering training to teachers and school administrators who wish to work in a charter school environment, offering training to teachers on advocacy and policy decision making, and modeling a professional development framework after the model offered by Teach for America.

Limitations

There were three primary limitations to this study. The first limitation of this study was that I am a former Teach for America corps member, and remain active in the organization. I strove for objectivity during data collection and analysis as some readers may suggest that I portrayed the organization and its work in a positive manner. However, qualitative researchers need not hold objectivity as the ideal; there is an inherent subjectivity in data collection and interpretation (Toma, 2006). As the researcher, I monitored data collection, data processing, data review, and data interpretation. Additionally, I used a journal to record my thoughts and observations and reflected on my efforts to maintain objectivity. Finally, I provided all participants with the opportunity to review the study's findings through member checking.

The second limitation of this study was access to those persons who were most familiar with how the policy was formed. At times it was difficult to reach informants who could contribute the most to the research. In addition, at the time of data collection, the events that led to policy formation took place at least one year prior to the interviews. The delay in collecting data impacted the level of detail in some interviews. As such, I also designed interview questions that were specific and cumulative in order to gain the greatest amount of information and detail.

Finally, case study research was a limitation. Case studies often have a limited sample. This study was limited in that it only describes how one case of state educational policy was formed. This study also lacks transferability, a trait most relevant to qualitative research methods like case studies. Transferability invites readers to make connections between the research and their own experiences. However, because this study examined only one case of state educational policy formation, it is difficult to generalize the results to other situations. Further, in case studies, the researcher is the primary agent of data collection and analysis. This opens the study to researcher bias. Guba and Lincoln (1981) refer to this opportunity as "unusual problems of ethics. An unethical case writer could so select from among available data that virtually anything he wished could be illustrated" (p. 378). Both the readers of case studies and the authors themselves need to be aware of biases that can affect the conclusions of the study.

Directions for Future Research

This study suggests additional research, specifically in the area of theoretical frameworks, is needed. Neither framework used in this study best fits this example of state educational policy formation. A more appropriate framework would explain how issues outside of the public purview or those without a competing organized political force become policy. In addition, a framework, or a component of a framework, that includes the elements of political or personal revenge is also needed when describing state policy formation. Furthermore, this study indicated that practical or instrumental factors had no influence on policy formation. A theoretical model could explain how other state educational policies are formed in when compelling instrumental factors are absent. Finally, this study allows for a comparison between North Carolina and other states that considered Teach for America's expansion at the state level. These comparisons will provide additional insights to other states seeking to formalize and expand the relationship between the state and TFA.

Summary and Conclusion

Drawing on the Multiple Streams Model and Policy Regime Change Theory, this study sought to identify the political and instrumental factors that influenced the formation of a policy that led to the expansion of Teach for America in North Carolina. Data for this single intrinsic case study were drawn from interviews with organizational leaders, legislators, and the media along with documents (e.g., media accounts, state budgets, and internal documents). Analysis involved a priori codes (developed from the two theoretical frameworks guiding this study) and open codes to identify emergent themes.

The results showed that the expansion of Teach for America in 2013 occurred for purely political reasons. A sweeping change in the composition of the state legislature, coupled with a personal vendetta against an administrator of an existing teacher recruitment program, impacted the formation of this teacher recruitment policy. The suggestion that the expansion of TFA was due to strong teacher effectiveness data was unsubstantiated. Simply, key legislative leaders had no interest in preserving the Teaching Fellows programs and used their influence to place Teach for America expansion on the policy agenda. Without any legitimate opposition, policymakers gave TFA a significant increase in funding and an expanded role in school districts across the state.

This study yields several theoretical implications. Neither framework, multiple streams nor policy regime change, offered a viable model to explain the formation of state educational policy. Simply, the models fail because the policy was outside of the public view, was relatively insignificant when compared to other controversial issues like teacher retention being considered at the same time, and the major opposing organized coalitions, Teaching Fellows and their advocates, had minimal influence. Most importantly, the study revealed that political events and changes in leadership are sufficient by themselves to lead to state educational policy change; a defined problem for a solution need not exist.

This study offers practical insights for organizations seeking to inform state-level teacher recruitment policy. It is crucial that organizations survey the political landscape to determine next steps, particularly when the majority party is viewed as adversarial. These steps may include redefining the problem for which their solution is necessary or discrediting

the alternative policy solution in order to raise their political profile with those in power. At times, organizations are best served by making policy change contentious and by rewriting the policy story. These revisions may include creating a focusing event or refocusing program feedback to bring the issue into public purview which may expand the debate. Future research on the development of state-level teacher recruitment policy should include the development of a theoretical framework that includes how state educational policy formation occurs when there is a lack of public attention, no opposing political force and negative personal relationships exist that impact policy change.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

**Interview Consent Form Regarding the Expansion of Teach for America During the
2013 NC General Assembly Session
North Carolina State University
INFORMED CONSENT FORM for RESEARCH**

Title of Study: The Expansion of Teach for America During the 2013 North Carolina General Assembly Session: A Case Study of Policy Formation

Researcher: Lela J. Baldwin, under the guidance of Dr. Tamara Young

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You have the right to be a part of this study, to choose not to participate or to stop participating at any time without penalty. The purpose of this study is to identify the political and instrumental factors that led to an increase in funding and an expanded role for Teach for America during the 2013 North Carolina legislative session. You are not guaranteed any personal benefits from being in this study. Research studies may pose risks to those that participate. In this consent form you will find specific details about the research in which you are being asked to participate. If you do not understand something in this form it is your right to ask the researcher for clarification or more information. If you wish, a copy of this consent form will be provided to you. If at any time you have questions about your participation, do not hesitate to contact the researcher named above.

Purpose of the Study:

The purpose of this study is to identify the political and instrumental factors that led to an increase in funding and an expanded role for Teach for America during the 2013 North Carolina legislative session. This study is important because it will provide insight into how a policy is formed and what were the conditions in North Carolina that pushed this bill onto the legislative agenda.

What will happen if you take part in the study?

If you agree to participate in this study you will be asked to be a part of an audio recorded interview. During this interview you will be asked questions about your knowledge of the formation of policy regarding Teach for America.

Risks

There are minimal risks associated with participating in this study.

What if you are an employee?

Participation in this study is not a requirement of your employment, and your participation or lack thereof, will not affect your job.

Benefits

Aside from adding to the body of knowledge policy formation, there are no known benefits for participating in this study.

Confidentiality

The information in the study records will be kept confidential to the full extent allowed by law. Data will be stored securely in on a computer and in a file cabinet of which the researcher only has access. No reference will be made in oral or written reports that could link you to the study. All participant names will be coded for confidentiality.

Compensation

You will not receive anything for participating.

What if you have questions about this study?

If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures, you may contact the researcher, Lela J. Baldwin.

What if you have questions about your rights as a research participant?

If you feel you have not been treated according to the descriptions in this form, or your rights as a participant in research have been violated during the course of this project, you may contact Deb Paxton, Regulatory Compliance Administrator, Box 7514, NCSU Campus (919/515-4514).

Consent To Participate

“I have read and understand the above information. I have received a copy of this form. I agree to participate in this study with the understanding that I may choose not to participate or to stop participating at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled.”

Subject's signature _____ **Date** _____
Investigator's signature _____ **Date** _____

Appendix B

State Government and Staff Interview Protocol

Name:	Office:
Date:	Time: Location:

Purpose:

- Collect data to answer research question:
- Triangulate with other interviews and documents

Introduction

Thank you for agreeing to meet with me today. As you know, I am researching Teach for America's expanded role and budget during the 2013 legislative session. As a part of my dissertation, I would like to talk to you about your role in implementing this legislation and your perspective on the policy process.

Interview Questions
1. Please describe your position and primary responsibilities.
2. What are the goals of your organization?
3. What major issues are you and others most occupied with these days in the area of teacher recruitment and retention?
4. Why do you think teacher recruitment and retention is receiving attention in the past few years?
5. What are you and others in the legislature working on in the area of teacher recruitment and retention in the way of new approaches or new programs?
6. Why do you think these particular initiatives are being considered?
7. Now let's talk about Teach for America and the 2013 legislative session. Why did TFA receive serious attention to address issues of teacher recruitment and retention and other solutions were not considered?
8. Why was Teach for America expanded?
9. What persons or groups were particularly influential? What strategies did they use?
10. Were there opponents to the expansion of TFA? What strategies did they use? Why were they not successful?
11. What is the future of Teach for America in the state?
12. Is there any additional information about teacher recruitment and retention that you feel would be useful?
13. Is there anyone else I should talk to about TFA's expansion?

Appendix C

Organizational Member Interview Protocol

Name:	Office:
Date:	Time: Location:

Purpose:

- Collect data to answer research question:
- Triangulate with other interviews and documents

Introduction

Thank you for agreeing to meet with me today. As you know, I am researching Teach for America's expanded role and budget during the 2013 legislative session. As a part of my dissertation, I would like to talk to you about your role in implementing this legislation and your perspective on the policy process.

Interview Questions
1. Please describe your position and primary responsibilities.
2. What are the goals of your organization?
3. What major issues are you and others in the area of teacher quality most occupied with these days?
4. Why do you think teacher quality is receiving attention in the past few years?
5. What are you and others in the legislature working on in the area of teacher quality in the way of new approaches or new programs?
6. Why do you think these particular initiatives are being considered?
7. Now let's talk about Teach for America and the 2013 legislative session. Why did TFA receive serious attention to address issues of teacher quality and other solutions were not considered?
8. Why was Teach for America expanded?
9. What persons or groups were particularly influential? What strategies did they use?
10. Were there opponents to the expansion of TFA? What strategies did they use? Why were they not successful?
11. What is the future of Teach for America in the state?
12. Is there any additional information about teacher quality that you feel would be useful?
13. Is there anyone else I should talk to about TFA's expansion?

Appendix D

Journalist Interview Protocol

Name:	Office:
Date:	Time: Location:

Purpose:

- Collect data to answer research question:
- Triangulate with other interviews and documents

Introduction

Thank you for agreeing to meet with me today. As you know, I am researching Teach for America's expanded role and budget during the 2013 legislative session. As a part of my dissertation, I would like to talk to you about your role in implementing this legislation and your perspective on the policy process.

Interview Questions
1. Please describe your position and primary responsibilities.
2. What are the goals of your organization?
3. What major issues are you and others in the area of teacher quality most occupied with these days?
4. Why do you think teacher quality is receiving attention in the past few years?
5. What are you and others in the legislature working on in the area of teacher quality in the way of new approaches or new programs?
6. Why do you think these particular initiatives are being considered?
7. Now let's talk about Teach for America and the 2013 legislative session. Why did TFA receive serious attention to address issues of teacher quality and other solutions were not considered?
8. Why was Teach for America expanded?
9. What persons or groups were particularly influential? What strategies did they use?
10. Were there opponents to the expansion of TFA? What strategies did they use? Why were they not successful?
11. What is the future of Teach for America in the state?
12. Is there any additional information about teacher quality that you feel would be useful?
13. Is there anyone else I should talk to about TFA's expansion?

Appendix E

Teach for America Talking Points

Teach for America-Eastern North Carolina	
Vision	All children in ENC-including the more than 50,000 growing up in poverty-will have the real opportunity to go to and through college. This opportunity requires aligned skills, knowledge, character traits, consciousness, a personal support network, and surrounding environment.
Charge	Teach for America-Eastern North Carolina contributes to this vision by (1) fueling the educational leadership pipeline, (2) partnering with others to grow, retain, & support rural leadership, and (3) leveraging our power and resources to accelerate the pace of change.
Regional Context	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The legacy of slavery and the reality of institutional racism remain potent throughout Eastern North Carolina. • North Carolina has a rich history as a leader pushing for progressive change in the South. • Eastern NC students lag behind state averages in every measure of student achievement. Only a handful of students are fundamentally altering this trajectory. • Rural communities face teacher shortages and talent out-migration in every sector. • Teach for America-ENC has been partnering with districts to help address teacher shortages for 25 years-but has not yet joined with others to change the region's fundamental capacity for change. 	
By 2020	
<p>In 2020, what will be true across our region if Teach for America-ENC is living our charge and working in deep coalition with others invested in this vision?</p> <p>We will collectively be making progress toward growing and supporting more than 80 transformational schools, each of which is led by an engaged and empowered surrounding community.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Our students prove what's possible>Create a transformational school in each placement community • Our communities attract and retain the best educators and leaders-Build & sustain a foundation of talented teachers & school leaders leading transformational schools • Our communities rally behind their students-Raise the consciousness and build the capacity/infrastructure that supports change 	
FY 15 Regional Priorities -> Increase Alumni Retention in Placement Communities	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grow regional team capacity to more effectively align with vision & charge. • Strengthen impact on student achievement: Teaching as Leadership, culturally-relevant teaching, vision for regional institute • Develop values-driven alumni and student leadership force working in areas driven by community hope & need • Contribute to broad and diverse coalitions advocating for educational equity • Build a more diverse, equitable, and inclusive organization at every level 	
TEACHFORAMERICA	

Appendix F

Proposal for Collaboration Between Teach for America, Teaching Fellows, and NCCAT

Two Year Teacher Recruitment and Preparation Program

- Recruitment of college/university sophomores in content areas – managed by NCPSF & higher ed partners
- All public/private institutions
- Two Year Scholarship – provided by state
- High areas of need – i.e. STEM, Exceptional Children
- 300 Scholarships
- \$6,500 per year per scholarship (\$13,000 total)
- Based on course of study/licensure path
- Service Commitment Requirement is three out of five years
- Career placement in partner LEAs – managed by NCPSF
- Summer Development Programs – managed by NCPSF
- Teacher Support Model - First two years managed by NCPSF & private/public partners
 - Professional Development
 - Summer Development Programs
- Evaluate and document through existing Forum data system for professional development

Funding

- After phase-out of 4-year program in FY 15, new program appropriation will cost approximately 75% less than the traditional Teaching Fellows program. (\$3.4M vs. \$12.7M)
- Student scholarships obligations are 50% less than the traditional Teaching Fellow program. (\$13,000 vs. \$26,000)
- Funding for NCPSF restored to \$810,000 to manage new program
- NCPSF will solicit private funding for post graduate professional development seminars and for an evaluation of effectiveness of the new teacher preparation program.

**Suggested Professional Development
for the
Two-Year Teacher Preparation Program**

*Scholarship for the junior year would be awarded in March-April of the student's sophomore year. As the scholarship is awarded in the sophomore year, we can do enrichment in the summer prior to the junior year. We suggest the following:

- I. Summer prior to Junior Year:
Development Trip in the summer prior to the Junior Year. The itinerary would include visits to all levels of schools, including charter schools giving the rising juniors an opportunity to meet with teachers/principals/superintendents from around the state who are engaged in innovative educational programs.
The experience would also help minimize teacher turnover by new teachers who initially showed interest in teaching one age bracket but would have been better suited for another. This trip would help show various teaching options and approaches to the students.
- II. During the Junior Year:
Fixed community service requirement to promote leadership and service.
There would also be requirements for the campus to provide extra-curricular opportunities during the junior year focused on providing exposure to effective K-12 teaching and learning strategies.
- III. During Summer Prior to the Senior Year:
Teaching development conference
Teachers would utilize this time for job-related preparation, attending a myriad of breakout groups covering topics such as best practices in digital learning, career/college prep track differences, understanding pay structure (merit pay, etc.), EVAAS and teacher effectiveness, common core, and other current issues.
This conference will be focused on preparing seniors as they go into their student teaching 10 weeks experience.
- IV. Prior to the first and second years of teaching:
A brief summer seminar covering issues that teachers may have encountered during their first year teaching. The purpose is to prepare new teachers for success in the most challenging years of teaching.
- V. During the first two years of teaching:

A certain number of PLCs (Professional Learning Committees) on Friday evening/Saturday with professional development based in new teacher support, content, leadership development.

Appendix G

N.C. General Assembly Budget Amendment #4



**NORTH CAROLINA GENERAL ASSEMBLY
AMENDMENT
Senate Bill 402**

AMENDMENT NO. 4
(to be filled in by
Principal Clerk)

S402-AMD-12 [v.17]

Page 1 of 4

Comm. Sub. [NO]
Amends Title [NO]
PCS

Date MAY 21 2013, 2013

Senator Brunstetter

- 1 Moves to amend the PCS on Page 2, Lines 27 and 28, by rewriting the lines to read:
- 2 "Related Educational Programs 82,160,148 107,918,501
- 3 NC School of Science and Mathematics 19,126,182 19,126,182";
- 4
- 5 And on Page 62, Lines 26-30, by rewriting those lines to read:
- 6 "a. In the Piedmont Triad region, at least 50 candidates who will be
- 7 recruited in the 2013-2014 school year to begin teaching in the 2014-
- 8 2015 school year.
- 9 b. In the southeast region of the State, at least 50 candidates to begin
- 10 teaching in the 2013-2014 school year.";
- 11
- 12 And on Page 63, Line 32, through Page 64, Line 19, by deleting the lines and substituting the
- 13 following:
- 14 "SECTION 8.21.(c) Effective July 1, 2014, G.S. 115C-296.7 is amended by adding
- 15 a new subsection to read:
- 16 "(h) The State Board of Education is authorized to contract for the administration of the
- 17 NC Teacher Corps.";
- 18
- 19 And on Page 64, Lines 19 and 20, by inserting between those lines a new subsection to read:
- 20 "SECTION 8.21.(c1) The State Board of Education shall enter into a contract,
- 21 effective July 1, 2014, with Teach for America, Inc. (TFA) to administer provisions of G.S.
- 22 115C-296.7. The contract shall require that TFA make publicly available all documents related
- 23 to the execution of this program and the expenditure of State funds.";
- 24
- 25 And on Page 64, Line 22, by rewriting the line to read:
- 26 "with subsection (c1) of this section. TFA may also use a";
- 27
- 28 And on Page 117, Line 31, by deleting the line and renumbering the remaining subdivisions
- 29 accordingly;
- 30
- 31 And on Page 182, Line 7, by rewriting the line to read:
- 32 "Fellowship \$250,000; ECU High Risk Maternity Clinic \$375,000) 8,532,935";

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